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Thio Statesman.

LETTER FROM OF-

HON. C. L. VALLANDIGHAM, To the "Young Men's Democratic Association" of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

GENTLEMEN: From your President and Secretaries, as also from individual mem-bers. I have, within the past three months, received repeated cordial invitations to address your Association. While a compli-ance in person would be most agreeable to me, I do not believe that either time or eircumstances is auspicious just now for ac-tive 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 the 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, under the contract the property of 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 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 regula-ted 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; e during even through the great dangers an I 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 cuce and ultimately triumphant. For myself, under no circumstances, will I consent that the Democratic organization be dissolved, 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 Demo-

cratic 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-RIGHTS 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 cathors; 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 the practice under our system, there can be 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 interests 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 reachwilling to accept this great fact, would do well to retire to his closet and confine him-self to funebral 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 tortunate that we have a President -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 the war, demanded con-ciliation, 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 enaccepting the new order of things, I yet en-ter upon no defense 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 Ameri-can statesmen. So far from it, I would con-

form 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

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 pre-

science of the wisest statesmen of as well the Old World as the New, is no disparage-ment 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 fication, 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 re cognized position, was for disunion or sep aration 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 inde-pendence, 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 Reublican ranks, unless of Democratic antecedents, from the late President down, but pposed-many of them with unmeasured itterness 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 heirsor assigns, will adopt the "Chica-

go 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 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 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, though 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 ta-ken away. If it shall so happen that to the Republican party may be 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-Constitu tional 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 griets, or lay aside his prejudices against men and parties, for the sake of his country these constitute the accepted theory and in an hour of trial which demands all the wisdom of the wise and the utmost firmness no consolidated government, either Republic or Monarchy, in the States which now much of a partisan to be anything of a patriot. Fortunately among politicians the la-bor 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 af fairs, 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 ed; and he who cannot now realize, or is not | 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 is-sues, will differ widely now, and new party association must follow. The hereditary supporters of the President just inaugurated; must not assume that, as a matter of who, upon neither side, is among its authors | 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 manner of prosecuting the war. Not responsible for anything done or omitted the late Administration where the 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, 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 rather err with Plate 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 its be wise in durs, Whether theirs was not the true wisdom for us also in the long run, remains to be seen. seience 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 delay

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 Reconstruc-tion, as the Democratic party is without power, so it is without responsibility. It can but accept or reject whatever measures

divine. In any event, I beg that it be an - may be proposed. If the policy which the | unnecessary-yet in ten years, if our Fed-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. 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 pail, 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 pupile 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

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 institu-tion-1 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 account of debt and taxation, of suffering, crime and blood in the past or yet to come. Again I accept the tacts; rejoiced, indeed, if under the new order of things, we and our children may enjoy the same measure of pri-vate 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

nounces worse than a crime, was in ignor-

ing the great American idea of ONE Coun-

TRY-not an impulse, not a theory, not a mere aspiration of national vanity, but a upon the rivers and the mountains and the whole face of the land, and graven thence on the hearts of the peo 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 out 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 bave suppressed, even for a time, the power of this sentiment among the people of the South also. Had their leaders borne 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 corgreetings 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 (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-main-tained upon both sides for four years with a courgage 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 An-drew 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 Umon, 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

eral 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 posiof equality and influence which she it will, in my judgment, be fit and just that held fifty years ago. This is the lesson of the Democracy, waiving all minor points 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 "Bressed in a little brief authority. Play such fautastic 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

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 radiand any man may have been or be yet radi-cally 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 im-pulse and conviction: but new 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 community or individual, must be permitted alone to decide. And four millions of Afri-cans are not to become the wards and pupils cans 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 school masters for the negro population. Whatever pare 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 most 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 corrollary, miscegenation. And it is not a ques-tion 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 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 impelling public policy, enforced by the example of Mexico and other republics and countries of mixed races not of one "blunder," which a false morality procommon stock, and fifty fold more essential now if four millions of African slaves are to be set free at once among us, torbids pomere aspiration of national vanity, but a commandment written by the finger of God upon the rivers and the mountains and the 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 disinction between them."

And headvised 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 control-led by the white race. But be this as it may, the entire question, whether slavery re-main 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 vio-lation 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 torthwith restore the habeas corpus and proclaim an end to all these instru-

ments 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 nchieved, 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 Fi-

These said nothing upon questions of Fi-nance—debt, taxtion, 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 suffi-cient 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 lite-time, it is essential, in my endure for a life-time, it is essential, in my judgment, that a new vitality also be inguised 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, ot its public men, and the general intelligence, honesty and particitism of its masses, it may challenge comparison with any party. But for seven years, and more, 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 reorganized—an act both impolitic and 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 ad-hered to the Union; without power, pat-

ronage 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 instrumentaling. ties, and to the whole power of the purse and that purse the entire wealth of the country, and the whole power of the sword and that sword the entire fighting population of the country, adding a supervision and constraint over press, speech, person, and telegraph. railroad, 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 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 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 couscious power and the lethargy of

things. I have finished now what I would have said in person, had I accepted your invita-tion 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 treely, 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 paand seizing upon the changing floodtide 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 ensue 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.

threatened dissolution are very different

C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.
DAYTON, Ohio, May 5, 1865.

PUBLIC SALE -0F-

REAL ESTATE. NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT A the Defiance Female Seminary will offer for sale at public auction at the door of the Court House in Defiance county, Ohio, at 10 o'clock A. M. on the

21st day of June next, the following described lands belonging to said Sem-

IN DEFIANCE COUNTY.

R'nge Town See DESCRIPTION, Acres Hund | Color | Colo

IN PAULDING COUNTY.

R'nge Town See DESCRIPTION | Acce | Hund D. C. 3 E 3 N 5 S 5 of n w qr F0 00 980 00 3 " 2 " 23 E 5 of s w qr 80 00 400 00 2 " 3 " 1 W 5 n e fra 14 87 47 787 23 \$11,991-55

TERMS OF SALE.—Said lands will not be sold for less than the appraised value—40 per cent. of the purchase money to be paid on the day of sale, 20 per cent. in three year, 20 per cent. in two years and 20 per cent. in three years from day of sale, with annual interest on deferred payments.

Payment to be secured by mortgage on the premises.

Payment to be seed.

Payment to be seed.

By order of the Board of Trustees.

Sealed Proposals

WILL BE RECEIVED AT THE OFfice of the Superintendent of the Central
Onio Lunatic Asylum at Columbus, Ohio, up to
noon of the 6th day of June next, for the masonry
work and makerials for insisting the two contest with
extensions, a Wash House, Drying room, Ironiag
room, Bakery Kitchen, de., &c., see ding to plans
and speakfeations to be seen at the Superintendent's
office.

office.

The successful bidder will be required to give bond for the faithful execution of the work and to complete the same by the lat day of October next. Payments will be made as the work progresses, twenty (20) per cent, at least, of the coat being reserved till itseempletion. The Trustees reserve the right to reject any or all-bids made at their discretion.

May 23, 1865.

May 24-dtd.

Superintendent.

Auction and Commission Room THE UNDERSIGNED HAVE OPENED No. 142 East Town Street,

where they are propared to do a general Auction and Commission business.

Sales of all kinds of property promptly attended to either in city or country.

Household Furniture sold every market morning at the room, commencing at 70 dook.

Also, Furniture received and varnished on the shortest notice and most reasonable terms.

THERE Y & SIMON moch!—If No. 144 East Town Street