The Bradford Reporter.

E. O. GOODRICH, Publisher. REGARDLESS OF DENUNCIATION FROM ANY QUARTER. $2 per Annum, in Advance.

VOLUME XXVI. TOWANDA, BRADFORD COUNTY, PA., MARCH 1, 1866. NUMBER 40.

TERMS OF PUBLICATION.

The REPORTER is published every Thursday Morning, by E. O. GOODRICH, at $2 per annum, in advance.

ADVERTISEMENTS exceeding fifteen lines are inserted at TEN CENTS per line for first insertion, and FIVE CENTS per line for subsequent insertions. Special notices inserted before Marriages and Deaths, will be charged FIFTEEN CENT. per line for each insertion. All resolutions of Associations; communications of limited or individual interest, and notices of Marriages and Deaths exceeding five lines, are charged TEN CENTS per line.

	1 Year.	6 mo.	3 mo.
One Column,	$75	$40	$30
"	40	25	15
One Square,	10	7½	5
Stray, Caution, Lost and Found, and other advertisements, not exceeding 15 lines, three weeks, or less,			$1 50
Administrator's and Executor's Notices			2 00
Auditor's Notices,			2 50
Business Cards, five lines, (per year)			5 00

Merchants and others, advertising their business all be charged $20. They will be entitled to 4 nsertions, confined exclusively to their business, with privilege of change.

Advertising in all cases exclusive of subscription to the paper.

JOB PRINTING of every kind in Plain and Fancy Colors, done with neatness and dispatch. Handbills, Blanks, Cards, Pamphlets, &c., of every variety and style, printed at the shortest notice. The REPORTER OFFICE has just been re-fitted with Power Presses, and every thing in the Printing line can be executed in the most artistic manner and at the lowest rates. TERMS INVARIABLY CASH.

Veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill.

THE MESSAGE.

To the Senate of the United States:

I have examined with care the bill, which originated in the Senate and has been passed by the two Houses of Congress, to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees, and for other purposes." Having with much regret come to the conclusion that it would not be consistent with the public welfare to give my approval to the measure, I return the bill to the Senate with my objections to its becoming a law.

I might call to mind, in advance of these objections, that there is no immediate necessity for the proposed measure.

The act to establish a bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees, which was approved in the month of March last, has not yet expired. It was thought stringent and extensive enough for the purpose in view. Before it ceases to have effect, further experience may assist to guide us to a wise conclusion as to the policy to be adopted in time of peace.

I have with Congress the strongest desire to secure to the freedmen the full enjoyment of their freedom and their property and their entire independence and equality in making contracts for their labor. But the bill before me contains provisions which in my opinion are not warranted by the Constitution, and are not well suited to accomplish the end in view.

The bill proposes to establish, by authority of Congress, military jurisdiction over all parts of the United States containing refugees and freedmen. It would, by its very nature, apply with most force to those parts of the United States in which the freedmen most abound; and it expressly extends the existing temporary jurisdiction of the Freedmen's Bureau, with greatly enlarged powers, over those States in which the ordinary course of judicial proceedings has been interrupted by the rebellion. The source from which this military jurisdiction is to emanate is none other than the President of the United States, acting through the War Department and the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. The agents to carry out this military jurisdiction are to be selected either from the army or civil life. The country is to be divided into districts and sub-districts, and the number of salaried agents to be employed may be equal to the number of counties or parishes in all the United States where freedmen and refugees are to be found. The subjects over which this military jurisdiction is to extend in every part of the United States, include protection to all employes, agents and officers of this Bureau in the exercise of the duties imposed upon them by the bill. In eleven States it is further to extend over all cases affecting freedmen and refugees discriminated against by local law, custom or prejudice. In those eleven States the bill subjects any white person who may be charged with depriving a freedman of any civil rights or immunities belonging to white persons to imprisonment or fine, or both, without, however, defining the civil rights and immunities which are thus to be secured to the freedmen, by military law. This military jurisdiction also extends to all questions that may arise respecting contracts. The agent, who is thus to exercise the office of a military judge, may be a stranger, entirely ignorant of the laws of the place, and exposed to the errors of judgment to which all men are liable. The exercise of power, over which there is no legal supervision, by so vast a number of agents as is contemplated by the bill, must, by the very nature of man, be attended by acts of caprice, injustice and passion. The trials, having their origin under this bill, are to take place without the intervention of a jury, and without any fixed rules of law or evidence. The rules on which offenders are to be heard and determined, by the numerous agents, are such rules and regulations as the President, through the War Department, shall prescribe. No previous presentment is required, nor any indictment, charging the commission of a crime against the laws; but the trial must proceed on charges and specifications. The punishment will be not what the law declares, but such as a Court-martial may think proper. And from the arbitrary tribunals there lies no appeal—no writ of error to any of the Courts, in which the Constitution of the United States vests exclusively the judicial power of the country; while the territory, and the class of actions and offences, that are made subject to this measure, are so extensive that the bill itself, should it become a law, will have no limitation in point of time but will form a part of the permanent legislation of the country. I cannot reconcile a system of military jurisdiction of this kind with the words of the Constitution, which declare that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger;" and that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State or district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

The safeguards which the wisdom and experience of ages taught our fathers to establish as securities for the protection of the innocent, the punishment of the guilty, and the equal administration of justice, are to be set aside, and for the sake of a more vigorous interposition in behalf of justice, we are to take the rest of the many acts of injustice that would of necessity follow from an almost countless number of agents established in every parish or county in nearly a third of the States of the Union, over whose decision there is to be no supervision or control by the Federal Court. The power that would be thus placed in the hands of the President is such as in time of peace certainly ought never to be intrusted to any one man. If it be asked whether the creation of such a tribunal within a State is warranted as a measure of war, the question immediately presents itself whether we are still engaged in war. Let us not unnecessarily disturb the commerce, and credit, and industry of the country, by declaring to the American people and the world that the United States are still in a condition of civil war. At present there is no part of our country in which the authority of the United States is disputed. Offences that may be committed by individuals should not work a forfeiture of the rights of the same communities. The country has entered, or is returning to a state of peace and industry, and the rebellion is in fact at an end. The measure, therefore, seems to be as inconsistent with the actual condition of the country as it is at variance with the Constitution of the United States.

If, passing from general considerations, we examine the bill in detail, it is open to weighty objections. In time of war it was eminently proper that we should provide for those who were passing suddenly from a condition of bondage to a state of freedom. But this bill proposes to make the Freedmen's Bureau, established by the act of 1865, as one of many great and extraordinary military measures to suppress a formidable rebellion, a permanent branch of the public administration, with its powers greatly enlarged. I have no reason to suppose, and I do not understand it to be alleged, that the act of March, 1865, has proved deficient for the purpose for which it was passed; although at that time, and for a considerable period thereafter, the Government of the United States remained unacknowledged in most of the States, whose inhabitants has been involved in the rebellion. The institution of Slavery, for the military destruction of which the Freedmen's Bureau was called into existence as an auxillary force, has been already effectually and finally abrogated throughout the whole country by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and practically its eradication has received the assent and concurrence of most of those States in which it at any time had existed. I am not, therefore, able to discern in the country anything to justify an apprehension that the powers and agencies of the Freedmen's Bureau, which were effective for the protection of freedmen and refugees during the actual continuation of hostilities and of African servitude, will now, in a time of peace, and after the abolition of Slavery, prove inadequate to the same proper ends. If I am correct in these views, there can be no necessity for the enlargement of the powers of the Bureau, for which provision is made in the bill. The third section of the bill authorizes a general and unlimited grant of support to the destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children. Succeeding sections make provisions for the rent or purchase of landed estates for freedmen, and for the erection, for their benefit of suitable buildings for asylums and schools, the expenses to be defrayed from the treasury of the whole people. The Congress of the United States has never heretofore thought itself competent to establish any laws beyond the limits of the District of Columbia, except for the benefit of our disabled soldiers and sailors. It has never founded schools for any class of our own people, not even for the orphans of those who have fallen in the defence of the Union, but has left the care of their education to the much more competent and efficient control of the States, of communities, or private associations and of individuals. It has never deemed itself authorized to expend the public money for the rent or purchase of homes for the thousands, not to say millions, of the white race who are honestly toiling from day to day for their subsistence. A system for the support of indigent persons in the United States was never contemplated by the authors of the Constitution. Nor can any good reason be advanced why, as a permanent establishment, it should be founded for one class or color of our people more than for another. Pending the war many refugees and freedmen received support from the Government, but it was never intended that they should henceforth be fed, clothed, educated and sheltered by the United States. The idea on which the slaves were assisted to freedom, was that on becoming free they would be a self-sustaining population. Any legislation that shall imply that they not expected to attain a self-sustaining condition, must have a tendency injurious alike to their character and their prosperity. The appointment of an agent for every county and parish will create an immense patronage, and the expense of the numerous officers and the clerks to be appointed by the President will be great in the beginning with a tendency steadily to increase. The appropriations asked by the Freedmen's Bureau as now established for the year 1866, amount to $11,745,000. It may be safely estimated the cost to be incurred under the pending bill will require double that amount, more than the entire sum expended in any one year under the administration of the second ADAMS. If the presence of agents in every parish and county is to be considered as a war measure, opposition or even resistance might be provoked, so that to give effect to their jurisdiction troops would have to be stationed within reach of every one of them, and thus a large standing force be rendered necessary. Large appropriations would, therefore, be required to sustain and enforce military jurisdiction in every county or parish from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. The condition of our fiscal affairs is encouraging, but in order to sustain the present measure of public confidence, it is necessary that we practice not merely customary economy, but as far as possible severe retrenchment. In addition to the objections already stated, the fifth section of the bill proposes to take away land from its former owners without any legal proceedings being first had, contrary to that provision of the Constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. It does not appear that a part of the lands to which this section refers may not be owned by minors or persons of unsound mind, or by those who have been faithful to all their obligations as citizens of the United States. If any portion of the land is held by such persons, it is not competent for any authority to deprive them of it. If, on the other hand, it be found that the property is liable to confiscation, even then it cannot be appropriated to public purposes, until, by due process of law, it shall have been declared, forfeited to the Government.

There are still further objections to the bill, on grounds seriously affecting the class of persons to whom it is designed to bring relief. It will tend to keep the mind of the freedmen in a state of uncertain expectation and restlessness; while to those among whom he lives it will be a source of constant and vague apprehension. Undoubtedly the freedman should be protected, but he should be protected by the civil authorities especially by the exercise of the constitutional powers of the courts of the United States and of the States. His condition is not so much exposed as may at first be imagined. He is in a portion of the country where his labor can not well be spared. Competition for his service from planters, from those who are constructing or repairing railroads, or from capitalists in his vicinage, or from other States, will enable him to command almost his own terms. He also possesses a perfect right to change his place of abode, and if, therefore, he does not find, in one community or State, a mode of life suited to his desires, or proper remuneration for his labor, he can move to another, where labor is more esteemed and better rewarded. In truth, however, each State, induced by its own wants and interests, will do what is necessary and proper to retain within its borders all the labor that is needed for the development of its resources. The laws that regulate supply and demand will maintain their force, and the wages of the laborer will be regulated thereby. There is no danger that the great demand for labor will not operate in favor of the laborer. Neither is sufficient consideration given to the ability of the freedmen to protect and take care of themselves. It is no more than justice to them to believe that, as they have received their freedom with moderation and forbearance, so they will distinguish themselves by their industry and thrift, and soon show the world that in a condition of freedom they are self-sustaining and capable of selecting their own employment and their own places of abode; of insisting for themselves on a proper remuneration, and of establishing and maintaining their own asylumns and schools. It is earnestly hoped that instead of wasting away they will, by their own efforts, establish for themselves a condition of respectability and prosperity. It is certain that they can attain to that condition only through their own merits and exertions. In this connection the query presents itself whether the system proposed by the bill will not, when put in complete operation, practically transfer the entire care, support and control of four millions of emancipated slaves to agents, overseers or taskmasters, who, appointed at Washington, are to be located in every county and parish throughout the United States containing freedmen and refugees. Such a system would inevitably tend to such a concentration of power in the Executive which would enable him, if so disposed, to control the action of a numerous class and use them for the attainment of his own political ends.

I cannot but add another very grave objection to this bill. The Constitution imperatively declares in connection with taxation that each State shall have at least one representative, and fixes the rule for the number to which in future times each State shall be entitled. It also provides that the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State; and adds with peculiar force that no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. The original act was necessarily passed in the absence of the States chiefly to be affected, because their people were then contumaciously engaged in the rebellion. Now the case is changed, and some at least of the States are attending Congress by loyal representatives, soliciting the allowance of the constitutional right of representation. At the time, however, of the consideration and the passage of the bill there was no Senator or Representative in Congress from the eleven States which are to be mainly affected by the provisions. The very fact that reports were and are made against the good disposition of the country is an additional reason why they need and should have representatives of their own in Congress to explain their condition, reply to accusations and assist by their local knowledge in the perfecting of measures immediately affecting themselves, while the liberty of deliberation would then be free, and Congress would have full power to decide according to its judgment. There could be no objection urged that the States most interested had not been permitted to be heard. The principle is firmly fixed in the minds of the American people that there should be no taxation without representation. Great burdens are now to be borne by all the country, and we may best demand that they shall be borne without murmur when they are voted by a majority of the representatives of all the people. I would not interfere with the unquestionable right of Congress to judge, each house for itself, of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members. But that authority cannot be construed as including the right to shut out in time of peace any State from the representation to which it is entitled by the Constitution. At present all the people of eleven States are excluded. Those who were most faithful during the war not less than others. The State of Tennessee, for instance, whose authorities engaged in rebellion, was restored to all her constitutional relations to the Union by the patriotism and energy of her injured and betrayed people. Before the war was brought to a termination they had placed themselves in relation with the General Government, had established a State Government of their own, and, as they were not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, they, by their own act, had amended their Constitution so as to abolish slavery within the limits of their States. I know no reason why the State of Tennessee, for example, should not fully enjoy all her Constitutional relations to the United States.

The President of the United States stands toward the country in a somewhat different attitude from that of any member of Congress, chosen from a single district or State. Eleven States are not, at this time, represented in either branch of Congress. It would seem to be his duty on all proper occasions to present their just claims of Congress. There always will be differences of opinion in the community, and individuals may be guilty of transgressions of the law But these do not constitute valid objections against the right of a State to representation. It would in no wise interfere with regard to the qualification of members; but I hold it my duty to recommend to you in the interests of the Union, the admission of every State to its share of public legislation, when, however, insubordinate, insurgent or rebellious its people may have been, it presents itself not only in an attitude of loyalty and harmony, but in the persons of representatives whose loyalty cannot be questioned under existing constitutional or legal test. It is plain that an indefinite or permanent exclusion of any part of the country from representation must be attended by a spirit of disquiet and complaint. It is unwise and dangerous to pursue a course of measures which will unite any large section of the country against another section of the country, no matter how much the latter may predominate. The course of immigration, the development of industry and business and natural causes will rise up at the South men as devoted to the Union as those of any other part of the land. But if they are all excluded from Congress; if in a permanent statue they are declared not to be in full constitutional relations to the country, they may think they have cause to become a unite in feeling and sentiments against the Government. Under the political education of the American people, the idea is inherent and ineradicable that the consent of the majority of the whole people is necessary to secure a willing acquiescence in legislation. The bill under consideration refers to certain of the States as though they had not "been fully restored in all their constitutional relations of the United States." If they have not let us at once act together to secure that desirable end at the earliest possible moment. It is hardly necessary for me to inform Congress that, in my own judgment, most of those States, so far at least as depends upon their own action, have already been fully restored, and are to be deemed to be entitled to enjoy their constiutional rights as members of the Union. Reasoning from the Constitution itself, and from the actual situation of the country, I feel not only entitled but bound to assume that, with the Federal Courts restored in the several States and in the full exercise of their functions, the rights and interests of all classes of the people will, with the aid of the military, in cases of assistance to the law, be essentially protected against unconstitutional infringement and violation. Should this expectation unhappily fail, which I do not anticipate, then the Executive is already armed with the powers conferred by the act of March, 1865, establishing the Freedmen's Bureau; and hereafter, as heretofore, he can employ the land and naval forces of the country to suppress insurrection and to overcome obstructions to the laws.

I return the bill to the Senate in the earnest hope that a measure involving questions and interests so important to the country will not become a law unless upon deliberate consideration by the people it shall receive the sanction of an enlightened public judgment.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 19, 1866.

SOWING.—The astronomer sits alone at midnight, searching the depths of heaven for new worlds of light. With anxious interest he watches a path among the stars until it begins to shine with brightness of some heavenly stranger. Like the gleaming feet of an angel, sent just far enough away from heaven to be within reach of an aspiring mortal's eye, the new stars burns on its course. But this discoverer is only a reaper in the fields that glow with the harvest of ripe, blooming worlds. Another sowed the seed of this discovery long years before. There was one who held out a dull, laborious problem that led this earnest eye to look in that quarter of the firmament for fruit. There were years of exhaustive endeavor in other directions for the same result; and all this was sowing—an essential part of the success who gathers in the sheaves. It is true in regard to some things the same person may both sow and reap. It has been remarked that all men are sowers in regard to their predecessors, and reapers in regard to their successors. There are diversities of operations as well as of gifts. Let us be sure of being earnestly engaged, whether it be as sowers or reapers in the field of the world. Let the harvest be gathered in with no labor on your part, at the beginning or the end.

IMMENSITY OF THE UNIVERSE.—Dr. Nichol, in his work describing the magnitude of Lord Rosse's celebrated telescope says that he has looked into space a distance so tremendous and so inconceivable, that light, which travels at the rate of 200,000 miles in a second, would require a person of 250,000,000,000 of solar years, each year containing 32,000,000 of seconds, to pass the intervening gulf between our earth and the remotest point to which this wonderful telescope has reached. How utterly unable is the mind to grasp even a fraction of this period? To conceive the passing events of a hundred thousand years only is an impossibility; to say nothing of millions of years: The sun is more than 90,000,000 of miles distant from the earth yet a ray of light will traverse that immense distance in eight minutes. Long as may seem the distance passed in so short a time, what comparison can the mind frame between it and the greater distance which Dr. Nichol and Lord Rosse demonstrated would require every second of that time to represent more than 500,000 years?

"MAY YOUR SHADOW NEVER BE LESS."—Dickens thus explains the origin of this saying;—What do you mean, said I to an ex-embassador who had passed a long time in Europe, by the salutation, "May your shadow never be less?" "We live" answered the khan, pleasantly, "under a very hot sun in Persia, and we retire to the shadow for repose and peace. The power of a great man gives rest and tranquility to many, for no one dares to injure or molest those whom he protects. So we call that his shydow and hope for our own sakes as well as his that it may never diminish."

LETTER FROM "OCCASIONAL."

[From the Philadelphia Press.]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20, 1865.

While the staunch friends of the Republic were taking counsel among themselves last evening, after the reading of the veto message of President Johnson, the Copperhead politicians, in and out of Congress, assisted by the disloyal elements in this city, were celebrating the event with a joy as tumultuous as that with which the secession sympathizers here would have hailed the entrance of Jefferson Davis into the capital of the United States after the battle of Bull Run. Even before Congress had adjourned, the *Star* announced "a serenade to the President;" and early in the evening a band of music, followed by about two hundred people, called at the Presidential mansion. His Excellency declined to make a speech, but somebody announced that he would address the public on Thursday evening. Not a Union member of either House, and not even an office-holder, so far as I could hear, took part in the demonstration. Up to this writing I have not conversed with a single individual—Senator, Representatives or citizen, who avows his willingness to support the policy foreshadowed in the veto message of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill. I say this, you will observe, before we have received any intimation from the people of the States, their legislators, newspapers or politicians, and before either House has taken action upon that extraordinary document. In one respect it is far better that the relations between the loyal people and Mr. Johnson should be clearly defined and understood. The suspense which has prevailed in regard to his exact policy, succeeding and yet rapidly changing the almost unanimous approval of his annual message, was almost insupportable. You will recollect that, prior to the New York and Pennsylvania elections of last year, although the President was repeatedly called upon by the prominent Union men in both States, and solicited to declare in favor of the regular Union tickets, or at least against the Copperheads, he refused to take sides with the friends of the country. In our own State, it cannot be denied, that he promised to give Mr. Cessna, chairman of the Union State Central Committee an answer—which answer was never received. In New York he was so utterly demoralized by the visits of the Democrats who demanded his indorsement of *their* platform that he was only inferentially quoted in favor of the Union candidates. In both these States brave men who had fought against the rebel enemies headed the Union tickets, and yet, although they stood upon platforms earnestly approving the President's course, and pledged to him the loyal support of the people, he refused to abandon his neutral ground and allowed the Copperheads to claim him as their supporter. *But with all this aid the Copperheads were more utterly defeated than at any period of the rebellion.* Please make a note of this historical fact, inasmuch as it will serve to dissipate the cry that President Johnson's veto was provoked by what is called the radical policy in Congress. No such complaint could be made before the great elections to which I refer. The radicals were silent at home; and, indeed, had been rather ignored by the Union party in New York and Pennsylvania, and yet the hand of the President was turned against us, and the battle had to be fought without him. The same temper characterized him directly after the meeting of Congress. Not an intimation was given from the time of his annual message of his intention to carry out the positive and voluntary pledges made while he was a candidate before the people, and even after he became President, by the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. His suspicious silence, in regard to the blood-stained tyrant and traitor, Jefferson Davis, which so alarmed the people during the autumn of 1865, became more ominous and marked after the meeting of Congress. From the organs of disaffection, beginning with the National *Intelligencer*, at this point, we had a constant stream of calumny upon the earnest men of the Republic, who demandod his trial and execution. Accordingly, treason everywhere took new heart. It was as common to ridicule and execrate the radicals in the South, as it was to outrage and cheat the negroes. Delegations of the leading and most proscriptive Democrats paid regular court, and were received almost in state at the Presidential mansion. From Pennsylvania we had such men as Senator Clymer and Wallace—the slanderers of Andrew Johnson in 1863, who led the Copperheads in the Legislature when they refused to allow him to speak in the Legislative halls; from New York we had such men as John Van Buren, who was almost a guest, and the daily confident of the President; and from the South the persons regularly admitted and attentively heard, were the desperate leaders of the recent murderous rebellion. Meanwhile, the Union members of Congress watched these extraordinary proceedings with undissembled sorrow. Unwilling to believe that the men who had sought the life of the Republic, rejoiced in the defeat of our armies, denounced the execution of the assassins of Abraham Lincoln, and covered the name of Andrew Johnson with indescribable obloquy, were believed, much less confided in; they called upon the President, and counselled with him in the most friendly and fraternal spirit. Mortified as they were to see him entertaining and listening to the Copperheads of the North and the traitors of the South, humiliated by his ill-digested, incoherent, and illogical harangues as he received and answered all sorts of delegations—they sought, in every instance, to suppress their apprehensions. Thus everything was done to avoid, postpone, and render impossible, the condition of things which, it now appears, has been for months craftily, sedulously and treacherously preparing. Not a measure was contemplated by these faithful Representatives that did not find its source of encouragement in the pledges and assurances of Andrew Johnson himself. This is true, even of the most radical measures of Congress; for if any were many of the decided radical. I have not met one of these who does not look back with a sense of humiliation upon his frequent futile efforts in this direction.

We can best understand our Duties in this solemn emergency by fearlessly stating the Dangers of the Republic. Among these latter may be classed the postponement or defeat of every essential amendment of the National Constitution—the remission to new horrors of the freedmen of the South—the Executive opposition to every bill for the improvement of the District of Columbia, including the political and civil elevation of the resident colored race—the reorganization in every insurgent section of the recent rebels—the expulsion or discouragement of free emigration to the South—a system of wide and merciless proscription of independent and earnest men—the pardon, if not the honorable restoration to their rights, of Jefferson Davis, John C. Breckinridge, and the resuscitation, by Federal patronage, of the entire Copperhead party. These are the Dangers of the situation; Dangers, however, that may be anticipated and prevented, if we are only bold and fearless in the knowledge and the discharge of our imperative Duties. And what are these? IN THE FIRST PLACE, TO SUSTAIN THOSE FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS, THE ORGANS, AS THEY ARE, OF THE LOYAL MILLIONS OF THE REPUBLIC IN THEIR RECENT ALMOST UNANIMOUS VOTES IN FAVOR OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND IN FAVOR OF THE BILL JUST VETOED BY THE PRESIDENT. Observe that these two demonstrations represent and typify *the wishes and the doctrines of the whole body of Union party.* As I have shown, these two measures were, if not suggested, at least foreshadowed and pledged by the President, and never, until recently, disavowed either by word or deed. If the people are true to this primary obligation, we shall then be able to control a two-thirds vote in Congress. Without these two-thirds, the Government will be absolutely at a standstill, or will be conducted in the interest and according to the dictates of that calamitous and desperate antagonism which prayed for the victory of the traitors in the field and steadily embarrassed the civil agents of the people during the rebellion. There is no difficulty in the full enforcement of these relative duties, when we unman in the Republic had bitterly denounced the ingratitude of the Southern rebels, it was Andrew Johnson. He knew that nothing but the continuous flagrant exhibitions of ingratitude constrained the majorities in Congress to adopt that decided policy without which we should have had the traitors crowded into the high places of the Government. The suffrage question was a logical result of Andrew Johnson's own declarations and assurances. No man ever supposed that from *him* would proceed a single objection to an attempt to reform the government of the District of Columbia, and to confer political rights upon the colored people here. The same remark may be made of the bill which he has just vetoed. That measure was framed and reported by Senator Trumbull, of Illinois—distinguished for his frequently manifested desire to sustain the President, and known for his opposition to some of Mr. Sumner's prominent particular theories. It was so carefully prepared, and the President was so fully aware of its provisions, that it was popularly believed to have been submitted to him for approval. His intimate friend, Senator Doolittle, was one of its leading advocates, and not a Union vote in either House was thrown against it. The measure itself was not particularly acceptable to the radicals, but was accepted by them as an expedient preparatory to the adoption of a more drastic and permanent system. Some of them, to my knowledge, gave it their support because they believed it would be especially agreeable to the President; and this will account for the comparative rapidity with which it was passed. It was supposed that he would promptly give his signature, and thus promote a better understanding on other subjects.

Indeed with the single exception of Mr. Stevens in the House who generally takes his own course, and expressly insists that nobody is responsible for his words or his vote but himself, there was not a Union member in either branch who did not seduously study every means to conciliate and to please Andrew Johnson. And in this remark I desire to include Senator Sumner, who is known to have sustained the most intimate relations with the President last summer, because they then agreed substantially and thoroughly on the great cardinal duties and doctrines. Shortly after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, they had a number of very satisfactory interviews. I repeat among the men who labored to maintain friendship and co-operation between the President and the party that placed him where he is, and who defended him against his own slanderers who understand that the Union party of the country have, in fact, fought the common enemy without Andrew Johnson. From the time when Montgomery Blair, and other Copperheads, last summer, attempted to paralyze and to prostrate that party by claiming that they spoke in the name and with the authority of Andrew Johnson, the latter has been so indifferent to the measures he voted for in Congress and sustained while he was a candidate for Vice President, and even directly after he assumed the Presidential chair, that his coldness amounted almost to absolute and open hostility. The millions of noble spirits who at first rejected the idea that the man, thus sustained and thus apologized for by a generous and loyal people would be callous or treacherous, and who were the reluctantly forced to accustom themselves to this dismal apprehension, will not, I am sure, shrink from the task now laid upon them of consolidating their country. They must abandon all aspirations for place; and the compensation for this sacrifice, if it be one, will be in the fact that it is far better to be in a position of honorable, independence than to be associated in the Government with those who have steadily prayed or plotted for its downfall. But they will have long to wait. These are days, let us hope, of purifying trials. No matter how threatening the dangers that surround us, and how novel and weighty the duties demanding our conscientious energies, both are to be preferred to that agonizing suspense which has heretofore been simply advantageous to the Copperheads and traitors, and damaging to the permanent interests of the country.

OCCASIONAL.

THE BITTER CUP.—How annoying it must be to be a teetotaler to have a bottle-nose!

THE CANDLE OF LOVE.

"Oh Lord, we beseech Thee snuff de candle ob lub in our hearts." Thus prayed a poor negro in one of the waste places of Virginia. The flame burned low; it was obstructed by black accretions; the light that it gave was dim, gloomy and uncertain, and he wished to have it brightened.

It was a homely metaphor, and yet it was full of meaning. How often the candle of love in all our hearts burns low! There is much to impede the pure heavenly flame. The follies of the world clog around it; its diversions, its joys, its successes, its reverses—all these affect the Christian's love towards his master in heaven. Sad indeed is it for him, when he forgets what he owes to his Lord; when his heart becomes steeped in ingratitude, and his love dies out. The Christian in whose heart the candle of love has burned low, lives as if he could not give too much to the amusements of the world, too little to the ordinances of sanctuary. The Christian in whose heart the candle of love has burned low, forsake the mercy seat, tampers with conscience, finds fault with his brother Christians and injures himself and the cause of religion generally. You never see the face of such a Christian brighten at the name of Jesus; you never see him over-anxious about the spiritual state of those around him, or over-zealous to put forth his hand to any good work. These are the tests by which we may judge of the state of love in our hearts. Now apply these tests; and if you find that they enrich you, oh, as you have a regard for your own soul, seek, as this poor negro did, the restoration of Christ's love within you. Pray that the Lord would snuff the candle of love in your heart.—*N. Y. Observer.*

A Western correspondent says: In a district in the far west we had a gentleman teacher was thought it advisable to give some lessons in politeness. Among other things he told the boys in addressing a gentleman they should always say Sir, and gave them examples, and made quite a lesson of it. One boy was particularly delighted; and took occasion to speak to his teacher often, to show he profited by his teachings. When he went home to dinner his father said:

"Tom, have some meat?"

"Yes, sir, I thank you."

The next thing the child knew his father's hand came whack on his ear, and his father's voice thundered forth, "I'll teach you to sass your dad!" Tom gave up being polite.

FUN, FACTS AND FACETIÆ.

MR. QUIBBLE, reading that "it has been decided in the Court of Queen's Bench, in Dublin that a clergyman of the Church of England can legally marry himself," observed that that might be very well as a measure of economy, but that even in the hardest times he should prefer to marry a woman.

BASHFULNESS soon [illegible] off; modesty never does. The former [illegible] conceal ignorance; the latter virtue. That [illegible] life by a being second lieutenant of a fam[illegible] never get higher.

LOVE is a great human impulse. Mothers' and children's love are nature's teachings. Nothing will so open a man's pores as falling in love. It makes his mouth like a tin whistle, and softens him do n thoroughly.

"Aw! How yau like my moustache, Mith Laura?" lisped a dandy to a merry girl.

"Oh, very much. It looks like the fuzz on the back of a caterpillar!"

In all aspects of life putty and varnish has something to do therewith. In pills they are omnipotent; and so great are pills in request, that new diseases have to be invented to keep up with the supply.

A GREEK maid being asked what fortune she would bring her husband, replied:

"I will bring him what gold cannot purchase—a heart unspotted, a virtue without stain."

THE good of life consists in playing one's poor cards well. Man was created a little lower than the angels, and he has been getting a little lower ever since.

WHY is John Morrisey since his retirement from the prize-ring, like Daniel Webster? Because he is the great ex-pounder.

THOUGH young men criticize the figures of young ladies, yet if she has $40,000, they think the figure about right.

A POOR darkey, who was sent to jail for marrying two wives, excuses himself by saying that when he had one she fought him, but when he had two they fought each other.

WIFE (complainingly)—"I haven't more than a third of the be[illegible]

Husband (triumphantly)—"That's all the law allows you."

WHEN a man and woman are made one by a clergyman, the question is, which is *the one.* Sometimes there is a long struggle between them before this matter is finally settled.

THE man who, on account of the high price of sugar, attempted to sweeten his coffee with his wife's smiles, has concluded to fall back on the "granulated juice of the cane."

Wrong! Of course you are, stupid! Egypt is not a Nile-land, but part of a continent.

ART OF LOVE.—A lady told her husband she read the "Art of Love" on purpose to be agreeable to him. "I would rather have love without art," replied he.

A boy, who displayed a long, dangling watch-chain, was asked:

"What's the time of day, Jim?"

The lad drew out his watch very ceremoniously, and after examining it for a while referred to another boy, and said:

"Is this the figure nine or the figure seven?"

He was told that it was the figure seven.

"Well, then," said the genious, "it lacks just about half an inch of eight."

I BELIEVE YOU, MY BOHEA!—It is stated that Chang's parents are engaged in the tea-trade. If so, the celebrated giant must be a remarkably fine specimen of their High-son.

WHEN once the forms of civility are violated, there remains little of return to kindness or decency.

AT a trial recently, a Cornish jury returned the following verdict: "Guilty, with some little doubt as to whether he is the man."

"All bitters have a heating tendency of effect," said a doctor to a young lady. "You will except a bitter cold morning, won't you, doctor?" inquired the lady.

A GOLDEN rule for a young lady, is to converse always with your female friends, as if a gentleman were of the party; and with young men, as if your female companions were present.

A TENTH beatitude was pronounced at a public meeting in Toronto. It runs in this wise: "Blessed is the man that maketh a short speech: he will be invited to come again."

A YOUNG widow, who had married an old man, was for ever speaking of "my first husband." The second husband, at first, gently remonstrated.

"I guess," said the young wife, pouting, "you'll want me to remember you, when you're dead and gone."

A hen-pecked husband declared that the longer he lived the more he was smitten.

To remove stains from the character, get rich.

THE invitation of the ladies—Will anybody tread upon the tail of my dress?

WOMAN wil sometimes confess her sins, but whoever knew one to confess her faults?

If a man ask you for one thousand pounds, what would you wish? Wish he might get it.

"TELL me, where is fancy bred?" Fancy bread is in the refreshment room, if it is not all, gone.