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De President S

STATE GOVERNMENT. STATE GOVERNMENT.

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ı Dietz. hysician to Jail—Dr. S. P. Ziegler. hysician to Poor House—Dr. S. P. Ziegler. BOROUGH OFFICERS.

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mes Widner.
mes Widner.
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· CHURCHES.

CHURCHES.

First Presbyterian Church, northwest angie of Centre Square. Rev. Conway P. Wing, Pastor.—
Ervices every Sunday morning at 110 "clock, A. M., and 70 'clock, P. M.

Second Presbyterian Church, corner of south Hanover and Pomfret streets. Rev. John C. Bliss, Tastor. Services commence at 110 'clock, A. M., and 70 'clock, P. M.

St John's Church, (Prot. Episcopal) northeast angle of Centre Square. Rev. F. J. Clerc, Rector. Services at 110 'clock, A. M., and 70 'clock P. M.

English Lutheran Church, Bedford, between Main and Louther streets. Rev. Saml. Sprecher, Pastor. Services at 110 'clock A. M., and 60'clock P. M.

German Reformed Church, Louther, between Hanover and Pitt streets. Rev. Samuel Philips, Pastor. Services at 110 'clock A. M., and 60'clock P. M.

Hanover and Pitt streets. Rev. Samuel Philips, Pastor. Services at 110 'clock A. M., and 60'clock P. M.

Methodist E. Church, (first charge) corner of

.M. Methodist E. Church, (first charge) corner of ain and Pitt streets. Rev Thomas H. Sheriock, astor. Services at 11 o'clock A. M., and 7 oclock Pastor. Services at II o'clock A. M., and 7 oclock P. M.
Methodist E. Church, (second charge) Rev. S. L.
Bowman, Pastor. Services in Ermory M. E. Church
at II o'clock A. M. and 3½ P. M.
Church of God Chapel, southwest cor. of West
street and Chapel Alley. Rev. B. F. Beck, Pastor. Services at II A. M., and 6½ P. M.
St. Patrick's Catholic Church, Pomfret, near
East street. Father Gerdeman. Services every
other Sabbath, at 10 o'clock. Vespers at 3 P. M.
German Lutheran Church, corner of Pomfret
and Bedford streets. Rev. Kuhn, Pastor.—
Services at II o clock A. M.
Ag- When changes in the above are necessary,
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SOCIETIES.

month, t. John's Lodge No. 250, A. Y. M., meets on the rd Thursday of every month, at Marion Hall, arlisle Lodge No. 91; I. O. of G. F. Meets Montat Trout's Building. 1st Trout's Building. 1st Trout's Hall, 3d tory. Weets every usday evening in lineem's Hall, 3d story. FIRE COMPANIES.

hadden and Fire Company was instituted bruary 18, 1899. House in Bedford, between nary 18, 1809. House in Bedford, between and Pomfret streets. e Good Will Fire Company was instituted in th, 1855. House in Pomfret, near Hanover

NEATNESS AND DESPATCH.

THE JOB PRINTING OFFICE Connected with the AMERICAN VOLUNTEER, has just been supplied with the most modern specimens of Type issued from the Eastern Foundries and, in connection with the Jobbing Office of the Democrat, which has been united with it, comprises the greatest variety of JOB TYPE to be found in any Office in Southern Pennsylvania. Our workmen, in taste and promptness, cannot

work usually done in a First Class Office, such

BALE BILLS, POSTERS.

CIRCULARS. PROGRAMMES,

INVITATION CARDS BANK CHECKS, LEGAL BLANKS.

BILLS OF LADING, PRINTING IN COLORS

AND

Just at the last he turned his eyes to me, and said in weak, faint tones:

"You'have been my true wife, Mary.— PLAIN PRINTING. OB PRINTING OF EVERY DESCRIPTION, You have walked with me down to the very brink of the river. You must go back alone." short notice and reasonable rates. Grders sent by mail, accompanied by the rash, Will be promptly attended to

American

Wonder,

BY BRATTON & KENNEDY.

Miscellaneous.

A LIFE HISTORY.

A BEAUTIFUL STORY OF WOMAN'S FIDELITY.

fore he had asked me to marry him. I never quite knew whether he would come or not, so it was something pleasant to think and wonder about as I sat over

my work. Then when I saw that he was

er surprised! It was an innocent little

deception which harmed noone. I don't

know why I speak of it, only sometimes I like to go over all those old days in my thoughts, and every one of their little memories seem bright and sweet as fresh

olossoms.
I had known Robert six months, when

one night, instead of going home at once,

as usual, he asked me to go out to Mount Auburn with him. The days were at their longest; it was only half-past six, and there would be plenty of time for a ramble among those flowery paths before they would shut the gates and leave the dead people to their still night-slumber.

I was glad enough to go anywhere with him; and it was very pleasant to get out of town, and spend the long June twilight among country sights and sounds. So we went off at once.

How beautiful it was, walking about in those lovely grounds, with the day just drawing to a close. There were flowers everywhere—flowers growing up joyously and shaking odor out of their crimson

and purple cups upon the still air, emblems of glad, grateful life—and flowers,

too, broken from their stems, and laid up-on the graves, offerings of love and of memory, to give forth there the sad sweetness of their expiring breath, and

then fade, emblems these of death and

It was there, among the flowers and th

who belonged to each other for evermore.

went back to town, and the moon poured down on us a flood of silver light. It

seemed to us that we had never seen such

moonlight-that we walked under new

When we got home we told our ladlady good Mrs. Colesworthy, who had been

so kind to me—of our betrothal. Robert said frankness was best in such matters,

as in all others. We could not be mar

ried just yet. His salary was small, and

he must save enough to begin house

keeping in a quiet way. In the mean time he would want, of course, to be with

me as much as possible, and so it was well our relation should be understood,

and then there should be no room for

That New Year, however, the firm he worked for, raised his salary, so that he saved the money we needed sooner than we had any hope, and we were married

the next summer, a year after our be-trothal. Then Robert took me home.—

We had three rooms-a chamber, a kitch-

in, and a little parlor. We thought of a spare bedroom, as first, but I had no

friends who were likely to come and see us, neither had Robert; so we saved that

expense. What a bright, cheery home we had! How much pride and pleasure we took in every little convenience and

adornment! We thought we were just as happy as we could be; but when anoth-

er year went by, and with the June roses came a baby girl to look up at us with her

shy sweet eyes, full of strange baby wisdom, we found that we could be happier still. I wanted to call the little thing

Rose, because she came when the roses came, and Robert wanted to call her Ma

came, and Robert wanted to call her Mary, because that was my name; so we compromised and called her Rosemary. I think you never saw just sideh a baby—never, surely, unless you have had a first baby of your own. She was such a round, rosy, fat, dimpled, loving, sunny, bird-like little creature, with wise, still ways too that kent you wondering how

ways too, that kept you wondering how the world looked to her, and what she was thinking about. She was a perpetu-

al novelty and entertainment to us. We never tired of speculating about her. And

so ten months went by us most happily, until it was the March after little Rose-

Then Robert took a sudden, violent cold. It came on to rain one day while he was at the store. He had to go out to

attend to business, and having no over-

shoes or umbrella, went home to me at

night so hoarse he could hardly speak.-

It was his last day's work.

Let me hurry over these few terrible weeks of suffering and suspense through which I nursed him. He died in the last of April. Before he went away from us little Rosemary had learned to say "papa."

She said it to him just before he died, and I never can forget the way his face kin-

dled with a life-like brightness which made

me almost hope to hold him back a little longer from death. He reached out his

any one. When the coughing spell was over he closed his eyes, and I heard him

say in a low voice:
"The angels do always behold the face

of their father;" and I knew he was thinking of his little one, and what her

lot would be when he was gone.

the child in them.

those thin, weak arms, and I laid

gossip.

neavens and upon a new earth.

CARLISLE, PA., THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1866.

me to kiss him, and bending down I pressed my lips to his, that even then quivered beneath my touch, and faintly returned my pressure. When I lifted up

my head he was dead.

I had been alone a month before I had "There's Rosemary—that's for remembrance."

I loved Robert as I never could love again. I was an orphan, and friendless. Being quick with my needle, I had come to Boston hoping to find work there.—Somehow chance favored me—for I found a comfortable boarding-place, and by means of my landlady, a paying run of custom. I went out by the day to finish off dresses, sewing with dress-makers sometimes, and more after they had got through and gone away. Robert Eden boarded in the same house with me, and he liked me from the first.

I had been alone a month before I had courage to look about me, or think at all what I was going to do. The firm had been very kind. They continued Robert's pay through his sickness, and for two months afterward, making up the half year. Of course that was all I could have expected of them, and my little girl.—Robert had left a little money, but that I did not mean to touch. I felt that it ought to remain as a provision against any time of peculiar need, or for Rosemary if I should die. So I went round among my old customers and procured the promise of as much work as I could be what I was going to do. The firm had been alone a month before I had courage to look about me, or think at all what I was going to do. The firm had been very kind. They continued Robert's pay through his sickness, and for two months afterward, making up the half year. Of course that was all I could have expected of them, and my little girl.—Robert had left a little money, but that I did not mean to touch. I felt that it he liked me from the first.

How proud I was of his liking, the handsome, manly fellow! He was clerk in a store, and he got through every night at six o'cloek; and often, if he could find out where I was sewing, he would come and walk home with me. This was below many good hearts there are in the works. out where I was sewing, he would come and walk home with me. This was before we were engaged. Afterward, of course, he came every night, as a regular thing. But I never shall forget how it used to be during those first months before he had asked me to marry him.

world. world.

For two years I got along nicely. To be sure it left an awful void in my life to take Robert out of it, but I remembered that I had promised to belong to him forever; so I felt that I was only waiting.—
My little one was a great comfort. She looked at me with her father's eyes, and there was a curious likeness in her words really waiting how shy I used to be and how demurely I used to walk along with my eyes down until he joined me, and then look up at him as if I were altogethed and sometimes addened my heart.

Her constitution was very frail. She had been a fat, dimpled bely enough; but offer the growth of the g had been a fat, dimpled baby enough; but after she could run alone she grew slender, and her skin was almost transparent. But she was never really ill, until the summer two years after her father died. summer two years after her father died. Then she became so delicate that she required a great deal of my time. I thought at first that it was because she was cutting a long delayed double tooth, but soon I began to fear there was graver cause for alarm. I sent for a doctor, a kind, fatherly man—Dr. Grant his name was—and to tell me that her winn was effected. he told me that her spine was affected, and the disease was of such a nature that and the disease was of such a nature that she would require the closest care and attention to save her life. And even then—but he did not finish the sentence. Looking into my face I think he could not have the nerve to do so.

I used to hold her in my arms more than half the time by night and by day. Of course I could not sew much, and the money Robert had left dwindled away.—I began to wander how I could keep want.

money Robert had left dwindled away.— I began to wander how I could keep want from the door. One day Dr. Grant came and seemed to have something in particular to say. He had been very kind to my little Rosemary, and she and I had both grown fond of him in a certain way, and were always glad to see him. But I never could tell you the shock it was when he asked me to marry him. I had known nothing of his history hitherto, but he told me now that he was a widower, and a lonely, childless man, and that he had learned to love me and finine better than anything else in the world. He wanted to marry me at once, and take us home to marry me at once, and take us home with him, where Rosemary could have every care and luxury, and where my lot should be eased of all such burdens as he could bear in my stead.

It was there, among the flowers and the graves, that Robert told me how dearly he had grown to love me, and asked me to belong to him forever. Yes, I remember he said that—belong to him forever. That meant, did it not, through life and through death? Surely it bound me—when I had promised him—for all time, and all eternity as well. It was strange, but in the midst of my great, deep joy, a thought came over me—what if this troth-plighting among the graves were an omen—what if it should be for death and not for life? But I tried to banish this foreboding. I knew I was superstitious, While he talked I was terribly tempted While he talked I was terribly tempted. The home he offered seemed to promise such rest, such relief from care, and the torturing anxiety how to do my duty to my child and get my daily bread at the same time; I thought of my little one most of all. I knew that she needed so much that I could not give her. Parkers much that I could not give her. Perhaps it would save her life. Had I a right to foreboding. I knew I was superstitious, naturally, so I would not let myself utter the haunting thought to Robert. refuse? And yet I knew I did not love When the time came for the gates to be any momentary impulse. So I told him if he would go away and give me time to think, I would see him again on the mor-We walked about for a while under the trees there in old Cambridge before we row. He held my hand a moment with

grave tenderness.
"Remember, Mrs. Eden," he said, "that whatever way you may decide I shall not be the less your friend. If you can find it in your heart to come to my

can find it in your neart to come to my home and let me care for you, I shall be happy indeed, and I will do my best to make you so."

All that night, until the gray dawn lightened the heavens, I sat holding my little one in my arms and thinking. I went over and over all the advantages of Rosemary to be in a home of plenty, surrounded with every appliance of ease and luxury, constantly watched, moreover, by a kind and skilful physician, whose interest in her, I knew, would only be second to mine. All this on one side. On the other, the stern fact that I did not love Dr. Grant—the holy, and everpresent memory that I had promised to belong to Robert Eden forever. Could I

break that yow? Would he forget me if

even for his child's sake, I suffered any other man to press the lips on which his dying kiss still lingered? Then I thought further. Filled as my heart was with fond memories of the dead, thrilling to that remembered love, as it never would to the strongest utterances of any living man's passion, should I not be wronging Dr. Grant's noble nature unpardonably if I gave him a hand which held no heart—vowed a fealty which was only lip-deep? At last, just in the gray dawning, I made up my mind that I would be faithful and true at any cost,

and trust all to God, even Rosemary. would not sin against my womanhood purchasing comforts for her, at the price of my fidelity to a vow I have plighted to her farther. I knew that I had decided rightly by the great peace which flowed into my heart. I lay down on my bed, with my girl still in my arms, and I seened to feel—was it all fancy?—the presence of one I could not see, to hear a well known,

Through life and through death! my beloved, thou hast been faithful.' Then I slept the long, deep sleep of exhaustion; and when I awoke Rosemary open eyes, and it was almost time for Dr.

I showed him honestly all my heart and when he understood fully that I never could have given him such love as he craved, he told me I had done right that any other course would have been injustice to myself, to him, and to the dead But if I could not be: his wife, he said nust be to him as his sister—I must suffer him to provide for all my necessities, for he should not let me sew any more until
—he stopped an instant, and then finishsei . ice-until the girl is bet-

But, in spite of his attempt to spare my But, in spite of his attempt to spare my feelings, it struck in a moment to my heart that he felt convinced she would never be any better in this world. With that thought all my independence, all my sensitive pride, was silenced. I felt as willing to accept the help he offered, as I was grateful for his kindness. I could not sive one hour more of my derlings. not give one hour more of my darlings short life to anything but care of her. I knew he wanted to assist me-was alike willing and able. I took his generou

"God bless you," he said, "my darling, my little darling! God bless you, and keep from all evil."

Then he began to cough, and I took her away, where she had learned to sit patiently hour after hour, never troubling and were well as a coughing and were the same with the coughing and were the same which is a coughing and were the same which are said was hand and raised it to my lips.

"May God reward you!" I said, "I know I, I never can, and yet I accept your offering as frankly as it is made."

So all the rest of that summer I tended. my poor little fading flower, and Dr. Grant supplied our wants like a brother. What days those were!—those long, still ones, in which I held her, from morning till night, clasped in my arms, which never wearied of their burden! A strange, almost unnatural wisdom seemed to develop in the little three-year's child, who was living her short life so fast. I had With those words he made a sign for long talks to her about death and Heaven,

growing more like an angel every day, at length the angels called her home. Her little arms clasped my neck for the last time—her lips pressed mine—and her baby voice bid me good bye. My darling,

baby voice bid me good bye. My darling, oh my darling! She has slept these two years beside her father. I am looking forward always through all the tunuit of life to the day when I, too, can go home. I bear life's burden patiently—I try to do my duty in the station to which it has pleased food to sall ferms but the heart. God to call for me, but my heart and my hopes are where Robert waits; and with him my little Rosemary—not sure, I think, that heaven is heaven until I join them there!

HORRIBLE ACCIDENT—A Young Girl Roasted Alive.—A shocking accident resulting in the death of a young lady, occurred in Hopkins, Allegany county, Michigan, on the first inst. Miss Adeline Hill. aged 14 years, only daughter of Isac Hill, started for school on the morning of that started for school on the morning of that day, and had not gone more than forty rods from her home, when a puff of smoke came up from under her cloths, immediately followed by a flame of fire. She ran to a snow drift blose by, with the intention of rolling herself in the snow and thus putting out the fire, but owing to the hardness of the crust, she was unable to do so, and she started, completely enveloped in flames from her burning cloths for ed in flames from her burning cloths, for home, screaming as she ran, for help.

Mrs. Bradly, a neighbor, hearing her screams, hastened to the assistance of the poor girl. When she reached the burning victim, the agony of the girl was so intense that she seized her friend around the neck, beseeching her for help. Here, Mrs. B., seeing not only the perilous condition of the girl but of herself, broke from the embrace of the distracted sufferer, and with great difficulty kept her at arm's length until she succeeded in tearing her garments from the suffering girl. The poor girl was burned to a crisp from her feet to her waist; her stockings and under clothing having been burned completely off her person. The girl lived in terrible agony until the morning of the 3d inst., when she died.—Michigan Democrat.

ODDDS AND ENDS

WE must suppose that men value red noses, judging from the expense they are to get them.

FEW of our ladies have traveled extensively, but nearly all of them have taken tea in China.

ONE of our exchanges gives an account of a child being born with three tongues. Our devil wants to know if it's a girl Why is the toothache like an unanswerable argument?—Because it makes people hold their jaw.

THE crow is a brave bird; he never shows the white feather. It is easy to say grace—but not half so

A MAN with a long head is not apt to be FOLLY would do but little mischief if it were confined to fools.

WHEN colors are costly, prudes can't afford to blush for their erring sisters. Willcut is the best way of retaining a woman's affections? By not returning

Why is Adelina Patti's voice like a crown?—Because its replete with prccious tones. Why is sympathy like blind man's

creature. WHEN sitting alone by the side of a beautiful woman, one cares little how grasping she is.

A Man can't help what happens behind his back, as the scamp said when he was kicked out of the door at a dance.

A Western exchange says, " A young lady of this city, a short time ago, hung herself to a limb—of the law." IF the body is, as the old author calls "the bridegroom of the mind," many

bodies are worse married than Socrates was. Ir may be said of many a fellow that when he sees whisky his mouth waters, and when he sees water his mouth whis-

Why make it a reproach to any one that he has "changed his tune?" What sort of a singer would he be who never

"DRUNKENNESS is folly," wrote a temperance advocate. The compositor made t to read "drunkenness is jolly." were right.

QUEEN VICTORIA has conferred the honor of Knighthood upon Edward Jordan a black man. Perhaps Nighthood would have been more appropriate.

An exchange says when that load of Massachusetts women reaches Oregon it is proposed to found a city and call it She

BREAK a woman's heart, and she will mile and forgive you. Break a joke upon her face, and she declares war—war to Josh Billings says he always advises

short sermons, especially on a hot Sunday. If a minister can't strike oil in boring forty minutes, he has either got a poor gimblet, or else he is boring in the wrong olace.

"THE times are hard, wife, and I find it difficult to keep my nose above water."
"You could easily keep your nose above water, husband, if you didn't keep it so often above brandy." A LAWYER is something of a carpenter. He can file a bill, split a hair, make an

entry, get up a case, frame an indictment, empanel a jury, put them in a box, nail a witness, hammer a judge, bore a court, and such things. How romantic young people are when they court. Till girls get married, all they think necessary to happiness are moonlight evenings, a few hollyhocks, and a red brick bird cage, surrounded by oneysuckles and grapevines.

On one occasion, Curran was associated with a barrister, who was remarkably tall and slender, and had originally intended to take holy orders. The Judge who presided, observed that the case under consideration involved a question of ecclesi-astical law. "Then," said Curran, "I aff refer your lordship to a high authority behind me, who was once intended for the church, though"—in a whisper to a friend beside him—"in my opinion he vas fitter for the steeple,"

THE FIRESIDE .- The fire-side has always been regarded as the altar of home—the seat of all domestic virtues. Round that hallowed spot are supposed to be nourished all those tender feelings and sentiments which soften the harder feat-nres of humanity. There it is that the true father, the true mother, the true sister, and the true brother are grown, and there it is that society looks for its brightest ornaments. No patriot or philanthropist, worthy of the name, ever sprung from any other soil, or was really mould-for the purpose for which it was passed, I ed by any other influence.

VETO OF THE FREEDMEN'S BU-REAU BILL.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S MESSAGE.

To the Senate of the United States:

1 have examined with care the bill which has been passed by the two Houses of Congress, to amend an actentitled an act to establish a bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees, and for other pur-poses. 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 mimediate necessity for the proposed measure. The act to establish a bureau for the relief of the freedmen and refugees, which was approved in the month of March last, has not yet expired. It was thought stringent and extreme enough for the purpose in view in time of war. Before it ceases to have effect, further experience may assist to guide us to a wise conclusion as to the policy to be to a wise conclusion as to the policy to be adopted in time of peace. I share with Congress the strongest desire to secure to the freedmen the full enjoyment of their freedom and their prosperity, 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 the most force to those parts of the United States in which the freedmen most abound—and it expressly extends the existing temporary jurisdictions. 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 Freed men's Bureau. The agents to carry our this military jurisdiction are to be select ed either from the army or from civil life the country is to be divided into district and sub-districts, and the number of sala ried agents to be employed may be equal to the number of counties or parishes in all the United States where freedmen or refugees are to be found. The subjects over which this military jurisdiction is to extend in every part of the United States, includes protection to all includes protection to all employees, agents and officers of this bureau in the exercise of the duties imposed upon them by the bill in the eleven States. It is further to extend over all cases affecting freedmen and refugees discriminated against by local laws, custom or prejudice. In those eleven States the bill subjects any white person who may be charged with depriving a freedmen 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 freedman 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 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 this 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 in-tervention of a jury and without any fixed rules of law or evidence. The rules on which offenses 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 these 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 classes of actions and offenses that are made subject to this measure are so extensive, the bill itself, should it become a law, will have no limitation in point of time, but will form 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, excepting cases arising in the land, or naval forces, or in the militia, when in service in time of war or public dan-ger," and that "in all criminal proceed ings the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State or district wherein the

erime shall have been committed."

The safeguards which the experience and wisdom 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 risk of the mary acts of injustice that would necessarily follow from an almost countless num-ber of agents established in every parish or county in nearly a third of the States of the Union, over whose decisions there is to be no supervision or control by the

Federal courts.

The power that would be thus placed in the hands of the President is such a n time of peace certainly ought never to be entrusted to any one man. If it be asked whether the creation of such a tribunal in a State was 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 o the country, by declaring to the American people and to 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. Offenses that may be committed by individuals should not work a forfeiture of the rights of whole communities. The community has returned, or is returning, to a state of pence and industry. The rebellion was 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, the act of 1865, 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 for the purpose for which it was passed,

although at that time, and for a consider-able period thereafter, the Government of the United States remained unacknowledged in most of the States whose inhabitants had 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 auxiliary, has been already effectually and finally abrogated throughout the whole country by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and practically its eradiction has received the assent and concurrence of most of those issent and concurrence of most of those States in which it at any time had an exstence. I am not therefore, able to discern in the condition of the country any-thing 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 continuance of hostilities, 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 those views, there can be no immediate necessity for the enlargement of the powers of the bureau for which provision is grant of support to the destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen, their wives and children. Succeeding sections make provisions for the rent or purchase of laned 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 empowered 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 defense of the Union, but has left the care of their education to the much more competent and efficient control of the States, of communities, of private associations and of individuals. It has never-deemed-itself authorized to expend the public money for the rent or purchase of houses 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 sup-port 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 per-manent establishment, it should be found-ed for one class or color of 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 sthe United States. The idea on which the slaves were assisted to freedom was that on becoming free they would be a self-sustaining population, and any legis-lation that shall imply that they are 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 their clerks to be appointed by the President, will be great in the beginning, with a tendency steadily to increase. The appropriations asked by the Freedment's Bureau as now established for the year 1866 amount to established for the year 1866 amount to \$11,745,000, and it may be safely estimated that 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 adminf the presence of agents in every par-

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ish or 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 appropria-tions 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 land 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 If on the other hand it be found that the property is liable to confiscation, e n then it cannot be appropriated to public then it cannot be appropriated to public purposes, until, by due process of law, it shall have been declared forfeited to the

government.
There is still further objection to the bill, on grounds seriously affecting the class of persons to whom it is designed to bring relief. It will tend to steep the mind of the freedman in a state of uncertain expectation and restlessness, while to those among whom he lives it will be r source of constant and vague apprehen-

protected, but he should be protected by the civilauthorities, and especially by the exercise of all the constitutional powers of the courts of the United States and of the States. His condition is not so exposed as may at first be imagined. He is in a portion of the country where his labor cannot well be spared. Competition or his services from planters, from those who are constructing or repairing railroads, and 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 suitable to his desires, or proper remuneration for his labor, he can nove to another, where that labor is more esteemed and better rewarded.

In truth, however, such State, induced 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 emand will maintain their force, and the wages of the laborer will be regulated thereby. There is no danger that the exceedingly 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 eare of themselves.

It is no more than justice to them to be-

lieve, that as they have received their freedom with moderation and forbearance, o they will distinguish themselves for their industry and thrift, and soon show to the world that in a condition of freedom they are self-sustaining, capable of selecting their own employment and their own places of abode, of insisting for them-selves on a propor remuneration, and of establishing and maintaining their own asylums 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 actions.

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In this connection the query presents itself, whether the system proposed by the bill will not, when put into complete operation, practically transfer the entire care, support and control of four millions of emancipated slaves to agents, overseers or task masters, 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 a such a system would inevitably tend to a concentration of power in the Executive, which would enable him, if so disposed, to control the action of this numerous class, and to use them for the attainment of his own political ends.

I cannot but add another very grave objection to the bill. The Constitution importatively delears in connection.

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 made in the bill. The third section of the the Senate. The original act was necessarially 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 representation soliciting the allowance of the constitutional right of representation. At the time, however, of the consideration and the passage of this bill, there was no Senator or Representa-tive in Congress from the eleven States which are to be mainly affected by its provisions. The very fact that reports were and are made against the good dis-position of the country is an additional reason why they need and should have representation in Congress, to explain their condition, reply to accusations, and assist by their local knowledge in perfect-ing 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 have now to be borne by all the burdens have 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 and act for itself of the elections, returns and qualifaction of its property of the statement of the fications 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 exeluded; those who were most faithful during the war not less than others. The 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 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 own State.

I know no reason why the State of Pennessee, for example, should not fully Tennessee, for example, should not keep enjoy all her constitutional relations to the United States. The President of the United States toward the country in a somewhat different attitude from that of any member of Congress chosen from a single district or State. The President is chosen by the people of all the States. Eleven States are not at this time represented in either branch of Congress, and it would seem to be his duty on all proper occasions, to present their just

all proper occasions, to present then just claims to Congress.

There always will be differences of opinion in the community, and individu-als may be guilty of transpressions of the law: but these do not constitute valid objections against the right of a State to representation, and would in no wise in-terfere with the discretion of Congress with regard to the qualifications of members, but I hold it my duty to recommend to you in the interest of the Union, the admission of every State to its share in public legislation when, however insubordinate, insurgent or rebellious its peo-ple 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 any 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 a very large section of the country, however much the latter may preponderate. The course of emigration, the development of industry and business and natural causes will raise 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 statute they are declared not to be in full constitutional relations to the country, they may think they have cause to become a unit in feeling and sentiment against the government. Under the political education of 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 legis-

The bill under consideration refers to certain of the States as though they had not "been fully restored in all their constitu-tional relations to the United States." If they have not, let us at once act togeth-or 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 action, have already been fully restored. and are to be deemed as entitled to enjoy their constitutional 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, and those of the several States in the full exercise of their functions, the rights and interest of all classes of the people will, with the aid of the military, in case of resistance to the law, be essentially-protected against unconstitutional in-

fringement and violation.

Should this expectation unhappily fail, which I do not anticipate, then the Executive is already fully armed with the powers conferred by the act of March, 1865, establishing the Freedmen's Bureau, and hereafter, as heretofore, he can employ to suppress insurrection, or to overcome obstructions to the laws, in accordance

with the Constitution.

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 consultation by the people it shall receive the sanction of an enlightened public judgment.

Andrew Johnson, Washington, D. C., Feb. 18, 1866.

Honesty is the best of policy.