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JOHN H. FULFORD, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Clearfield, Pa. Office with J. B. McKeenly, Esq., over First National Bank.

WALTER BARRETT, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Clearfield, Pa. Office on Second St., Clearfield, Pa.

JOHN L. CUTLER, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Clearfield, Pa. Office on Market Street, opposite the jail.

THOS. J. McCULLOUGH, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Clearfield, Pa. Office adjoining the Bank, formerly occupied by J. B. McKeenly, second st., Clearfield, Pa.

JOHN L. CUTLER, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Clearfield, Pa. Office on Market Street, opposite the jail.

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REUBEN HACKMAN, House and Sign Painter and Paper Hanger, Clearfield, Pa. Office on Main St., Clearfield, Pa.

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THOMAS H. FORCEE, GENERAL MERCHANDISE, Clearfield, Pa. Office on Second Street, Clearfield, Pa.

FRANCIS COUTRIET, MERCHANT, Clearfield, Pa. Office on Second Street, Clearfield, Pa.

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REMOVAL!
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REMOVAL!

C. KRATZER & SONS,
To the large and elegant room, on SECOND STREET, adjoining Merrill & Bigler's hardware store; where they will be pleased to see all their old and new customers.

REMOVAL.
HARTSWICK & IRWIN,
DRUGGISTS,
Market Street, Clearfield, Pa.

DRUGS & MEDICINES.
We beg leave to inform our old and new customers, that we have removed our establishment to the spacious new building just finished on Market Street, nearly adjoining the Messing House on the west, and opposite Messing & Sons' store; where we respectfully invite the public to come and buy their

THE REPUBLICAN.
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WEDNESDAY MORNING, MARCH 31, 1869.
The Negro-Suffrage Amendment.

HON. WM. A. WALLACE,
OF CLEARFIELD,
In the State Senate, March 31, 1869.

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W. M. McCULLOUGH,
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the legislature of this State to rally to its own motion an amendment to the Federal Constitution is to be restrained and confined to those matters over which control has been vested in the people in the Federal and State governments.

Our power cannot go beyond this, for the stream cannot rise higher than its source.

Without the consent of the people of the State, a right that is not granted by them to either the Federal or the State government, cannot be taken from them, nor can the rights of a minority of the States be taken away by the majority, when the right in question has never been within the control of the Federal Government. If this attribute of sovereignty can be taken from us by Congress and the Legislature then liberty of the press and trial by jury can in like manner be swept away, and it is within the power of amendment to create an established church and connect Church and State.

The exercise of this power by the people, without their consent, is a violation of the Constitution. A further consideration of the structure of our government and of the powers granted by the people leads us to the same conclusion.

The legislature of the State is limited and controlled by the provisions of the State constitution. Its acts in violation thereof are void. An independent body, every attempt on its part to interfere with the right of suffrage, or to change the rule thereof, is of no effect. It may register the power will, but it can never act with power upon a subject beyond its control. The Constitution of the United States is a part of the constitution of Pennsylvania, and the constitution of Pennsylvania is a part of the Constitution of the United States. Each is supreme within its sphere. The government of the United States is one of enumerated powers; all powers not granted to it "are reserved to the States and the people." We may, for the purposes of this report, consider it to be supreme in its control of doubtful and concurrent powers, yet beyond these wide fields and outside of the range of its authority, is found the control of this important subject. It is reserved to the States, or the people, and in that respect the provisions thereof are the supreme law. Being neither enumerated, a concurrent or a doubtful power under the Federal Constitution, its control manifestly is in the State or the people. This amendment would be futile if the subject of it were not beyond the pale of Federal authority. No one will argue that its control is in the State legislature, if the provisions of the Federal Constitution on the subject of amendment are not to be considered, but we have already seen that it is in no manner controlled by Federal authority. If it is, then the Federal Constitution is the supreme law upon this subject, and is made inferior to the power of the State legislature, and they may by amendment override it. No such violation of the rights of the people was ever contemplated by the framers of our constitution, but the plain and clear interpretation of the whole subject, is that this right is one that belongs to the people and can only be affected or controlled by them.

If by the vote of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States this amendment is ratified, and by the action of the State it is ratified, then our control of suffrage in Pennsylvania is taken from us by the vote of the legislatures of Florida and Oregon. Surely such a result as this was never contemplated by the framers of the government.

If it had ever been supposed to exist, the Federal Constitution would never have been ratified.

For these reasons I conclude that sovereignty upon this subject is reserved to the people, that the power of amendment in this form without their consent does not exist, but that it does exist as to all those matters in which powers and rights are vested by the State or Federal Government.

The people of the State established this rule and it is their right to be consulted in its change. We cannot act in going to them for instructions.

To exercise this power without going to the people, as I have already said, is not amendment, it is revolution.

In accordance with these opinions I submitted to you this preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which changes the rule of suffrage now existing in this Commonwealth, and substitutes therein another and different rule, which is a new and unauthorized change of the Constitution of the State; and whereas, all power is inherent in the people, and it is their right to be consulted in its change, and to determine whether they will or will not change the rule of suffrage now existing in this Commonwealth;

Resolved, That the Judiciary Committee of the Senate be and they are hereby instructed to prepare and submit to the Senate a bill for the ratification of the proposed amendment, and to determine whether they will or will not change the rule of suffrage now existing in this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That the Senate will not act upon the question of the ratification of the said amendment, until the people of the State are consulted, and until the action of the people at the polls is known.

By a strict party vote you have voted down this proposition and denied to the people the right to pass upon the question. That responsibility is now yours, and for it you must answer to them.

In the brief remainder of the thirty minutes you have allowed us to discuss this issue, I shall address myself to the subject in its practical bearings, and at the outset I disclaim for myself and those with whom I act all hostility to the negro, as such. The experience of the past has proved that their rights, as a race, are quite as safe with those of our faith, as they are with those who now seek to make of them a political power. It is for this purpose, and this alone, they are now sought to be vested with the right of suffrage.

In every right that belongs to the negro, as such, he is entitled to and has always found protection in this Commonwealth. The declaration of a million and a half of females, as deap-

ly interested in the success of our institutions as you or I, vested by nature with all those qualities which would make them fitted for all the duties of the State, and infinitely superior to the negro. Yet they are excluded. There are more citizens under the age of twenty-one years than there are over that age. They have more interest in this government, Senators, than we have, for they are to survive us and those who elected us; they are to defend the Commonwealth in the near future; they are to pay its taxes and administer its government. Yet all these are excluded and deprived of the right. But you affirm that the negro defended the Republic in war, and therefore he should be given the right of suffrage. If this be sound, why will you not give it to the half million of white men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one, from whose ranks you filled the gaps in your regiments during all of the war? Were they not as gallant, are they not as intelligent, have they not as much interest in your institutions as the negro? Yet depriving all of these classes of this right, you are about to throw open the polls to the negro. It is a privilege, a duty, and all cannot be vested with it. Why shall we admit the inferior and exclude the superior? Why include the few and exclude the many? Why enfranchise the less deserving and exclude the more meritorious?

"Suffrage is a political power vested by the sovereignty of the community in a chosen body of electors." It involves duties and responsibilities, and it is our duty as members of the State to place those responsibilities and duties upon those best fitted to perform them. It is the right of the mass of the people to be properly represented at the polls, and it is the right of the Commonwealth to be well served by her electors. Can these duties and responsibilities be best fitted by every member of the community, or shall it be by a select few? Experience in every age has determined the latter. Whilst recognizing the beauty of the ideal right we must not fail to remember the practical. The right, as it can be obtained by human agencies, is only that which is practically within the reach of man, having regard to his surroundings and the circumstances under which he exists, and no statesman can surrender the attainable good of the greatest number for the visionary and unattainable standard of perfect right. Hence, those who framed our government wisely excluded the idea of unlimited suffrage and confined it to a chosen body of white people. In this we see and recognize their wisdom and foresight, and from it we may fitly conclude that in the exclusion of five-sixths of their own race they did not dream that these should be made subordinate to the control of an inferior race, then and for years previous a servile people.

The whole question for consideration is, who can best perform the duties required by the Commonwealth at the hands of her electors, and there are no interests of morality, no interests of religion, no interests of society that demand that we should mold the interior with the mass of the superior, and thus debase the whole.

The interests of a vast political community are at stake, and it is wrong to incur any risk, remote though it may be, in giving them the controlling power of the government.

The influence of race upon National destiny can scarcely be doubted. The inherent nature, the intellectual, moral and animal qualities of families of men, largely aid in shaping the course and position of the nation they control, or of which they form a part, and all history in its ultimate analysis is a history not of kings and laws, but of races." This is one of nature's hidden forces, silently working out its own great problem. It is a truth that makes the institutions of which he forms a part, and impresses with all of his mental and animal propensities, as it is that governments are made for men, not men for governments. Our progress is one of the best evidences of the truth of this proposition. Contrast the career of the Saxon for six hundred years with that of the African in four thousand years, and see in this the power of race. Compare the results of the energy of the Caucasian admixture as found within the Republic, with the evidences of that race with the Indian and negro as found in the Republic of Mexico, and discover here, too, the influence of race upon National destiny.

We have proved our capacity; they have demonstrated their weakness. We have impressed upon every portion of the Republic the evidences of our intellect and energy. The busy marts of commerce; the thriving restlessness and indomitable millions of our people; the school house upon every hill; the church spire wherever man is found; the striking engine tracking hills and dale and valley, and dragging riches from the earth; the college, the telegraph and the factory; the advanced requirements in every branch of literature, of science and of art; our wonderful increase of population; are the proof of our capacity; the majestic results of a government of white men. They are the patents of our nobility, the insignia of our right to rule. These, all of these, prove to us the wisdom of the policy of the founders of our government; and it should be our pride to continue in the career of progress so auspiciously begun. Shall we jeopardize our future, shall we initiate a new and dangerous mongrel race of nations, and thus deprive the world of the place we have won the right to occupy?

Senators, I pray you to hesitate and think before you fasten upon an unwilling people this dangerous, and I fear, disastrous policy.

A man is by nothing so much himself as by his temper and the character of his passions and affections. If he lose what is manly and worthy in these, he is as much lost to himself as when he loses his memory or understanding.

shield and defence. Life, liberty and property, trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, education and all the other great privileges won by the Saxon and perpetuated in our institutions are freely accorded to the negro. Beyond this the people of this Commonwealth have never gone, and, I believe, are unwilling to go. The political power of the State has always rested in the white race, and it should remain there.

The Greater has distinctly marked the line of difference between the two races. The elevation of the one to the privileges and society of the other is the degradation of the superior. The attempt to alter the order of nature will bring upon the negro the resentment of the white. Prejudices founded on nature are ineradicable in their character. The attempt of the negro to go to the polls with the white man will produce difficulties between them, and the law will be invoked to enable the negro to exercise the right you give him. This will but serve to increase the prejudice and arouse still more keenly the feelings of passion.

The interest and well being of the white man in this Commonwealth are more important than those of the negro, but it is the duty of the State to be happy and of progress, how much more important than four millions of whites that protected thereby than seventy-five thousand negroes!

In what respect do we benefit the white race by this amendment, and in what is the negro so largely benefited? Will the votes of the negroes add to our prosperity, our happiness, or our national progress? Can the admixture of the inferior add to the value of the superior, or will it deteriorate and reduce its quality? The benefit to be attained is purely partisan. The proposition is born of the necessities of the Republican party. Nine thousand majority at the polls in October last, with all the prestige and popularity of a military chieftain to aid you, demonstrated the necessity for more votes, and in this you hope to obtain them. The right of voting and of being voted for have always gone together in Pennsylvania, but this proposition is a negation of that principle. It says to the negro, "help us to power and place, but you shall have none of it."

The practical workings of this amendment will be prejudicial to the best interests of the State. Many of the best class of white citizens now refrain from voting because of the difficulty of access to the polls and the waste of time consequent thereon, and if the secret workings of the minds of many of these were discoverable, it would be found that contempt for the system and the character of the means used in political struggles largely enter into the motives of these citizens. Will this be improved or rendered worse by the further debasement of suffrage? I do not pretend to justify such sentiments, but we would be foolish to ignore their existence, especially in the large cities and more populous localities. There, too, often are found lines of voters a square in length, in which each must take his turn, and every artifice and trick is resorted to to embarrass the right and delay its exercise, and citizens must remain for hours in order to vote. These are some of the reasons why many of our best citizens refuse to vote. Will we increase the number of this class who visit the polls by sandwiching them on a warm October afternoon between two other classes of voters?

It is our duty to protect the interests of the whole people, and not sacrifice the settled policy of the State for the benefit of a few. Negroes never were electors in Pennsylvania, and I take distinct issue with the Senator from Erie [Mr. Lowry] upon that point. Judge Agnew, of the Supreme Court, in the Pennsylvania Convention of 1838, said:

"The history of Pennsylvania proves that the African race were considered a part of the sovereignty of the State. They were not looked upon as being a part of the community, and consequently they could have no right to vote."

Mr. FRIED. Does the Senator deny that the Africans did vote in this State?

Mr. WALLACE. I did not deny that in some counties of the State they were occasionally permitted to vote, but that they had a right to do so is expressly denied by Judge Agnew, and Chief Justice Gibson, in *Hobbs vs. Pogg*, 60 Watts, expressly decided that they had no such rights. The law of Pennsylvania, and the policy of its people, have always treated them as an inferior race, and as such they are recognized in this day.

This position is fully reasserted in the case of *West Chester and Philadelphia railroad company vs. Miles*, in 5th P. F. Smith's reports, in which Judge Agnew declares:

"The natural acquisition of the vote is therefore an undeniable fact, and all social distinctions which lead to its unequal distribution are to be regarded as unjust and unjustifiable."

The law of 1786 which abolished slavery in Pennsylvania, conceded to the negro the protection of the laws, but it gave him in express terms a part of that freedom which the white race enjoyed.

Under the rule of suffrage established by the people in this State, one man votes for six people, the rights of five are ignored, and but one is recognized as a political power. Four millions of people reside within our limits, yet but 650,000 men control the State, and less than 350,000 of these spoke the voice of our people in October last. Universal suffrage is a myth, and the sickly carn upon that subject, so common in these days, is arrant humbug. It never has existed and never can exist in practice, and this is itself demonstrates that suffrage is not a natural right. The rule of exclusion must be fixed somewhere and every State must draw that line for itself. The people of this State have said that this is a political community of white men over the age of twenty-one years, and have vested them with the power of the State. Universal suffrage cannot exist, for in practice it is invariably to exclude those not naturalized, those under a certain age, and females. We have a million and a half of females, as deap-

The Great Gift Enterprise.

The distribution of splendid gold and silver gifts in Grant's Great Lottery will begin on at Washington. The lucky holders of drawn numbers are coming forward rapidly and claiming their prizes. The following is the list announced up to the present date:

Eliza B. Washburn, first-class premium. Know Grant in Galena, and obtained for him his first promotion in the army. He draws two prizes, Secretary of State and Minister to France.

Alexander T. Stewart, first-class. He was a slave of a house and lot in Washington and one in New York. He drew the office of Secretary of the Treasury. "An old and obsolete law of 1789" unhappily converts the magnificent prize into a blank.

Hamilton Fish, first-class. He invested in a handsome purse raised by the merchant princes of New York a few years ago, and comes out Secretary of State in Washburn's place.

Adolph E. Borie, first-class. He was a liberal contributor to Grant's splendid furnished house on Chestnut street, Philadelphia. He draws the office of Secretary of the Navy.

E. J. Hoar, first-class. He presented a library worth fifteen thousand dollars to his Excellency, and pulls the splendid prize of Attorney General.

A. Sherrill, third-class, had the good fortune to marry General Grant's wife's sister, and draws at Richmond, Va., the prize of Marshal of the District of Columbia.

Colonel Casey, third-class, is another brother-in-law, and draws the Collectorship of New Orleans.

Mr. Cram, first-class. This gentleman is a member of the distinguished Grant family, and is to be promoted from Consul at Leeds, England, to Minister to Switzerland.

Orville Grant, third-class. He is to be appointed a collector of internal revenue in Chicago. He voted for his brother.

James Longstreet, third-class. This distinguished rebel general has the good fortune to be a cousin of Mrs. Grant, and he draws the prize of Surveyor of Customs of New Orleans.

George Wilkes, first-class. Wilkes is editor of the *Spirit of the Times*, a sporting newspaper in New York, and is one of Grant's stable cronies. He keeps the President posted up on the genealogy of his steed, and all kinds of equine erudition. He tells him what horses was great granddaddy of Lamm Lighter, and the shortest time made by the famous Godolphin at the Derby. Wilkes lost heavily on the impeachment, and Grant makes him whole by giving him the Mission to Mexico. On his return, it is expected that the people will be regaled with a bull fight in the White House grounds, under the auspices of the sporting minister.

All the Deuts, brothers-in-law, and husbands of sisters-in-law of the President, draw offices in value considerably above their mental capacity for filling them.

The man in St. Louis who bought a load of wood one rainy day and thereby enabled Ulysses to replenish his jug, draws a blank.

Thomas H. Foulds, third-class, is a relative of General Grant who lives in Covington, in the State of Kentucky. He draws the valuable prize of postmaster of Cincinnati, Ohio, a State of which he is not a citizen.—*Patriot*.

A Strange Story.

Our readers may remember the singular disappearance of Capt. Rehner last summer, and the untiring efforts of his friends, and the Reading Masonic Lodge, of which he was a member, to solve the mystery. His ordinary mining clothes were found near a mine, and it was pumped out in expectation of finding his body. His business partners were arrested on the charge of his murder, and together with other suspected persons were placed in prison. One man, owing to the suspicions attached to him, has become rained in business, and is now a drunken, worthless creature.

The mystery of his disappearance is at last solved. During the inauguration a little girl was in danger of being run over, and was rescued by a man in a marine's uniform. Mr. Cole, the partner of Capt. Rehner's father-in-law, recognized in the man the missing *Captain Rehner*. He tapped him on the shoulder and calling him by name said he wanted to see him. Rehner denied his identity, but finally, on being informed that Cole did not wish to arrest him, went to the latter's room and there confessed that he was Rehner. He gave as his motive that he was in debt, owing about \$3,000, and had had only \$1,000 to pay it, and was afraid to face his creditors. All his arrangements were made to induce his friends to believe that he had committed suicide, or been murdered; and with twenty-five cents in his pocket he left his place of business, and got a job on the Trevorton R. R. as a laborer on the track. After working there a week, he thought a man was eyeing him curiously, and left at once for Philadelphia, where he hired as a porter in a sugar refinery. Leaving that city he finally reached Washington and there enlisted in the Marine Corps.

Mr. Cole suggested that when he got home, his story might be doubted, or people insist that he was mistaken, and asked for some token to show his wife and friends. Rehner complied, and handed him his Masonic mark, remarking that his wife would know that. He did not know that any person had been arrested for his murder, and stated that he had not read a newspaper since he left Schuylkill county.

Rehner's friends think he is partially insane. If he should be punished for the wrong done and misery caused innocent parties; and we should to think how an additional item or two of evidence might have convicted innocent men of murder.

In Pennsylvania, India-rubber shoes are frequently called "gums." A gentleman from Philadelphia, with his wife, was on a visit to New York, and on returning to the house of their best one evening, the gentleman entered the parlor alone. "Why, who is Emily?" He answered, "Oh, Emily is outside, cleaning her gums on the mat." At this there was a momentary look of astonishment, and then a peal of laughter.

It is said that Sickles wants a big office from Grant, on the ground that he lost a leg in the war. If the laws had been properly enforced, Sickles would never have escaped the gallows to suffer the pain of losing a leg. His sick would have anticipated all this, and this would have relieved Grant from the present appeal of his cock leg.