

Biterary.

Memories of Moscow.

BY EDWARD DICEY. BY EDWARD DICEY. Russia is a country about which it is very hard to avoid exaggeration. You may dwell upon its splendor, you may dillate upon its squalor; and each de-scription will be literally true. But yet neither the color of the rainbow on the one hand, nor all the shades of sepia on the other will suffice to maint Russia the other, will suffice to paint Russia faithfully. You have to use both in turn, and avoid all neutral tints, if you wish to produce anything like an accu-rate portraiture of this extraordinary land. If, indeed, I wished to give any one Russia under its fairest aspect I should recommend him to travel straight from London to St. Petersburg, making no stoppage on the way; to drive from the Western to the Southern Terminus without casting a glance around him; to take a ticket direct to Moscow, only peeping through the frost-covered window-panes from time to ime, to see that all around was cold and bleak and cheerless; and then, if he could find a closed carriage awaiting him at the station, to drive to the Kremhim at the station, to drive to the richard lin Terrace, timing his arrival so that he could see it, as I saw it the other day, in the still glare and pale glitter of a northern sunset. If he failed, looking on the score to feat that the toil and

on the scene, to feel that the toil and cost and weariness of the journey were more than repaid by that wondrous spectacle, the Telemachus to whom I had acted as Nestor must be devoid of You pass through the Holy Gateway, raising your hat from your head as you do so in obedience to the custom of the

place, and then find yourself upon a broad wide terrace. All around you, on every side, there rise minarets and domes of gold. Behind you is a con-fused mass of battlements and towers and towers and spires, which you know can be none other than the Kremlin Palace. At your feet, some two hundred yards sheer below the spot on which you stand, there flows the narrow Moskowa, down whose rapid streams great blocks of snow drift and float sparkling in the sunlight; far away on the flat plain upon the other side of the stream the city of Moscow lies stretched beneath There is not a house in this vast mass of buildings like anything on which you have looked before. The flat green iron roofs are interspersed countless turrets and domes. with countiess turrets and turners Hardly a puff of smoke rises from the silent city; the air is clear and cold and still; the only sounds seem to come from the clanging of the church-bells. from the clanging of the church-bells, wafted by the wind across the river. In the dim west is the long low range

the Sparrow Hills, across which apoleon's armies advanced on oscow. If the French legions Napoleon's Moscow. looked on Moscow for the first time on such an evening as that on which I saw it last, when the sky was tinted with a undred shades of color, fading from warm crimson to cold gray, and when the green roofs shone like emeralds, gold domes dazzled your eyes with their exceeding brightness, they must have felt much as the Ten Thoumust nave reit much as the Ten Thou-sand did centuries ago, when at last they caught sight of the longed-for sea and hid down their arms, and shouted "Thalatta! Thalatta!"

There are old men still living in the city who can remember what Moscow was before the great fire, in which not only the "Grande Armee" but the fortunes of Napoleon came to ruin; and they say that the town as we see it now nothing to what it was in the days of their fathers. But old men are apt to inverted telescope; and I doubt myself whether threescore years ago the bar-barle splendor of the Muscovite capital could have been greater they it could have been greater than it day, or the contrast between its gor geousness and its shabbiness more marked than now. The wooden houses, marked than how. The wooden houses, as you see them in this year of grace, must be very similar to those in which Russians dwelt of old. The walls of the rala: as were left standing by the fire, and the wealth of the empire has fire, and the wealth of the empire mass been employed to make the new Mos-cow as splendid as theold,—not, I think in vain. Certainly the view of Mos-cow, as I have attempted to describe it, is of its kind unequalled. The views of Prague from the Hradschin Palace, of the transmission Research for a preof Pesth from the Blocksberg forts, are similar, but to my mind far inferior. As long as you keep within the Kremlin, the glitter of enchantment hangs over you. The very ground you tread on is holy ground. About you you may see peasants turning, time after time, towards the East, crossing atter time, towards the East, crossing themselves with an infinity of signs, kneeling before pictures of the Saviour or the Virgin, lying at times prostrate upon the cold hard stones which sur-round the source debrine. And house it ound the sacred shrine. And here not as in Catholic lands, where the way-worshippers are chiefly women and children, where grown up men kneel but seldom in public, and where the prayers recited are gabbled over, like a lesson learnt by rote. Here, as else-where in Moscow,—and to a great, though a less extent, in St. Petersburg, -the major part of the population, n matter what their sex or age or rank matter what then set of age of this, seem to share in this open-air worship, and pray aloud with a fervor whose ac-cents are unmistakable. Entering the Kremlin shrine, the sense of glamour, of which I have spoken, increases on you. The building you look upon is the kind of edifice you see in dreams, and do not expect to meet in real life. Criticssay it is of depraved style, false to every true principle of art, unsightly in construction, barbarous in ornamen-tation. It may be so; I do not dispute the verdict of experts; I can only say that I do not envy persons who are not carried away at first by its overwhelm-ing gorgeousness. From the payement to the summit of its lofty domes, supported on its vast porphyry pillars, it is one mass of gold and color. You can You can hardly put your hand upon a place not decorated with stones and jewels.— Amethyst and onyx, jasper and opals, and all the stones whose names are re corded in the adornment of Solomon' Temple, seem to have been employed to make the shrine more splendid still Upon the dusky portraits of the Virgin Mother and her Child, with which the walls are covered, you see hanging necklaces of diamonds, of diam. each one of the each of the e hanging necklaces of strings of jewels, each o which must be worth a fortune. common saying that all the wealth of all the Russias could not suffice to buy the treasures in this the cathedral church of Moscow; and I suppose that, if purchasers could be found to buy all the articles contained there at their nominal price, the amount realized by the sale would be something fabubus. The very walls are wrought of sil-ver; the roof is of solid gold. The odd thing is, that all this gorgeous splen-dor harmonizes with itself. There is nothing tawdry or gewgawish about it at all: the dim twilight in which the church is always sunk subdues the glare of it colors; and when at times as I chanced to see it, a ray of the setting sun shines through the windows of the lofty cupola, beams shoot through the gloom golder and are reflected back again by the burnished walls. I recollect a lady telling me once, that she found, in read ing the Bible to the paupers in a work house, that the only parts which served to wake their languid interest were the tories of the New Jerusalem, with it golden gateways and jewelled thrones. And so, I fancy, to the poor, hungry, half-clad peasants, who crowd day by half-clad peasants, who crowd day by day.into the sacred shrine, the glimpses of its glories must have a charm not altogether of the earth, earthy. Not a stone's throw from the Krem-lin, at the foot almost of the castellated walls with which the palace is sur-remuded you pass into an onen scource rounded, you pass into an open square, which appears to belong to another world from that you have just left behind you. That immense low block of one-storied buildings, faced with gaud-ily-painted stucco, peeled and broken ily-painted stucco, peeled and broken from the walls, is the Gostinnoi-Dyor, the great mart of Moscow. Entering by any one of the gateways, and you see before you a very labyrinth of you see before you s very labyrinh of dark passages, and hear a confused jargon of many voices. If you have ever been through Leadenhall Market,

and can fancy that the passages were made of stone, and that the placewas darkened, you will have some slight conception of the look of this, the greatest bazaar in the whole of Russia. Or to the dark corridors, crammed with a dense crowd, pacing constantly up and down, open the shops of the merchants. picture of the Saviour hangs whenever the corridors intersect, and the glare of the lamps suspended before it serves to make the general gloon niy more visible. Each corridor is more or less strictly reserved to one class of traders, but there is not so much due ward display on their open counters; and the interiors of the vault-like shops are so dark that it is difficult to see the courts of goods are piled up on the what sorts of goods are piled up on the long lairs of shelves. But as you pass along, the merchants call to you from along, the merchants call to you from their doorways, and offer you wares of every form and class and fashion. I suppose there are not many articles in the world you might not obtain in this enormous depot; and the traders are ready to do husiness with you for a. are ready to do business with you for a kopeck or a million roubles, just as you

In one row there are furs enough to lothe all St. Petersburg; in another oose. there are as many shoes and boots as would be found in Northampton and Stafford. There are yarns and cottons and Manchester goods, and Sheffield cutlery, and French silks, and German eather; and every article, in fact, which can possibly be smuggled across the frontiers. Then there are the Per-sian stalls, where Armenians in high sian stans, where Armenians in high dark fur caps sell Astrakhan wool and Persian silks and arms studded with stones. On other counters there are displayed all sorts of Circassian silver

upwards in the air.

usplayed all sorts of Circassian silver ornaments, cigarette cases, match-boxes, filagree caskets, crosses, and annlets; and, if you ask for anything better, and look like a possible purchaser, the shopman will take from some queer inding-place concealed beneath his clothes little dirty popers which on clothes, little dirty papers, which, on opening them, are found to contain tur-quoises and pearls and diamonds. There lso are the moncy changers, seated be-ind desks covered with immense piles of silver roubles and copper kopecks. ou would think that in this commuity of traders, who do business with all arts of the world, you would find no stood in some one of the Western tongues with which most travellers are equainted. But the impression woul prove, on putting it to the test of expe-rience, to be a rash delusion. You are here in Russia proper, and nobody cnows any language except the native congue. With the aid of fingers, and tongue. With the aid of ingers, and chalking numerals upon the counter, you can with difficulty arrive at the price asked for any article; and then if you need it, you offer a third of the price demanded, as a mere matter of course. Supposing you are a real Rus-sian, you walk away at the first refusal, pretending not to look behind you; the increhant watches you all the time, try-ing to look as if he never noticed you; and then you return and walk off again, till at last the game of hide-and-seek is played out, and you and the vendor have come to some satisfactory compro-mise. It so happened that, while I stopped in Moscow, I was present at the completion of a contract between on thereigh manufacturer and an iman English manufacturer and an im The terms which could alone be ac-cepted were stated by our countryman

and the and the traktirs, and the hospitals,— for which the city has a high, and 1 be at the commencement of the interview. The purchaser was resolved to buy from the beginning, and yet nearly two full lieve deserved reputation, you have pretty well exhausted the actual sights of Moscow. But, to anybody foud of wandering about anywhere in general, the beginning, and yet healty two had days' negotiations were required before the contract could be completed. When-ever any demand the buyer made was not acceded to, he left the room, de-claring he would break off the negotiaor nowhere rn particular,-it comes to much the same in the long run,-Mosis a town you do not easily ge ion, but he invariably returned to say he had thought better of the matter when he discovered the vendor did not send to fetch him back again. Yet, according to my friend's statement, this stances for lounging about an unknown ustomer was less; roublesome than city. But the experienced lounger ac-commodates himself to necessity, and makes the best of it. The charm of Moscustomer was less? roublesome than most of the purchasers he had to do business with. Supposing you wish to see a yet more elementary phase of commerce than that of the Gostinnoi-Dvor, you have only to step across a street or two; and, right in the heart of the town, you find cow to the *flancur* consists in its never-failing contrasts. The churches are splendid; that of the Kremlin being only e most brilliant of a brilliant company The theatre, so Muscovites say, is the handsomest in the world. Without alourself in Jewry-land. There, in a couple of open streets, the old-clothes to be one of the handsomest. Of colos-sal size, standing alone in the centre of couple of open streets, the onletones-men of Moscow carry on their trade. The place has a family likeness to Pet-ticoat Lane, or the Juden-Gasse in Frankfort, or the Ghetto at Rome, or any other of the Israelite exchange-marts scattered throughout the world. But yet it has a character of its own Except that the poor Russian Jews are t shade dirtier, if possible, than the Phristian fellows, they are, in dress and nanner and look, the counterpart o ordinary Monjiks. Everybody isscream, ng; everybody is gesticulating; every ody is hidding down everybody else The street is so crowded that you can hardly make your way through it; half a dozen hucksters at once pull you by he sleeve, or catch your coat-tails, o the steeve, or catch your coattails, or stand right in your path, or resort to any possible expedient to attract your at-tention to the quality of the slops they have for sale. You must want some-thing, or else you would not be there at all; and, acting on this preconceived theory the given pediers think that habitants had clothing enough to keep them from severe suffering by cold, and bread enough to fill their stomachs, and wodka enough to get drunk upon at all theory, the rival pedlers think that your resolute refusal to look at old hats as good as new, or greasy furs, or patchappropriate periods. The strange feature about Moscow i d coats, covers the intention to mak the utter absence of the *bowrycols* houses you see in other towns. If you are a prince, you can doubtless get lodged ome more important purchase. However, old clothes and fleas have natural affinity for each other; and it i utarriously enough; if you are a peas-ant, you can pig beneath a roof not more wretchedly than your chass does in other countries,—better perhaps than a luxury to be taken from the noisy bustle of the market into any one of the great traktirs which surround the mart A traktir is not exactly a restaurant, nor exactly an exchange; it is some-thing between the two,—a place very much in its purport like Garraway's or the Baltic Coffee House, if you suppose eating to be the principal, and business the cubiliary object of these establishyou could do in Dorsetshire; but if you were neither a prince nor a peasant, and required an eight-roomed house or a small flat for yourself you would hunt about Moscow a long time before you found your want satisfied. In Russia the subsidiary, object of these establish-ments. But, though our lands have houses where business is transacted, generally, and in Moscow especially, a middle class hardly exists, and there-fore no preparations are made to supnowhere that I know of except Russia ply its wants. The only persons with moderate incomes in the whole country are the officials, and they are miscrably Moskovski Traktir, Take the great Moskovski Traktir as an example,—the place where the chief tea-merchants in underpaid and poor. An officer of high rank, whom I met traveling the othe day, informed me that his pay of 215 Russia have, as it were, their house of call. You go up a broad flight of stairs from the street, have the folding-doors was utterly insufficient to support him, and that he should literally be in want, if he did not carry on a private business thrown open to you by a servant in livery, and find yourself in an atmos-phere of delicious warmth, after quit-ting the cold, bleak air without. Ser-vants are waiting at the head of the stairs to take off your furs; and then you hold around you. You stand in a as a sort of nondescript broker. Rightly or wrongly, every official in the coun-try is regarded as *prima facic* corrupt ; and, considering the price of living, and ou look around you. You stand in a the scale of government pay, it is im-possible they should be regarded as you look around you. Tou solut in solar long, valled room, filled with solar and with tables. On one side is an im-mense car; at the end is a monster organ. The place, with its arched roof, and rich hangings, and lamps swinging for with this order our white diverse otherwise. It may give you some notion of Moscow prices to say that, at a se-cond-rate hotel, my bill, not including extras or attendance, was 1 a day; and from the ceiling, and snow-white divans, has an Arabian Nights' air, which is yet the hotel was frequented by English travelers because it was considered to be moderate in its charges. heightened by the appearance of the servants, who move swiftly and silently But I am wandering from the streets. about. All dressed alike in white tunics One is the very image of every other. The houses are whitewashed, lined with great strips of red and blue paint, deco-rated with gilt sign-boards, showing the nature of the articles sold within. Shops and trades are jumbled together in the oddest juxtaposition. Here there is a Everyth conferent where you have and trousers, all tall, strong-built men, with long, smooth hair parted in the middle, they look like the slaves of an Eastern Sultan, such as one used to fancy them in the days when the Three Calenders and Sinbad the Sailor used to people one's dreams by night. You might eat or drink anything in this traktir, and the cooking is renowned; is a French coiffcur, where you have your hair brushed by machinery, and but tea is the staple article of consump-tion. Before you have been a day in Russia you learn the words of "a cup of tea;" and indeed the attendants can buy Pivot's gloves; next door there is a cobbler's stall. Close to a print-shop, where you volt tea;" and indeed the attendants would take it for granted you wanted tea, if they did not understand your pronunciation of the "stack an tchai," all the pictures one knows so well by sight in Regent Street or the Rue de Rivoli, is a shed where colored prints of the lives of the saints—prints in the very infancy of pictorial art—flutter in the wind A milliner's establishment, "How the principle of the defunct "Fonctic Nuz," being the nearest ap-proximation I can form to the probable pelling of the words in question. You are brought forthwith two white

methods of imbibing is considered ele-gant at home. Everybody around you sips his tea placidly; most of the com-pany cross themselves before they raise the check to their line; and choice all the manners of the educated Russians : nobody, on the other hand, can avoid he glass to their lips; and almost all the sensation that the common people sip between puffs of smoke. Those who do not, you may be pretty sure, belong to the old Russian Church, which, on belong to a lower grade of civilization than any we are accustomed to in the West. If you are to make an objection ''not the strength of the text that to the higher classes, it would be that they are too well-bred and too cosmo-politan in manner. I have heard it said what goeth into the mouth, but what cometh out of the mouth, defileth a man," regard smoking as a deadly sin by a friend, given to paradox, that a mutual acquaintance talked too like a clever man to be really clever. And, in much the same way, I have some-times felt a passing doubt whether the Russian gentlemen I have met with could nessibly be so nolished, so sensi-Cigars, if you choose to pay fifteen pence apiece for them, are to be had, of good quality enough. Cigarettesare smoked more than any other form of tobacco; but the most luxurious mode of smoking, to my mind, is to be found in earthen to my mind, is to be found in earthen pipes, with their long cherry-stick stems. The servant brings one to you, fills it in your presence with the fra-grant Turkish yellow tobacco, lights it, inhales a whiff or two to set it well alight, and then, having wiped the mouthpiece carefully, passes it to you. If you draw in your breath steadily and slowly enough, you may make one could possibly be so polished, so sensi-ble, and so liberal as I should suppose from their conversation. Proverbs about nations always lead you astray; bu still, when you are conversing with educated Russians, you cannot help feeling a desire, provided you are at a safe distance, to see what would be the result of administering the proverbial scratching process. On the other hand, If you draw in your breath steadily and slowly enough, you may make one pipeful last half an hour or more. And, when you are tired with sight-seeing or following in the footsteps of princes out upon a tour,-than which I know

scratching process. On the order main even the most ardent of philo-Russians cannot attempt, in describing the peasantry, to say anything higher than that they look dirty and degraded. It is curious to any one who has heard much about the incapacity of the negroes for freedom in consequence of their of no occupation more vexatious to the mind and body,—you can hardly, I think, pass time more pleasantly that in sitting on a sofa, sipping tea, and watching the wreaths of smoke curl acial development, and their unwil lingness to work except under compu

The people about do not, as in the on, and their inevitable relapse barbarism if left to take care of them-barbarism, to hear exactly the same argu-ment applied in conversation here to eating-houses of all other countries, disturb you by the jingle of their knives and plates, and the chatter of their voices. Russians, I fancy, are not amongst themselves a talkative people. the Russian peasants, whose defects whatever they may be, do not arise from then being descendants of Ham amongst themselves a tarkative people, The peasants—so one who knows them well assures me—sit habitually silent when they are at home. And the Rus-sian accent is by no means a harsh one when spoken, In listening to it, it I am told here constantly that the emancipation has proved a failure, and that the peasants would be glad to have the old system restored. On the other hand, the foreign resident merchants I sounds somewhat like English, with all the hard sounds taken away. Though soft as Italian to the ear, it has nothing have met, who have come here to make noney, and are by no means dis-posed to sentimentalism of any kind, are one and all in favor of of its fulness or its strength. It would not think, be reckoned well-bred to talk very loudly in a traktir; but indeed the the emancipation, because it has already, given such an impetus to trade. If we put the two accounts together, the buzzing of such conversation as there is, builting of some of the peal of the organ. No true Russian restaurant, however humble, can be without music of some on: state of the case seems not difficult o explain. Both parties agree that the Moujiks will work very hard for a time; kind. The merchants and brokers and the factors who frequent the "Moskov ski," would transfer their custom at once and both agree that they have fits of in uperable indolence and drunkenness. The truth is, their wants are exceeding to another establishment if any one in Moscow could boast a better organ. The one at this place was built expressly for y few, and easily gratified. They wor hard enough to keep themselves in what they consider comfort, and then, like other workmen, in all parts of the world, it in Wurtemberg, at a cost of some three thousand pounds, and plays at least a score of opera tunes. So all day long and any day this great barrel-organ they decline to work more. As they be come educated and civilized, their wants increase, their notion of comfort is raised, "Dinorah" and the "Traviata" and "La Belle Helene." 1 think, if I were and, in consequence, they work harden The old proprietors, who can no lon-ger get their work done below the maran habitue of the establishment, I should grow tired of hearing the air "Di Provenza il mar il sol" played two or three ket price of labor, complain that the country is going to rack and ruin. The foreign employers, who pay wages, and times every evening; and it is rather contrary to English notions of the busi-ness. But, after all, if the Russians have no longer to compete with unpaid labor, are well satisfied with the new state of things. Meanwhile, I heard had no worse failing than a child's love two facts from reliable sources, which for musical boxes, nobody—except pereem to me to show, as far as they go that the emancipation is not working badly. Since the abolition of serfdom, rait to be a proof of national depravity. When you have seen the Kremlin, and the churches, and the bazaar, the bopulation of Moscow has increased by firty thousand souls. This influx is obly due to the crowds of serfs who, as soon as they are set free to go where they will, have come into the great ities, where they can get higher w for their labor. Again, a manufacturer

To the Senate of the United States I have received and considered a bill en-titled "An act to regulate the elective fran-chise in the District of Columbia," passed by the Senate on the 13th of December, and titled

by the House of Representatives on the succeeding day. It was presented for my approval on the 26th ultimo—six days after the adjournment of Congress—and is now approval on the 26th ultimo—six days after the adjournment of Congress—and is now returned, with my objections, to the Senate, in which house it originated. Measures having been introduced at the commen ement of the first session of the present Congress for the extension of the elective franchise to persons of color in the

elective franchise to persons of eofor in the District of Columbia, steps were taken by the corporate authorities of Washington and Georgetown to ascertain and make known the opinion of the people of the two cities upon a subject so immediately affect-ing their welfare as a community. The question was submitted to the people at special elections, held in the month of De-cember, 1865, when the qualified voters of Washington and Georgetown, with great unanimity of sentiment, expressed them-selves opposed to the contemplated legisla-tion. In Washington, in a vote of 6,56-the largest, with but two exceptions, ever polled in that city—only thirty five ballots were cast for negro suffrage; while in Georgetown, in an aggregate of 813 votes-a number considerably in excess of the average vote at the four preceding annual District of Columbia, steps were taken by verage vote at the four preceding annual elections—but one was given in favor of the proposed extension of the elective fran-

the proposed extension of the elective fran-chise. As these elections seem to have been conducted with entire fairness, the result must be accepted as a truthful expression of the opinion of the people of the District upon the question which evoked it. Pos-sessing, as an organized community, the same popular right as the inhabitants of a State or Territory, to make known their will upon matters which affect their social and political condition, they could have se-lected no more appropriate mode of me-morializing Congress upon the subject of this bill than through the suffrage of their qualified voters. Entirely disregarding the wishes of the people of the District of Columbia, Congress has deemed it right and expedient to pass the measure now submitted for my signa-

ture. It, therefore, becomes the duty of the Executive, standing between the legistation of the one and the will of the other, fairly of the one and the will of the other, harry expressed, to determine whether he should approve the bill, and thus aid in placing upon the statute-books of the nation a law against which the people to whom it is to apply have solemnly and with such unani-mity protested, or whether he should return with big obladings in the hone that upon , with his objections, in the hope that, upon econsideration, Congress, acting as the epresentatives of the inhabitants of the seat vernment, will permit them to regulate arely local question as to them may best suited to their interests and con-

dition. The District of Columbia was ceded to the United States by Maryland and Vir-ginia, in'order that it might become the permanent seat of government of the United States. Accepted by Congress, it at once became subject to the "exclusive legisla-tion" for which provision is made in the ion" for which provision is made in the ederal constitution. It should be borne in federal constitution. It should be borne in mind, however, that in exercising its func-tions as the law-making power of the Dis-trict of Columbia, the authority of the na-tional legislature is not without limit, but that Congress is bound to observe the letter and spirit of the constitution as well in the enactment of local laws for the seat of gov-ernment as in legislation common to the ernment as in legislation common to the entire Union. Were it to be admitted that entire Union. Were it to be admitted that the right "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever," conferred upon Congress unlimited power within the Dis-trict of Columbia, titles of nobility might be granted within its boundaries; laws might be made "respecting an establish-ment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petito peti

peaceably to assemble and

local concerns; and that it was an example of a government without representation— an experiment dangerous to the liberties of the States. On the other hand it was held among other reasons, and successfully, that the constitution, the acts of cession of Vir-ginia and Maryland, and the actof Congress accepting the grant, all contemplate: the exercise of exclusive legislation by Conexercise of exclusive legislation by con-gress, and that its usefulness, if not its ne-cessity, was inforced from the inconvenience which was felt for want of it by the Congress of the Confederation; that the people them-selves, who, it was said, had been deprived of their political rights, had not complained, and did not desire a retroccssion; that the endities the conclusion by griving them a of their political rights, had not complained, and did not desire a retroccssion; that the evil might be remedied by giving them a representation in Congress when the Dis-trict should become sufficiently populous, and in the meantime a local legislature; that if the inhabitants had not political rights, they had great political influence; that the trouble and expense of legislature; would diminish, and might, in a great measure, be avoided by a local legislature; and that Congress could not retroced the inhabitants without the reconsent. Court ung to live, substantially, under the laws that existed at the time of the cession, and such changes only having been made as such changes only having been made as were suggested by themselves, the people of the District have not sought, by a local were suggested by themselves, the people of the District have not sought, by a local legislature, that which has generally been willingly conceded by the Congress of the

nation As a general rule, sound policy requires that the legislature should yield to the that the legislature should yield to the wishes of a people, when not inconsistent with the constitution and the laws. The measures suited to one community might not be well adapted to the condition of an-other; and the persons best qualified to de termine such questions as those whose interests are to be directly affected by any proposed law. In Massachusetts, for in stance, male persons are allowed to vote witheit regard to color, provided they possess a certain degree of intelligence. In a population in that State of 1,231,066, there were, by the census of 1860, only 9,602 persons of color; and of the males over twenty vears of age, there were 339,036 white ersons of coord, and of the wave 339,036 white > 2,602 colored. By the same official numeration, there were in the District of olumbia, 60,764 whites to 14,316 persons of he colored race. Since then, however, the population of the District has largely in creased, and it is estimated that at the creased, and it is estimated that at the present time there are nearly a hundred thousand whites to thirty thousand negroes. The cause of the augmented numbers of the latter class needs no explanation. Contig-uous to Maryland and Virginin, the bas-trict, during the war, became a place of refuge for those who escaped from servi-tude, and it is yet the abiding place of a considerable portion of those who sought within its limits a shelter from bon-dage. Until then held in slavery, and de-nied all opportunities for mental culture, sought within its limits a shelter from bon-dage. Until then held in slavery, and de-nied all opportunities for menial culture, their first knowledge of the government was acquired when, by conferrin · upon them freedom, it became the benefactor of their race; the test of their capability for im-provement began, when, for the first time, the career of free indus ry, and the avenues to intelligence were opened to them. Pos-sessing these advantages but a limited time --the greater number perhaps having en--the greater number perhaps having en-tered the District of Columbia during the later years of the war or since its determi-nation-we may well pause to inquire later years of the war or since its determi-nation—wo may well pause to inquire whether, after so brief a probation, they are, as a class, capable of an intelligent ex-ercise of the right of suffrage, and qualified to discharge the duties of official position. The people who are daily witnesses of their mode of living, and who have become fa-miliar with their habits of thought, have

guarded against the control of those who are corrupt in principle and enemies of free in-stitutions, for it can only become to our political and social system a safe conductor of healthy popular sentiment when kept free from demoralizing influences. Controlled through fraud and usurpation, by the designing, anarchy or despotism must inevita bly follow. In the hands of the patriotic and biy follow. In the hands of the patriotic and worthy, our government will be preserved upon the principles of the constitution in-herited from our fathers. It follows, there-fore, that in admitting to the ballot-box a new class of voters not qualified for the exercise of the elective franchise, we weaken our system of government, instead of adding to its strength and durability. In returning this bill to the Senate, I decrify regret that there should be any con-

In returning this bill to the Senate, I deeply regret that there should be any con-flict of opinion between the legislative and executive departments of the government in regard to measures that vitally affect the prosperity and peace of the country. Sin-cerely desiring to reconcile the States with one another, and the whole people to the government of the United States, it has been usy earnest wish to co-operate with Coniny earnest wish to co-operate with Con-gress in all measures having for their object a proper and complete adjustment of the questions resulting from our late dry intera proper and complete adjustment of the questions resulting from our late civil war. Harmony between the co-ordinate branches of the government, always necessary for the public welfare, was never more de-nanded than at the present time, and it will therefore be my constant aim to pro-mote, as far as possible, concert of action between them. between them.

The differences of opinion that have a eady occurred have rendered me only th nore cautious, lest the Executive shou more catthous, lest the Executive should encreach upon any of the prerogatives of Congres, or, by exceeding, in any manner, the constitutional limit of his duties, de stroy the equilibrium which should exist between the several co-ordinate depart-ments, and which is so essential to the bergonois working of the government. I narmonious working of the government. Is snow it has been urged that the Executive Department is more likely to enlarge the sphere of its action than either of the other sphere of its action thun either of the other two branches of the government, and es-pecially in the exercise of the veto power conferred upon it by the constitution. It should be renembered, however, that this power is wholly negative and conservative in its character, and was intended to operate as a check upon unconstitutional, hasty, and uncervative logiblicing and as as a check upon unconstitutional, and improvident legislation, and and improvident legislation, and as a means of protection against invasions of the just powers of the Executive and Judicial Departments. It is remarked by Chancellor Kent that "to enact laws is a transcendent Nent that "to enact laws is a transcence of power; and, if the body that possesses it be a full and equal representation of the neople, there is danger of its pressing with destructive weight upon all the other parts of the machinery of government. It has lowerious how the works presserve by the er parts It has by the artist therefore, been thought necessary most skilful and most experienced in the science of civil polity, that strong barriers should be erected for the protection barriers should be crected for the protection and security of the other necessary powers of the government. Nothing has been deemed more fit and expedient for the pur-pose than the provision that the head of the Executive Department should be so consti-tuted as to secure a requisite share of inde-pendence, and that he should have a nega-tive upon the passing of laws; and that the indiciary power resting on a still more

tive upon the pussing of laws; and that the judiciary power, resting on a still more permanent basis, should have the right of determining upon the validity of laws by the standard of the constitution." The necessity of some such check in the hands of the Executive is shown by refer-ence to the most eniment writers upon our system of government, who seem to concur in the opinion that enrocachments are most to be apprehended from the department in to be apprehended from the department in which all legislative powers are vested by the constitution. Mr. Madison, in referring the constitution. Mr. Mathson, in referring to the difficulty of providing some practi-cal security for each against the invasion of the others, remarks that "the legislative department is everywhere extending the sphere of its activity, and drawingall pow-er into its impetuous vortex." "The

r into its impetuous vortex." "The founders of our republic " " " " seem never to have recollected the danger xpressed the conviction that they are no et competent to serve as electors, and thus rom legislative usurpations, which, assembling all power in the same hands must lead to the same tyranny as is threat ned by Executive usurpations. "In ៖ representative republic, where the execu-tive magistracy is carefully limited, both in the extent and the duration of its power, and where the legislative power is exer-ised by an assembly which is inspired by a supposed influence over the people, with an intropid confidence in its own strength. which is sufficiently numerous to the passions which actuate a multitude, ye not so numerous as to be incapable of pu suing the objects of its passions by mean suing the objects of its passions by means which reason prescribes, it is against the enterprising ambition of this department that the people ought to indulge all their jealousy and exhaust all their precautions." The legislative department derives a su-periority in our governments from other circumstances. Its constitutional powers being at once more extensive and less sus-centible of precise limits, it can, with greater ceptible of precise limits, it can, with greater facility, mask, under complicated and in facility, mask, under complicated and in-direct measures, the encroachments which it makes on the co-ordinate departments." "On the other side, the executive power being restrained within a narrower com-pass, and being more simple in its nature, and the judiciary being described by land marks still less uncertain, projects of usur-pation by either of these departments would immediately betray and defeat themselves. Nor is this all. As the legislative depart-ment alone has access to the pockets of the ment alone has access to the pockets of the people, and has in some constitutions ful people, and in all a prevailing influence discretion, and in all a prevailing influence over the pecuniary rewards of those who fill the other departments, a dependence is thus created in the latter which gives still greater facility to encroachments of the former." "We have seen that the tendency of republican government is to an aggrandizement of the legislative, at the expense of the other departments." Mr. Jefferson, in referring to the early constitution of Virginia, objected that by its provisions all the powers of government —legislative, executive and judicial—re-sulted to the legislative body, holding that "the concentrating these in the same hands is precisely the definition of despotic gov ernment. It will be no alleviation that these powers will be exercised by a plural-ity of hands, and not by a single one. One hundred and seventy-three despots twoold surely be as aggressive as one." "As little will it avail us that they are chosen by our scretion, and in all a prevailing influence surely be as aggressive as one." "As littl will it avail us that they are chosen by our sturiety be is negressive as one. And intre-will it avail us that they are chosen by our-selves. An elective despotism was not the government we fought for, but one which should not only be founded on free princi-ples, but in which the powers of govern-ment should be so divided and balanced among several hodies of magistracy as that no one could transcend their legal limits without being effectually checked and re-strained by the others. For this reason that convention which passed the ordinance of government laid its foundation on this basis, that the legislative, executive and judiciary departments should be separate and distinct, so that no person should ex-cretes the powers of more than one of them at the same time. But no barrier was pro-vided between these several powers. The judiciary and executive members were left dependent on the legislative for their sub-sistence in office, and some of them for their continuance in it. If, therefore, the legislati-

ing habitual and familiar.'

exercise of two or three branches of its or-dinary powers. It levies all taxes; it directs and appropriates all supplies; it gives the rules for the descent, distribution, and de-vises of all property held by individuals. It controls the sources and the resources of wealth. It changes at its will the whole fabric of the laws. It moulds at its pleasure almost all the institutions which give strength, and comfort, and dignity to society. In the next place, it is the direct, visible representative of the will of the peo-ple in all the changes of times and circum-stances. It has the pride, as well as the power of numbers. It is easily moved and steadily moved by the strong impulses of popular feeling and popular odlum. It obeys, without reluctance, the wishes and the will of the majority tor the time being. The path to public favor lies open by such obedience; and it finds not only support, but impunity, in whatever measures the majority advises, even though they tran-second the constitutional limits. It has no motive, therefore, to be jealous, or scrupu-lous in its own use of power: and it finds its ambigion stimulated and its arm strengthemed by the countenance and the courage of numbers. These views are not only those of me who look with apprehen-sion tpon the fate of republies; but they are also freely admitted by some of the strong-meancy of republican institutions. "Each department should have its own independence secured beyond the power of being taken away by either or both of the others. But at the same time the relations of each to the other should have its own independence a the same time the relations of each to the other should be so strong that there should be a mutual interest to sustain and protect each other. There should not only be con-stitutional means, but personal motives to resist encroachments, of one or either of the others. Thus, ambition would be made to counteract ambition; the desire of power to check power; and the pressure of interest to balance an opposing interest," "Tho judiciary is naturally, and almost neces-sarily, (as has been already said,) the weak-est department. It can have no means of influence by patronage. Its powers can never be wielded for Itself. It has no command over the purse or the sword of the nation. It can neither lay taxes, nor appropriate money, nor command armies, the nation. It can neither lay taxes, nor appropriate money, nor command armies, or appoint to office. It is never brought into contact with the people by constant appeals and solicitations, and private inter-course, which belong to all the other de-partments of government. It is seen only in controversies, or in trials or punishments. Its rigid justice and impartiality give it no claims to favor, however they may to re-spect. It stands solitary and unsupported, except by that portion of public opinion which is interested only in the strict ad-ministration of justice. It can rarely secure the sympathy or zealous support either of ministration of justice. It can rurely secure the sympathy or zealous support either of the Executive or the Legislature. If they are not (as is not unfrequently the case) jealous of its prerogatives, the constant ne-cessity, of scrutinizing the acts of each, upon the application of any private person, and the painful duty of pronouncing judgment that these acts are a departure from the law or Constitution, can have no tendency to conclilate kindness or nourish influence. It would seem, therefore, that some addi-It would seem, therefore, that some add ional guards would, under such circum tional guards would, under such circum-stances, be necessary to protect this depart-ment from the absolute dominion of the others. Yet rarely have any such guards been applied; and every attempt to intro-duce them hus been resisted with a perti-nacity which demonstrates how slow pop-ular leaders are to introduce checks upon their own power, and how slow the people are to believe that the judicary is the real their own power, and how slow the people are to believe that the judiciary is the real bulwark of their liberties." "If any department of the government has undue influence, or absorbing power, it certainly has not been either the executive or ju-

has not been either the executive or ju-diciary." In addition to what has been said by these distinguished writers, it may also be urged that, the dominant party in each house may, by the expulsion of audicient number of members, or by the exclusion from representation of a requisite number of States reduce the minority to less than of States, reduce the minority to less than one-third. Congress, by these means Congress, by these means, ibled to pass a law, the objecmight be enabled to pass a law, the objec-tions of the President to the contrary notwithstanding, which would render impo-tent the other two departments of the gov-ernment, and make inoperative the wholenitended by the framers of the constitution should be exerted by them. This would be a practical concentration of all power in the Congress of the United States_this in the Congress of the United States-this, in the language of the author of the Declara-tion of Independence, would be "precisely the definition of despotic governmont." I have preforred to reproduce these teach-ings of the great statesmen and constitu-tional lawyers of the early and later days of the republic, rather than to rely simply upon an expression of my own opinions. We cannot too often recur to them, especi-ally at a conjuncture like the present. Their apparent that they now come to us as a livpparent that they now come to us as a liv-g voice, to be listened to with more attening voice, to be listened to with more atten-tion than at any previous period of our history. We have been and are yet in the midst of popular commotion. The passions aroused by a great civil war are still domi-nant. It is not a time favorable to that calm and deliberate judgment which is the only sefe puble when redical changes in our only safe guide when radical changes in our institutions are to be made. The measure now before me is one of those changes. It initiates an untried experiment for a people initiates an untried experiment for a people who have said with one voice, that it is not for their good. This alone should make us pause; but it is not all. The experiment has not been tried, or so much as demanded by the people of the several Sates for themselves. In but tew of the States has such an innovation been allowed as giving the ballot to the colored population without any other quasification than a residence of any other qualification than a residence o one year, and in most of them the denial of the ballot to this race is absolute, and by of the bailot to this race is absolute, and by fundamental law placed beyond the domain of ordinary legislation. In most of those States the evil of such suffrage would bey partial; but, small as it would be, it ig guarded by constitutional barriers. Here the innovation assumes formidable propor-tions, which may easily grow to such an extent as to make the white population a subordinate element in the body politic. After full deliberation upon this measure, cannot bring myself to approve it, even After full deliberation upon this measure, I cannot bring myself to approve it, even upon local considerations, nor yet as the beginning of an experiment on a larger scale. I yield to no one in attachment to that rule of general suffrage which dis-tinguishes our policy as a nation. But there is a limit, wisely observed hitherto, which makes the ballot a privilege and a trust, and which requires of some classes a time suitable for probation and preparation.— To give it indiscriminately to a new class, wholly unprepared, by previous habits To give it indiscriminately to a new class, wholly unprepared, by previous habits and opportunities, to perform the trust which it demands, is to degrade it, and finally to destroy its power; for it may be safely assumed that no political truth is better established than that such indiscrim-inate and all-embracing extension of popu-lar suffrage must end at last in its destruc-tion.

where modes de Paris are advertised for sale, is flanked by a wodka store and a sausage shop. The streets are intersect-ed with ruts, dotted over with holes; and yet the small-built Russian horses drag the droshkis over them at a speed which would estonish a London cab-You first—one large, the other small; the former containing water, the latter tea. You first—if you wish to follow the proper routine—fill your glass tumbler-half full with water; then, when the glass is thoroughly warmed, empty the water, put in a couple of lumps of white sugar: then nour out half a timpler which would astonish a London cab-man. Except in the great streets, there is no gas, and even here it is brought round in immense cans, and pumped into the lamps. Some day or other, soon, Moscow is to be supplied with gas-works; but Russia is a country where improvements without cad are point to sugar; then pour out half a tumbler full of tea, and weaken it with water full of tea, and weaken it with water. Then insert a slice of lemon; and, if your mouth is fireproof enough to drint improvements without end are about to be introduced some day or other soon. In a queer, odd, shiftless way, the trade the beverage while it is scalding hot, you will get better tea than it has ever been my fortune to drink elsecarried on here must be enormous. Every afternoon you see immensestrings of one-horse carts, heavily laden with

who employs some twenty odd thousand workmen assured me that, since the abolition of seridom, he finds it difficult to get labor during harvest time, be-It is true that a thermometer long cause all the peasants have taken to cultivate small plots of ground of their below freezing, and an icy cold wind which seems to drive all the blood out of your face, are not favorable circumown. But considerations like these lie rather

out of the province of an article con-taining a few random reflections of some taining a few random reflections of some three days spent in Moscow. If you want to keep up your illusions about Russia, you should not, I fancy, look much below the surface. If you want to retain your impression of Moscow in all its splendor, you should look down upon the city from above, not descend

into its streets. St. Petersburg is strange at its first spect, and unlike the cities which we know in the West; but when you come back to St. Petersburg from Moscow, you seem to have come back to a coma vast square, it seems to belong of right to a city of palaces. So also the Found-ling Hospital, barrack-like as it necesnouplace European city. A foretaste of sarily is, is still worthy to rank high East hangs about Moscow: you amidst European public edifices. Scat-tered about the streets there are a num-ber of grand palaces, all built since the feel that you are standing on the ex-treme threshold of European civilization. In St. Petersburg, Europe has conquered Asia; but in Moscow the struggle is still undecided. The watergreat fire, and all therefore placed in their position at a recent date; yet these very palaces are surrounded by struggle is still undeclued. The water-carriers still ply their trade about the streets; Turks and Americans and Persians may be seen amongst the crowd at the market places, looking more at home than the German traders in hats and trousers. And, when you leave Moscow behind you, you feel that you the low squalid dwellings of which Moscow is mainly composed. There is not, somehow, any air of absolute misery about the shabby streets and the rows upon rows of dilapidated barn-like dwellings which run at every angle, and in every direction, right up to the Kremlin itself. Judging simply from an outside glance, I should say the inhave caught a glimpse of a new and un-known world,—of a civilization that is other than our own. -+ ----

An Apostrophe to Woman.

At the great Bigelow banquet in Paris on the 19th ult., perhaps the most beau-tiful specimen of dinner speech-making was that of Parke Goodwin in respons

The late President Adams said wittily a certain occasion, that once in his on a certain occasion, that once in his life he had found it so difficult to ad-dress a single woman effectually, that he had never afterwards got heart enough to address several of them to-gether. His experience then is mine now; and if one with talents so emi-nent and flexible was embarrassed un-der emistic discussion when the der similar circumstances, what must be my condition amid this galaxy of glancing eyes, in the presence of thi flowery parters of beaming faces? I shrink, then, abashed and impotent from the daring task, which this relentless and inexorable committee has im-posed upon me, of speaking to the ladies. But if one may not without an un-heard of and unblushing presumption speak to them, he is not prevented from speaking of them! Ah! that is another hing! Ah, then the blood rushes impetuously to the heart, the thoughts come unprompted to the mind, the words flow thick and fast from the lips ! All that historians have ever described of fair and good; all that painters have drawn of the graceful and lovely; all that poets have dreamed of the golden ages to come, more resplendent and happy than the golden ages of fable and the past—all has been drawn from that inspiration. For the Muses, whom poets and historians alike invoke, are comen, are they not? For the Graces

not? All the sovereign virtues that crown our temples now, and that are destined to crown our lives in the future, are women, are they not? In short, the human fancy, or rather the fancy of genius, which is the highest humanity, when it would construct for itself some matchless and perfect form to embody its aspirations of whatever is sweetest and best, unconsciously moulds it in the shape of her who is our mother in in fancy, and so forever sacred—who is our mistress in youth, and so forever lovely —who is our wife in maturer age, and so forever dear-who is always our wisest counsellor, our safest providence, our tenderest nurse; who in life is the light of that dwelling of which we are only the rough supports; and who in death, beyond the tomb, becomes the guardian angel, that leads, or ever lives to lead us upward to Heaven, which is her source and her home.

General Grant's Views.

General Grant's Views. I have it to-day from the very best au-thority that General Grant heartily endorsed the President's veto of the District negro-suffrage bill. Mr. Washburne, of Illinols, (General Grant's intimate personal friend,) has never intimated that the General was opposed to the veto. All reports to that effect are incorrect. It is well known here that Grant is with the President, not only on the negro suffrage question, but on al-most everything else.

tion the government for a redress ances." Despotism would thus reign at the seat of government of a free republic, and, as a place of permanent residence, it would be avoided by all who prefer the blessings of liberty to the mere emoluments of officia

of interrupt to the instrument of the position. It should also be remembered that in legislating for the District of Columbia, under the federal constitution, the relation of Congress to its inhabitants is analogous to that of a Legislature to the people of a State, under their own local constitution. It does not, therefore, seem to be asking too much that, in matters pertaining to the Dis-trict, Congress should have a like respect for the will and interests of its inhabitants as is entertained by a State Legislature for the wishes and prosperity of those for much that, in matters pertaining to the Dis-trict, Congress should have a like respect for the will and interests of its inhalitants as is entertained by a State Legislature for whom they legislate. The spirit of our con-stitution and the genius of our government require that, in regard to any law which is to affect and have a permanent bearing upon a people, their will should exect at least a reasonable influence upon those who are acting in the capacity of their legisla-tors. Would, for instance, the Legislature of the State of New York, or of Pennsyl-vania, or of Indiana, or of any State in the Union, in opposition to the expressed will of a large majority of the people whom they were chosen to represent, arbitrarily force upon them, as voters, all persons of the Afri-can or negro race, and make them eligible for office, without any other qualification than a certain term of residence within the State? In neither of the States named would the colored population, when acting to-gether, be able to produce any great social or political result. Yet, in New, York, be-fore he can vote, the man of color must fullil conditions that are not required of the white citizens; in Pennsylvania the elective franchise is restricted to white free-men, while in Indiana negrogs and mulat-toes are expressly excluded from the right of suffrage. It hardly seems consistent with the principles of right and justice that representatives of States where suffrage is either denied the colored man, or granted to him on qualifications requiring intelli-gence or property, should compel the peo-ple of the District of Columbia to try an experiment which their own constituents have thus far shown an unwillingness to test for themselves. Nor does it accord with our republican ideas that the principle of self-government should lose its force when applied to the residents of the Dis-trict, merely because their legislators are not, like those of the States, responsible, through the ballot, to the general government from undue State inf

constitution, to every benefit of the laws, and to every right which pertains to citi-zens of our common country. In all mat-ters, then, affecting their domestic affairs, the spirit of our democratic form of govern-ment demands that their wishes should be consulted and respected, and they taught to feel that, although not per-mitted practically to participate in na-tional concerns, they are nevertheless under a paternal government, regardful of their rights, mindful of their wants, and solicit-ous for their prosparity. It was evidently contemplated that all local questions would be left to their decision, at least to an ex-tent that would not be incompatible with the object for which Congress was granted exclusive legislation over the seat of gov-ernment. When the Constitution was yet under consideration, it was assumed, by Mr. Madison, that its inhabitants would be allowed "a municipal Legislature, for local purposes, derived from their own suf-frages." When, for the first time, Congress, in the year 1800, assembled at Washington, President Adams, in his speech at its open-ing, reminded the two houses that it was for them to consider whether the local pu-ers over the District of Columbia, vested by the Constitution in the Congress of the United States, should be immediately ex-ercised, and he asked them to "consider it as the capital of a great nation, advancing with unexampled rapidity in arts, in com-

expressed the conviction that they are not yet competent to serve as electors, and thus become eligible for office in the local gov-ernments under which they live. Clothed with the elective franchise, their numbers, already largely in excess of the demand for labor, would be soon increased by an influx from the adjoining States. Drawn from fields where employment is abundant, they would in vain seek it here, and so add to the embarrassments already cx perienced from the large class of idle persons congregated in the District. Hardly yet capable of forming correct judg ments upon the important questions that often make the issues of a political contest, they could readily be made subservient to the purposes of designing persons. While in Massuchusetts, under the census of 1860, the proportion of white to colored males over twenty years of age was one hundred and thirty to one, here the black race con stitutes nearly one-third of the entire popu-lation, whilst the same class surrounds the District on all sides, ready to change their weidence at a moment's notice and with

Inition, whilst the same class surrounds the District on all sides, ready to change their residence at a moment's notice, and with all the facility of a nomadic people, in order to enjoy here, after a short residence, a privilege they find nowhere else. It is with in their power, in one year, to come into the District in such numbers as to have the supreme control of the white race, and to govern them by their own officers, and by the exercise of all the municipal authority —among the rest, of the power of taxation over property in which they have no inter-est. In Massachusetts, where they have enjoyed the benefits of a thorough educational system, a qualification of intel-ligence is required, while here suffrage is extended to all, without discrimination, as well to the most incapable, who can prove a residence in the District of one year, as to those persons of color who, comparative-ly few in number, are permanent inhabit ants, and having given evidence of merit and qualification, are recognized as useful District on all sides, ready to change their tants, and having given evidence of them and qualification, are recognized as useful and responsible members of the community. Imposed upon an unwilling people, placed by the constitution, under the exclusive legislation of Congress, it would be viewed as an arbitrary exercise of power, and as an indication by the country of the purposs of Congress to compet the acceptance of as an indication by the country of the purpose of Congress to compel the acceptance of negro suffrage by the States. It would engender a feeling of opposition and hatred between the two races, which, becoming deep rooted and ineradicable, would pre-vent them from living together in a state of mutual friendliness. Carefully avoiding every measure that might tend to produce such a result, and following the clear and well ascertained popular will, we should assiduously endeavor to promote kindly relations between them, and thus, when that popular will leads the way, prepare for the gradual and harmonious introduc-tion of this new element into the political power of the country. It cannot be urged that the proposed ex-tension of suffrage in the District of Colum-bia is necessary to enable persons of color

It cannot be urged that the proposed ex-tension of suffrage in the District of Colum-bia is necessary to enable persons of color to protect either their interests or their rights. They stand here precisely as they stand in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. Here, as elsewhere, in all that pertains to civil rights, there is nothing to distinguish this class of persons from citizens of the United States; for they possess the "full and equal benefit of all laws and proceed-ings for the security of person and property as is subject to like punishment, pains and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." Nor, as las been assumed, are their suffrages neces-sary to aid a loyal sentiment here; for io-ail governments aiready exist of undoubted first to testify their devotion to the Union, and which during the struggle furnished ontinuance in it. If, therefore, the legislacontinuance in it. If, therefore, the legisla-ture assumes executive and judiciary powers, no opposition is likely to be made; nor if made, can be effectual, because, in that case, bey may put their proceedings into the form of an act of assembly, which will render them obligatory on the other branches. They have, accordingly, in many instances, decided rights which should have been left to judiciary contro-versy, and the direction of the Executive, during the whole time of their session, is ned which during the struggle furnished heir full quotes of men to the military ser vice of the country. The exercise of the elective franchise i during the whole time of their session, i

Mr. Justice Story, in his commentaries on the constitution, reviews the same sub-The exercise of the elective franchise is the highest attribute of an American citizen, and when guided by virtue, intelligence, patriotism and a proper appreciation of our institutions, constitutes the true basis of a democratic form of government, in which the sovereign power is lodged in the body of the people. Its influence for good neces-sarily depends upon the elector; for if exer-cised by persons who do not justly estimate its value and who are indifferent as to its results, it will only serve as a means of placing power in the hands of the unprin-cipled and ambitions, and must eventuate in the complete destruction of that liberty of which it should be the most powerful conservator. Great danger is therefore to be apprehended from an untimely exten-sion of the elective franchise to any new class in our country, especially when the large majority of that class, in wielding the power thus placed in their hands, can-not be expected correctly to comprehend the duties and responsibilities which per-tain to suffrage. Yesterday, as it were, four millions of persons were held in a con-dition of slavery that had existed for genera-tions; to-day they are freemen, and are assumed by law to be citizens. It cannot be presumed, from their previous condi-tion of servitude, that, as a class, they are as well informed as to the nature, neither a residence of five years, and the knowledge of our institutions which it gives, nor attachment to the principles of the constitution, are the only conditions upon which he can be admitted to citizen-ship. He must prove, in addition, agood moral character, and thus give reasonable ground for the belief that he will be faithful to the obligations which he assumes as a ditizen of the republic. Where a people-the source of all rolitical tower-greate. The the highest attribute of an American citizen ject, and says: "The truth is, that the legislative power is the great and overruling power in every free government. "The representatives of the people will watch with jealousy every encroachment of the executive magistrate, be interesting to the interesting of the property and seelf is a long course of prosperity and self is be constitution, are the only conditions which he case be admitted to chize and virginia the jurisdiction of the belignations which he can be admitted to chize and the institutions is of the source of all political power-speak, by the source of all its property. Look but at the source of all political power-speak, by the source of all its property. Look but at the source of all political power-speak, by the source of all its property. Look but at the source of all political power-speak, by the source of all its property.

ANDREW JOHNSON. Washington, January 5, 1867.

Pittsburgh. It a most infelicitous locality, with res-pect to weather and all meteorological phenomena. In winter we have so many home made cloud's hanging perpending over the city, that we almost forget what supplies a prime service and unshine is before spring returns. And when the clouds of smoke are driven away, it is by a northwest gale, and then it is so cold that the sunshine transiently let in, has no chance to cheer and warm us. Astronocold that the sunshine transiently let in, has no chance to cheer and warm us. Astrono-mers tell us we can bave but five eclipses in the year. This is nonseuse, to Pitts-burgh, for we have more than that practi-cally every week. Who has seen the sun for days, or the moon for months? And then the almunac eclipses—no account is made of them, for in the first place, we never see them, and, in the second, our dairy darkness is deeper than a total eclipse daily darkness is deeper than a total eclipso of the sun, in the natural way, could pro-

Learn All You Can.

Learn Ail You Can. Never omit an opportunity to learn all you can. Sir Walter Scott said that, even in a stage coach, he always found somebody who could tell him something he did not know before. Conversation is frequently more useful than books for purposes of knowledge. It is, there-fore, a mistake to be morose and silent among persons whom you think to be among persons whom you think to be ignorant; for a little sociability on your be able to teach you something, no mat-ter how ordinary their employment.

The good will watch with jealousy every encroachment of the executive magistrate, for it trenches upon their own authority. But who shall watch the encroachment of these representatives themselves? Will they be as jealous of the exercise of power by themselves as by others?" "There are many reasons which may be assigned for the engrossing influence of the legislative department. In the first place, its consti-tutional powers are more extensive, and less capable of being brought within precise limits than those of either of the other de-partments. The bounds of the executive authority are easily marked out and defined. It reaches few objects, and those are known. It cannot transcend them without being brought in contact with the other depart-ments. Laws may check and restrain and bound its exercise. The same remarks ap-ply with still greater force to the judicary. The jurisdiction is, or may be, bound to a lew objects or persons; or, however general and unimited, its operations are necessa-rily confined to the mere administra-tion of private and public justice. It cannot punish without law. It cannot create controversies to act upon. It can decide only upon rights and cases as they are brought by others before it. It can do nothing for itself. It must do everything for others. It must obey the laws; and if it corruptly administers them, it is subjected to the power of impeachment. On the Indeed, some of the most sagacious remarks are made by persons of this description, respecting their particular pursuit. Hugh Miller, the Scotch geolo-gist, owes not a little of his fame to ob-servations made when he was a journeyman stonemason and working in a quarry. Socrates well said that there was but one good, which is knowledge, and one evil, which is ignorance. Every grain of sand goes to make the heap. A gold-digger takes the smallest nug-gets, and is not fool enough to throw them course because he house to day them away because he hopes to find a

them away because he hopes to find a huge lump some time. So in acquiring knowledge; we should never despise an opportunity, however unpromising. If there is a moment's leisure, spend it over good or instructive talking with the first you meet.

women, are they not." For the Graces, to whom the artistsmake their homage, are women, are they not." For the highest ideals—ouremblems of Liberty, and Hope, in which nations seek to express the bible of the sector of the sector of the sector. their thoughts, are women, are they

