# VETOED.

## Message of President Hayes Vetoing the Army Appropriation Bill.

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: I have maturely considered the important questions presented in a bill entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes," and I now return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objections to its approval.

The bill provides, in the usual form, for the appropriation required for the support of the army during the next fiscal year. If it contained no other provisions it would receive my prompt approval. It includes, however, further legislation which, attached as it is to appropriations which are requisite for the efficient performance of some of the most necessary duties of the Government, involves questions of the gravest character.

The sixth section of the bill is amendatory of a statute now in force in regard to the authority of persons in the civil, military and naval service of the United States at the place where any general or special election is held in any State. This statute was adopted Feb. 25, 1865, after a protracted debate in the Senate, and almost without opposition in the House of Representatives, by the concurrent votes of both of the leading political parties of the country, and became a law by the approval of President Lincoln.

In addition to the sections of the statute above quoted, the following provisions of the law relating to the use of the military power at elections are now in force:

Section 2,003. No officer of the army or navy of the United States shall prescribe or fix, or attempt to prescribe or fix, by proclamation, order or otherwise, the qualifications of voters in any State; or in any manner interfere with the freedom of any election, in any State, or with the exercise of the free rights of suffrage in any State.

Section 5 519. Every officer or other person in the military or naval service, who, by force, threat, intimidation, order, advice or otherwise, prevents, or attempts to prevent, any qualified voter of any State from freely exercising the right of suffrage at any general or special election in such State shall be fined not more than $5,000, and imprisoned at hard labor not more than five years.

Section 5,520. Every officer of the army or navy who prescribes, or fixes, or attempts to prescribe or fix, whether by proclamation, order or otherwise, the qualifications of voters at any election in any State, shall be punished as provided in the preceding section.

Section 5,521. Every officer or other person in the military or naval service, who, by force, threat, intimidation or otherwise, compels, or attempts to compel, any officer holding an election in any State to receive the vote from a person not legally qualified to vote, or who imposes or attempts to impose any regulations for conducting any general or special election in any State different from those prescribed by law, or who interferes in any manner with any officer of election in the discharge of his duty, shall be punished as prescribed in section 5,520.

Section 5,532. Every person convicted of any of the offenses specified in the preceding sections shall, in addition to the punishments therein severally prescribed, be disqualified from holding any office of honor, profit or trust under the United States; but nothing in those sections shall be construed to prevent any officer, soldier, sailor or marine from exercising the right of suffrage in any election district to which he may belong, if otherwise qualified according to the laws of the State in which he offers to vote.

Section 5,528. Every officer of the army or navy, or other person in the civil, military or naval service of the United States, who orders, brings, keeps or has under his authority or control any troops or armed men at any place where a general or special election is held in any State, unless such force be necessary to repel armed enemies of the United States, or to keep peace at the polls, shall be fined not more than $5,000 and suffer imprisonment at hard labor not less than three months nor more than five years,

was re-enacted in 1874, in the Revised Statutes of the United States.

Section 2,002. No military or naval officer or other person engaged in civil, military or naval service of the United States shall order, bring, keep or have under his authority or control any troops or armed men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel armed enemies of the United States.

The amendment proposed in this statute in the bill before me omits from both of the foregoing sections the words "or to keep the peace at the polls." The effect of the adoption of this amendment may be considered—First, upon the right of the United States Government to use military force to keep peace at elections for members of Congress; and, second, upon the right of the Government by civil authority to protect these elections from violence and fraud.

The foregoing enactments would seem to be sufficient to prevent military interference with elections; but the last Congress, to remove all apprehension of such interference, added to this body of the law section 15 of the act entitled "An act making an appropriation for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879, and for other purposes," approved June 18, 1878, which is as follows:

SEC. 15. From and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful to employ any part of the army of the United States as a posse comitatus, or otherwise, for the purpose of executing the laws, except in such cases, and under such circumstances, as such employment of said force may be expressly authorized by the constitution, or by the act of Congress; and no money appropriated by this act shall be used to pay any of the expenses incurred in the employment of any troops in violation of this section; and any person willfully violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding $10,000, or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both such fine and imprisonment.

This act passed the Senate, after full consideration, without a single vote recorded against it on its final passage, and by a majority vote of more than two-thirds it was concurred in by the House of Representatives.

The purpose of the section quoted was stated in the Senate by one of its supporters as follows: "Therefore, I hope, without getting into any controversy about the past, but acting wisely for the future, that we shall take away the idea that the army can be used by a General or special Deputy Marshal, or any Marshal, merely for election purposes, or a posse ordering them about polls, or ordering them anywhere else where there is no election going on to prevent disorders or suppress disturbances that should be suppressed by the peace officers of the State, or, if they must bring others to their aid, they should summon unauthorized citizens and not summon the officers and men of the army as a posse comitatus to quell disorders, and thus get up a feeling which will be disastrous to the peace among the people of the country."

In the House of Representatives the object of the act of 1878 was stated by the gentleman who had it in charge in similar terms. He said: "But these are all minor points, and insignificant points compared with the great principle which was incorporated by the House in the bill in reference to the use of armed men in peace. The Senate had already included what they called, and what we might accept, as a principle, but they had stricken out the penalty and had stricken out the word 'expressly,' so that the army might be used in all cases where implied authority might be interfered with. The House committee planted themselves firmly upon the doctrine that, rather than yield this fundamental principle, for which for three years this House had struggled, they would allow the bill to fall, notwithstanding the reforms that we had secured, regarding these reforms of but little consequence alongside of the great principle that the army of the United States in time of peace should be under the control of Congress and obedient to its laws. After a long and protracted negotiation, the Senate committee has conceded that principle in its length and breadth, including the penalty which the Senate had stricken out. We bring you back, therefore, a report—a report with the alteration of a single word, which lawyers assure me is proper to be made, restoring to this bill the principle for which we have contended so long, and which is so vital to secure the rights and liberties of the people. Thus have we this day secured to the people of this country the same great protection against a standing army which cost the struggle of 200 years for the Commons of England to secure for the British people."

From this brief review of the subject, it sufficiently appears that under the existing laws there can be no military interference with elections. No case of such interference has, in fact, occurred since the passage of the act last referred to. No officer of the United States has appeared under orders at any place of election in any State. No complaint even of the presence of United States troops has been made in any quarter. It may, therefore, be confidently stated that there is no necessity for the enactment of section 6 of the bill before me to prevent military interference at elections.

The laws already in force are all that is required for that end. But that part of section 6 of this bill which is significant and vitally important is the clause which, if adopted, will deprive the civil authorities of the United States of all power to keep peace at Congressional elections. Congressional elections, in every district, in a very important sense, are justly a matter of political interest and concern throughout the whole country. Each State—every political party—is entitled to a share of the power which is conferred by legal and constitutional suffrage. It is the right of every citizen possessing the necessary qualifications prescribed by law to cast one unintimidated ballot, and to have his ballot honestly counted. So long as the exercise of this power and the enjoyment of this right are common and equal, practically as well as formally, submission to suffrage will be accorded loyally and cheerfully, and the departments of the Government will feel the true vigor of the popular will thus expressed. Two provisions of the constitution authorize legislation by Congress for the regulation of Congressional elections.

Section 4 of Article I. of the constitution declares:

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State, by the Legislature thereof; but Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Fifteenth amendment to the constitution is as follows:

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The Supreme Court has held that this amendment invests citizens of the United States with a new constitutional right, which is within the protecting power of Congress. That right the court declares to be the exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The power of Congress to protect this right by appropriate legislation is expressly affirmed by the court of national legislation; to provide safeguards for free and honest elections, is necessary, as experience has shown, not only to secure the right to vote to the enfranchised race at the South, but also to prevent fraudulent voting in the large cities of the North. Congress has, therefore, exercised the power conferred by the constitution, and has enacted certain laws to prevent discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, and to punish fraud, violence and intimidation of Federal elections.

Attention is called to the following section of the Revised Statutes of the United States viz: Section 2,004, which guarantees all citizens the right to vote without distinction on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Sections 2,005 and 2,006, which guarantee to all citizens an equal opportunity, without discrimination, to perform all the acts required by law as a prerequisite or qualification for voting. Section 2,022, which authorizes the United States Marshal and his deputies to keep peace and preserve order at Federal elections. Section 2,024, which authorizes the United States Marshal and his deputies to summon a posse comitatus whenever they, or any of them, are forcibly resisted in the execution of their duties under the law and are prevented from executing their duties by violence. Section 5,522, which provides for the punishment of the crime of interfering with Supervisors of Election and Deputy Marshals in the discharge of their duties at elections of Representatives in Congress.

These are some of the laws on this subject, which it is the duty of the Executive Department of the Government to enforce.

The intent and effect of the sixth section of this bill is to prohibit all civil officers of the United States, under a penalty of fine and imprisonment, from employing any adequate civil force for this purpose at the place where their enforcement is most necessary, namely: At places where Congressional elections are held. Among the most valuable enactments to which I have referred are those which protect the Supervisors of Federal elections in the discharge of their duties at the polls. If the pending legislation should become a law, there is no power vested in any officer of the Government to protect from violence the officers of the United States engaged in the discharge of their duties. Their rights and duties under the law will remain, but the National Government will be powerless to enforce its own statutes. The States may employ both military and civil power to keep the peace and enforce the laws at State elections. It is now proposed to deny to the United States even the necessary civil authority to protect national elections. No sufficient reason has been given for this discrimination in favor of a State and against national authority.

If well founded objections exist against the present national Election laws, all good citizens should unite in their amendment. Laws providing safeguards of elections should be impartial, just and efficient. They should, if possible, be so non-partisan and fair in their operation that the minority party out of power will have no just grounds to complain. The present laws have in practice unquestionably conduced to the prevention of fraud and violence at elections. In several of the States members of different political parties have applied for the safeguards which they furnish.

It is the right and duty of the National Government to enact and enforce the laws which will secure free and fair Congressional elections. The laws now in force should not be repealed except in connection with the enactment of the measures which will better accomplish that important end. Believing that section 6 of the bill before me will weaken, if it does not altogether take away, the power of the National Government to protect Federal elections by the civil authorities, I am forced to the conclusion that it ought not to receive my approval. That section is, however, not presented to me as a separate and independent measure, but is, as has been stated, attached to the bill making the usual annual appropriations for the support of the army. It makes a vital change in the Election law of this country, which is in no way connected with the use of the army. It prohibits, under heavy penalties, any person engaged in the civil service of the United States from having any force at the place of any election prepared to preserve order, to make arrests, to keep the peace, or in any manner to enforce the laws. This is altogether foreign to the purpose of an army appropriation bill.

The practice of tacking to the Army Appropriation bills measures not pertinent to such bills did not prevail until more than forty years after the adoption of the constitution. It has become the common practice. All parties, when in power, have adopted it. Many abuses and a great waste of public money have in this way crept into appropriation bills. The public opinion of the country is against it. The States which have recently adopted constitutions have generally provided a remedy for the evil by enacting that no laws shall contain more than one subject, which shall be plainly expressed in its title. The constitutions of more than half of the States contain substantially this provision.

The public welfare will be promoted in many ways by a return to the early practice of the Government and to the true principle of legislation, which requires that every measure shall stand or fall according to its own merits. If it was understood that to attach to an appropriation bill a measure irrelevant to the general object of the bill would imperil and probably prevent its final passage and approval, a valuable reform in the parliamentary practice of Congress would be accomplished.

The best justification that has been offered for attaching irrelevant riders to appropriation bills is that it is done for convenience sake, to facilitate the passage of measures which are deemed expedient by all branches of the Government which participate in the legislation

It cannot be claimed that there is any such reason for attaching this amendment of the Election law to the Army Appropriation bill. The history of the measure contradicts this assumption. A majority of the House of Representatives in the last Congress was in favor of this section to this bill. It was known that a majority of the Senate was opposed to it, and that as a separate measure it could not be adopted. It was attached to the Army Appropriation bill to compel the Senate to assent to it. It was plainly announced to the Senate that the Army Appropriation bill would not be allowed to pass unless the proposed amendments of the Election laws were adopted with it. The Senate refused to assent to the bill on account of this irrelevant section. Congress thereupon adjourned without passing the Appropriation bill for the army, and the present extra session of the Forty-sixth Congress became necessary to carry on the Government.

The ground upon which the action of the House of Representatives is defended has been distinctly stated by many of its advocates.

A week before the close of the last session of Congress the doctrine in question was stated by one of its ablest defenders, as follows: "It is our duty to repeal these; it is not worth while to attempt to repeal except upon an appropriation bill. The Republican Senate would not agree to, nor the Republican President sign, the bill for such repeal. Whatever objection to legislation upon appropriation bills may be made in an ordinary case does not apply where free elections and the liberty of citizens are concerned. We have power to vote the money. Let us annex conditions to it and insist upon a redress of the grievance. The Senate represents States. We represent the tax-payers of the republic. We, therefore, by the very terms of the constitution, are charged with the duty of originating the bills which grant the money of the people. We claim the right which the House of Commons in England established after two centuries of contest, to say that we will not grant the money of the people unless there is a redress of grievances."

By another distinguished member of the House it was said: "The right of the representatives of the people to withhold supplies is as old as English liberty. History records numerous instances where the Commons, feeling that the people were oppressed by a law that the Lords would not consent to repeal by the ordinary methods of legislation, obtained redress at last by refusing appropriations unless accompanied by relief measures."

That question of gravest magnitude, and new in this country, was raised by this course of proceeding, and was fully recognized also by its defenders in the Senate. It was said by a distinguished Senator: "Perhaps no greater question, in the form in which we are brought to consider it, was ever considered by an American Congress, in time of peace, for it involves not only the merits and demerits of laws which the House bill proposes to repeal, but involves the rights, the privileges, the powers, the duties, of the two branches of Congress and of the President of the United States."

Upon the assembling of this Congress, in pursuance of the call for an extra session, which was made necessary by the failure of the Forty-fifth Congress to make the needful appropriations for the support of the Government, the question was presented whether the attempt made in the last Congress to engraft, by construction, a new principle upon the constitution should be persisted in or not. This Congress has ample opportunity and time to pass the appropriation bills and also to enact any political measures which may be determined upon in separate bills and by the usual and orderly methods of procedure. But the majority of both houses have deemed it wise to adhere to the principle asserted and maintained in the last Congress by the majority of the House of Representatives. That principle is that the House of Representatives has the sole right to originate bills for the raising of revenue, and, therefore, has the right to withhold the appropriations upon which the existence of the Government may depend, unless the Senate and President shall give their assent to any legislation which the House may see fit to attach to appropriation bills. To establish this principle is to make a radical, dangerous and unconstitutional change in the character of our institutions.

The various departments of the Government and army and navy are established by the constitution, or by laws passed in pursuance thereof. Their duties are clearly defined, and their support is carefully provided for by law.

The money required for this purpose has been collected from the people and is now in the treasury, ready to be paid out as the appropriation bills are passed. Whether the appropriations are made or not, the collection of taxes will go on. The public money will accumulate in the treasury. It was not the intention of the framers of the constitution that any single branch of the Government should have power to dictate the conditions upon which this treasure should be applied to the purposes for which it was collected. Any such intention, if it had been entertained, would have been plainly expressed in the constitution.

That a majority of the Senate now concurs in the claim of the House adds to the gravity of the situation, but does not alter the question at issue. The new doctrine, if maintained, will result in a consolidation of unchecked and despotic power in the House of Representatives. A bare majority of the House will become the Government. The Executive will no longer be what the framers of the constitution intended, an equal and independent branch of the Government. It is clearly the constitutional duty of the President to exercise his discretion and judgment upon all bills presented to him, without constraint or redress from any other branch of the Government.

To say that a majority of either or both houses of Congress may insist on the approval of a bill, under the penalty of stopping all of the operations of the Government, for want of the necessary supplies, is to deny to the Executive that share of the legislative power which is plainly conferred by the second section of the seventh article of the constitution. It strikes from the constitution the qualified negative of the President. It is said that this should be done because it is the peculiar function of the House of Representatives to represent the will of the people; but no single branch or department of the Government has exclusive authority to speak for the American people. The most authentic and solemn expression of their will is contained in the constitution of the United States.

By that constitution they have ordained and established a Government whose powers are distributed among co-ordinate branches, which, as far as possible, consistently with a harmonious co-operation, are absolutely independent of each other. The people of the country are unwilling to see the supremacy of the constitution replaced by the omnipotence of any department of the Government.

The enactment of this bill into a law will establish a precedent which will tend to destroy the equal independence of the several branches of the Government. Its principle places not merely the Senate and Executive, but the judiciary also, under the coercive dictation of the House.

The House alone will be the judge of what constitutes a grievance, and also of the means and measure of redress. An act of Congress to protect elections is now the grievance complained of, but the House may, on the same principle, determine that any other act of Congress—a treaty made by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate—a nomination or appointment to office, or a decision or opinion of the Supreme Court—is a grievance, and that a measure of redress is to withhold appropriations required for the support of the offending branch of the Government.

Believing that this bill is a dangerous violation of the spirit and meaning of the constitution, I am compelled to return it to the house in which it originated without my approval. The qualified negative which the constitution invests the President is a trust that involves a duty which I cannot decline to perform, with a firm and conscientious purpose to do what I can to preserve, unimpaired, the constitutional powers and equal independence not merely of the Executive, but of every branch of the Government, which will be imperiled by an adoption of the principle of this bill.

I desire earnestly to urge upon the House of Representatives a return to the wise and wholesome usage of the earlier days of the republic, which excluded from appropriation bills all irrelevant legislation.

By this course you will inaugurate an important reform in the method of Congressional legislation. Your action will be in harmony with the fundamental principles of the constitution and the patriotic sentiment of nationality, which is their firm support; and you will restore to the country that feeling of confidence and security and repose which are so essential to the prosperity of all our fellow-citizens.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

## Voltaire's Remains.

Mr. Stewart's remains can hardly have a more checkered career than those of a very different celebrity — Voltaire. When he died at Paris in May, 1778, the church there refused sepulture to its arch-enemy, and his body was interred at Scellieres, in Champagne. During the revolution the National Assembly decreed that Voltaire's remains should be brought to Paris, and they were accordingly deposited in the Pantheon with great pomp, in 1791. Thither, too, presently came the body of Rousseau. One dark night in May, 1814, when the Bourbons were enjoying their own again, some of the faithful, indignant that the bones of such enemies to religion should rest in consecrated ground, threw them pell mell into a sack, and carried them to a point in the suburbs near Bercy, where there was a large vacant lot belonging to the city. Here a hole had been already dug, and the contents of the sack were shaken into it and covered with quick-lime. The hole was then filled in, and the conspirators trampled down the earth. Voltaire's heart had been saved by a friend, in whose family it remained until 1864. On its then being offered to the Government, Napoleon III. decided that it should be placed with the body. On consulting the Archbishop of Paris, that functionary suggested the expediency of verifying the actual presence of Voltaire's remains. An investigation followed, and the truth came out. The heart was then placed in the National Library, and a portion of the brain appropriated by the surgeons at the autopsy was publicly sold. Its present whereabouts is unknown.

## A Silver Anniversary.

Yesterday afternoon, the 16th inst., the Mason & Hamlin Organ Company celebrated by a dinner at Young's Hotel the twenty-fifth anniversary of the commencement of their business, which by its own merits has grown to large proportions. At the start the capacity of their works was two or three melodeons per week, the best of which sold for about one hundred dollars each; their present capacity is over two hundred cabinet organs per week, and they are most of the time behind orders, while their best productions now command five hundred dollars each, and, in exceptional cases, several times this amount. In numbering their instruments they have reached 104,000, having actually made and sold nearly that number. Organs of their make have obtained an extraordinary reputation all over the world, and are sold in every civilized country where the tariff is not so high as to be prohibitory. Musicians recognize in them a distinguishing excellence in quality of tone, the result, in large measure perhaps, of peculiar skill in *voicing reeds*, an art which originated with this company. But in every respect it has always been a principle with them to make in each detail the best instruments possible and to sell them as low as possible. The skillful carrying out of this policy has resulted in this great success. —*Boston Journal.*

## A Decayed Tooth Causes Death.

That it is not safe to neglect badly-decayed teeth has just been illustrated by the death of Mrs. W. J. Lyon, of Palo Alto county, Iowa, who died from gangrene caused by the stump of a rotten tooth.

### Stimulate the Sluggish Kidneys.

In addition to its tonic and cathartic properties, Hostetter's Stomach Bitters exercises a beneficial influence upon the kidneys and bladder, when they are inactive, by stimulating them to renewed exertion, thus reopening, as it were, a sluice for the escape of impurities whose regular channel of exit is the organs of urination. Among these are certain abnormal and inflammatory elements, productive of irreparable injury to the system if not entirely expelled. The kidneys and bladder themselves are also benefited by this stimulus, as their inactivity is usually a preliminary to their disease and disorganization. They also experience, in common with other portions of the system, the potent invigorative effect of the Bitters; which furthermore corrects disordered conditions of the stomach, bowels and liver.

## NIHILISM IN RUSSIA.

### History of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Society—Its Terrors and Its Resolution—Its Oath and Its Proclamations.

[From the New York Herald.]

The attempt on the life of the Czar, taken in connection with the recent assassination of Prince Krapotkine and the attempted killing of Gen. von Drentelin, attracts renewed attention to the secret order which now keeps the people of Russia in a state of terrorism. A brief sketch of the rise and progress of this dreadful society will, therefore, be read with interest. The birth of free ideas in Russia dates from a few days previous to the accession of Emperor Nicholas I., in 1825, at which time a secret society was formed, under the name of "Decabristy" (Decembrists), called after the month in which a revolution occurred in St. Petersburg. Citizens of St. Petersburg remember that terrible day, Dec. 19, 1825, as one of dreadful carnage. All the principal streets of the capital were red with the blood of the victims. The principal leaders of this secret society were Pestel, Rylieff, Betsuzuff, Roumin, Mouravieff Apostol (all of whom were hanged), Ogareff, Bakounin, Hertzen Iskander, Satin and Toutchkoff. Though many members of the society were hanged and thousands sent to Siberia by Nicholas I., many escaped or were unsuspected, and continued their work. The object of the secret organization was to dethrone Nicholas I. in order to form a constitutional Government, with Constantine Paulovitch (an elder brother of Nicholas I.) at its head. Followers and members of the secret society established a journal in London, called the *Kolokol* (the *Bell*), whose proprietor and editor was the famous red revolutionist, Hertzen (Iskander), who died in Switzerland a few years ago, an exile and under the death sentence of his native country. Hertzen's ideas were exalted, although he sometimes carried them to extremes. Possessing great power of language, he acquired much popularity and a powerful influence over Russian youth, who received, secretly read and hid his journal as some sacred relic, believing in Hertzen as in God. The most remarkable of his productions published in the *Kolokol* were "Letters from This Side." They contain minute accounts of the most secret affairs of the Imperial Government, as well as the Czar and his family, together with the editor's views and hopes of the future of Russia. His sympathizers and agents penetrated the seclusion of the households of the highest circles of Russian society as well as the private chambers of officials. Hertzen's chief objects were to bring about a representation of the people, to sweep from the face of the earth every member of the Czar's family, the titled aristocracy and the priests, and to make an equal division of all lands. These letters contain much valuable historical material, from the fact that their statements are true to the smallest details. His influence continued strong in Russia until 1848.

### HERTZEN'S FOLLOWERS.

The boldness and fascination of his writings, promulgated everywhere, though secretly in Russia, had the tendency to encourage the formation of new societies under various names, such as Young Russia (Molodaia Rossia), Land and Freedom, and others, all having a common sympathy and purpose with Hertzen. Leaving in the background many of his opinions and views as belonging to a past generation, these societies advanced and adopted new ideas more in accordance with the new era of which they believed they saw the dawn. These ideas were first expressed through two popular journals, *Sovremiennik* and *Ruskoie Slowo*, which were suppressed about ten years ago by the Russian Government, and some of their writers sentenced to hard labor for life in the mines of Siberia. Among these were Czernyshevski, who wrote the celebrated Russian romance, "What To Do," Mikhailoff (a poet) and others. The principal leaders of Nihilism at that time were Czernyshevski, Mikhailoff, Antonovitch, Dobrolnboff, Pissureff and Nietchaieff. Switzerland gave up the last-named person in 1870, on the demand of the Russian Government, under accusation of being one of the assassins of Ivanoff, a member of the Nihilists, who attempted to betray their secrets. They had had opportunity to spread their Nihilistic ideas through these journals under most favorable circumstances, as during the interval between 1858 and 1872 comparative freedom of the press existed, which had never been the case previous to that time. On June 7, 1872, an order was issued from the Czar giving power to the Minister of the Interior to punish any undue freedom of the press. Since then there has been nothing but persecution. The above men (except Nietchaieff) were well-known and distinguished writers, exercising a powerful influence in the conversion of the opinion of the Russian youth.

### REVOLT OF THE WOMEN.

The sympathies of the women were so far engaged that they became willing to make great sacrifices to show their total disregard of the existing customs of society. They cut off their long hair, and many entered professions. Many studied successfully, and became doctors of medicine. As such stand prominent the names of Sonslova, Tagantzova and Pavlova. Following recklessly the examples of men, they affected contempt for the mere ceremony of marriage, and entered into the relation of wife without the performance of the legal formalities, declaring their intention of renouncing every time-worn custom as a trammel upon the freedom of thought and action. They ridiculed the old notions of their parents, pronouncing them "*Otstalbi.*" They declared that they were no longer satisfied to be only well-dressed dolls, with painted faces, but demanded the rights which men enjoyed, and the same opportunities of knowledge; to have position everywhere, and to be useful members of society. "We shall resist our oppressors as enemies to the improvement and progress of women." Tourganieff, in his novel "Fathers and Sons," attempted a contrast of the old and new generations struggling for the defense of their respective opinions. But his story does not by any means afford a clear comprehension of the subject. It required a more powerful hand to represent faithfully the shadows and lights of the past and present of the social and political life of the Russian people.

### NIHILISM NAMED.

Following this work appeared a series of letters by Oknerouzam (Antovitch), published in the journal *Otscherki* (1864), under the title of "Confessions of a New Generation in Russia," seemingly prepared for the purpose of showing how little Tourganieff really understood, and how poorly he had portrayed the true picture of the direction and progress of opinion among the liberal men of his country. He applied to these representatives of new ideas the name Nihilists (from the Latin word *nihil*, nothing), conveying the idea that they believed in nothing, and from that time the name has been retained and applied. There existed, and still exists, even in private life, a terrible struggle between the old and new representatives. Children adopting the new ideas go to the extreme and disregard all respect or regard for the old order of things. They hold in contempt their parents, who retain cherished beliefs, consequently the most bitter enmity often exists among those of the closest ties of relationship. Czernyshevski, in "What to Do," presents with great cleverness his opinion of the young generation of Russia. From 1870 the Nihilists began to take decided and important action. The young men spread themselves through the different provinces, propagating the new ideas among the peasantry, presenting them with books and instigating them to revolution. Young ladies even of the highest ranks of society dressed themselves as peasants and sought menial employments, that they might instruct others in their peculiar views. Tomboyskoie, a wealthy Princess, and moving in court circles, was discovered among peasant washerwomen, with a like object. In the schools the young girls nearly all became converts, and no restrictions, no persecutions have been able to arrest the rapid growth of Nihilism.

### STRENGTH OF THE MOVEMENT.

The result must finally be terrible bloodshed, such as has never been surpassed in the history of mankind. Such a sacrifice of the educated portion of the Russian youth will have its effect for all future time on the history and progress of the nation. Already there is organized a secret Government by the Society for General Freedom. The present strength of the movement may be judged from the following facts: From St. Petersburg it was announced, under date of Sept. 14, that, in consequence of an attempt to assassinate Gens. Mezentzoff and Makaroff, the local police are in search of the secret Government which calls itself "The Society for the Freedom of Russians," and has branches in every province of the empire. The funds of the Geneva committee for the aid of political criminals are already wholly transferred to Moscow. In the city of Rostov, recently, a spy named Nikonoff was assassinated for revealing a few of the Nihilists or Socialists to the police. The "society" issued a proclamation in which it openly avowed its armed organization, and that the sentence of death had been passed on all spies. These declarations caused a panic in St. Petersburg among the agents of the police. The following order of the Czar was issued under date of Aug. 21, 1878:

In the frequency of late of political crime, having the character of clear disobedience and resistance to the powers of the Government His Imperial Majesty recognizes a ring of secret criminals, who, under the influence of social, revolutionary, and other theories, would destroy the whole constitution of the state. These criminals, refusing to recognize the necessity of official order, the rights of property, the sacredness of matrimonial ties, or even faith in God, do not hesitate to employ any means, however infamous, of carrying out their plots. They boldly attempt the most heinous crimes, they destroy the public peace and endanger the power of the state—the sacred duty of which is to defend society and counteract criminal purposes. The constant repetition of these unheard-of crimes demands the immediate institution of such measures as will inflict the most severe punishment. For that reason we order that all above-mentioned criminal cases be tried under the jurisdiction of the military courts, and punishment to be enforced according to the criminal code. We order all such above-mentioned persons charged with armed resistance to the powers of Government, or charged with attempting to resist military or police agents during the performance of their duty, to be brought under the power of the military courts, and sentenced according to Military Order No. 279, issued 1875. This order appertains to all cases which are not left to the ordinary courts.

### SECRETS OF THE NIHILIST ORDER.

The great Russian secret society is administered under the following rules: Six members can form a separate body, or circle, with full power to act and receive new members, but only with the greatest precautions. A candidate for admission must be recommended as a trustworthy man, upon whom reliance can be placed under any circumstances. After satisfactory investigation, the circle, in full meeting, votes on the new member. Two votes against him are sufficient cause of rejection. One may be, if the opposing member can support his opposition by undoubted evidences of disqualification. A newly-chosen member is invited to a meeting of the circle, where he must take the following solemn obligation on oath:

I, A. B., do solemnly, before the altar of my mother country, promise and swear, that I will never disclose, under penalty of death, any of the secrets of the "Russian National Secret Society" before any agent of the tyrannical Russian Government, or any friend of the land, or any one whom I do not actually know to be a member of this society; that I will sacrifice my life and all that is sacred to me in the struggle against the bloodthirsty tyrants and oppressors of the Russian people; that I will obey and execute every unanimous decision of the circle without hesitation, being ready to sacrifice my life and regardless of any personal danger I may encounter in so doing. I know that I must be ready to fight in the name of the liberty of the Russian people when the moment of rising shall arrive and the grand sign be given calling all to arms. I do solemnly swear that I will resist, in case of an attempt to arrest me or any other member of the society by the Government agents, with whatever weapon is at my disposal at the moment, without fear or regard for personal consequences; that I will not recommend any new member without the knowledge that he is a true friend of the oppressed Russian people; that from the moment I become a member of this "Secret National Russian Society" I regard myself as a sworn enemy of the Russian despotical Government, and begin to act against it by every means I can command.

### HOW THEY MULTIPLY.

When a circle reaches the number of sixty it is subdivided into ten circles of six each, so that if discovered by the police only six persons will suffer arrest. Into these circles, which meet ostensibly only for social purposes, gathering about the Somaiwar as in the enjoyment of friendly hospitality, it is sought to draw in members from every class of society—military officers of every rank, common soldiers, the middle classes and peasantry. Very few priests find favor enough to be admitted. The system is similar to that which existed among the Italians before they gained their freedom. It is the passion of the day, and the dreadful mystery which envelopes the order adds to the fascination. Every member, according to his means, make weekly or monthly payments to the treasurer. Money is used for the purchase of arms, the propagation of free ideas among the peasantry—each circle sending an armed agent on this errand. Many women belong to these circles. In every town and village of Russia there are so many circles that had the Government a true conception of their number it would be even more seriously alarmed than it is.

### THEIR ALLIES.

Besides this there are 14,000,000 of the so-called old faith men (Starovier). They are divided into various sects, among whom exist most dangerous elements. They employ agents who go from village to village spreading their faith and declaring that the Czar and his family are agents of the devil. They endure every form of persecution, and in event of a general uprising of the people could be counted on as firm friends of the Nihilists. They are scattered from Astrakhan to the White sea, but are more numerous about the Volga river. The Starovier are all able to read and write, and are liberal in their ideas, having much sympathy with peasants. There are multitudes of Poles among these circles waiting for the promised uprising to recognize their opportunity for freedom. No oppression, no knouts, no chains in Siberia can stay the progress of events which hastens the fierce death-struggle which will be made for freedom of press and opinion in Russia.

### THE LAST ASSASSINATION.

The recent assassination of Prince Krapotkine, Governor of Kharkoff, by the Nihilists, is too well remembered to require extended notice. Prince Krapotkine attended "the ball of the daughters of the nobility" in Kharkoff. He was returning from the festivity at about 11 o'clock, and had almost reached the Government House in his carriage, when, on rounding a street corner, he was shot with a revolver by some person, who, apparently, had stepped lightly up on the step of the carriage in order to take deliberate aim. The Prince died from the wound in a few hours. The remarkable feature about the murder was the proclamation posted throughout the empire a few days after. It read as follows:

The Russian Socialist revolutionary party has disposed of one of its deadliest enemies—one of the most inhuman jailers of its condemned and imprisoned brethren. On the 9th of February Prince Krapotkine, the Governor of Kharkoff, was killed with a revolver. This execution was carried out by the Russian Socialist revolutionary organization, which is also responsible for all the executions in 1878. As on the last occasion, that organization begs to lay before the public, frankly and sincerely, the reasons that have compelled it to have further recourse to the revolver. Krapotkine had committed the following crimes:

1. At the end of last year he sanctioned and ordered the barbarous treatment to which political prisoners were subjected in the prison of Kharkoff.

2. He falsely reported to the Minister of the Interior, on the subject of the last disturbances at the University of Kharkoff, that the police had been attacked by the students, whereas in reality it was the latter who, by his own orders, had first been flogged with Cossack whips.

3. He is directly responsible for the ferocious and barbarous treatment of political prisoners at Borisoglebsk, and his name is intimately connected with the history of the Central prison in that town, where he was guilty of the following acts: [The barbarous treatment of the Russian prisoners is then specified at great length.] Such are the crimes committed by Krapotkine.

Such are the causes and considerations that have compelled the Russian Socialist party to sentence one of its enemies to death. Death for death, execution for execution, terror for terror. This is our answer to the threats, the persecutions and the oppression of the Government. Should the latter persevere in its old course, the bodies of Heyking and Messentzoff will not have turned into dust before the Government will hear from us again.

### The Cultivation of Roses.

"Roses are her cheeks,
And a rose her lips."

The best way for ladies to cultivate this rare species of roses is by studying and practicing the rules of hygiene, as taught in the People's Common Sense Medical Adviser, only $1.50. Address the author, R. V. Pierce, M. D., Grand Invalids' Hotel, Buffalo, N. Y. If suffering from those painful weaknesses incident to the female organism, use Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription—a never-failing remedy for these complaints.

SAFETY, efficiency and reliability are the three cardinal virtues of a remedy, whether in the hands of a physician or in those of the people at large. For the cure of all malarial or miasmatic diseases, such as Chills and Fever, or Intermittent Fever, Dumb Chills, and Chronic Enlargement of the Spleen, we have such a remedy in Dr. F. Wilhoft's Anti-Periodic or Fever and Ague Tonic, the composition of which has been published by its proprietors, Hostetter, Holbrook, Finlay & Co., of New Orleans, and is approved by the medical profession, and for sale by all Druggists.

CAREFULLY avoid the use of rasping cathartics. They weaken the bowels and leave them worse off than before. Use, instead, that salutary, non-irritating aperient and anti-bilious medicine, Dr. MOTT'S VEGETABLE LIVER PILLS, which will not only achieve the desired object, relaxation of the bowels, without causing pain or weakening them, but promote digestion and assimilation and depurate the blood. The pills are sold by all Druggists.

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The Celebrated
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New York, Boston and Chicago.

MASON & HAMLIN Cabinet organs are certainly the best of this class of instruments in the world, and at the prices at which they are sold, which are only a little higher than those of very poor organs, they are also cheapest.

FOR coughs, colds and throat disorders use "*Brown's Bronchial Troches*," having *proved* their efficacy by a test of many years 25 cts. a box.

THE Mendelssohn Piano Co., No. 21 East 15th Street, N. Y., sell Pianos at Factory Prices. Write for a catalogue.

THROW away that old wood-rim sieve, and buy one of Mann's Tin Rim. It will last twice as long.

SMOKE Pogue's "Sitting Bull Durham Tobacco."

CHEW Jackson's Best Sweet Navy Tobacco.

## THE MARKETS.

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|---|---|---|
| **NEW YORK.** | | |
| BEEVES | $8 75 | @10 50 |
| HOGS | 3 50 | @ 4 10 |
| COTTON | 12 | @ 12¼ |
| FLOUR—Superfine | 3 25 | @ 3 60 |
| WHEAT—No. 2 | 99 | @ 1 14¼ |
| CORN—Western Mixed | 42½ | @ 44 |
| OATS—Mixed | 33 | @ 33½ |
| RYE—Western | 56 | @ 57 |
| PORK—Mess | 9 12½ | @10 15 |
| LARD | 6¼ | @ 6½ |
| **CHICAGO.** | | |
| BEEVES—Choice Graded Steers | 4 75 | @ 5 25 |
| Cows and Heifers | 2 00 | @ 4 25 |
| Medium to Fair | 4 20 | @ 4 45 |
| HOGS | 2 75 | @ 3 70 |
| FLOUR—Fancy White Winter Ex. | 5 25 | @ 6 00 |
| Good to Choice Spring Ex. | 3 75 | @ 4 50 |
| WHEAT—