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## EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

### Governor Worth's Message.

*From the Tribune.*

The Constitutional amendment is unanimously rejected by the Southern States. The Legislatures of Texas, Georgia, and Alabama, and the Lower House of Arkansas, have refused to ratify it. Governor Orr, of South Carolina, and Governor Humphreys, of Mississippi, have advised its rejection. There is no hope of its adoption by Virginia or Louisiana. Governor Marvin, of Florida, in his recent message, opposes it, and Governor Worth, in his message to the North Carolina Legislature, submits a long argument, intended to show that the proposition is tyrannical, and that the South would be dishonored in accepting it. There is not the slightest chance that one of the Rebel States will ratify the amendment. The November elections have had no influence upon the Southern leaders.

There is but one man holding prominent office in the Southern States who has dared even to suggest decent consideration of the proposition of Congress; the Joint Committee of the Georgia Legislature represented the general temper when it questioned whether the dignity of the State would not be compromised by any action on the amendment. Governor Murphy, of Arkansas, deserves the credit of having properly received the offer of the nation, and advised his Legislature to treat it with, at least, the respect due to the Congress of the United States, and to consider it fairly before taking the responsibility of rejecting it. In his message he said:—"Though not all the insurgent States could desire, it becomes a very grave question for the Legislature to decide whether any terms more favorable are likely to be obtained by opposition, or whether it is not the better policy for the State to accept the proposed terms ann thus secure the prompt reconstruction of the State into harmonious action with the governing States, and on an equality with them in the Union. Judging from the results of the late elections, and from the decided tone of public sentiment in the States that subdued the insurrection, it is not probable that better terms will be granted. The effect of rejection on the prosperity and happiness of the people of the State demands solemn consideration."

Governor Worth receives the amendment in a very different spirit, and one, we regret, with which his people sympathize. North Carolina has been deeply wronged by the United States Government, in his opinion, and the amendment adds to the injuries. The third section is that which the Southern leaders especially detest, for the excellent reason that it makes them ineligible to office. It appears perfectly fair to most loyal men that those men who took a solemn oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and broke it, should be disqualified from holding office, and that they should be satisfied with retaining the forfeited privilege of voting. But they do not think so, and made a hard fight for their salaries, present or prospective. Governor Worth makes a long list of perjured office-holders, from governors down to constables, who would suffer the loss of their official bread and butter by the adoption of the amendment. "Scarcely a man remained among us who can conscientiously say that he gave no aid and comfort to the Southern soldiers during that conflict; but, strange to say, this amendment makes ineligible to office any one who went into a Convention or voted for the ordinance of secession, and any one who voluntarily took up arms and fought on the side of the South to the end of the war, or held a seat in the Confederate Congress, provided such person had never taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States." "Can these things be, and overcome us like a summer's cloud, without our special wonder?" Yet, only to Rebels themselves is there any strangeness in the fact that a penalty should be affixed to treason and perjury, and even their surprise is, we think, affected. The real strangeness is in the lenity of the Government, and the easy terms proposed to those who have forfeited all rights under our laws.

Dismissing as unworthy of notice Governor Worth's quibbling over the fifth section, which gives Congress the power to enforce the others by appropriate legislation, we find him assuring the Legislature that the people of his State, "with a singular approach to unanimity," desire a restoration of their constitutional relations with the American Union. We have no doubt of it, and only wish they had taken a speedier way to obtain their wishes by electing General Dockery. If they are in a hurry, they must concede something to the Union; some guarantee must be given other than the abolition of slavery, for that was not given by the Rebel States, but extorted by the war. It is amusing to find the Governor quoting the Rebellion itself as an instance of the magnanimity of the Southern people." In the face of circumstances rendering it nearly impossible, they have paid its Government the taxes of former years, laid when another *de facto* Government, whose powers they could not have resisted if they would, was making levies in money and kind almost greater than they could bear. They acquiesced in the extinction of slavery, which annihilated more than half their wealth; they have borne with patience the exclusion of their Senators and Representatives from the halls of Congress, where they have had no one to contradict or explain the most exaggerated misrepresentations, or even to make known their grievances." Governor Worth wonders how long this "unnatural condition" will continue. We think we may answer that it will last as long as the refusal of the Rebel States to meet in a proper spirit the advances of the Government. We cannot think it is very meritorious that the people of North Carolina pay United States taxes; we do it without vaunting our virtue; and if they also consented to pay taxes to support the Rebellion, we are sorry for their folly, but do not see why that should be a reason for immediately admitting their representatives to Congress. As for their grievances, they may urge them with more propriety when they show some disposition to admit ours. We hear much of what the South has suffered, but it is too late to represent the United States as the aggressor, or to affect ignorance of the unparalleled sacrifices by which the victory of the Union was won. Injury! it is all on our side—except that injury which the guilty party must receive when the laws of the nation are enforced.

We do not wish to urge these truths—let the old discussion rest—nor should we have done so had not Governor Worth's message and the action of all the Southern Legislatures upon the Constitutional amendment forced a reply in decent self-respect. We long for the day when the bitter dispute will end, and when once more the Rebel States, free from all taint of rebellion, will have their representatives side by side with ours in Congress. The Constitutional amendment was not offered as an insult to the South, and we regret that it should have been as such received.

Governor Worth closes with a suggestion, of which we doubt the sincerity. The sneer of the following paragraph is apparent:—

"The people of the South, whether from prejudice or not, it is immaterial to the view I take, do not regard the negro as their equal. He is not allowed the right of suffrage. The North insists that this prejudice of the South does cruel wrong to the Africans among us. They are very poor, and few of them have acquired local attachments by ownership of land. The results of emancipation have made the whites poor also, and the uncertain condition or our Federal relations prevents the influx of capital or population. Enterprise is paralyzed. Few are able to employ laborers and pay them liberally. On the other hand, the dominant States are rich in all of these. The wages of labor are much greater than we can pay. In many of them are public lands of great fertility, which the laws give to actual settlers at a moderate price. In one of these States a portion of the people have given an earnest of the principles they profess by electing two African as members of their State Legislature. Everything seems to invite their emigration to the dominant States; but most of them are too poor to pay for moving. This difficulty may be overcome by directing the appropriation made to sustain the Freedmen's Bureau to defraying the traveling expenses of those who may choose to move, allowing each one to choose the State or Territory to which he would go. When thus left free, and aided to go where they may think their conditions will be bettered, no grounds will be left for further sectional strife as to their government. Who that would avoid the rock on which our ship of state is threatened with wreck, will object to this scheme of reconciliation? It is clear that the Northern States will not object to it. It will place the negroes voluntarily emigrating to them under their immediate guardianship, where they can look after their personal protection and mental and moral culture much more discreetly than they can by a Freedmen's Bureau, or any other machinery, while they remain here. I am sure North Carolina will not object to this scheme."

No doubt, the refusal of such a proposition as this would be quoted as a proof of the hostility of the North to the freedmen, and its unwillingness to receive them as citizens. Governor Worth knows better than to suppose that the United States is to become an emigration bureau for the removal of four millions of people. He knows very well that it is not its business to transport laborers from one State to another, and equally well that its legislation for the freedmen has been intended for the protection of its citizens on the soil where they stand and in the homes they have chosen. If the freedmen of North Carolina choose to come to the North, that is their business, not Governor Worth's, nor that of Congress, and it is only the duty of the United States Government to see that wherever they go or stay they shall not be the victims of unjust local laws.

That is all, and that is enough for an impartial Government, except in the special aid it has extended through the Freedmen's Bureau to the poor people whose necessities the Southern States are unable to relieve. But discussion of this subject is unnecessary. When Governor Worth says to his Legislature, "I respectfully recommend that you propose this plan of national reconciliation to the Congress of the United States," we remind him that North Carolina is not in a position to propose terms, but to receive them. And if the Governor is really foolish enough to forget the decencies that should control a State so lately in rebellion against the Union, let him, at least, propose his plans with a show of good faith, and without a useless affectation of satire.

### Amnesty and Suffrage.

*From the Times.*

During the last session of Congress, Senator Stewart, from Nevada, proposed universal suffrage and universal amnesty as the basis of restoration—that is, if the Southern States would adopt universal suffrage, they should receive a general amnesty—and be restored, as States and as individuals, to all the political rights which they enjoyed before the war. The proposition elicited but little discussion at the time, as it seemed to embody what was most obnoxious to both sections, and likely to be acceptable, therefore, to neither. The *Tribune* afterwards adopted it, and has urged it with a good deal of zeal. But it is not seconded by any considerable portion of the press, nor can the proposition be said as yet to have been seriously entertained by the country.

Whenever it is, we think it will be condemned. Neither branch of it is calculated to meet public approval. There is really but a small portion of the people of the Northern States who desire *universal* negro suffrage, though nine-tenths of them hold that color alone should not debar any man from voting. Whatever may be the practice, in theory at least, voting is still held to involve responsibility, and to require some sort of qualification. Voting makes our laws, chooses our rulers, and carries on the whole machinery of civil society; and nobody capable of holding any opinion on any subject, can doubt that making laws, choosing rulers, and administering the affairs of a great nation, require some qualifications of intelligence and character. Everybody knows, too, that a large proportion of the negroes of the South—those employed as field hands during the reign of slavery—are utterly ignorant, utterly incapable of exercising the slightest judgment, or acting with the least intelligence in political matters. If admitted to the suffrage, *they* will not vote; they will simply be the tools of somebody who will. This is a necessity of their condition. It is not their fault, but their misfortune. Not because they are black, therefore, but because they are ignorant—too ignorant to be wisely and safely entrusted with such a power, it is undesirable that all the negroes should be admitted to vote in the Southern States. Even if the South desired it, it would not command the approval of the North.

Equally unacceptable would be the proposition for a *universal* amnesty. Such an amnesty would readmit, to every right of citizenship, to every civil and political privilege, to every office, State and Federal, in the United States, every man who was engaged in any way in the Rebellion. To this we do not believe the people will assent. They may excuse those who were dragged into secession—or even those who went into it under a sincere belief that their first allegiance was due to their State Governments; and they may be willing to see them again in office. But they will not consent that the original *authors* of the Rebellion—the men who were engaged for years in conspiring against the Government while holding office under it—the men who in the Congress of the United States, as Senators and Members, were active in measures to overthrow the Constitution they had sworn to support — shall again resume the official power which they so grossly abused. Under a universal amnesty, Toombs, Mason, Slidell, men now known to have been plotting treason against the Government they pretended to serve, could again sit in the seats they so disgraced, and again wield the national power they turned against the nation's life. Such a spectacle would shock the public sense of justice as well as create just apprehensions for the public safety. The people recognize a broad distinction in the guilt of the different classes of persons who engaged in the Rebellion, and they are willing to make a corresponding distinction in their treatment of them.

Universal suffrage, therefore, instead of being an offset to the objections felt against a universal amnesty, being itself objectionable, would only aggravate the hostility against that measure. A qualified suffrage and a limited amnesty would be much more likely to command the approval of the people. If the South would extend suffrage to the negroes, in common with all other citizens, basing it upon certain conditions, intelligence, payment of taxes, or whatever other qualifications they might prescribe, an amnesty which should remove all disabilities from persons engaged in the Rebellion, except that the original authors of the movement should be forever excluded from Federal office, would undoubtedly be conceded by the North.

The question is not likely, however, to come up for practical action. It is the purpose of the extreme leaders of the dominant party in Congress to secure the exclusion of the Southern States from political power until after the Presidential election. This is their specific aim. It is this they hope to accomplish by insisting upon conditions of admission which the South will not accept. And as it becomes daily more certain that the South will not accept the Constitutional amendment, so do they become more determined to insist upon it. Questions of amnesty and suffrage may be brought forward and discussed and possibly acted upon—but not as substitutes for the Constitutional amendment. *That* will be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*—at least until the South seems likely to accept it.

### The War in Paraguay—South America in a State of Revolution.

*From the Herald.*

An important question in the history of our hemisphere is being tried in the gallant struggle that the stanch little free State of Paraguay is making against the Brazilian empire and its allies. This struggle, in its ultimate analysis, is or the South American continent just what our war was for North America. It is a struggle to determine the point of prevalence between systems—whether aristocratic and monarchical institutions—the imported traditions of the Old World—shall predominate, or whether democratic and republican institutions in States formed on our own model shall shape the destinies of that continent. In the recent important victory of Paraguay at Curupaity, as well as in the whole conduct of the war by that power, we see the best augury for the result, for the absolute triumph of the real American system of free States and the downfall and destruction of the last American monarchy—the last stronghold of European principles on this side of the Atlantic.

As has been the case in many wars before, the real primary cause of the war, the subject that has brought the two systems of government in contact and put them on a trial of their merits, has scarcely been named in the list of reasons. This was simply the desire on the part of Brazil to control the vast river system—the Paraguay, Parana, and Plate—that drains the southern part of her territory. Only three little republics stood in the way. But for Paraguay, Uruguay, and a strip of the Argentine Confederation, the southern boundaries of Brazil would be natural, the symmetry of her territory perfect, and her way to the ocean by that great system absolutely free. Uruguay was distracted by a rebellion, and Brazil found a reason to interfere. Her reason was nearly the same as that given by France for intervention in Mexico. She must protect the interests of Brazilian subjects; and at the same time that she announced her intention to interfere and put a stop to the rebellion that was breaking down the little republic, she was fostering the rebellion by material assistance.

Brazil succeeded in inducing the Argentine republic to join her in the pretended attempt to restore order in Uruguay. The republic was perhaps the dupe of Brazilian diplomacy, and its cupidity may have been excited by the promise of some special favors in the navigation of the Paraguay river. One power saw the true state of the case, and divined the real purpose of Brazilian interference in the affairs of her neighbor. This was Paraguay. Her Government saw that the fight was on the question of the existence of the republics, and that Uruguay once destroyed, Paraguay's turn would come next. That Government, therefore, immediately informed Brazil that it would consider the invasion of Uruguay by Brazilian troops a cause of war. Treating this bold republic with contempt, Brazil carried out her original design and occupied Uruguay. Paraguay at once declared war. This was in the summer of 1864. The war has, therefore, lasted over two years, and now, as Paraguay stands on her defense, the present results of the two years' attempt to beat her down are instructive to the world as to the power of resistance inherent in free States.

The war on the part of Brazil was in keeping with the whole rush for the propagation and extension of monarcay in America, which began when it was so mistakenly supposed that the great republic of the United States had fallen to pieces. France rushed to Mexico, Spain rushed first to Dominica, then to Chili, and Brazil rushed at her apparently feeble neighbor, all finding the occasion in the immunity that our danger gave. But all built on a false basis. The great republic was not ruined; and now France is drawing out, and Spain is doing her best to follow the example. Brazil also must relinquish her designs. With her, however, the case is different. She has not the happiness of the other powers in being able to retire to Europe. She is the next-door neighbor of the republics, and must stand and face the consequences of her attempt against their existence. This may involve the destruction of the empire. The alliance against Paraguay is proved to be contemptibly powerless. It must break up. This failure will be the forfeiture of the moral influence of Brazil on the continent, and the next step will be a close league of all the South American republics, under the lead of Paraguay, and a general war against the empire on the score of common safety. One empire cannot stand in the presence of two continents filled with republics, and the time is not far distant when the Emperor of Brazil may condole with his Mexican Majesty at Miramar.

### Ought the President to Publish a Complete Amnesty?

*From the World.*

The small quibbles which the *Times* brings to the defense of an untenable position (quibbles which we will explode before we get through) have no value as arguments, but they are of some importance as divulging the determination of the Republicans to dispute, in the approaching session of Congress, the authority of the President to dispense any further relief to persons liable under the Confiscation act. When a journal affecting so much moderation as the *Times*, has the hardihood to claim for Congress one of the most unquestionable prerogatives of the President, and to expend all the cavilling ingenuity it possesses in arguing against a *fact*, we are justified in inferring that there is a foregone purpose on the part of Congress to usurp the pardoning power, or, at least, to arrest its further exercise.

The disclosure of this purpose is a new reason why the President should immediately complete the work of grace begun in his first proclamation of amnesty. If he makes clean work before the beginning of the session, Congress is precluded, by its own act, from raising the question of regularity. But if the President waits until the permissive section of the confiscation act is repealed, he will give his enemies an advantage in enabling them to bewilder the popular judgment. The permission of Congress to exercise a power with which he is explicitly clothed by the Constitution, is indeed a piece of officious impertinence, and he will be divested of no authority by its withdrawal. But he should bear in mind that the mass of the people are not exact reasoners on such subjects, and that it is just as easy to act before Congress meets as to leave a loop for the cavillers by needless delay.

The most fitting time for a general amnesty was when he published his final proclamation declaring the war at an end, and discontinuing martial law. There was, indeed, at that time, a prudential reason for delay, since the Republicans would have made a great handle of the President's lenity in the elections. But now that the elections are past, there is no longer any reason for postponement, and many for prompt action. The twenty thousand dollar limitation rests on no solid ground. A Rebel worth twenty thousand dollars was not more guilty than one worth nineteen thousand or ten thousand—the guilt of a Rebel being measured by his virulence and activity, not by the amount of his property. Men of wealth had perhaps more power to rekindle the Rebellion, and it was therefore a wise precaution to keep them under restraint until the President deemed it safe to proclaim to the country that all danger was finally past. When he declared that in his proclamation of peace, there was no reason (beyond the prudential one connected with the elections) why an amnesty should not have immediately followed, excepting by name such malignant Rebels as it might be expedient to punish.

The most solid reason for a general amnesty does not rest on sentimental notions of magnanimity, but as a business-like regard for the general welfare. The capital, which the South so much needs for the revival of its prosperity, will not go into that section in small driblets. Wealthy individuals or associations must borrow in large sums, in the first instance, and serve as reservoirs for distribution among weaker men whose credit is known only in their own localities. The class excluded from the first amnesty comprises all the men with credit enough to make loans outside of the Southern States; but until their titles are restored to them by an amnesty, they can give no solid security, and are as badly off as distant borrowers as if they were not worth a dollar. Moreover, the men of wealth possess the business talent, the energy, the enterprise of the South. They are the men to set the wheels of the arrested machine in motion by their activity, sagacity, and force of character, as well as by their pecuniary means. But until they are amnestied, they are bound hand and foot. The shock which has tumbled the old industrial system of the South into ruins, makes it expedient that many enterprising men should change their pursuits; that they should take their capital out of a former business, to seek a more profitable investment in another. The facility of such transfers is one of the most important conditions of recuperation after a general wreck. But while a man's property is liable to confiscation he cannot sell it, because he can give no title. The consequence of withholding pardon from the wealthy class is, that the business of the South is kept in a state of stagnation.

Congress, as a means of extorting submission to their demands, have determined to wrench the amnesty power from the President. Even so moderate a member as Mr. Raymond is ready to support them. We cannot suppose that he is advocating in his paper what he does not mean to stand by in Congress. Forewarned, let the President be forearmed. Congress intends to humiliate him; to undo his work in the South; to upset the State Governments formed under his encouragement; to keep the South in poverty and under the harrow of the Confiscation act, until they can coerce its assent to degrading conditions. True, the President will have not a whit less power to pardon after the permissive section is repealed; but as it has become manifest that his power is to be disputed, it is better that Congress should be estopped by immediate action.

The cobweb quibbles of the *Times* against the pardoning power of the President hardly deserve a refutation; but since we have promised one, we will try to make it effectual. Hamilton, in the *Federalist*, defends the Constitution against the objection that, in cases of treason, the power of pardon would have been more appropriately vested in Congress. We cited his argument on this subject among other proofs that Congress does not possess the power; Hamilton's argument to show *why* it was withheld being a tolerably conclusive proof that it *was* withheld. The *Times*, as the foundation of its quibbles, copies a little patch from that number of the *Federalist*, omitting and emphasizing as follows:—

"The expediency of vesting the power of pardoning in the President, has, if I mistake not," he says in No 74, "been only contested in relation to the crime of treason. * * But the principal argument for reposing the power of pardoning in this case in the Chief Magistrate, is this:—In seasons of insurrection or rebellion, there are often critical moments when a well-timed offer of pardon to the insurgents or rebels may restore the tranquillity of the Commonwealth, and which, if suffered to pass unimproved, it may never be possible afterwards to recall. The dilatory process of convening the Legislature, or any of its branches, for the purpose of obtaining its sanction, would frequently be the occasion of letting slip the golden opportunity."

On the basis of the expressions thus italicized, the *Times* proceeds to argue that the President has no power to grant an amnesty except at critical moments in the progress of a rebellion, when Congress is not in session! Before chewing this delicious piece of absurdity, we desire to remark that the extract disposes of a cavil that might be raised on the distinction between a pardon and an amnesty, the whole passage obviously applying to that form of pardon to which we apply the latter name, and showing that the pardon clause in the Constitution covers the whole ground. The question raised by the *Times* is, whether the President possesses it permanently and absolutely, or only at critical periods when Congress is not in session. Hamilton was arguing to show why the Constitution withheld it, *and all participation in it*, from Congress. His whole argument is directed to that point, as the *Times* must have seen in culling out its quotation; so that it is *consciously* sophistical. Of the various reasons for conferring the power on the President, the particular one quoted might not have required his exclusive possession of it; but his exclusive possession of it in cases of treason is what the whole combined argument aims to justify. Immediately after the first sentence of the *Times'* quotation, Hamilton states the objection (for which, and other matters it could not meet, the *Times* substitutes convenient asterisks) he undertook to remove in the following language:—"This" (the pardoning power in treason), "it has been urged, ought to have depended upon the assent of one or both branches of the legislative body." This very exclusion of Congress which the argument of Hamilton was directed to justify, the *Times*, by garbling its quotation, distorts his language into denying. Is this honorable argumentation?

But we have even higher authority than Hamilton, namely, the debates and vote in the Federal Convention. When the clause relating to pardons was under consideration, Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, moved to amend by excepting "cases of treason." After a debate in which several of the most eminent members participated, the amendment was lost, only two States (Virginia and Georgia) voting in its favor. A few extracts (as well as the vote) will show with what resoluteness of determination the framers of the Constitution shut out Congress from the prerogative of pardon:—

Gouverneur Morris "had rather there should be no pardon for treason, than let the power devolve on the Legislature."

Mr. Wilson (praised by Washington as one of the soundest and ablest members of the body, and afterwards appointed by him as one of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court) said, "Pardon is necessary for cases of treason, and is best placed in the hands of the Executive."

Rufus King "thought it would be inconsistent with the constitutional separation of the executive and legislative powers to let the prerogative be exercised by the latter. A legislative body is utterly unfit for the purpose. They are governed too much by the passions of the moment. In Massachusetts one assembly would have hung all the insurgents in that State; the next was equally disposed to pardon them all."

It was on such considerations as these that the framers of the Constitution decided to exclude Congress from all participation in the pardoning and amnesty power. Whether their reasoning was sound or unsound, it equally attests their intention. Whether Congress was totally excluded for good reasons or for bad reasons is nothing to the purpose; it suffices that, in point of fact, they were meant to be and are totally excluded.

### "The Chicago Tribune" vs. "The New York Tribune"—Journalistic Kilkenny Cats—Mr. Greeley for Senator.

*From the Chicago Tribune.*

The term of the Hon. Ira Harris, United States Senator from New York, expires on the 4th of March next. The duty of choosing his successor devolves on the Legislature of that State, at its session this winter. Among the aspirants for this office are Judge Harris, Governor Fenton, Hon. Roscoe Conkling, George William Curtis, and Horace Greeley.

Though Mr. Greeley has seldom refrained from meddling with the domestic affairs of Republicans in other States, to their detriment and his own, we would not undertake to advise our political friends of New York upon a matter peculiarly their own, did not the general interests of the party demand of us a few plain words. The Republican party does not exist and have power in the State of New York alone; indeed, it is one of the regrets of the times that it requires the most extraordinary efforts to retain the ascendancy of the party in that State by a majority equal to that given in a single Congressional district in the Northwest. Republicans all over the country have, therefore, a deep interest in an election which may have serious and unfortunate consequences to the party generally.

Horace Greeley has not now, and never has been, a man who ought to be trusted with an official position requiring practical wisdom, ordinary statesmanship, or firm consistent action. For twenty-five years he has been a Marplot in council, an unreliable commander in action, a misanthrope in victory, and a riotous disorganizer in defeat. He has always been fanatical in his demands for the extremest measures, and when the party has reached the eve of triumph, invariably thrusts himself forward as a negotiator of terms of surrender to the enemy. His course during the war was but a repetition of his course in politics. In 1861 he was an open defender of secession; he changed to a vigorous champion of the war, and thereafter was forever recklessly making proposals for peace, and as recklessly withdrawing them, "making war in spite of Mars, and negotiating in spite of Minerva."

From the day of his inauguration to the day of his death, Mr. Lincoln was not more annoyed, embarrassed, and thwarted in his administration by the intensest Copperheads than he was by "Horace Greeley and his faction." In fact, Mr. Lincoln was elected against the wishes and in spite of the opposition of Greeley. The latter by some means got a proxy in the Chicago Convention, and in that body illustrated that want of practical sense which has marked his entire life. For twenty years he had been an uncompromising advocate for a square fight with the pro-slavery party, and when that kind of fight was forced upon the Republicans in 1860, he was here in Chicago, voting not for Lincoln, nor for Chase, but for old Edward Bates, of Missouri, one of the fossils of the slave party. He was then the associate and the colaborer of that other equally impracticable and unreliable squad—the Blair family.

Let the country look back upon the fate which would have befallen it had the Chicago Convention followed Greeley's advice and placed in power old Bates, flanked by the Blairs; and yet that was the fate which Greeley demanded at Chicago, and because the Convention repudiated his folly, he labored for five years to vindicate it by seeking in an underhand way to make Lincoln's administration a failure. The Niagara Falls peace negotiation was bad enough in itself; but it was not so bad as Greeley's subsequent editorial denouncing President Lincoln's letter "To whom it may concern," and stating that it could only have been the composition of an ass, whereas it was the editorial which had the better right to claim such authorship. This, remember, was in the midst of a Presidential campaign, and it was no pleasant thing for Republican voters to read that their nominee was an ass.

With loud professions of humility, Mr. Greeley's ambition is undying. It never sleeps; it is the all-moving, inspiring force of his personal and political conduct. His famous letter dissolving the partnership of Seward, Weed & Greeley disclosed the fact that he had been a persistent office-seeker for twenty years, and that his grievance was that his associates had given office to every person but him. This ambition in Mr. Greeley is by no means dishonorable to him; but taken in connection with his eternal parade of humility, it creates in the minds of plain men the unpleasant thought that personal self-seeking rules his conduct as a journalist, and governs his treatment of public measures.

The State of Illinois for thirty years had been in the hands and under the control of the Democratic party, which was as essentially pro-slavery as that which ruled Virginia. This party had been for a long time under the lead of Douglas. In 1858 Douglas quarrelled with Buchanan, and the opportunity was offered to elect a Republican. When the Republicans of Illinois nominated Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Greeley cast his influence for Douglas, who was making his fight on the platform of the Dred Scott decision. And Mr. Greeley never forgave Mr. Lincoln for the wrong which he (Greeley) did to him (Lincoln) at that time. During the last session of Congress Mr. Greeley's vacillation kept the Republicans of New York in a constant shiver. During the entire sitting of the Reconstruction Committee he had not a courageous word to say; and it was only after they had made their report, and committed themselves to a position, that he attempted to point out their duty, and then it was in a different road from that which they had travelled.

Nothing was so much needed at that time as a masculine newspaper in New York city. Instead of this the New York *Tribune*, under Mr. Greeley's guidance, was industriously co-operating with the *Times* to extinguish the Republican party in that State. When Raymond went entirely over to the Copperjohnson party, and his subscribers began to leave him and go to the *Tribune* as the next best thing, Mr. Greeley caught some sparks of electricity from the people, and labored assiduously to repair the mischief. That the party, under such leadership, was not totally routed in the State, is a matter of surprise to themselves; and the movement to elect Greeley to the Senate, so far as it has any popular support, proceeds from sheer gratitude that he did no worse.

Bennett supports Greeley on the "You tickle me and I'll tickle you principle." Greeley was profoundly impressed with the fitness of Bennett's appointment as Minister to France some time since, and it is quite natural that Bennett should now be in favor of Greeley's election as Senator. Greeley and Bennett, each in his peculiar way, opposed Hoffman in the recent election for Governor, and Hoffman received 48,000 majority on Manhattan Island, where their respective journals have their principal circulation. Hoffman's majority was not given solely in the wards which embrace the Five Points and Corlear's Hook, where no newspapers are taken, but in the Ninth and Fifteenth Wards, which have heretofore been Republican. What with the temperance issue, and the general uncertainty and weakness of the New York *Tribune* during the year preceding the election, and its frequent coalitions with one or the other factions of the Copperhead party in local elections, the Republicans were not only routed in every ward, but they were practically extinguished as a political entity in the city of New York.

The country at this time wants no inspired harlequins in the national councils. Still less does it want men with statesmanship so microscopic that they can see nothing in public business but the mileage and per diem of their fellow-members. If Mr. Greeley is not satisfied with his position as a journalist—a position which ought to be equal, in point of influence, power, and dignity, to that of six average Senators—and if the Republicans of New York want to do something for him, let them make him State Prison Inspector, or even Governor—anything that will not make the party outside of the State responsible for his follies.

## SPECIAL NOTICES.

DR. ROLPH LEE HAS ADMINISTERED NITROUS OXIDE or LAUGHING GAS to thousands with perfect success for Dental, Surgical, and Medical purposes, and for amusement. Only fifty cents per tooth for extracting; no charge for extracting when artificial teeth are ordered. Office, No. 226 WEST WASHINGTON SQUARE, below Locust street.

Seventh street cars pass the door. Don't be foolish enough to go elsewhere and pay $2 and $3 for gas. N. B.—I continue to give instructions to the dental profession. 10 12 fmw3m

GREAT ATTRACTION.
WILL OPEN NOVEMBER 15, AT THE NEW LIBERTY HALL, LOMBARD Street above Seventh, the GREAT UNION FAIR, For the Benefit of the PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT OF THE A. M. E. CHURCH.
where Useful and Fancy Articles of a very large variety will be offered for sale.
Among the attractions will be three Silver Cups, to be given to the three persons who shall present the largest amount of cash for the above object. And a splendid Silver-mounted Bat and Gilt Ball to be awarded to the Club receiving the largest number of votes. And one of "Ray's Patent Library Register," to be awarded to the Sabbath School receiving the largest number of votes. 11 17 lit

CORN EXCHANGE NATIONAL BANK, PHILADELPHIA, October 16, 1866.
The Vice-President of the Bank, Alexander Whilden, Esq., having in May last, in view of a prolonged absence in Europe resigned his position, the Board of Directors to day elected J. W. Torre, Esq., Vice-President, and H. P. Schetky, Esq., Cashier.
10 17 ALEXANDER G. CATTELL, President

BATCHELOR'S HAIR DYE THE BEST IN THE WORLD.
Harmless, reliable, instantaneous. The only perfect dye. No disappointment, no ridiculous tints, but true to nature, black or brown.
GENUINE IS SIGNED WILLIAM A. BATCHELOR.
ALSO
Regenerating Extract of Millefleurs restores, preserves and beautifies the hair, prevents baldness. Sold by all Druggists. Factory No. 81 BARCLAY St., N. Y. 335

JUST PUBLISHED—
By the Physicians of the NEW YORK MUSEUM, the Ninetieth Edition of their FOUR LECTURES, entitled— PHILOSOPHY OF MARRIAGE.
To be had free, for four stamps by addressing Secretary New York Museum of Anatomy, No. 618 BROADWAY, New York. 8 6§

## SPECIAL NOTICES

OFFICE OF THE DELAWARE MUTUAL SAFETY INSURANCE COMPANY. INCORPORATED 1835.
PHILADELPHIA, November 11, 1866.
The following Statement of the affairs of the Company is published in conformity with a provision of its Charter:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Premiums received from November 1, 1865, to October 31, 1866:— | | |
| On Marine and Inland risks | $602,770·64 | |
| On Fire risks | 139,691·79 | |
| | | $742,462·43 |
| Premiums on Policies not marked off November 1, 1865 | | 276,964·47 |
| | | $1,019,426·90 |
| Premiums marked off as earned November 1, 1865, to October 31, 1866:— | | |
| On Marine and Inland risks | $554,180·78 | |
| On Fire risks | 128,932·12 | |
| | | $683,121·90 |
| Interest during the same period—salvages, etc. | | 87,717·88 |
| | | $770,839·78 |
| Losses, expenses, etc., during the year as above:— | | |
| Marine and Inland Navigation losses | $326,319·06 | |
| Fire losses | 92,827·81 | |
| Return premiums | 40,529·79 | |
| Re insurances | 54,621·81 | |
| Agency charges, advertising, printing, etc. | 53,187·90 | |
| *Taxes—United States tax on premiums policy stamps, etc. | 16,570·18 | |
| Expenses | 14,070·12 | |
| | | $578,170·26 |
| | | $192,669·44 |

* This is exclusive of the amount reserved for taxes on dividends and profits.

ASSETS OF THE COMPANY
November 1, 1866

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| $100,000 | United States Five Per Cent. Loan, 1871 | $114,000·00 |
| 120,000 | United States Six Per Cent. Loan, 1881 | 136,500·00 |
| 200,000 | United States 7·3-10 Per Cent. Loan, Treasury Notes | 211,500·00 |
| 125,000 | City of Philadelphia Six Per Cent. Loan (exempts) | 126,562·50 |
| 54,000 | State of Pennsylvania Six Per Cent. Loan | 54,700·00 |
| 46,000 | State of Pennsylvania Five Per Cent. Loan | 44,620·00 |
| 50,000 | State of New Jersey Six Per Cent Loan | 50,750·00 |
| 20,000 | Pennsylvania Railroad First Mortgage Six Per Cent Bonds | 20,500·00 |
| 25,000 | Pennsylvania Railroad Second Mortgage Six Per Cent Bonds | 24,250·00 |
| 25,000 | Western Pennsylvania Railroad Six Per Cent. Bonds (Pennsylvania Railroad guarantee) | 20,750·00 |
| 30,000 | State of Tennessee Five Per Cent. Loan | 18,000·00 |
| 7,000 | State of Tennessee Six Per Cent. Loan | 5,040·00 |
| 15,000 | 300 Shares Stock Germantown Gas Company, principal and interest guaranteed by the City of Philadelphia | 15,000·00 |
| 7,150 | 143 Shares Stock Pennsylvania Railroad Company | 8,258·25 |
| 5,000 | 100 Shares Stock North Pennsylvania Railroad Company | 3,950·00 |
| *20,000 | 80 Shares Stock Philadelphia and Southern Mail Steamship Company | 20,000·00 |
| 195,900 | Loans on Bonds and Mortgage, first liens on City property | 195,900·00 |
| $1,045,050 | Par. Cost, $1,030,552 05 Mkt. Val. | $1,070,280·75 |
| | Real Estate | 36,000·00 |
| | Bills Receivable for Insurances made | 217,637·22 |
| | Balances due at Agencies Premiums on Marine Policies—Accrued Interest and other debts due the Company | 38,923·98 |
| | Scrip and stock of sundry Insurance and other Companies, $5173·00. Estimated value | 2,930·00 |
| | Cash in Bank $41,102 26; Cash in Drawer 447 34 | 41,549·60 |
| | | $1,407,321·56 |

* This being a new enterprise, the par is assumed as the market value.

PHILADELPHIA, November 14 1866.
The Board of Directors have this day declared a CASH DIVIDEND of EIGHT PER CENT. on the CAPITAL STOCK, and SIX PER CENT. Interest on the SCRIP of the Company, payable on and after the 1st December proximo, free of National and State Taxes.
They have also declared a SCRIP DIVIDEND of TWENTY PER CENT. on the EARNED PREMIUMS for the year ending October 31, 1866, certificates of which will be issued to the parties entitled to the same, on and after the 1st December proximo, free of National and State Taxes.
They have ordered, also, that the SCRIP CERTIFICATES OF PROFITS of the Company, for the year 1862, be redeemed in CASH, at the office of the Company, on and after 1st December proximo, all interest thereon to cease on that day.
No certificate of profits issued under $25. By Act of Incorporation, "no certificate shall issue unless claimed within two years after the declaration of the dividend whereof it is evidence."

DIRECTORS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Thomas C. Hand, | Samuel E. Stokes, |
| John C. Davis, | Henry Sloan, |
| Edmund A. Souder, | William G. Boulton, |
| Theophilus Paulding, | Edward Darlington, |
| John R. Penrose, | H. Jones Brooke, |
| James Traquair, | Edward Lafourcade, |
| Henry C. Dallett, Jr., | Jacob P. Jones, |
| James C. Hand, | James B. McFarland, |
| William C. Ludwig, | Joshua P. Eyre, |
| Joseph H. Seal, | Spencer McIlvaine, |
| George G. Leiper, | John B. Semple, Pittsburg, |
| Hugh Craig, | A. B. Berger, |
| John D. Taylor, | D. T. Morgan. |

THOMAS C. HAND, President.
JOHN C. DAVIS, Vice President.
HENRY LYLBURN, Secretary. 11 16 12trp

TO ARCHITECTS.—
PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS FOR NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
Architects are invited to prepare plans and specifications and estimates of cost for new fire-proof buildings for the War Department, on the site now occupied by the War Department and adjacent vacant ground, in Washington, D. C.
The buildings required should have a superficial area as large as the site selected will admit of. Photographs of site, and all other information relating to the subject, will be furnished to Architects desiring to compete for the work, upon application, personally or by letter, to the undersigned
A premium of $6000 for the first, of $2000 for the second, and of $1000 for the third most acceptable plans and specifications received, will be awarded, upon the approval of the Hon. Secretary of War, by the Board of Officers charged with the duty of selecting a site and preparing plans and specifications for the buildings of the War Department under act of Congress approved July 28, 1866
The plans and specifications must be sent to the office of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel T. J. Treadwell, Recorder of the Board, Ordnance Office, Winder's Building, Washington, D. C., on or before the 1st day of February, 1867.
The Board will reserve the right to reject any or all plans submitted, should none be deemed suitable for the purpose, as well as to retain any or all of such plans.
By order of the Board,
11 20 lm] T. J. TREADWELL.
Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, U. S. A., Recorder.

OFFICE OF THE LEHIGH COAL AND NAVIGATION COMPANY.
PHILADELPHIA, August 29, 1866.
The Stockholders of this Company are hereby notified that the Board of Managers have determined to allow to all persons who shall appear as Stockholders on the Books of the Company on the 8th of September next, after the closing of transfers, at 3 P. M. of that day the privilege of subscribing for new stock *at par*, to the extent of one share of new stock for every five shares then standing in their names. Each shareholder entitled to a fractional part of a share shall have the privilege of subscribing for a full share.
The subscription books will open on MONDAY, September 10, and close on SATURDAY, December 1, 1866 at 3 P. M.
Payment will be considered due June 1, 1867, but an instalment of 20 per cent., or ten dollars per share, must be paid at the time of subscribing. The balance may be paid from time to time, at the option of the subscribers, before the 1st of November, 1867. On *all* payments, including the aforesaid instalment, made before the 1st of June, 1867, discount will be allowed at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, and on all payments made between that date and the 1st of November, 1867, interest will be charged at the same rate.
All stock not paid up in full by the 1st of November, 1867, will be forfeited to the use of the Company. Certificates for the new stock will not be issued until after June 1 1867, and said stock, if paid up in full, will be entitled to the November dividend of 1867, but to no earlier dividend.
SOLOMON SHEPHERD,
8 30 Treasurer

OFFICE OF THE LEHIGH COAL AND NAVIGATION COMPANY.
PHILADELPHIA, November 15 1866.
The Stockholders of this Company, whose names appeared as such on their books on the 8th day of September last, at 3 P. M., are hereby notified that the privilege to subscribe to new stock at par, on the terms of the circular of August 29 1866, will expire on the 1st day of December next, at 3 P. M.
11 15 t12 1 SOLOMON SHEPHERD, Treasurer.

NEW LONDON COPPER MINING COMPANY.
A Special Meeting of Stockholders will be held on MONDAY, December 3, at the office of the Company, No. 129 S. FRONT Street, at 4 P. M., and all parties interested are requested to be present, as there is business of the most urgent nature to transact.
11 20 12t SIMON FOEY, Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD COMPANY—TREASURER'S DEPARTMENT.
PHILADELPHIA, November 1, 1866.
NOTICE TO STOCKHOLDERS.
The Board of Directors have this day declared a semi-annual dividend of FOUR PER CENT. on the Capital Stock of the Company, clear of National and State taxes, payable on and after November 30, 1866.
Blank Powers of Attorney for collecting dividends can be had at the office of the Company, No. 238 S. THIRD Street.
11 1 30t THOMAS T. FIRTH, Treasurer.