

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The South and the Political Revolution.

From the N. Y. Times. We published a few days since a letter from General Barringer, of North Carolina, urging the South to accept, or, at all events, to acquiesce in, the Congressional plan of reconstruction. It embodied many very cogent and powerful reasons why such a course should be pursued. Laying aside all questions of feeling—all animosities and recriminations for the wrongs and sufferings of the past, he insisted that the very existence of the South depended upon her acquiescence in the policy of the victorious power to which she had been compelled to yield, and he cited the successive steps of suffering and of loss, by which her successive refusals so to do had been reprobated and punished by the conquering and dominant party—until it has finally culminated in enforced negro suffrage, the disfranchisement of a large portion of the white voters, and the subjection of the Southern States to military rule. And he pointed, by way of warning, to the certainty that, if the South still refuses acquiescence, she will be subjected inevitably to increased suffering and humiliation.

All this is clearly and undeniably true. It is very easy to say, and to prove, that it ought not to be so, but all the argument in the world will not improve the fact. It is quite clear to everybody that the war is ended and that the North and South ought to resume their old feelings and their old relations; but the fact is they do not resume them, and all the logic in the world will not alter that fact. It seems, to our minds, perfectly clear that all the passions which the war aroused, all the resentments which its horrors engendered, all the hatreds which followed in its track, ought to subside and no longer influence the action of either section towards the other; but they have not subsided, nevertheless; they are still active, powerful, and unrelenting. The action of Congress, and of the people of the loyal States, is still largely controlled, not by their calm and sober judgment as to the requirements of justice and public policy, but by the feelings and sentiments which the war engendered, and which a thousand things, the provocations of the South, the action of the President, the appeals of public speakers, and the public press, the schemes of demagogues and the reckless ambition of selfish and unscrupulous partisan leaders, continue to keep alive.

The truth is neither section, and but few persons in either section, appreciate fully the tremendous effects of civil war, and especially of such a war as ours, upon every interest and every sentiment of the whole community. One might as well expect order and symmetry in the architecture of a great city after an earthquake, as to look for cool judgment and sober reason the moment the thunders of such a war have died away. The contest touches everything, and leaves nothing as it found it. Great rights, great interests, great schemes of habit and of thought, disappear during its progress. It leaves us a different people in everything from what we were when it came upon us. The war created a perfect revolution in the public mind—in our modes of thinking on public questions, and of dealing with political and social interests. Slavery once seemed to us a gigantic evil—protected from our hatred only by the Constitution; but it disappeared so suddenly and so completely that our respect for what was so long its bulwark is no longer what it was. The power which destroyed slavery in spite of the Constitution seems to us greater than the Constitution itself. And the general effect of the war has been very greatly to weaken our respect for all the forms and provisions of fundamental law which stand between the will of the people and the objects which they think ought to be accomplished. The war has ended, but the revolution has not. The victory of the North at once demonstrated its power and stimulated the determination to use it. It was not easy for the conquering party to throw down their weapons the moment they had achieved their victory. There were too many things which ought still to be accomplished, for them to stop short suddenly in what had proved to be so brilliant and so successful a career. Thaddeus Stevens expressed the general sentiment of the North much more accurately than he supposed, or than the North would admit, when he said in Congress that, having got rid of all constitutional restrictions and limitations of power by the war, Congress should not restore the Union as our fathers had made it, but should seize the opportunity to reconstruct it, and make it what it should be.

The country in its political action to-day is following, not the dictates and prescriptions of the Constitution, but what it deems the necessities and requirements of the political emergency. Arguments drawn from the Constitution, from the precedents of our history, or the opinions of the statesmen of our earlier days, are heard with impatience and dismissed with contempt. A public writer or a public speaker incurs only derision by insisting upon anything in the past—laws, usages, or anything else—as conclusive in regard to anything that is of the present. Even the past pledges of political parties have no more vitality or force than the old newspapers in which they are recorded. Everything said or done before the war is as dead as if it were done before the war. That great catastrophe swept away everything that was old, and gave us a new political heaven and a new political earth. And all our views of public affairs, all our action on political subjects, all our judgments of the present and our speculations about the future, are colored and controlled by this great fact.

We do not say that this is right, but it is a fact. It may not be constitutional, but it is actual. Perhaps the country ought not to be thus governed—but it is and will be—not because it is in accordance with abstract reason and justice, but because it is in accordance with the instincts and impulses of human nature. Of course, a reaction may come, but only from the excesses into which the dominant party, made arrogant by its power, may be betrayed; and every attempt to produce a reaction in advance of its time only strengthens the party against which it is aimed. But for the Philadelphia Convention, the President's blind and blundering resistance, the frantic determination of the Democratic party to recover power, and all these movements spread in the South, the Union would probably have been restored, and the Southern States in the possession of their political rights, a year ago. They are still relying upon a "reaction." Mired to-day, just as they have been mired ever since the war closed, by the prospect of Democratic victories and the promise of Executive aid, the Southern States await the Congressional plan of reconstruction

and take the chances of the future. Fortunately they cannot defeat it. The plan will be carried out, and the Southern States will be restored to political power and to representation in Congress, though, unfortunately for themselves, this is likely to be done without the cooperation and aid of those who ought to share in controlling their public affairs.

The Trial of Impeachment.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The President has set up another scarecrow in the political field, surpassing in ragged flutter all previous effigies from the same ingenious hand. It is now stated that, as a precaution against impeachment, he has made a collection of speeches delivered by Senators in different parts of the country, and upon the evidence of these he will plead that his case has been prejudged, and will decline to be tried by those who have already expressed an opinion. He claims, also, that "the meaneast criminal has the right to challenge his jurors." Ergo, he has a right to challenge the Senate, and he means, should occasion arise, to do it. The finale will be like that of Goldsmith's club-meeting:—"Blood—fire—whizz—blit—tit—rat—trip—riot, nonsense and rapid confusion."

If the President knew anything about the matter at all, he would know that while a trial upon impeachment is, in a certain loose sense, a judicial proceeding, it is not, and cannot, from the nature of the case, be governed by the rules of common law practice. The Senate, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment, is not a petit jury. Senators are not only on oath, but on honor—they are the sole judges of their own qualifications; and that impeachment is not an ordinary legal process is proved by the provision of the Constitution which leaves the President, after conviction, subject to removal from office, "still liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law." When Mr. Johnson gets into a criminal court he will then be at liberty to plead that his judges have expressed an opinion, or to challenge jurors preemptorily or for cause—not before the provisions of the Constitution are perfectly plain. They are as follows:—"The House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment."

"The Senate shall have the sole power to try impeachments." It will be seen at a glance that the declaration by a Senator in favor of impeachment by the House of Representatives, an independent body, is no more a declaration of the guilt than of the innocence of the President. It is merely the statement of the Senator's opinion that, whether guilty or innocent, the official conduct of the President demands investigation. This the House initiates, and then, and not till then, the trial begins. The President, with his usual genius for muddling everything, confounds impeachment with trial, and sends messengers to the four points of the compass to procure evidence of what nobody disputes. Suppose Messrs. Howard, Thayer, Nye, Sumner, and other Senators do think that the President should be impeached. They cannot impeach him any more than we can—they can only try him when he is impeached, and they have as much right to express their views of the duties of the House of Representatives as we have. So the President has merely discovered a particularly large mare's nest, and had better call in his stenographers without delay.

The Proposed Compromise Between Congress and the President.

From the N. Y. Herald. Our Washington correspondence states that a strong effort will be made at the next meeting of Congress to harmonize matters between the two contending branches of the Government—that a Congressional committee will be appointed to wait upon the President for the purpose of ascertaining what his views are with reference to reconstruction, and if he has any plans to submit. It is scarcely possible that such a plan is under serious consideration. The Congress of the people, by doing this, would virtually acknowledge that all their efforts to restore order to the distracted Southern States have been abortive, and that now, penitent for their inefficiency, they are willing to acknowledge their mistake before the President and ask for whatever he may choose to dictate. This is not human nature, and certainly little in accordance with the spirit which Congress has heretofore manifested. Much less would we see it established as a principle that the representatives of the people should, as a branch of the Government, be brought to terms by any one of its other branches; for that would be the reverse of all our republicanism. We may have, by a possible revolution agreed to by the people, one branch overruled by the other two divisions of the Government. We cannot, however, look quietly on and see any one division brought to terms by another. Neither Congress nor the President have, up to the present time, done anything but what they have a right to do. The curb is the Supreme Court, and this has not been brought into action.

Doubtless Congress, watching the political changes that are assuming a less radical form in all the States, see the necessity of accommodating themselves to the demands of the people, and are disposed to narrow the breach which separates them from the President, but it will not be done in the way already suggested. It must be effected in a manner worthy the dignity of the Legislature of a great people. The President, however, if he has a reconstruction policy, need not be asked to present it, for it is in his power, by a message in proper form, to state his policy, and Congress may then act upon it in the regularly established manner.

The political condition of Virginia, as shown by our correspondence, must have its influence; it is anything but encouraging to the ultra radicals. Although the negroes carried a majority in the State Convention, it was by counting the State by districts. The returns now show a white majority of 12,653 votes. These will undoubtedly be conservative, or of that party which desire a return to peace and prosperity rather than the handling of political power. In view of the condition of Virginia, it is evident that the radicals cannot count too certainly upon the power of the black element in the South, especially when we see the opposition which a healthy reaction is bringing to the front. The President and Congress must plainly see that the people are beginning to take up the question which their rulers have been unable to settle. If the Executive and Congressional powers can read the handwriting on the wall let them harmonize. Were either to bow completely to the authority of the other, it would be the worst phase of our revolution.

Mrs. Lincoln and Mr. Weed.

From the N. Y. World. Mr. Thurlow Weed makes, in the Commercial Advertiser, some painful revelations touching the administration of the late lamented President Lincoln. We quote:—"But we happen to know—the late Caleb B.

Smith, the Secretary of the Interior, being our informant—a fact which increased Mrs. Lincoln's anger against Mr. Seward. The President gave the Prince Napoleon a dinner, for which Mrs. Lincoln sent to the Secretary of the Interior for payment a bill of some \$900. The demand, though wholly illegal, coming from the President's wife, was not to be questioned. Mr. Seward, called upon the Secretary of the State for advice, where he learned that Mr. Seward had also dined the Prince, having the same number of guests, and giving them a duplicate of the bill rendered at the White House. In fact, Mr. Seward ordered both dinners from the same restaurant, and by his own bill knew the cost of each. For what Mr. Seward took \$300, Mrs. Lincoln demanded \$900, but was her three or nine hundred, the claim was alike illegal, and could not be paid. For this, however, Mrs. Lincoln quarreled with Secretaries Smith and Seward. This amount, however, was subsequently covered up in a garden's account, but once more it is to be expected for Mr. Lincoln mysteriously 'suppressed.'"

The gardener, we take it, was a Government gardener. We assume that the money he disbursed was public money; that he was compelled to present vouchers for all his expenditures; that these had to be approved by the Commissioner of Public Buildings and Secretary of the Interior, audited by the accounting officers of the Treasury.

Again, did no one call the attention of Mr. Lincoln to the doings of his wife about this dinner bill? He must have known of the expenditure having been on her behalf. How did he suppose it was met, and by whom? Prominent Republican journals insist that Mrs. Lincoln is not needy, because her husband saved nearly all his pay as President, and it ensures to her benefit. If this be so, by what means did Mr. Lincoln think his household expenses were paid? He must have observed the very costly articles of dress obtained by his wife from time to time, to say nothing of dinner entertainments, and from what source did he conjecture they could be procured? He could not believe that dinners and dresses were furnished to the President's family without any consideration whatever. To put all upon a garden's bill seems to us to involve the whole administration in the unseemly business.

The Troubles in Italy.

From the N. Y. World. The long seething caldron of European politics bids fair to boil over at last and scald the fingers of the ministers and monarchs who have been busied in heaping up the lower fires. The Emperor Napoleon of France, and the Kaiser Francis Joseph of Austria, are in a plight scarcely less humiliating, if a little less critical, than that in which Garibaldi, who has just cast the final brand, has put the Pope of Rome.

It was prophesied that war was to begin in the North. The memorable admission of Napoleon at Aumiers, and the taunts of Count Bismarck in his recent diplomatic circular, were the excellent reasons. It was not considered that the ruler of the great French nation could possibly delay a warlike answer to the Prussian Premier's last challenge any longer than the time necessary to manufacture the requisite supply of Chassepots.

The signal thus given in the South changes the prospect, which may hasten the event. Even if the unsatisfactory despatches from Florence had not intimated such a probability, observers of affairs in Europe would be apt to presume that either Garibaldi or King Victor Emmanuel, or perhaps both, must have had an answer to the Pope's ultimatum long before the precipitation of the current rising in the Papal States. The alliance which existed between Italy and Prussia during the recent Italian war has never been formally annulled, and the mutual advantage of such a compact is quite as apparent now as before. France and Austria have, of course, a similar understanding, which has not hitherto been confirmed by a public bond. And France has been so committed to a certain course for the civil war of Italy, that she has no alternative. Prussia is interested, the one in repelling the French interference that has delayed Italian unity so long, and the other to employ an opportunity which may be created by such an interference, to attack France when its military strength is divided.

The news of a supposed agreement entered into between Napoleon and the Italian Ambassador, at Biarritz, need not be accepted as decisive of the result of the disturbance near Rome. A programme which includes the admission of the Italian civil dominion in the Papal States, and the retention of the Pope as a sort of Mayor of the capital, seems incredible. If the revolutionists are really making the progress that they claim, Garibaldi, though a prisoner now, will soon be freed and in at the death of the Papal dominion in all the five provinces where it yet exists. Napoleon has yet time to act; but he will in this crisis act more than ever at his peril, or refrain more than ever at the cost of his position as a Catholic and powerful ruler.

A "Bank-Breaker" at Homburg.

Goligiani says:—"From a letter we have just received from Homburg we learn that the same Maltese millionaire who in 1865 broke the bank at Baden has renewed his exploits this year. He has set on foot the same in that town three times running. The Prince of Wales happened to be there at the time, amusing himself with playing a few Napoleons from time to time; the Duke of Hamilton and Mustapha Pacha were also among the movers in the bank's affairs. Berlin, taking Homburg on his way, and at this latter place won three hundred thousand francs, but did not break the bank, because the director kept sending bank notes as long as the money lasted. The coolness with which the Maltese played the Homburg stock every one with astonishment, so much so that the director of the Homburg bank called upon him the day after, and told him he had never seen a gentleman play with the same impassive demeanor, and lose so much more money than the bank itself. But what is narrated as most singular is the circumstance that the Maltese keeps the money he wins, and does not, like almost all others, win that he spends his winnings most freely, giving large sums in charity and presents, and that he has thus become well known among the persons who frequent these bathing places. In 1866, it appears, he did not pay any visit to Germany."

The Franco-American Cable.

The London Times says the new submarine cable from France to the United States will extend from Brest to St. Pierre, Miquelon, following a plateau which has been soundly ordered. From St. Pierre, the cable is ordered to reach New York direct, but the English coast of New Brunswick and the American littoral of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, at a line from it might appear desirable to carry a single line to New York direct, but to achieve this object it would be necessary to carry the cable across parts of the bed of the Atlantic which are utterly unsoundable. The operation of submergence is expected to begin in May, 1868.

MATCHES IN A COTTON BALE.—On the 31st ultimo, Captain Orkney, of the ship Belgravia, from New Orleans, exhibited at the Liverpool Exchange Newsroom a box of Lucifer matches, packed on the levee at New Orleans for shipment. Whether placed in the bale by accident or design is not known, but this is not the first time such a discovery has been made.

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W. W. CASSIDY, No. 12 SOUTH SECOND STREET. Offers an entirely new and most carefully selected stock of AMERICAN AND GENEVA WATCHES, JEWELRY, SILVER-WARE, AND FANCY ARTICLES OF EVERY DESCRIPTION, suitable FOR BRIDAL OR HOLIDAY PRESENTS. An examination will show my stock to be unsurpassed in quality and cheapness. Particular attention paid to repairing. 512

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