# THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH .--- PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1866.

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Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Important Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

#### Tennessee Loyalty.

From the Tribune.

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They had a great "Union" State Convention at Nashville on the 22d, which was mainly attended and "run" by those who were till recently Rebeis. We note the names of ex-Governor Nell S. Brown, Hon. George W. Jones, Hon. Cave Johnson, and General B. F. Cheatham, as among the speakers or letter writers; while the Unionists of the times that tried men's souls" had to take back seats, and were voted down whenever they ventured to propose anything. An attempt to indorse the sentiments of the Hon. Horace May-

nard's letter was, of course, decisively tabled. The Convention of course "indorsed the Presi-dent" very enthusiastically; but when Mr. Mul-lins of Bedford proposed an indorsement of his anti-Rebel utterances of last April and May, he got laid on the table very suddenly. The following is the formal declaration of the

majority on the main question :--

"In declaring their willingness to maintain the "In declaring their willingness to maintain the Constitution, they desire to be understood as recog-mixing the late Amenament, forbidding the existence of involuntary servitude as a part thereof, and as avowing their determination to give to that clause an honest and sincere support. They are prepared to aid in extending to the free persons of color such protection as shall secure to them the andisturbed enjoyment of all the blessings of freedom; and of conceding to them all the civil and political rights that may be compatible with the best interests of both races. They insit, how ver, that this subject belongs exclusively to the peope of the State, and that the same has not been transferred to Congress by the Amendment atoresaid. They are satisfied by no Alternation all extraneous influences are with-drawn, the relations between the two races will be established upon principles of justice that will be mutually satisfactory and beneficial."

-The Amendment which these gentlemen profess to accept and upbold expressly says :--Congress shall have power to enforce this article by suitable legislation." Do these gentlemen cheat themselves in saying that they accept the Amendment, and at once proceeding to show that they do not? And, if they cheat them-selves, do they cheat anybody else?

## "Repentant Republicans."

From the Tribune.

Such is the phrase whereby the World charac terizes the omnibus load of hybrids who hold meetings to applaud the President's veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill, and who write or telegraph approval of his outrageous attack on Congress. Says the World :---

"The point of the meeting is, that the respectable Sensitive the meeting is, that the resolutions Republican geathemen who inspired, controlled, sauctioned, or attended it, have indorsed Mr. John-son in his fight with the radicals in Congress, who number 109 in the House, and at least 30 in the Sensite! They have, in silect, given sanction and approval to what the President uttered in Washing-ton while the meeting at the cooper Institute was at ton while the meeting at the cooper Institute was at its height. They have proclaimed the present Con-gress to be a Hump Congress, and the radicals, to the number we have named, to be disunionisle, as we have been labe ing them for some months. They have, by the address put forth at the meeting, pleaked to the President their support, if he voice the Negro Suffrage bill for the District of Columbia, and have undertaken to su tain the Southern States in their claim to be the arbiters of their own fate in re-spect to neurio voting! They declare Forney, D. D., Summer, Stevens, and Phillips no better than Davis, Toombs, Shdell, and Benjami." ton while the meeting at the cooper Institute was at

-The World evidently considers the managers -The World evidently considers the managers and magnates of the Cooper Institute meeting all fish for the Coopernead net, and expects in due time to land them. This is true as to some, but not as to others. They will "flop over" when the net begins to drag them in. The Journal of Commerce is equally eager to "realize." It remands the fishy school that they are bit a baker's dozen, and urges them to take refuge at once in the ranks of the Unterrified, analyze.

"It would be much better for the New York "It would be much better for the New York *Times*, and especially for the Connecticut and New Hampshire hepublicans who stand by Mr. Johnson, Hampshire hepublicans who stand by Mr. Johnson,

We might remind the Tribune that the para-graph which it quotes is but a very small and a very insignificant part of the speech from which it is taken. It had nothing to do with the main object and drift of that speech, but was elloited by the questions and exclamations of the mass of people to whom it was addressed. Nothing is more common in the South, as the *Tribune* is a wave, than for public speakers to Tribune is aware, than for public speakers to be constantly called on in this way for explana-tions, and it is their universal habit to give prompt and direct replies. Andrew Johnson's entire political life has been filled by such experiences, and it is not surprising that he should have met such queries now, just as he had always met them before, on the stump and on

the floor of Congress. But this was merely an episode in the speech. The main object of that powerful and remark-able address was to insist upon the supreme necessity of abiding by the principles of the Constitution, of adhering to the essential and Constitution, of adhering to the essential and fundamental principles of our republican form of government, in the conduct of public affairs, instead of discarding them all, and maxing the arbitrary will of Congress the guide of public action. The *Tribune* does not need to be in-formed that this is really the issue before the counter. Charles Summer Thaddaus Stevens country. Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, Wendell Phillips, and others, act upon the theory that we have conquered the Southern States; that as subjugated enemies they have no rights under the Constitution; and that we are in no respect restrained or restricted in our dealings with them by that instrument, but may do with them and towards them whatever we may think essential to the public safety. This theory is asserted in explicit terms, and is made openly and avowedly the basis of their public action. President Johnson denounces it as hostile to

the fundamental principles of our Government, and as just as certain to overthrow that Government as were the corresponding principles of Davis, Toomby, and other leaders of the Seces-sion movement. Indeed, they are to all intents and purposes exactly the same. The President, in opposition to both, insists that now, as before the Rebeilion, the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that neither Congress, President, nor any other department of the Goyernment, has any more right to discard, repudiste, or ignore its authority now, than they had before the war began. The war maintained its supremacy, instead of overthrowing it. It pre-served the Union instead of destroying it. And as it is the sworn duty of the Executive to "maintain and defend" the supremacy of the Constitu-tion, President Johnson declares it to be his purpose to do this against all men, of whatever section or whatever party, or with whatever mo-tive they may assail and resist it.

The Tribune assumes that the President's denunciations were directed against the Union majorities in Congress. We do not so regard it. The men named by him, he has never recog-nized as representatives of the Union party. The principles the, avow on this point have never been accepted as the principles of the Union party. In neither House of Congress will a majority of that party assent to those princi-ples or adopt them as their own. It is quite true that through the construction of the committees, the control of legislation has been substantially lodged in their hand-but this does not identify the Union majorities with the principles avowed, or render them obnoxious to he censures and charges which these principles justly incur. It is perjectly well known, moreover, that the direct and outrageous per sonal assaults made by the three men named upon the President, afforded ample provoca-tion, it not justification, for this language towards them. One of them had openly charged him with usurpation which would have cost a king his head. Another had spoken of nim as a "Presidential obstacle to be removed." This is not language calculated to conciliate or soothe a President of strong convictions, and conscious of the uprightness and sincerity of his intentions.

The Tribune furthermore belies the position of the President when he speaks of him as desiring the admission to Congress of the "red-handed foes" of the nation's hie. This is undoubtedly the calumny upon which the President's foes will mainly rely in the prosecution of their crusade against him. But it cannot deceive or mislead the people. President John-ston has never said one word nor one syllable capable of any such construction. Over and over again he has conceded the right of Con-gress to require unadulterated and unmistakable syalty as a qualification for a seat in Congress, and to prescribe any oath it deems necessary as a test of that loyalty. In the very speech which elicits the *Tribune's* denunciations, this senti-ment is asserted in language incapable of being misunderstood. But he does insist that loyal men -men who have never been for an hour disloyal po.session. Nobody has denied the right of Congress to exclude men like Davis, Toombs, Stephens, or any men who plotted the disrup-tion and downfall of the American Union, or who aided that disruption after it had been plotted by others. But why should men like Maynard, Stokes, Taylor, from Tennessee, or Johnson, from Arkansas, be excluded? They were never traitors. They never for an instant aided or countenanced, by word or act, the infamous designs of the Rebellion. Why should they be confounded with those who did? "Their admission," says the *Tribune*, "while excluding others, will nowise pacify, nor satisfy, nor placate the South; on the con-trary, it will intensify her hatred." Very likely —but it will do *justice*—it will vindicate the principles of the Constitution-it will draw a line of distinction between loyal men and traitors. Are not these objects of some importance? Is it not worth while to show the nation that, now the war is over, loyal men are to be recognized as deserving well of the republic, and not to be involved in precisely the same condemnation with traitors and Rebels? When the *Tribune* will bring its radical friends in Congress to act in this direction, it will have done much towards averting the conflict which it professes to deprecate between the executive and legislative depart-ments of the Government. The exclusion of loyal men from Congress, in violation alike of their rights and of the Constitution, is the main if not the sole cause of the present difference of sentiment between them. If the Union majority in Congress had been in its action true to the principles of the Union party, and had not allowed itself to be swerved from those principles by the adroit and reckless machinations of men who have with them no sympathy whatever, this conflict never would have arisen. Whenever that majority can throw off the influences by which it has been thus mis-led, and come back to its original and true po-sition, that conflict will end, and all the dangers which now seem to be impending over the Union party and the country will be forever "in the deep bosom of the ocean buried." We shall not readily or willingly despair of a consumma-tion so devoutly to be wished.

staggered by the veto, and the supplemental speech from the White House, still maintain a compact and belligerest fromt, shill hold fast to the fanatic Stevens and his committee of recon-struction, and have defauily declared for the indefinite exclusion of the excluded Southern States, in view of the necessity of their reconstruction upon the basis of negro suffrage or the exclusion of the black race from the basis of Federal representa-tion. In planer terms, the issue joined be-tween the President is simply this:-The Presi-dent contends that loyal representatives from the Southern States reconstructed on his condi-tions are now entitled to admission into Con-gress. The radical majority in each house say gress. The radical majority in each house say no; and are resolved, if possible, to keep those Sta as out of Congress and our national politics until after the next Presidential election. This is the issue—whether the Southern States,

complying with the satisfactory conditions laid down by President Johnson, shall be restored to Congress, law and order, industry and trade, as fast as possible, or shall be kept back, under a mixed commission of military and civil laws and officers, and under the pressure of distrust, stag-nation, bankruptcy, and demoralization, fill after the next Presidential election of 1868. The President protests against the policy of Congress; Congress repudiates the policy of the President, and consequently there must be an appeal to the people. It is understood that, pursuant to a late Congressional caucus of the Republicans, they have appointed a campaign committee in view of this year's Northern State elections, and especially those of next autumn, from New York to California. The contest before the people, therefore, will soon be formally opened.

It will be the business of this Congressional committee to furnish the Republicans through-out the country with electioneering documents in support of the policy of Stevens and his re-construction directory, as the new Republican plattorm. It ought to be the business of the Re-publican endorsers of the President's policy to fight this electioneering system with the same weapons, for here is the all-important point in President Johnson has not gone and the case. the case President Johnson has not gone and dues not intend to go over to the skeleton re-mains of the Chicago Democracy. His contest with Thaddeus Stevens he intends to fight out inside the Republican lines. He adheres to the Union party and the principles of the Baltimore Convention of 1864. He adheres to the Union Convention of 1864. He adheres to the Union programme of his illustrious predecessor, Abra-ham Lincoln, and, holding this position, he is prepared to stand the test of an appeal from Congress to the people. That this is the course which President Johnson will pursue we are well assured. If the Republican party, therefore, as now organized, shall be broken to pieces next fall, trom a foolish adhesion to Thaddeus Stevens, it is not the Chicago Democracy, but the Union party of the Administration that will take its place in the next Congress. The integrity of the party in power depends

upon its adhesion to the Administration, and this adhesion depends upon the President's Southern policy, with which the country is satisfied. As for the next Presidential election, whether in the interim the outside Southern States shall or shall not be restored to Congres and to a voice in that election, General Grant. the idol of the army, will be the choice of the people. The advantages and the probabilities of this present contest between Andrew Johnson Thaddeus Stevens are all in favor of the Administration in an appeal to the people.

### Alexander H. Stephens.

From the World.

The Tribune publishes editorially just commendation of the speech made by Alexander H. Stephens before the Georgia Leg.slature, on the anniversary of Washington's birthday. "We frankly accord to this address," says the Tribune, "the praise of being perhaps the best yet proceeding from any citizen south of Mason and Dixon's line. It contains some good advice to his constituents, and some sound views on public affairs." We are glad to repeat and indorse this praise. Its source and its evident sincerity give it's value unperceived by its author, as bearing on the question of Southern representa-

tion in Congress. We put it to the *Tribune* to consider whether men holding the views and cherishing the sentiments expressed by Mr. Stephens in his late speech, would not be more useful in a public station than rusting in the obscurity of private life. It is the policy of that paper and its political confederates to ostracize from public life

reared in ignorance, depravity, and vice." Again we may, could but this belief of hir, stophens be trans-inted in Georgia law, and into law fee all the South erb States, the problems of reconstruction were smallingly simplified. We wish the State Legisla-tures might take the advice of their counsellor to "do the best they can with their problem" Sure they may be that somehow the problem " Sure they and can by no means be shirked or shuf-fied out of angle. The second the south to do a structure The point on which we wish to fix attention is the Tribune's admission that it is eminently desirable that the wise and enlightened views of

As a rable that the wase and enlightened views of Mr. Stephens should be generally adopted at the South. Supposing it to be true, as the *Tribune* insinuates, that Mr. Stephens is in advance of his section, what likelier method can be suggested of bringing them up to his standard, than to reinforce his influence by recognizing his claims to the high office his fellow estimates have constrained. recognising his claims to the high office his fellow-citizens have epontaneously conferred upon him, and of which, by urgent, persistence, they have extorted his acceptance? The fact, the circumstances, and the unanimity of his election attest their coulidence in him. The wise and statesmanilke advice he has given them ought to recommend him to ours. If Congress persists in its mad policy; if it rejects his claims and consigns him to obscurity, how his claims and consigns him to obscurity, how can it justify its action to the reasonable and Union loving people of the country?

M.CEATIT

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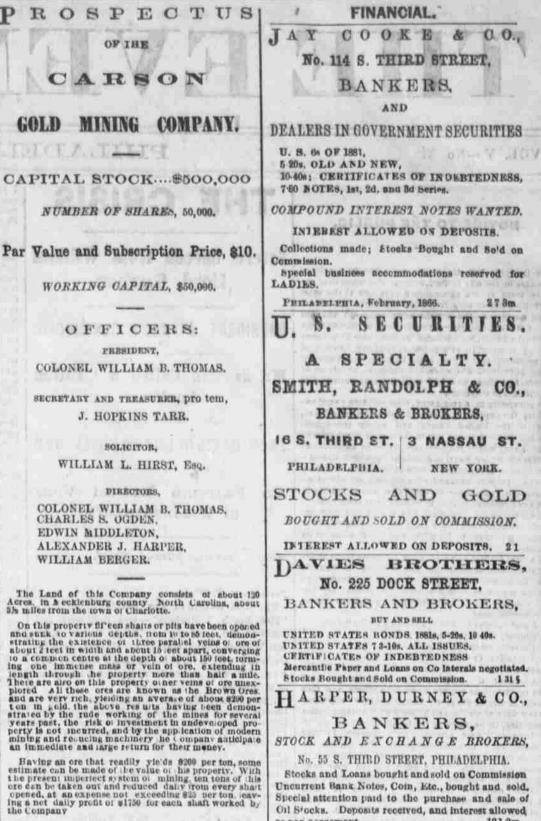
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to sue erd at once all their antipathy to 'Coppor-heacs,' as the Times still cal's them, to stop all abuse of Democrats as 'disloyal,' and reflect that the Presiden will fall unsupported if they succeed in pre-venting the Democrats from sustaining him. In Congress, there are not a dozen of them all told; and Congress, there are not a dozen of them all total; and without the aid of Democrats, they could not pre-vent the Radicals from passing all tueir measures over a succession of ve ocs. In the country at large, they are probably in a minority of their own party; for we have tolerably good syndence that the Radi-cals carry nearly all the Republican conventions. It is chose a conventions for the political wire nullear of the is sheer nonsense for the political wire-pallers of the Times to claim special property in Mr Johnson at such a time as this, or to think that he will regard them as the only 'people' to whom he has appealed for support."

-That this is so, all men do know; and the stragglers as well as the rest. Negotiations looking to a "fusion" of the Cooper Institute doctors with the Tammany Hail Democracy have for days been in progress, and Governor Seward, on Saturday night, was taken in and done for at the "Manhattan Club" palace of the aristocratic Democracy as though the arrangements had already been perfected. At the date of our last advices they had not been; yet nothing in the future is more certain than that our "repensant Republicans" will soon be fol-lowing the flag of Sham Democracy and shouting for the nominees of Tammany Hall. Watch and see !

### **Public Sentiment.**

From the Tribune.

The Times has the effrontery to say that-"shere are four perions, according to the latest census who disapprove the recent speech of President Johnson. Laey are Charles Summer, Thuddons Stevens, Wendell Phillips, and the 'dead ducc' Colonel Forney. The rest of the people find the sentiments of that speech eminently patriotic, and in accordance with the principles of constitutonal

-The folly of such assertions dwarfs even their unveracity. The clear developments of Mr. Johnson's proclivities last week are not yet six days old; yet they have already been con-demned by the Union majority in each of the Legislatures of Maine, Massachusetts, Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, and California—as also by the Union State Convention of Indiana. Nobody dare attempt to indicate the Legislature of any one of the twenty-two States whose votes aided to make Mr. Johnson President which is now even expected to indorse his freedmen's bill veto and Thursday night speech. On the other hand, the Copperheads and late Bebels have everywhere applauded, cheered, fired guns over, and in every way evinced their delight in, those deployable utterances. They have no shadow of doubt that the Presi-

dent is henceforth all their own; that he will dent is noncelorin all their own; that he will veto any bill designed to protect and preserve the freedmen that Congress may pass. If his position as between parties for the moment is equivocal, they regard this as only maintained in order that he may bring the larger rein-forcement with him when he shall at length throw off all disguise, and proclaim himself whole their every that the Cablust wholly their own. They assert that the Cabinet is soon to be remodelied in their interest; that everything is working as they would have it, with a view to their speedy and enduring tri-umph. We defy any man to name a Copper-head or still malignant Rebel who is not en-raptured with the recent acts of the President, which Republicans are dragooned to indorse and uphold. When they generally do it, the blackbirds will all be white.

#### The President and Congress. From the Times.

The Tribune quotes a single paragraph from President Johnson's speech-that in which he refers to three men by name as "hostile to the fundamental principles of this Government"and then denounces sundry fournals in this city for trying to "commend and bolster up the for trying to "commend and bolster up the indicate a coming compromise. The majority of speech by the most extraordinary plaudits."

### President Johnson and the Radicals-The Issue Before the Country.

From the Herald.

The late unanswerable veto message of President Johnson so clearly defines his fixed policy of Southern restoration, and his tate emphatic speech against Thaddeus Stevens and that school of radicals draws so distinctly the line of division between them and the Administration that the rank and file of the Republican party must take one side or the other. The double dealing game which has thus far been so successfully played before the people by the Republican leaders, of noisy professions of adhesion to President Johnson, while employing all their strength to coerce him into submission; or "to do without him," by the independent power of a two-thirds majority in each House of Congress, is a game which, in the first trial in the Senate, has failed, and tailed so signally that there is the end of it. But the question still remains to be settled whether the Southern restoration policy of An-drew Johnson or that of Thaddeus Stévens shall prevent prevail.

From present appearances there is nothing to

the whole class of what it styles "ex-Rebels." We think, on the contrary, that a truly repent ant Rebel, if he has been able and conspicuous, is the best apostle of loyalty. If we wished to cure the Radicals of their delusion, we know of iew men whom, as missionaries for this purpose, we would prefer to Mr. Greeley, if we could only convert him. Mr. Beecher's accession to Presi-dent Johnson's supporters will do more to proselyte Republicans than could be accomplished by a score of the best Democrats in the country. If we could see Summer, and Thaddeus Stevens, and Wendell Phillips, and Garrison, drop-ping like autumn leaves into the lap of Recon-struction, we should proclaim, on the most convincing grounds, that the summer of radicalism is past, its barvest ended, and the country saved. The same argument applies with equal force to what the *Tribune* calls the "ex-Rebeis," a phrase which carries an admission that they are Rebels no lenger. In proportion as they are men of position, sagacity, eloquence, and address, it is the more important that they should be selected for official prominence. Mr. Stephens was of m-maitely more service to the Rebellion as Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, than he could have been as a private citizen. His late speech is of far more value, it will command more attention, and exert a more potent influ-ence, from the fact that he has just been elected by Georgia as one of her United States Sena-tors. But if the radical policy is persisted in —if this able and eloquent advocate of the Union has the door of the Senate slammed in his face, and is remanded to the obscurity of his plantation—his salutary influence will be in a creat measure lot for want of an anyroin a great measure lost, for want of an appro-priate sphere of exertion. He will be of as little account as the "village Hampdens," or the "mute, inglorious Miltons" of Gray's "Elegy." The South needs statesmen; she needs men of moderation, sagacity, personal honor, and poli-tical experience; she needs men in whom she does, and we safely may, counde, to guide her counsels, and water with patriotic assiduity the replanted and budding tree of Southern Union-ism. But if present loyalty is not permitted to atome tor past rebellion, the South will be given over to the guidance of upstarts and nobodies, and will flounder on nobody can tell whither. We make the following extract from the Tri bune's commendatory article:-

<text> quite probably constitute among us hereafter, to be

