THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH .- PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1866.

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF LEADING JOURNALS UPON OURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH

The Testimony of the Vanquished. From the Times.

The same philosophical characteristics that distinguished the speeches of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, appear in his testimony recently given before the Committee on Reconstruction. It differs very strikingly in several respects, and in none more than in its vein of philosophy. from the testimony of General Lee. Lee declined to indulge in speculative fancles; refused to go below the surface, or to set forth anything that was not quite palpable upon the face of it. He could hardly be drawn into the answering of questions involving political views, and was cautious to the last degree as to the force and bearing of every word he uttered. Stephens was more open and free, more explicit and exact, as well as more rhetorical, less dubious, and less tearini; and was not backward in exhibiting-what of course he possesses -a far more thorough knowledge of political influences and laws, and a far more extensive apprehension of the springs of human action and the forces that govern the popular will.

The two names just mentioned are those of the two foremost men in the Southern States. testimony of no other party or parties could be of equal importance or historical value. unless it were that of Jefferson Davis. His testi mony, moreover, would have more historical interest than practical value. He is capable of telling the world some things about the inside working and actual conduct of the Rebellion, which we should probably learn from no other source; but as he has been kept in close confine-ment ever since the fall of the Confederacy, he knows little of the great moral changes which have come over the Southern people since that time, Moreover, it is probable that Davis is now, among Southerners, quite exceptional in his teclings and views.

As the actual figure-head of the great Southern Confederacy, and its representative men before the world, it is probable-and in truth we understand it to be a fact-that he still regards himself as the guardian of its ruins, and the seatimental defender of its wrecked fortunes-its nutative parent and its inconsolable mourner; will neither restrain his bitterness against its destroyers nor acquiesce in the decrees whose supremacy is inevitable. This may all be quite as pitiful as it is puerile; but it is what might have been expected of Davis, and what would render any evidence that might be extracted from him more entertaining than anything else.

We are by no means committing ourselves to the political philosophy of Stephens, as set forth in his testimony, when we say that in many particulars it possesses the characteristics that are ordinarily designated statesmanlike. Stephens displays a faith more or less firm in principle and protound regard for that which is expedient. Mistaken frequently in the appre-heusion of truth—as in his celebrated "cornerstone" blunder-he yet exhibits a perpetual ten-dency to base himself on broad and established doctrines; but, when the application of any one of those doctrines to the circumstances of practical life is palpably impossible, he would either ignore it altogether, or for the time being subordinate it.

He declares himself, for example, to have been a Union man at the epoch of secession; but find-ing secession inevitable, and the Confederacy an accomplished fact, he became a leader of the new Confederacy, in order that he might do all in his power to rescue and perpetuate the prin-ciples established in the old Constitution and e political forms established in the original Union. So now, again, he is still a believer in the "separate sovereignty of the several States," it will be observed he does not now though reiterate as strongly as he proclaimed in the South two or three years ago, the "ultimate, ab-solute sovereignty" of each State; but while, as he alleges, his "convictions on the original abstract question have undergone no change," accepts the issue of the war as settling it finally against his views. We say that, as things go. views of this style are considered philosophical enough, and though they neither indicate the clearest initial convictions, the highest order of principle, the spirit that actuates martyrs, nor the man who is fit to rule in great crises, they pass current as meritorious in ordinary times, and furnish a rule of conduct not altogether inapplicable in the common work of government, Mr. Stephens sets forth views analogous in principle to h s own, as having controlled the action of the Southern people in the past, and as still controlling it. Circumstances, such as the secession of South Carolina, compelled the citizens of Georgia to act against their own convictions, and though Unionists in principle, they fell into, indorsed, and fought for the des-tructive policy of disunion. They had always believed, however, that the State had the right of secession, and though Mr. Stephens is cautious on this subject, remarking that "some may have changed their opinion in this respect, but it would be an unusual thing, as well as a difficult matter, for a whole people to change their convictions upon abstract principles," yet he reiterates with great force that the entire State, like himself, has accepted the result of the war on this question, or on these questions as final, and will in no case bring them again into dispute in the arena of war. They tried war, he says, for the maintenance of their rights, but having found that it destroyed them all they will now and henceforth seek their maintenance only by ways of peace. It is not in the novelty of Mr. Stephens' state"Why should we not beat the North with their own weapons? We have as much inventive genius as they, and we have, as I have shown, greatly the solvaninge in geographical position, and all the physical elements necessary to a successful prosecu-

i-hysical cloupsta necessary to a successful protecture of manufacturing industry. "The North a-ked protection for her while labor, which was essential to its existence, because it had to compete with the pauper labor of Europe The South, needing no protection for its pecu iar labor of successful to the tree labor of the North and thus, by a short-sighted and mistaken policy, the two systems were brought into a relation of antagonism which culminated in the war. It we had supported the last forty years, you will find that whenever we had a protective system. I really believe we would have had no war. If you will revort to the history of the last forty years, you will find that whenever we had a protective dark soon a- protection to free labor was withdrawn, sectional excitation animosity followed."

These are the words of a statesman, honored and distinguished by twenty-five years of ser-vice in important public runsts. They outline a plan for the truest, best, and only reconstruction of the South and restoration of the Union. Will not both North and South accept it?

The Reconstruction of the Cabinet the First Duty of the President. From the Herald.

President Johnson must be convinced by this time that those members of his Cabinet who are opposing his restoration policy have not sufficient respect for their own dignity nor regard for his position to throw up their portfolios. It must also be quite evident to him that they are retaining their positions for the express purpose of assisting the radicals in Congress in their efforts to defeat the measures of his administra-tion. Whether this is their intention or not, such is plainly the practical effect of their course. The fact that they are known to be using the patronage of their several departments course. o strengthen the radicals, and the President at the same time retaining them in his Cabinet, contuses the minds of the people. It creates doubt and hesitancy in regard to the objects of administration.

This confusion is precisely what the radicals lesure; for with it they are able to discourage conservative Republicans and dishearten them in their efforts to sustain the President's restoration policy. They imagine that all that s necessary for their complete success is to continue the present regime until atter the next Congressional election, when they believe that they will have everything their own way. This shows very plainly that the greatest danger which now threatens Andrew Jourson's Admin istration is the intriguing against him by his own constitutional advisers. It has already increased the strength of the radicals in Con-gress and given them so large a majority that the President is unable to carry through any of his measures.

As long as such men as Stanton, Harlan, and Speed are permitted to remain in their present positions, just so long will they use the influence of their departments against the Execu tive, and for the express purpose of building up the radicals. This fact of itself proves the ne cessity of an immediate change, and their prompt removal by the President. This action should be taken by Mr. Johnson without delay before they succeed in strengthening the radical politicians with the people. There is no doubt that the great mass of the people approve Mr. Johnson's restoration policy, and will sustain the measures of his administration. But this does not appear to have any weight with the present Congress, and will, therefore, be without avail to the President until another Congress is elected and takes its seat in the national legislative balls.

To postpone reconstruction until then will be a serious calamity to the country. It will increase our difficulties and lead us to dangerous complications both at home and abroad. But whatever is accomplished sooner than that will have to be done through the present Congress, It is with them that he is now obliged to deal. It is essential for his own sake and that of the country that he should have a party there strong enough to check the radical majority, and, if possible, control it. This he could have had to-day were it not for the intrigues of the radicals in his own Cabinet. These spies in his camp must be removed. Their opposition to the mea-sures of his administration has already become a too serious question for the President to longer hesitate or trifle with them.

We are aware of and can appreciate the deli-cacy which a man like Mr. Johnson would have in reference to the removal of those men from office who were associated with his lamented predecessor, but he has by his forbearance, even in the face of provocations, already allowed this to control his actions too long for his own good. Aside from that, there is too much at stake for him to allow feelings of delicacy to control his action. He has tried the radicals long enough by letting them have their own way and the support of several of the most important departments of the Government. Now let him try and see what virtue there is in a harmonious administration. It is certain that every day that he retains the radical disorganizers in his Cabinet he loses strength in the present Congress, and the revolutionary party in that body becomes more powerful and defiant. In view of these facts it is essentially necessary that the President should act at once in this matter. It has reached a point where a reconstruction of his Cabinet becomes a necessity. He has everything to gain and nothing to lose by prompt action. Let him, then, boldly assume the responsibility, and select from the ranks of the conservative Republicans constitu-tional advisers to take the place of every radical disorganizer now in his Cabinet, and he will find that it will work like magic on the politicians in and out of Congress. It will show to them that he is in carnest, reassure the public, and encourage the iriends of his administration everywhere.

tion, martial law, military tribunals, and the sus-pension of the privilege of the writ of habeas cor-pus, are. In time of peace, dangerous to public therty, incompatible with the individual rights of the entizens, contrary to the gesius and spirit of our tree maintuitons, and exhaustive of the national resources, and cupit not, therefore, to be sanctioned or allowed except in eases of actual necessity for repelling invasion or suppressing insurrection of rebellion. and try and put ourselves on a better footing in

"And whereas, the policy of the Government of the United states, from the beginning of the insurrec-tion to its overthrow and final suppression has been in conformity with the principles hersin set forth and enumers ad and enumerated-

"Therefore, I. Andrew Johnson, President of the United States do hereby proclaim and declare that the insurrection which beretolore existed in the States of Georgia South Ca.onna, North Carolina, Virg.nia, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana Arkansas, Missisappi, and Florida, is at an end, and henceforth to be so regarded.

"In testimony whereof I." etc. If anybody can reconcile these energetic de-II clarations with the continued existence of martial law, we shall award more credit to the ingenuity of the interpreter than to the candor of the author of a document so deceptively worded. What possible connection is there between the premises and the conclusion, when this recital of the peril and mischief of martial law is made the ground of a proclamation which does not remove it? We are here told in one sentence that martial law and the suspension of the habess corpus ought not to be allowed except for "suppressing insurrection or rebellion ;" in the next sentence, we are told of the "over-throw" of the insurrection, nay, of its "final suppression," Put the two sentences together, and they amount to a declaration that there is no longer any possible justification for martial haw, and this is followed by a solemn proclama-tion that the insurrection which has "heretolore existed" in the ten coumerated States "is at an end, and henceforth to be so regarded." How, n the name of reason, can an insurrection that is at end justify things which were allowable only as instruments for its "suppression ?"

We can discover nothing in the proclamation of the subtle, artful, dodging Secretary of State: but it is to be explained away, we can easily discern Mr. Seward's finger in that.

The reply to the Georgia Freedman's Bureau, objectionable as we deem its substance, will bear one interpretation which is creditable to President Johnson's enduring tenacity of purpose. It totally ignores the Civil Rights bill, and suggests the inquiry whether President Johnson regards it as a law. If the proteges of the Georgia Freedmen's Bureau are maltreated, the Civil Rights bill not only authorizes, but enjoins upon, the officers of the Bureau to make arrests, and bring the offencers to justice :-

"Section 4. That the District Attorneys, Marshals, "Section 4. That the District Attorneys, Marshals, and Deputy Maisha's of the United States, the com-missioners appointed by the circuit and the ritorial courts of the United States with powers of arresting, imprisoning, or bailing offenders against the aws of the United States, the others and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and every other officer who may be specially empowered by the Pre-ident of the United States, shall be and they are arefely specially authorized and rearined, at the expresse of the uthorized and required, at 'he expense United states, to institute proceedings against all and every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him or them to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such of the United States or territorial courts as by this act have coonzance of the offense; and with a view of affording reasonable protection to a l persons in their constitutional rights of equality be-fore the law, without distinction of race or color, or previous condition of slavery or involuntary servi-tude except as a punishmen for erme, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and the prompt discharge of the dulies of this ac, it shall be the duty of the Circuit Courts of the United States, and the Superior Courts of the territories of the United States, from time to time to increase the number of commissioners, so as to afford a speedy and conve ment means for the arrest and examination of per-sons charged with a violation of this act "

Now, when the officers of the Georgia Freedmou's Bureau doubted their authority to make further arrests under martial law, the President might simply have directed their attention to this section of the Civil Rights bill, where they are authorized to make arrests "with a view to adording reasonable "protection to all persons in the constitutional rights of equality before the law." It is as clear a case under the Civil the law." It is as clear a case under the Civil Rights bill as there could possibly be; and yet the President ignores that law entirely, and has re-course to martial law. Of the two evils this may be the least; and though inconsistent with the Proclamation, it is, after a fashion, technically defensible.

Its technical defense (which is sufficient to protect the President and those who act under him from legal consequences) rests on the peculiar language of the act of Congress authorizing the suspension of the habeas corpus. That act empowers the President, by proclamation, to suspend the habeas corpus "throughout the United States," and "during the present Rebelliou." Only eleven States ever having been pro-claimed in Rebellion, and the suspension being authorized in the whole thirty-six, the law established the principle (so far as an act of Congress could establish it), that, while the suspension must be contemporary with the Rebellion in time, it need not be co-extensive with it in space: in other words, that the writ may be suspended in States not actually in rebelhon, provided rebellion exists anywhere, in any of the States. This principle has been repeatedly acted upon by President Johnson himself. On the 13th of June, 1865, he proclaimed that the rebel ilon had ended in the State of Tennessee; but said, in the same proclamation, that it should not be construed as impairing the suspension of the habeas corpus or the existence of military law. On the brst of December he issued a proclamation annulling the suspension of the habeas corpus in all the States and Territories, with certain enumerated exceptions; among them, Kentucky and Tennessee, one of which had never been proclaimed in insurrection, and the other had been proclaimed out of it. As Texas was not included in the Peace Proclamation, it may be regarded as still technically in rebellion, and on the principle adverted to, the President may keep the habeas corpus suspended, and mariial law in operation, wherever he chooses. So that if Congress should undertake to impeach nim, or anybody should think fit to prosecute his agents for illegal arrests, he has precisely the same defense that Mr. Lincoln and his agents would have had, when they made similar arrests in New York, on the ground that there was a Bebellion is agent. there was a Rebellion in some other part of the country. It is very possible that this Georgia applica It is very possible that this Georgia applica-tion was a got-up inquiry, by which the radicals meant to test the President on the Civil Rights bill. If he had reason to suppose so, his reply was skiltul. "If the civil tribunals fail to afford protection, resort to martial law; but avoid it if you can," is the substance of him direction; and, hateful as martial law is in a tree country, this is not a bad Roland for the radicals' Oliver. But though martial law is not in dangerous hands. we should be recreant to our principles, and false to aniecedents to which we look back with pride, if we failed to reprobate it, even when its ghost reappears to sear the eye balls of its original triends.

legality of their acts, but answer with more than imperial arrogance :- Sio coto, sic jubeo; stet It is difficult to realize that this state of things

exists; the masses of the people do not realize it. But we have an abiding hope that they will ere long, and when that day arrives, the sceptra of the usurpers will crumble in their grasp. We cannot understand how men, who are neither loois hor knaves, can sanction the usur-pations of Summer and Stevens, or ial to see

that, in sustaining them, they are establishing precedents that may and will, some day, be used against themselves with fearful force. Respector the law is essential to the stability of a tree Respect covernment, and forms its only guarantee. Un less this sentiment be deeply rooted in the hearts of the people, paper constitutions will be found worthless in securing their liberties. When, therefore, constitutional limitations upon power are once disregarded, even in small particulars. the whole moral power of the charter is de stroved, the sword becomes the ultimate arbiter, might makes right, and liberty is lost. And it the radicals succeed in demoralizing the peop what guarantee have they that some equally unprincipled but abler demagogues will not wrest from them their ill gotten boty, and crush them in turn beneath the heel of as galling

a despotism? There is scarcely an act of the radicals since the termination of the civil war that was not done in the very teeth of the law; that does not breathe the spirit of usurping despotism; was not prompted by the malignant hate which men commonly bear to those they are conscious of oppressing,

Take, for example, the case of Mr. Stockton. Unable to disguise the fact that his expulsion was necessary to secure a party triumph, and therefore to be accomplished at all hazards, they do not hesitate to disfranchise a State, and troadly declare that the clause of the Consti-tution which constitutes each House the indge of the election, returns, and qualification of its own members, gives absolute power over the whole subject. They acknowledge no limitation whatever, and have practically annulled that clause of the Constitution which prescribes the qualification of members. If they had resolved that henceforth none but red-headed men shall be admitted to seats in Concress, the usurontion

would not have been greater. So, too, in regard to the admission of Senators and Representatives from the Southern States. And here they not only apply the same monstrous doctrine, but have undertaken to delegate their powers, both legitimate and usurped, to a central directory. Where is there authority in the Constitution for a member of the Lower House to pass judgment on the quali-fications of a Senator? Yet this is just what Congress has authorized Mr. Stevens and other members of the Lower House to do in regard to the claims of Southern Senators to their seats. And what glaring inconsistencies, what shame less self-stultifications do they no, commit in the pronunciamentos which accompany their decrees !

The Southern States are States, and they are not States; they are in the Union, and they are out of the Union; their inhabitants are citizens, and they are not cuizens; they are loyal, and disloyal; they are misguided brethren, return to the avuncular mansion is to be celebrated, under the guidance of "love and ju tice,"by the slaughter of the latted call; and they are desperate malignants, who, also under the guidance of love and justice, are to be hanged, orawn, and quartered. Was ever before such a tissue of absurdities gravely put forth for the amusement of the groundlings s this exaggerated ? Let any one who think so look over the files of the Tribune or the Press, or any other orthedox radical journal, and decide for himself: we are willing to be judged by the record.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

"THE SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY OF "THE SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA." The Corporators of "The Safe Deposit Company of Philadelphia." in compliance with the requirements of their charter, hereby appoint TUESDAY, the lat of May, 1866, for the opening of the books for subscription to the Capital Stock of said Company, at the office of the Provident Life and Trust Company, No. 111 S. FOUL'AI store. to the Capital stock of the Provident Lie a FOUR'H street. tharles Macalester, Alexander Henry, John Weish, Adcipb Eorle, Charles Borle, George Trott. M. W. Baldwin, Isaac Lea.

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ments that their interest and value lie; but as furnishing the ablest analysis of the grounds of Southern political'action, and as a personal narration of the processes of his own intellect, during two great historical crises, they are of enduring interest.

What Free Trade did for the South. From the Tribune.

"Cotton is King !" shouted the South, "and labor is the business of slaves." Seldsh, arrogant, and confident in the secure possession of a fancied monopoly, the South determined, through her politicians, to "play it alone" on agriculture. She periodically smashed our protective tariffs, and established British free trade on the ruin of Northern manufactures, and sought to drive the mechanical labor of the free States to the unoccupied Western lands, and to force it to augment the production of bread and meat to cheaply feed her slaves while raising cotton. The South played deep her "lone" game on agriculture. In the midst of it she burst into war on the North-stalked out of her cotton-fields into battle-fields. How naked the huntin way! Evoluared det naked the lunatic was! Exclusively devoted to planting, importing everything, making nothing, free trade from her crown to her foot, she began fighting without iron manufactures. without cloth manufactures, without leather manufactures. She had no metals nor machinery for making arms and ammunition-no establish ments for making machinery of transportation-no powder milly-no paper mills to make car-tridges or even regimental muster rolls. She tridges or even regimental muster rolls. She had no navy to keep open her ports for the in-troduction of supplies from Enrope; no rolling mills or shops to keep her railroads in running order. Cotton alone she had, but she had no bagging to put it in. She was poor, needy, naked, and powerless, save in her courage, arro-naked, and powerless, save in her courage, arronaked, and bewerness, save in her courage, arro-gance, and determination—an awful monument of the fruits of British free trade. There are Southerners who clearly see this truth. Among them is Alexander H. H. Stuart, Congressman elect from Virginia. He declared in the Staunton Spectator of February 27:-

"The recent war has taught us some useful lessons "The recent war has tadent as when estim teasons. It has shown us how dependent we have been on the North and iteraign countries, and how helpiess we were when out off from the outside world. Let us profit by this painful and humiliating experience,

dependent und site of the second

Is the Habeas Corpus Still Suspended? From the World.

We are no favorers of subtlety and finesse in politics. In a tree country, where government is under the control, or supposed to be under the control, of public opinion, proclamations and documents addressed to the mass of citizens should have no other meaning than that which the ordinary sense of plain people would naturally put upon the words. This sound rule has been epregiously transgressed in the President's proclamation of April 2, if the interpretation now put on it at Washington be the one origi-nally intended. It is given out, nay, it is as-serted in an official telegram, that the Proclamation of Peace does not remove martial law nor restore the habeas corpus in the Southern States. We suppose we must regard the follow-ing supprising correspondence as genuine:---

"AUGUSTA, Gs., April 16.—Major-General Howard : —Does the Fresident's proclamation remove martial law in this State? If so, General Brannon does not icel authorized to arrest parties who have committed outrages on freed people or Union returies. Please answe rby televraph. DAVIS TILSON, "Brigadier-General of Volunteers."

To this the following answer was sent yester-day, by direction of the President:---

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, April "Wan DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, April 17 — The President's proc amation does not remove maritial law, or operate in any way upon the Freed-men's Bureau in the exercise of its leastimate juris-diction. It is not expectent, however, to resort to military tribunals in any case where justice can be obtained through the medium of civil authority. "E. D. Townsand, "Assistant Adjutant-General" If the Prochamption of Procedure does not remove

If the Proclamation of Peace does not remove martial law and restore the habeas corpus, it would puzzle everybody but its author to tell why it was issued. For aught we can see, the President might just as well have published a euriously constructed conundrum. A good puz-zling conundrum would have precisely the same legal effect; and if anybody had succeeded in guessing it, it might have proved a good deal more entertaining. The Proclamation introduced itself by a long string of whereases, re-citing the reasons for its issue, and culminating. at the point of junction, as follows:-

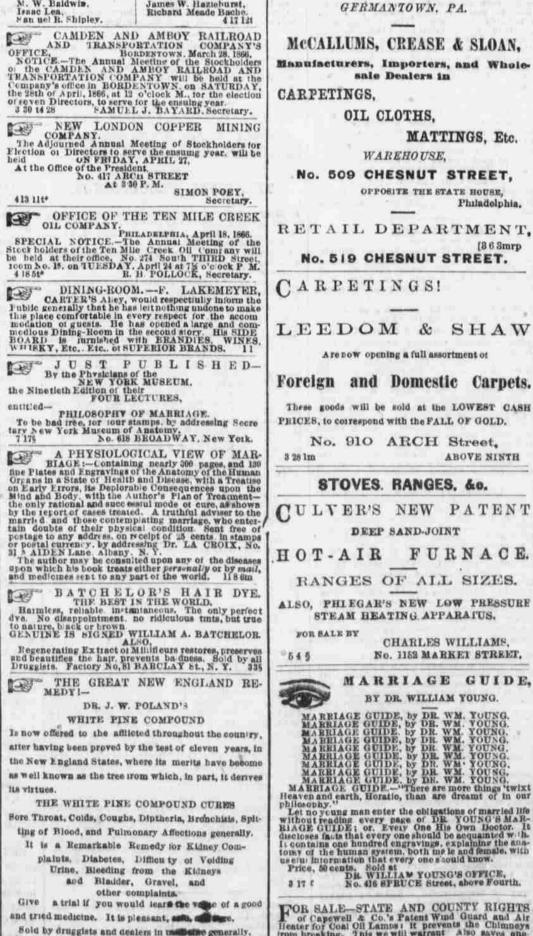
"And whereas, standing armies, military occupa-

The Radicals.

From the Daily News.

History is full of striking examples of the corrupting influences of power, but it furnishes no parallel for the course pursued by the radical wing of the Republican party since they succeeded in securing complete and undisputed control of the Government. It is true the men who shape the policy and direct the action of this party have always been bad men, and their protean party-protean so far, at least, as name is concerned—has always been a bad and cor-rupt party. But they would not have dared twenty, or even ten years ago, to entertain the purposes they now openly avow, or so reck-lessly to unveil their nefarious designs. They They still, indeed, profess to reverence the Constitu-tion and respect the laws; but the thin vel of hypocrisy which, with scornful carelessness, they spread over their motives, only serves, like the merctricious drapery of the harlot, to snow off the corruption it does not hide.

Ten years ago the people of the United States were free, and their Government was representative. To-day, an oligarchy which has destroyed the Constitution, defied the laws and usurped despotic powers, makes a mere mock of our once-boasted liberties. And when their authority is questioned they do not attempt to defend the



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