THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPIUS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH,

The Raid on the Bureau.

From the Tribune. We yesterday printed a report of the President's Bureau Inspectors, Messrs, Steedman and Fuller, ton, covering the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Although we give this to our readers as a matter of news, we do not conceal our opinion that the furnishing of such a report to the press for publication is a gross impropriety, and an inexcusable injury to the officers whom It assails. The inquisition of Generals Steedman and Fullerton might be proper enough, had the President in good faith desired to inform himself concerning the Bureau. In that case their report would have been confidential, like the proceedings of a Grand Jury, and would have been submitted to the President for his private information. Matters of hearsay might have been embodied in such a report, and if Mr. Johnson had deemed them grave enough, he could have ordered a court of inquiry, before which the officers accused would have been heard in their own detense.

If they had been found guilty, they would have been punished, and their disgrace have been published to the world. But in this case two officers are sent on a spy mission, one of whom is a prominent supporter of that Presidential policy which assumes that the Bureau is a nuisance, and the other of whom proved himselt in Louisiana a bitter enemy of the Bureau and of the freedmen. If there were any doubt about it otherwise, the purpose of their expedition might be accurately interred from the character of the agents. In pursuance of that object, the peripatetic inspectors of Mr. Johnson collect tattle of all sorts from half-reconstructed Rebels, with whom they associate so exclusively that, as a recent despatch informed us, it was with great difficulty that any Union man could

get a hearing from them. To preserve an appearance of impartiality, they convene meetings of the freedmen, whose opinions and evidence are ignored in their reports. Into these reports they crowd the slanders, the missratements, the prejudiced versions of facts, the wilful lies, which enemies of the Bureau are only too happy to supply. No op-portunity is offered for meeting these charges, or if any form of investigation is gone through, it is a form only. Then this mass of scandal is sent North in two batches, one official report to the President, and one unofficial to the New York Herald; and there seems to be a race tween these two authorities to see which shall first get his account before the public. We need only rejer to the report from North Carolina, and to that which we yesterday printed as evidence of the accuracy of this picture.

The North Carolina report has been so riddled and sifted, and the answer of Gen. Whittlesey to his accusers was so complete, that the Bureau which it was meant to annihilate stands higher than ever in public opinion. The President made a mistake in selecting his instruments. They are perfectly willing to do the work expected of them, but they have made the mis-take of exhibiting their willingness too openly. They lack ability to play the role assigned them. We may suggest to this arm, that in preparing their next report for the press, they should en-deavor to disguise, if possible, their hatred to the Burcau. They would have done much batter had they affected an interest in its pros-perity, and assumed an air of regret over such short comings as their duty required them to

In future, they should strive to conceal their eagerness to find fault, and their exultation over every petry peccasillo they succeed in unearth-If they are unable to wear such a mask, perhaps their next best resourse would be to avow frankly that they were sent South to pre-pare an indictment against the Bureau, and that they appear at the bar as prosecuting officers instead of sitting on the bench as judges. If they would avow this, the public would understand the situation more precisely.

We do not intend to examine the present re-port in detail, though it would be easy to point out its inconsistencies, and to comment on the animosity it everywhere displays towards the true friends of the freedmen. leave all that to the officers whom it attacks, and we are con-tent to leave the report as it stands to the judgment of its readers. They will observe in this, as in the other reports from the same source, that every officer who has consulted the interests of the freedmen is denounced, while every officer who has exhibited his devotion to the interests of the Rebels is applauded. These Presidential messengers exhaust their ingenuity in sneers and inuendoes against General Saxton, whose name is reverenced by the freedmen of South Carolina next to that of Abraham Lincoln. General Saxton spent about four years on the Sea Islands. Messrs, Steedman and Fullerton,

we believe, spent about four days.

From their observations during that period, they undertake to pass judgment on the long career of an officer whose fidelity to the freed-men under his charge no enemy ever ventured to assail, and whose only fault has been that he refused to acquiesce in a policy that would abandon to the hostility and oppression of their old masters those whom the Government stood pledged to protect. When the Government torgot its faith, General Saxton could not forget his, and was removed to make way for a more pliant tool. It was inevitable that such a man should be attacked by the c inspectors. They were sent in order that such men as he might be made odious. It was equally inevitable that General T lison should be praised. That officer has won his title to approbation by abolishing the Freedmen's Courts in Georgia, conciliating the planters, prohibiting the colored women of Augusta to strew flowers on the graves of Union soldiers, and suppressing The Loyal Georgian, a journal published by the freedmen. He is almost the only Bureau officer whose conduct receives the unqualified commendation of Generals Steedman and Fullerton.

The European Crisis-The Emperor Napoleon's Declaration.

From the Times . Some English journals profess to doubt the authenticity of the Emperor Napoleon's reply to Earl Cowley's effort at mediation in the German question, which we printed on Tuesday, and they may be right in so doing. They cannot, however, feel other than persuaded that, whether the reply was uttered or not, its tone and spirit are precisely what the policy of the Emperor, so far as it can be predicated, would have led us to expect. England has, for several years, shown a disposition studiously to avoid compli-cations which might lead to war with any other Power. Her course on the Danish question was very marked in its illustration of this policy. very marked in its illustration of this policy. She evidently thought then, or her Government thought, that her mission as peacemaker extended no further than that of remonstrance. She believed then that Lord Palmerston's theory of a controlline European public opinion was not only possible, act right. It was the same before the Austro-balian war of 1859. And on both occasions events proved the theory to be fallacious.

fallacious.

In 1859 the Italian was tame to a sudden termination, partly because of the threatened intervention, chiefly of England, and in a secondary position, of Prussia. Since that event there has been another war—that for the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. Here, to, England remonstrated, and brought to bear above moral force of her orators and her press. But the contest went on, nevertheless. The remonstrance was unheeded—the moral force was reckons as of no account. Would it be surprising if the Emperor, setting the two circumstances side by side, has concluded that, just as the English sympathy with the Danes ended in mere figure of speech, the Italian intervention really meant no more, and that a new campaign in the intervention more. no more, and that a new campaign in the into-rest of Italy may be inaugurated with perfect

impunity? The statement of the Vienna jour-nals that Napoleon has said—

"In the year 1859 and 1854 Encland opposed my proposes in retorence to the settlement of the Venerian and Schleswig-Holstein quasions. Now England wants peace. I also desire peace; but as the most tavorable opportunities have been trittered away, and as the conflicting interests have been per-mitted to reach a point at which they must clash, I canno longer assume the responsibility of events". may be a mistaken one, but if so, it is based upon a true estimate of the strictest probabilities.

There is little doubt that, Impressive as have been the assurances of a perfect entente excitte between the present Governments of England and France, those assurances have been called forth rather more by the respect which exists between possible combatants and actual rivals than by the mutual affection or two neighboring peoples. The declared policy of the one in favor of pence at almost any price must stimu-late the other to not with impunity in matters of general European interest. The interest felt by Napoleon in the tuture of Italy is the one which is of all others most powerful over his actions. It is for Italy that he has diplomatized, and for which a French army was launched

against Austria.

This protecting love for an ancient people whose history is full of suggestiveness to such lovers of antique models as the author of the "Life of Cesar," may have a double origin. It perhaps has its foundation in the early dreams of the prisoner of Ham of republics where a Presidency should not only wield an autocratic power, but which should be guardian of the national faith and the national culture. The restoration of Italy to something like its ancient giories is no new conception of enthusiastic minds; and that the mind of Napoleon has an intensely strong, though concealed, enthusiasm, well known; nor is the establishment of France as the ruling Catholic power of the world a new lice with Frenchmen. Nor are the ideas of a protectorate of the Roman Carbolic Church, and a simultaneous raising of Italy to the position of a first-class power and strenuous ally of

France, so atopian as may appear at first sight.
Supposing, we say only supposing, these views to be just, as indicating the possible aims of the Emperor Napoleon, it is possible that the reported reply to Earl Cowley indicates at once a resolve, and a conviction that that resolve can now be carried into execution! The position of England is neutral, whatever comes of it, says he in effect. She has, he affirms, deliberately chosen before to close her eyes to wrong-doing, and has no right now to interfere in a new crisis. He accepts the situation with perfect equanimity. He, too, will not interfere—that is to say, he will act in whatever manner it seems to him best to act. Thus, with in one hand a menace, and in the other a plea of justification, he is supposed to appeal alike to the sword and

And yet there is high authority for the opi-nion that Napoleon will not go to war just at present, nor sanction a war for Italian unity, to leave England in the enviable position of a

The Action of Congress and the Singular Combination of Bondsmen for Jeff. Davis.

From the Hoyald. We notice that the radicals in Congress have at last concluded to assume the responsibility for retaining Jeff. Pavis in prison. The pressure became very strong in favor of his release on bail, and, fearing that the President would yield, they hurried through a resolution opposing it, and declaring that he should be held in custody and tried according to law. What law? He cannot be tried by court-martial, and if courts refuse to try him now, how do the radicals propose to try him? Would it not be much better to admit him to ball until the question how he is to be tried is settled?

A number of New Yorkers are now at the

national capital offering their services in this line, and it is raid that several Baltimoreaus visited Richmond at the opening of Judge Un-derwood's court for the express purpose of becoming sureties on Jeff.'s ball bonds. Strange as it may seem, among those from this city who are anxious for this honor is Horace Greeley. This is a very good and generous thing on the part of our neighbor. It shows that, what ever his enemies may say about him, be at least has a large heart and is not atraid to be magnanimous. As to the other gentlemen, it makes but hitle difference who they are or what the motives may be that prompt them to offer them-selves as bondsmen. Greeley's name is sufficient for the Government, and his application should be accepted at once, and Davis be permitted to

It will no doubt somewhat surprise those raral radicals who have been in the habit of swearing by Greeley to learn that he has offered to be one of Davis' bondsmen. It is so different from the general impression of his character that we do not wonder that the bare mention of the fact has created considerable surprise. It is more in Weed's line than that of Greeley; but there is no five per cent, commission to be made by giving ball in this case. Weed, therefore, falls to come forward and leaves the field open to Greeley who never considers those five per cent, profits but is actuated solely by principle. No person will dispute the fact that Greeley, above all others, is the right person to go bad for Jeff. He advocated the right of secession when the Rebel-hon commenced, and no doubt had some influence in deciding the course of Davis when he withdrew from the United States Senate. It is therefore appropriate, now that the ex-Conte-derate chief is in trouble, that Greeley should come to his rescue; and we trust that the Admin-

come to his rescue; and we trust that the Administration will act without any further delay, and give Jeff, his liberty. Greeley will be responsible for all the harm that he will do.

But the moment he obtains his liberty there is another serious question which Greeley will have to arrange—Jeff. Davis is manufally and politically a bankrupt. He has nothing to support himself and family. While he remains at Foriress Monroe Uncle Sam feeds and clothes him, but the moment that he is released on bail he will be oblived to provide for the daily nehe will be oblived to provide for the daily ne-cessaries of life in some other way. Here the kind-hearted Greeley can also be of service. When he was trying to negotiate peace with Sanders and other Rebel commissioners at Niagara Falls, Greeley was willing to pay the South for all their negroes. Now let him apply south for all their negroes. Now let him apply to the Reconstruction Committee for an appropriation for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of carrying out this principle as far as Jeff. Davis is concerned. His negroes have all been set tree and his plantation confiscated, and if Greeley can only prevail upon his radical triends in Congress to prevail upon his radical friends in Congress to adopt this idea, Jeff, will be well provided for during the remainder of his life, and have sufficient to pay his lawyers to defend him, it he ever comes to trial, and still have something left for his lamily. If this cannot be accomplished, then let Greeley charter a vessel and send him to the coast of Africa and there take on a cargo of negroes, which he can take to South America and soll at a good price. This, it is true, is reviving the slave trade, but only in an exceptional case, and after all it will not violate the principles of the radicals, who are now, through principles of the radicals, who are now, through their New England agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, re-establishing slavery in the South.

President Lincoln on the Right of the Southern States to Representation

What signifies it what a dead President aid or did not think ?" It signities much, in several respects, but chiefly as exonerating President Johnson from the charge of infidelity to the party that elected him. It may be said that the reconstruction question was not thought of in the Presidential election. But it was thought of, and was litted into great prominence by a remarkable manifesto which appeared early in the canvass. We refer to the vigorous invective against Mr. Lincoln, published soon after the adjournment of Congress in 1884, and shored by Senator Wade and Henry Winter Dave, the former Chairman of the Senate and the later of the House Committee on the rebel-

lious States. Congress had passed a reconstruc-tion bill, and, adjourning immediately, gave the President no opportunity to velo it. He the President no opportunity to velo it. He therefore took the musual course of publishing a proclamation setting forth the reasons why he could not approve the bill.

The tenor of that proclamation shows that Mr. Lincoln entertained views of reconstruction nearly identical with those held by President Johnson; and the aloresaid manifesto in defense of the vetoed bill anticipates most of the arguments embodied in the recent report of the Reconstruction Committee.

An issue was thus raised between the President and Courress, in the Presidential election of 1864, almost identical with that which exists between Congress and President Johnson. was decided in favor of Mr. Lincoln by his tri-umphant election; and Mr. Johnson, being on the same ticket, may claim that his prezent policy was sanctioned in advance by the party that elected him. The Wade-Davis manifesto wound up as fellows: -

But he (President Laucoln) must understand that our support is of a cause, and not of a man; that the authority of Congress is paramount, and must be respected; that the whole body of the Union men of Congress will not submit to be impeached by him of right and unconstitutional legislation, and it he wishes our support he must confine himself to his executive cuites—to obey and execute, and not make the law—to suppress by arms armed Robellion, and leave political reorganization to Congress.

If the supporters of the Government fail to make on the they become test onside for the usurpations which they fail to rebuke, and are justly liab e to the indignation of the people, who could have and security, committed to their kcopins, they sacribed Let them consider the remedy for these usurjations, and having found it, fearlessly execute it.

It will be seen that, in tone, these inculpa-tions are precisely like those launched by Thad. Stevens and his Reconstruction Committee against President Johns n, and they are piecisely identical in substance. Mr. Lin-coln had, without consulting Congress, resrganized State Governments in Louisiana and Arkansas, had encouraged the election of Sen-ators and Representatives to Congress, and had exerted all his influence to scoure their admission to seats. One of his proclaimed reconfor disapproving the Reconstruction bill passed by Congress was that it upset what had been cone in those States. It will be seen, therefore, that the controversy between the Executive and Congress stood on the same footing during the Presidential election of 1864 that it does now, Hz who was elected on the same ticket with "the martyred Lincoln" inherits not only his office, but his policy, his quarrel with Congress, and even his mode of resistance, namely,

The proofs that Mr. Linco'n considered the Southern States entitled to immediate admission to Congress, as soon as they had in good toth submitted, are too conclusive to be controverted.

A lew samples will suffice to exhibit their character. In the reply of President Lincoln to Fernando Wood, in their famous correspondence about peace, the President expressed himself as

My Dear Sir:-Your letter of the 8th, with the accompanying note or same date, was received yes The most important paragraph in the letter, as I consider, is in these words:—'On the 28 h of November ast I was advised by an authority which I demed likely to be well informed, as well as reliable and finishing that the Southern Sintes would send represent these to the next Congress, provided that a juli and general amnesty should permit them to do

so. No guarantee or terms were asked for other than the annesty reserved to " I strongly suspect your information will prove to be groundless; nevertheless I thank you for com-municating it to me. Underst noting the phrase in the paragraph above quoted—' the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress" would send representatives to the next Congress"—
to be substantially the same as that "the people of
the hout ern States would cease resistance, and
would reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the
national anthority within the I mits of such States,
under the Constitution of the United States, 'I say
that in such case the war would cease on the part of
the United States; and that it, within a reasonable
time, "a full and general annesty" were necessary
to such end, if would not be withheld

to such end, it would not be withheld. Nothing can be clearer than that Mr. Lincoln considered the immediate admission of the Southern Representatives as the necessary accompaniment of peace. The reply made, under his direction, to the French offer of mediation, is equally unambiguous. In that reply, France was told that the best peace conference between the North and South was the American Congress; that representatives from the loyal States were already there; "and seats a re also inviting "the Senators and Representatives of the dis-"sent there from the States involved in the in "surrection." The letter to Mr. Wood was confidential; but this despatch was immediately published to the world, and as it was never re-tracted, it was equivalent to a pledge that Southern Representatives should be admitted to Congress whenever the States chose to return, congress whenever the States chose to return, provided they were constitutionally elected. The right of the President to make that pledge rested immediately upon the Constitution, which declares each State entitled to two Senators and a number of representatives propor-tioned to its population. It required no act of Congress to authorize this, as it was already or-dained by the Constitution. It would, of course, rest with each House to judge of the qualifica-tions of its own members, as it does those of the Senators and Representatives of the loyal States. We will only add to these testimonies the re-n arkable statement made by President Johnson,

in his 22d of February speech, of a conversation he had with Mr. Lincoln, not long before his death:-"When the amendment of the Constitution is adopted by three-fourths of the States, we shall have all, or pretty nearly all, I am in favor of in amending the Constitution, if there was one other adopted. Said I, what is that, Mr. President? Said he, I have labored to pre-cree this Union; I have to led for years; I have been subjected to calumny and misrepresentation; yet my great desire has been to preserve the Union of these States in fact under the Constitution as they were before. But, said I, Mr. President, what amendment do you refer to? He said he thought there would be an amendment added to the Constitution which would compet all the States to send Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States—yes, compet them. The idea was in his mind that it was a part of the doctrine of recession to break up the Government by States withdrawing their Senators and Representatives from Congress; and therefore he desired a Constitutional amendment to compet them to be sent. When the amendment of the Constitution is

We seem, by these quotations, to have made We seem, by these quorations, to have made out the following positions:—

1. That the right of the Southern States to representation is so plain that Mr. Liccoln, from the beginning to the end of his career, never doubted it, and availed himself of all suitable occasions to declare it.

2. That Mr. Johnson, having run on the same ticket with Mr. Lincoln, in the midst of an open breach between him and Congress on this

open breach between him and Congress on this very question, has a right to consider the elec-tion as an endorsement of the common policy of himself and his co-candidate and predecessor 3. The Radical assaults on Mr. Johnson are a back-handed method of reviling "the martyred

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The understanding to be that the contractor shall take bills prepared against the property conting on the said sever, to the amount of one do lar and two ky five certs are each lineal tool of ront on each side of the street, as so much each paid, the balance to be paid by the city.

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the city.

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