#### THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

CONFILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

# RETURNS THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR

From the Tribune. President Johnson seems, like Uncle Toby. determined to ride his hobby. In season or out of season, in public speeches, messages, conversations, telegraphic despatches, talks with delegations, the one purpose of his Presidential life is to keep his hobby in view of the people. If there is one thing the world knows, it is that Andrew Johnson has certain opinions on reconstruction. He deals with that subject very much as hard-headed doctors deal with medicine, and wooden-headed theologians with divinity. Andrew Johnson's hobby thus far has proved very harmless, and has done about as much towards reconstructing the Union as the elaborately constructed bastions and parallels of Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim did towards the siege of Namur. The danger with every hobby is that we have to much of it. There may be saving grace in a Presbyteriau catechism-but must we all be burned who do not believe the divinity of Westminster? A square-toed doctor who blisters and bleeds may save a patient now and then, but must we blister and bleed all sick people because this one medicine-man finds his hobby in his lancet and cantharides?

Mr. Johnson rode his hobby into Congress on Friday. Nobody wanted him, nobody ex-pected him, nobody felt that he had any business there. His message was about as appro-priate as though it had contained the bill of fare of his breakfast, his last tailor's account, or his opinions upon the cause of thunder. It is enough to have messages from his Excellency when they are really unavoidable, but if we are to have them upon every occasion, alas for Congress. Still this practically amounts to nothing. The statesmen of Congress are doing nothing. The statesmen of Congress are doing their work—as well probably as can be expected—but scarcely as rapidly as the country would have it. The right spirit is among them, and right will be done. As for our Uncle Toby, let him go on riding his hobby—and if he insists upon riding it into Congress, why no harm will come, and let him be gratined for the sake of all that he has done, and the hope that he will soon see that the nation cannot be saved by concession and surrender.

#### The Constitutional Amendment and the Action of the States;

From the Times. Some of the extreme journals, radical and Copperhead, hastened to pre-liet, after the final passage of the Constitutional amendment of the House, that the Secretary of State would not perform the purely ministerial act of transmitting a copy of it to the different States. These soothsayers will find themselves somewhat at fault now. The President formally announces the transmission of the amendment in accordauce with the prescribed usage of the State Department; and in doing so he reiterates, in clear, bold, and unmistakable lauguage, his fixed opposition to all Constitutional enactments passed by Congress while eleven States of the Union remain unrepresented. There is nothing starting in the performance of a simple ministe-rial duty by the Secretary of State. There is nothing surprising in the President's steadfast adherence to his convictions.

### The Coming War.

From the World. The English and French journals are indulg ing in predictions with regard to the coming war in Europe. There is a remarkable unanimity in the opinions expressed, and the following from the London Spectator summarizes very fairly the general impression:-

"The Austrian army is the largest, the oldest, and the best provided with cavairy, but Austria has never won, her soldiers are armed only with the rifle, and she has but an indifferent artillery. The Italian army is now, but it has enthusiasm, guns, and Cialarmy is new, but it has enthusiasm, guns, and Chal-dini; while the Prussians, with inferior cavalry, and an organization too inflexible for the field, have a rifle which will fire three times to the Austrian oace, and that leutonic stabbornness, which, like iron, only hardens under blows. The victory should be with moral force; but if the Austrians pursue the poncy, visible in every line of the Kaser's last despaces, of finding in Prussia itself the compensation for Venice, the moral force becomes nearly equal, and the burden will ultimately fall upon the petty States, whose Governments are now protesting so eagerly that the eagles shall fight it out, while hawk and crow and jay took on in mactive out tremulous admiration—the Austrian idea, it is evident, is to thrash italy and surrender Venice, to thrash Prussia and keep such a slice of her possessions as shall, when North Germany is united, leave South Germany stil an equa: German power, and it is by no means impossible that this idea may be realized."

Speculations of this kind are tempting, but faliacious. War is so complex a game that where the numbers are at all equal it is not sate to predict. The war, from the nature of things, must be short; and as there is no great disparity of strength, the victory will probably lie with the General-in-Chief who shows the most skill and judgment. On this point it is idle to anticipate the future. Great wars have been so rare recently in Europe that the generals now at the head of the various armies are comparatively untried in operations involving the handling of immense masses of men in actual cor-flict; hence there are no data to guide us in determing whether Benedek or Cialdim is the best general.

That is the point in dispute which this war is to settle. As the Prussian armies are to be com-manded by the princes of the royal blood, the odds would seem to be on the side of Austria, as the army of the latter is under the command of a good soldier, who, with his associates, has had the advantage of actual experience in a great war in 1859. The Damsh war was too small an affair to have taught much to the Prus-

With regard to this war, there is but one feeling in this country. We hope it will be snort, and that Italy will get Venetia. The whipping of Prussia by Austria, or Austria by Prussia, is a matter to us of profound indifference, as in reither case can we see any advantage to humanity.

#### The Next Congressional Elections-The Republic in Danger.

From the Herald, The terrible crisis in which the republic is now placed gives an unprecedented interest to the elections for the next Congress. Those elections will be even more important than the elections held for the first Congress of the United States. Then all parties were agreed upon the necessity of a perfect national union; but at this time we have a powerful party insisting upon the necessity of a national disunion in order to serve certain partisan purposes. From the present Congress, ruled by this revolutionary faction, nothing is to be hoped. Its work of evil is very nearly completed. It cannot possibly accomplish anything good, and we should be happy to hear that it had done its worst and adjourned. What beneficent measures it might have passed, what a complete reconciliation it might have secured, what an enviable immortality its members. Hight have secured.

might have secured, what an enviable immortality its members might have ach eved, we need not now consider. Never before were such spiendid opportunities rashly neglected, and such preposterous and tauatical absurdities substitute: for legitimate legislation.

When this Congress assembled it had a majority of conservative members; but these conservatives at once placed themselves in the power of the radical minority by the adoption power of the radical minority by the adoption of the joint resolution appointing the Recon-struction Committee; and from that time to

this they have made no organized effort to rethis they have made no organized effort to re-lease themselves from their slavery. Upon every important vote the two factions of the conservatives. Republican and Demooratic, have managed to neutralize each other, and have been to manouvred by their leaders as to give the radicals an easy victory. Had they united against the common enemy they could have controlled Congress; but they adopted the old, contemptable, partisan, unpatriolic tactics, crippling the President and annihilating them selves, and it is now too late for them to atone seives, and it is now too late for them to atope for their errors or heal the wounds which they

have inflicted upon the country. Our only hope, therefore, is in the wisdom and ability of the Longress to be elected next fall.

To the next Congress the best, the purest, and the most patriotic statesmen of the republic next be sent. Party lines must be disregarded: the tricks of primary elections and the intrigues of small political wire-pullers must be aban-doned. Unfortunately the Senate cannot be changed by the popular voice; but the House must be composed of members of such ability and reputation as to completely overshadow the Senatorial fanatics. This metropolis, which led the grand uprising against the Southern Rebellion in 1861, must be equally prompt in heading the Union movement against the Northern radicals. Our merchants can well afford to contribute a million of dollars for this purpose, and we have reliable assurances that the money

First of all, however, we must make sure of our own representatives. New York has not been properly represented in Congress for many years, and it is important that we should send our ablest men during a crisis like inis. The candidates now intriguing for nominations and renomi ations are not the men for the crisis. We referred to two of the most premment of these candidates—Messrs. Brooks and Raymond -a few days ago, and exposed their incompe-tency and want of tact. Mr. Brooks has replied to this exhibit by correcting mistakes which we never made; and Mr. Raymond has answered us by publishing a long speech upon both sides of the reconstruction question, and by recommending either a Constitutional Convention that would take years to finish its work, or a politi cal Convention that would have no power to enforce its decrees; we really cannot understand which. These gentlemen might better be silent. The facts of their record condemn them

beyond any hope of mercy.
When Congress assembled the House consisted of forty-one Democrats, led by Mr. Brooks, fifty-three conservative Republicans, led by Mr. Raymond, and eleven Republicans always voted with the Democrats-one hundred and tive in ail—besides seventy-nine radicals led by Mr. Stevens. It is evident from these figures that the Democrats and conserva-tive Republicans united had a clear majority over the radicals. But at the assembling of Congress the radicals were ready for action, and the conservatives, under Raymond and Seward, were not. The consequence was that Raymond and the rest voted with the raileals and against the Democrats for the Committee of Fifteen, and thus placed themselves in the

power of a directory. The first and greatest mistake made, others soon ollowed. On the 18th of January the bill imposing unconditional negro suffrage upon the District of Columbia came up. The conservative Depublicans tried to amend it, so as to make the suffrage conditional, as President Johnson desired, and Mr. Hale, of New York, made a motion to that effect. This the radicals opposed, and Mr. Brooks, who pretended to support the President, voted with Thad. Stevens against Mr. Hale's motion to recommit the bill. Here there were eighty two radical votes, fifty-three conservative Republican votes, and thirty five Democratic votes. If the conservatives and Democrats had voted together they would have beaten the radicals by six votes; but Mr. Brooks led the Democrats over to Thad. Stevens and so defeated Mr. Hale's motion, Then the bill was put upon its passage. The vote now stood 116 to 54. Nineteen conservative Republicans voted with the Democrats against the bill; but Mr. Raymond was not among them. Had he led his followers to a union with Mr. Brooks, the bill would have been killed. This one instance shows that Mr. Brooks, a Democrat, practically assisted to impose negro suffrage upon the District of Columbia, and that Mr. Raymond first voted for conditional negro suf-frage, and against Stevens, and then turned a short corner and voted with Stevens in favor of unconditional negro suffrage. Mr. Brooks was removed from his seat before he could do much further mischief; but we charge that in thus playing into the hands of the radicals, and refusing to unite his forces with the conservatives, he wilfully sacrificed the public good for private or partisan interests.

Mr. Raymond, who is open to the same accu-

sation, remained in Congress and continued his extraordinary tactics upon the Freedmen's Bureau bill, the Civil Rights bill, and the third section of the Reconstruction amendment, talk-ing one way and voting another, sustaining a bill and then sustaining the President's veto of it, being in tayor of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Stevens alternately, and riding two horses in the approved style of circus performers. These two gentlemen whose records we have thus analyzed we hold up as examples of the kind of members who ought not to be in the next Congress. If toat Congress should be like this one, we shall drift from republicanism to imperialism and to civil war, and shall meet the fate of Mexico. No fanatical radicals, no half-hearted conservatives. no incompetent and partisan Democrats can save the country. We need new men and great men, irrespective of party; and in order to secure such nominations the juggling of poli ticians at primary elections should be disregarded, immense Union meetings should be held all over the land, commencing at New York, and the people should be allowed to name their own representatives.

# What Might Have Been.

From the Nation. The disappointment which Mr. Stevens expressed a week ago over the result of the labors of the Reconstruction Committee has probably been felt. though not so keenly, by thousands who make outward professions of satisfaction with that result, though perhaps very lew have reached Mr. Stevens' age under the delusion, from which he has been so crueily awakened, that they were dealing with angels and not with men. It is impossible, in fact, for anybody to recall the expectations by which the public mind was animated for a month or two after Mr. Lincoln's death, and not be painfully reminded of the difference which is almost always found to exist in politics between promise and performance. At that time it was confidently believed that there would be such a general punishment of traitors that treason would be made, if not forever "odious," as Mr. Johnson promised it would be, at least forever daugerous. In fact, the intentions of the new President on this point appeared to be of a most sanguinary character, and a good many excellent people, who left just as indignant with the South as he did, were afraid he would disgrace the nation by his cruelties to the leaders. Every time Le delivered a speech to a deputation the whole South quaked, especially "the aristo-cracy," and the poor prisoners trembled in their cracy," and the poor prisoners trembled in their casemates. The Rebels of large property were to be got rid of root and branch. He had hved amongst them and fought them twenty years, knew them well, and flattered himself he knew how to deal with them. We certainly all believed that he did know, if anybody knew, and we all folded our hands and waited to see him reform Southern society, under the guidance of his bitter experience. The essential thing, he said, was to break down the large planters, who were the arch-Rebels. It was not enough to take their slaves from them: he knew better than that. This was already done, and was very well as far as it went. They must lose their overgrown estates as well, and be scraped down to the dimensions of hard-working farmers; so he excepted them all from the amnesty, and the North, trusting to his wisdom and knowledge of Southern needs, acquiesced in his decision. Southern needs, acquiesced in his decision. It was hard measure, everybody felt, to deal out to so large a class; it would probably prejudice

us in the eyes of foreign nations, and would prolong ill feeling; but Mr. Johnson said it was necessary, and it was not for us, who had never fought this aristectacy for long years in Tennes-see, to differ with him.

Now, of these two things which he pro-nounced in May, 1865, and pronounced delibe-rately, repeatedly, as the result of long experience, to be absolutely necessary to the reorganization of Southern society and the future peace and security of the Union, and which he then placed foremost in his plan of reconstruction, he has performed neither. He has punished no traitor. He has given no indication of any desire or intention, since the period above mentioned, to punish any traitor. He has taken every possible means open to him to show that every possible means open to him to show that he does not consider it necessary that treason should be made "odious," or even consider rebellion to be treason. On the contrary, he has on more than one occasion given us clearly to understand that, in his opinion, the only good purpose that would be served by the trial of Davis, or of any other Rebel, would be the decision, as an interesting point of law, of the question whether it is possible for a man acting under the orders of his own State to commit such an offense as treating. his own State to commit such an offense as trea-son against the United States. He issued what now appears to have been a very foolish proclamation, charging Davis, Clay, and others with baving instigated the assassination of Mr. L'ncoln, offered an enormous reward for their ap-prehension, and when poor Davis was caught clapped him in irons. The public thought, of course, that when he made this awful charge—a charge which, when made against men wao had occupied the position that these men had occupied for so many years in our society and Government, and on whom one-third, at least, of our countrymen had lavished the highest marks of confidence in their gitt, would, if proved, have been, perhaps, everything considered, the fonlest blot that could have allen on our civilization—he must have had in his hands proofs as strong as those of Holy Writ, and that he would bring the wretches to justice without delay. It now appears he had nothing of the kind. It appears that he had no foundation for this charge that would bear either a lawyer's scrating or public criticism. It appears that the charges of the proclamation were simply passionate and ill-considered displays of zeal, which, as it was so very short-lived, can hardly have been very sincere. We say that all this appears, because no allusion to that charge has ever since been made, because one of the accused has been discharged from custody, and no pretense is made that Davis is held upon it.

Now as regards Mr. Johnson's sourse towards the Southern aristocracy. He pron unced their breakdown necessary, and he armed himself with the power of accomplishing it by making the possession of a certain amount of fortune presumptive evidence of unusual guilt. We sreak advisedly when we say that he has not given the smallest proof that his opinion with regard to the necessity for breaking down the aristocracy was ever sincerely beld. He has, without assigning any reason for it, refrained cautiously from taking any step that was in the least likely to break it down. The abolition of slavery he has insisted upon, because he found the work already done; but everything beyond this which seemed likely to alter the structure of Southern society he has steadily and pertinaciously resisted. He has given the whole weight of his influence, personal and official, to keeping things at the South as nearly in their former condition as possible. He has exacted nothing which the war had not rendered inevitable. He has done absolutely nothing that he could avoid doing to weaken the class whose very existence he often informed us was a standing menace to our political system. He has confiscated no man's property, and if he has rejused pardon to any of his dreadful "\$20,000 men," as part of a system intended to impove-rish and break up this class, we have yet to hear

Now, it may be that the course he has actually taken has been wiser than the one he first traced out for himself. It may be that his wild speeches of last winter embody more wisdom that his wild speeches of fast summer, but how are we to know this? Has he, with this sudden change in opinions fresh before our eyes, not been asking a vast dea! too much in asking us to believe he was best fitted to do the work of reconstruction? It his views in May were worthless, what reason was there, we ask in the name of common sense, for supposing that his views in October or November were any better? Is it safe to trust a man with any task of statesmanship who gives you plainly to understand that the words he uttered, standing by his predecessor's grave, with the most awful responsibility pressing upon him, and a whole nation looking up to him with a confidence that now seems childish, were but as idle wind, to be repudiated or forgotten on the morrow, without even an excuse or an explanation. If Mr. Johnson meant, after his accession to the Presidency to carry out the policy which he then traced, his subsequent course shows him to possess so little judgment, so little knowledge on the only subject in the whole range of human knowledge of which anybody expected him to know any-thing, that it would have been madness for Con-gress to have let him have his way. If he did not mean to do so, his subsequent course fur-nishes an illustration of his dishonesty too painful to make comment on it possible.

His position at this moment is tolerably humiliating. He had, when he took office, one of the finest opportunities that ever presented itself to a statesman. Other men, of as mean beginnings as he, have reached dignities perhaps as lofty; but we doubt if there is a case in history where a man has found himself armed with power which there was so little temptation to use for mean, or base, or unjust ends. He had a whole nation at his back, still secthing with the excitement of a contest which suffering had purified, which, begun in love of country, every battle and march had helped to raise into a crusade for simple freedom, simple justice, simple humanity. He found the American people in perhaps the noblest mood to which which any people has ever risen—to which perhaps, in our lifetime this people will ever risc.—flinging its armies, its treasure, at his feet, and piling its blessings on his head, and asking him to see to it that the last vestige of contradiction between its principles and its practice was removed, and to proclaim to the world that the national recognition of the equality of men which the actors in the first revolution had put on paper, the actors in this revolution had em-bodied in their law. He let the colden moment slip away; took to mumbling before his old idols the old incantations; saw the zeal which had accomplished so much, and stood ready to accomplish so much more, cool down before his eyes; saw the economical and calculators and eyes; saw the economical and calculators and money-changers go back to their books, and came down from his eminence to devote himself to the construction of "his policy," the exact nature of which, probably, nobody will be able in ten years to remember, and which will leave about as much trace on the history of the country as the Saturday speeches in the House of Lenyescontailless. of Representatives.

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PRILADELPHIA, June 21, 1866.

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The understanding to be that the contractor shall take bells prepared against the property froming on the said sewer, to the amount of one doitar and twenty-five cents for each lineal foot of front on each side of the street, as so much carb paid, the Dalance to be baid by the city, provided the same shall not exceed three hundred dollars.

All bidgers are invited to be present at the time and place of opening the said proposals.

I the lowest bidger shall not execute a contract within five days after the work is awarded, he wil be deem d as declining and will be held liable on his bond for the difference between his bid and the next higher bid.

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PHILADELPHIA, June 23, 1866.

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OFFICE OF THE CITY TREASURER PHILADELPHIA June 21, 1861.

NOTICE TO LOAN HOLD RS - The in crest ou (ity Loans, due July I, will be paid on and a ter July 2, 1866.

6, 21 6t. City Transper.

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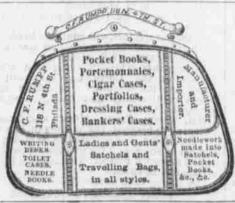
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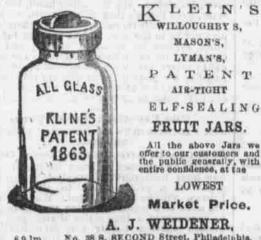
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