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THE NEW YORK PRESS. RDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS OPON COMBERT TOPICS-COMPILED NVERT DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The President and the Five Commanders. From the Herald.

The President has forced his way into a lilemma of a very disagreeable nature, and it frnot easy to see how he can secure a satisactory escape. He is at open issue, not as before with a coordinate branch of the Government, but with his subordinates; and those Inbordinates are sustained against him by the sense of the country. If he accepts the position he compromises the dignity of his office; If he removes the Generals he increases that irritation of the public mind that is now all against him, and thus immensely strengthens the hands of the violent radicals. What will he do? The telegraph informs us that "General Grant declines to relieve General Sickles from his command in North and South Carolina." Is that the way in which the thing is to be gotten over-by a quiet use of General Grant's name ?

Generals Sickles, Sheridan, Schofield, Ord, and Pope were doing very well. Under their respective administrations the law, whose passage had so much excited the country, was seen to take shape as a practical plan of reconstruction, and was notably fair to the people. It promised a speedy solution of difficulties that but a little while before seemed to defy all remedy. General Sickles, perceiving the real scope and spirit of the law from the first, assumed all the power it gave, and addressed himself earnestly to the labor of putting the Southern social system in practical harmony with the ideas of the conquering section. His acts were not more warmly applauded by intelligent men at the North than they were welcomed by the people of his district, who began to realize the benefits of an equitable rule and an honest administration of justice. General Pope did equally well. Sheridan had some rougher elements to deal with, and was compelled to the extreme acts contemplated by the law. Ord governed his district with high ability and considerate courage. Schofield was in entire harmony with the people subject to his rule, and intelligent Virginians doubted if the best conceivable reconstruction would be an improvement.

Such was the position when in came the Attorney-General with his two opinions. His opinions swept away the very foundation npon which all this administration was carried on. General Sickles, the first to perceive the scope of the opinion, as of the law, and the boldest to come to conclusions, proffered his resignation, recognizing that a military commandant was a useless article under the President's view of the law. Sheridan comes before the public in a sharp, "whirling-through-Winchester" sort of a letter, in which he declares that the Attorney-General's second opinion opens a "broad and macademized road for perjury and fraud." The other Generals having taken the same course as these in their action under the law, doubtless hold the same views of the opinions the President has promulgated nullifying the law.

Thus the President, putting himself in an attitude of antagonism to the law, comes into conflict with men who were enforcing the law, though subject to his orders. They are men of too much character to relinquish their wellmatured opinions according to the President's political convenience-to concede their nonentity, or even to be quietly swept out of the way. What can the President do ? He has driven himself into a position in which either to act or to stand still involves a bad result

immediately followed, from Virginia to Texas But when it became apparent, after the South-ern mission of Senator Wilson and the confis-cation hints of Thaddeus Stevens, and from the movements of the Freedman's Bureau officials, and from the proceedings of the mili-tary district commanders and their subordinates, that the Southern blacks en masse, and a portion of the Southern whites, were rallying to the Republican party, and would pro-bably carry two or three of the ten States concerned, it would seem that President Johnson took the alarm. But in undertaking to defeat the radicals with their own weapons, he has again been playing into their hands.

The Attorney General's remarkable rigma-role on registration, though incomprehensible to the Southern anti-radical elements, was still encouraging, and his more extended opin-ien on the laws of reconstruction would, perhaps, have brought every man to the registration office who dreads the ultimatum of Stevens, but for the immediate warning of a July session of Congress. From that moment, as we learn from careful observers on the ground, those Southern opposition ele ments so far gave uy the fight that it is believed, as matters stand to-day, they have turned over to the Republican Union Leagues of the South every State from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. It appears that these leagues, encouraged by Congress, the War Department, and the military authorities South, and supported by the Freedmen's Bureau, form already a comprehensive, compact, and powerful party organization, while the Southern opposition, without leaders or means, all moneyless and all adrift, are utterly hopeless of any effective resistance.

Is this condition of things likely to be changed by the approaching July session of Congress? By no means. On the contrary, the vantage-ground thus gained by the Republican party will be strengthened at all points in a new Reconstruction bill, and this will probably be the exclusive business of this ex ; traordinary session. This confiscation scheme of "Old Thad. Stevens," the still more revolutionary agrarian notions of "Old Ben Wade," the preposterous women's rights theories of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the financial reforms of moonshine and green cheese preached in the prairies by George Francis Train, will all have to be postponed, at least till the cooler season of next December. Nor do we apprehend the impeachment of President Johnson. He is too useful to the radicals to be removed. He has been the making of them, and when they show any signs of demoralization, he is sure to commit some faux pas that harmonizes them. He may expect to be badgered and frightened considerably with this impeachment prosecution, but it will only be flourished as a flaming sword over his head to keep him within the control of Congress. The solution of this conflict will most likely be the reconstruction of the ten outside States under the banner of the Republican party, the complete abandonment of President Johnson by the South, as a disastrous failure from first to last; the extinction of the last flickerings of those old Southern State rights fallacies which have broken down his administration, and a struggle in the Republican National Convention of 1868 between the followers of Chase, sustained by the national banks, and the supporters of Grant, backed by the army, which will bring to the severest trial "the collesive power of public plunder." As to the restoration of all or any of the States of the five military districts in season to give them a voice in the next Presidential contest, the chances are now against them; and for this, if disposed to be thankful, their thanks are especially due to Mr. Johnson and his learned Attorney-General.

Our Northern Neighbors,

From the Tribune. Saturday, July 1, is to be a holiday across our Northern frontier. On that day "The Dominion of Canada'' becomes an actuality. It embraces at present what was formerly known as Upper Canada (henceforth "Ontario"), Lower Canada (henceforth "Quebec"), New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but is expected soon to attract and incorporate also Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and, in fact, all British America. Lord Monck, hitherto Governor-General of Canada, is to preside over the new "Dominion," at a salary of \$50,000 per annum, and his chief advisers are to be drawn from each province of sub-realm. The coalition of the so-called Liberals and Conservatives which has carried the consolidation is to be perpetuated if possible; though the greater number of the Liberals seem to think that it has already lasted quite long enough. After the new rule has dispensed its patronage, the number of its adversaries may be expected rapidly to increase. George Brown, editor of the Globe, will be a leader of the opposition. Ottawa will be its capital. Their population and wealth exceed those of our thirteen Colonies when they declared their independence; while their natural and artificial facilities for both internal and external commerce are good. A railroad from Halifax to the St. Lawrence will doubtless soon be added to them; while a wagon-road from the western settlements of "Ontario" to those on the Red River of the North is to be opened forthwith. Newly opened gold mines, in Nova Scotia, in 'Quebec,'' and in "Ontario," are counted on to enlarge sensibly the resources of the Dominion. Taxes are lower than with us, though pretty high, and morally certain to be higher directly. Many immigrants are annually attracted from Europe, but they have a prevalent habit of slipping over the frontier, and making their homes in the Union. Foreign goods are usually cheaper than in "the States;" but produce is also lower, and farms bring higher prices in gold on our side of the boundary than on the other. On the whole, though Canada has in-creased fairly and steadily in wealth and population, she is less thrifty, less enterprising, and makes slower progress than this country She manufactures too little, and imports far too much, and is not likely to improve in either department. It were almost superfluous to add that she is always deeply in debt to the merchants of the mother country. That British America must ultimately choose to enter our Union on fair and honorable conditions, we believe; that the more intelligent and energetic of her people already desire this, we cannot doubt; that a few years' experience of the new rule will diffuse and intensify this feeling, we confidently predict. The large, intelligent, and substantial farming interest will not long rest content with prices far below those realized for like products by their rivals a few miles south of them. Property in Canada is rendered insecure while costly improvements are discouraged by the consideration that a war between Great Britain and the United States would very soon insure the overranning of their selvage of inhabited country by irresistible armies, while imposing intolerable burdens on the outnumbered colonists. Quebec, Montreal, and Toronto would each see its buildings and lots doubled in value by annexation, while their trade would be suddenly expanded and their manufactures quadrupled.

But the "Dominion" must run its course. It is monarchy'a "last card" this side of the valley of the Amazon. Let us quietly watch the progress of the experiment, deprecating and (if possible) averting any rupture with Great Britain which would tend to excite hostile feelings between us and the Canadians, and thus embarrass and postpone that frater-nal sympathy which will yet be developed. We would not acquire Canada by conquest, nor yet by purchase, no matter how moderate the price; but, believing that the true and lasting interest of both peoples would be sig-nally promoted by their fusion by mutual consent, we would be careful to interpose no obstacle to such a consummation.

Santa Anna and Mexico. From the Times.

We cannot share the indignation of some of our neighbors at the interference of our naval officers to prevent the landing of Santa Anna in Mexico. Perhaps it was illegal, but it was fortunate and useful nevertheless. We have professed to be anxious for the restoration of Republican authority-and we certainly do not care to see it again menaced and the country thrown into fresh commotion by the machinations and intrigues of the unscrupulous adventurers who are always ready to plunge Mexico into civil war for their own advantage.

Santa Anna has outlived his public usefulness. He is old and broken down. Nothing has survived with him but his unscrupulous and unprincipled ambition. When Maxi-milian first landed, he made haste to tender him his services. His letters were eloquent in describing the need which Mexico had of an Imperial Government and of foreign aid. When his services were rejected here, he offered them to Juarez, protesting the greatest indignation that a foreigner should dare to set foot on Mexican soil and try to overthrow the institutions of the republic. Rebuffed in that quarter also, he repaired to this country, and has been busy ever since in getting a chance to invade Mexico on his own hook. If he he were to succeed in getting a foothold there, he might prolong the struggle against the Republican authorities a little longer. He would probably rekindle the fires of civil war now dying away, and bring about the slaughter of some hundreds or thousands more of his former fellow-countrymen.

We are not sorry that the action of one of our officers has defeated this attempt. We hope Juarez will speedily regain possession of his legitimate authority, and that the experiment may again be fairly tried whether the Mexicans are capable of self-govern-ment or not. We have fairly made ourselves responsible to the world for the peace and good order of Mexice. The prevention of the return of Santa Anna to Mexico, for hostile purposes, is the first step towards a fulfilment of this obligation. We hope it will not be the last, if others shall be found necessary.

Who Were the Conspirators ? From the World.

When Benjamin Butler, in a fit of personal spleen against an opponent in Congress, declared last March that Mrs. Surratt was an innocent woman unjustly hung, very few people were convinced who were not convinced before, because very few people are in the habit of believing anything Butler says. But the testimony of a low drunkard against, may perhaps be regarded as doubtful as the testimony of Butler for, that unfortunate victim of the military Star Chamber at Washington; and whoever carefully read the statements elicited from the witness John M. Lloyd, during the examination at the Surratt trial on Monday, must have been startled into a suspicion, at least, that Butler did not lie. It was the evidence of this man Lloyd, the landlord of the hotel at Surrattsville, that did most to convict Mrs. Surratt at the assassina tion trial. Lloyd alleged, in the first place, that some five or six weeks before the assassination, Harold, Atzerott, and John H. Surratt, who is now on trial, came to his house, and left and concealed in it, with his knowledge, two carbines, a cartridge-box of ammunition, and a rope sixteen or twenty feet long; that the carbines were covered, and he did not examine them at that time ; that on the Tuesday pre-vious to the assassination he met Mrs. Surratt in a buggy near Uniontown, when she called his attention to the "shooting irons" that had been left at his place; that about 5 o'clock on the afternoon previous to the evening when the President was shot, he returned home that the village of Marlboro, where he had been attending a trial, and found at his, house Mrs. Surratt, who said to him, "Mr. Lloyd, want you to have those shooting irons ready; some parties will call for them to-night." Mrs. Surratt then handed him a package enclosed in paper, which he "did not undo until he got up stairs, and found it was a field-glass;" and asked him to "have two bottles of whisky ready, as they would be called for that night." He also testified that soon after 12 o'clock the same night, after the assassination, Booth and Harold came and called for and took away one of the carbines, the field-glass, the whisky, and a monkeywrench, without alluding to the rope, and leaving that behind ! and further, that, just as they were leaving, Booth said:-"I will tell you some news; I am pretty certain that we have assassinated the President and Secretary Seward !" The War Department spy, Weich-man, gave a certain color to these fatal allegations by telling that he drove in a buggy with Mrs. Surrati, to Surrattsville, on the afternoon alluded to, for the purpose, as she explained, of collecting some money from a man named Nothy, on which occasion she carried a paper package which "looked like two or three saucers done up in brown paper." Now let us observe what Lloyd testifies in this later trial. After rehearsing, in substantially the same terms, the circumstances of the first visit of Harold, Surratt, and Atzerott, their deposit of the arms and other articles at his house, and of Mrs. Surratt's visit the afternoon preceding the night of the murder, he states that when Booth and Harold called near midnight, after the deed, he "went up stairs, and got one of the guns, a field glass, and a cartridge-box, which was all he could bring, and he did not go back." Nothing is said here about a monkey-wrench, or the rope which had been deposited by the conspira-tors nearly six weeks before ! In his crossexamination Lloyd states that at Briantown two weeks after the assassination and before the trial, "a man named Cattingham said if he would testify he would receive the protec-tion of the Government." The endeavor by counsel to procure an answer from the witness to the question as to whether he, the witness, "would have given different evidence if he had not been put in fear, and that if it were not for his previous examination he would give different testimony now," was overruled by the Court. But the following passages in his subsequent testimony were sufficient not only to render a direct reply to that question need

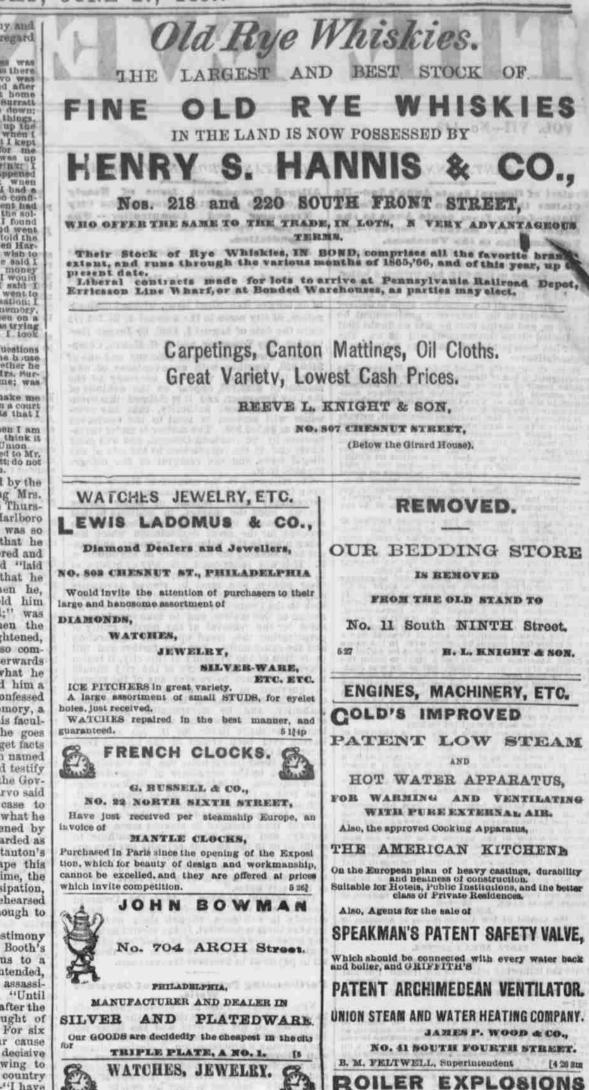
less, but to quash, it would seem, in the judg-

ment of any candid juror, the effect of any and all assertions which Lloyd has made in regard to this affair;-

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This was the wretched tool employed by the War Department to enable it to hang Mrs. Surratt. He "took several drinks on Thurs-day, April 13." He returned from Mariboro drunk, on the afternoon of the 14th; was so drunk when he met Mrs. Surratt that he "does not recollect whether he staggered and fell down when talking to her," and "laid tell down when taking to her," and "laid down before she left;" was so drunk that he "thought Harold was drunk" when he, Harold (it was Booth before), "told him that the President had been killed;" was so maudlin the next morning when the soldiers arrived that he "became frightened, and went to drinking" again; was so com-pletely saturated with liquor afterwards that he doesn't "recollect exactly what he told the detective," but thinks he told him a falsehood. And at last this self-confessed inebriate owns to a confusion of memory, a forgetfulness, a general chaos of all his faculties, that causes him to "fear, when he goes to testify in court, that he should forget facts that he should testify to." But a man named Cattingham told him that if he should testify he would "receive the protection of the Government," and a detective named Jarvo said "there was money enough in this case to make them both rich if he would tell what he knew;" and the poor drunkard, frightened by the fear that he himself might be regarded as an accomplice, and encouraged by Stanton's emissaries to hope that he might escape this accusation, and replace, at the same time, the money that he had spent in dissipation, trumped up a story that, having once rehearsed it at a former trial, he gets sober enough to repeat at this one.

When the valueless nature of this testimony is thus exposed, the fragment of Booth's diary that has appeared may assist us to a better knowledge of what was really intended, up to the last moment preceding the assassination, by all the parties concerned. "Until to day," Booth writes the very night after the deed was done, "nothing was ever thought of sacrificing to our country's wrongs. For six months we worked to capture; but, our cause being almost lost, something great and decisive must be done. But our failure was owing to others who did not strike for their country with a heart." Further on he says:-"I have a greater desire, and almost a mind to return



If he does not remove the Generals, he loses the prestige of his executive power; if he removes them, he plays into the hands of the party of extreme measures, and gives them for new capital all the popularity with the nation of these renowned and gallant soldiers.

The New Conflict on Reconstruction-What Will Congress Do ? From the Herald.

The President, through his Attorney-General, one of those Hudibrastic lawyers

"Who can a hair divide

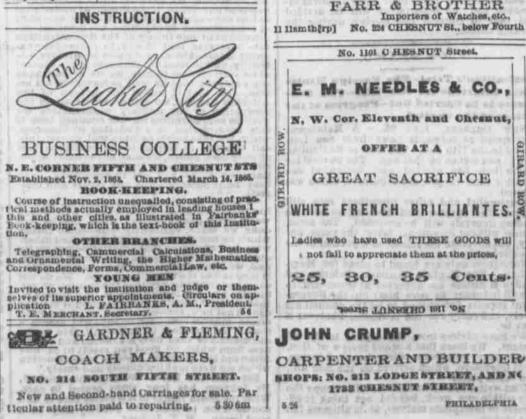
Betwixt its south and southwest side," has revived the conflict, which we had supposed to be ended, on Southern reconstruction. He has again thrown down the gauntlet, and the Executive Committee of Congress has promptly taken it up in a call urging a full meeting of the two Houses on the 3d of July. "It is thought essential," says Mr. Schenck, Chairman of this Committee, "to secure quorums, if it should only be to remain in session long enough to pass some declaratory act on the subject of reconstruction." It may, then, be considered as settled that a quorum of each of the two Houses will be present in the capital on the appointed day, and that their first proceeding will be the sending a joint committee to wait upon the President, announcing that the two Houses are in session and ready to receive any communication which he may have to make.

The answer of Mr. Johnson will probably be a message explaining and vindicating his re-cent course of action, under the opinions of his learned Attorney-General defining the metes and bounds of the governing powers conferred by the acts of the last session upon each of the five Southern military district commanders. The action of Congress will doubtless be a new law of reconstruction, so clearly and minutely establishing the powers of the five district commanders as to admit of no evasion of the conditions of registration, the qualifications of electors, and the rules and restrictions applicable in each of the States concerned to its State Convention, Constitution, and Legislature, and to its election of Senators and Representatives to Congress. It may be safely assumed that under this declaratory act a more rigid enforcement of the general terms to the excluded States laid down at the last session will be exacted than would have been required had the President, in his execution of these laws, leaned more to their "true intent and meaning" and less to his exploded policy. Had he desired the special intervention of Congress to rectify the irregularities and harmonize the action of the five district commanders, he could not have adopted a more effective measure to secure his object than in the course he has pursued; but a wiser expedient would have been a simple proclamation recommending the presence of a quorum in each House on the 3d of July.

It is evident, however, that his purpose has been rather to embarrass, delay, and defeat the Reconstruction programme of Congress, than to assist in bringing it to a successful than to assist in bringing it to a successful issue. With the failure of the appeals to the Supreme Court of Sharkey, Walker, Jankins, and Company, a general opinion of acquiescence in the opinions of such men as Generals Lee, Hampton, and Longstreet, and a general disposition to fulfil the conditions of Congress,

to Washington, and in a measure to clear my name, which I know that I can do."

The fact that a rope "sixteen or twenty fee long," and a monkey-wrench, were lef at Lloyd's house five or six weeks before the tragedy, and not called for by Harold and Booth, with the other articles, when they stopped on their flight from Washington, is very significant indication that an abduction was contemplated. Might not this rop have been intended to confine a prisoner and is it not fair to suppose "that the wrench was to be used in case of any accident to the carriage in which the prisoner was to b borne away? What, at last, did Booth mean when he wrote that the failure to ab duct "was owing to others?" And upon what did he base even a momen tary confidence that he could return to Washington and "clear his name?" Whe were these others who did not strike with the heart that he desired ? Not Paine, or Harold, or Atzerott; for one of them, a least, struck as boldly, if not as successfully as Booth did at the last. What were the asso ciations upon which the chief assassin founded or could found, a hope of palliation ? Surely not his association with the common accom plices who have been convicted and hung Was there then some higher infinence that he could have either dared to preserve him (i that were possible) from the consequences o his crime, or forced to share his obloguy perhaps his fate ? Are there those living wh were aware of and connived at the propose abduction of the President, although they might not have been privy to the assassina tion itself? Where are the missing leaves of th diary? for until those are produced, or until the memory and the conscience of some on who saw and read them render their secret t the world, the conspiracy that led to th murder of Abraham Lincoln will still remain a mystery.



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