SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

HOSTORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED RVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

An Expected "Revulsion of Feeling"-A Southern Blunder.

From the Times.

Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, in his recent conversation with our special correspondent, gave ntterance to a sentiment which widely prewails in some parts of the South. "Our only hope," he said, "is in a reaction at the North." With this as their reliance, a party in Georgia are prepared to vote against the projected Convention, with the purpose of defeating the Congressional scheme of reconstruction. A yet more considerable party in several of the States are acting on the advice of Mr. Hill, and abstaining from registration. They will not recognize the law by voluntary compliance with any of its provisions. They, too, place their trust in "a reaction at the North." Both Mr. Herschel Johnson and Mr. Hill proceed on the hypothesis that the great object to be just now attained is the frustration of the plan of Congress. Beyond that, their philosophy and prophecies are at fault. All else centres in a vague hope of help from the North. Why that help should be rendered. except with the view of enabling the South to dictate the terms of reconstruction, neither the Georgia Johnson nor Mr. Hill has attempted to explain.

Similar opinions are zealously cultivated in South Carolina under the leadership of the Charleston Mercury. For some time after its reappearance, the Mercury displayed a wholesome moderation. It seemed inclined to accept the situation with all its realities, and to favor getting back into the Union in any way which the North might indicate. Gradually, however, the ante-war spirit has developed itself. and now the Mercury declaims as furiously against the authority and measures of Congress as though both were subject to the will of the Southern people. The Mercury, too, is preparing its readers for "a revulsion of feeling" at the North; arguing that sooner or later it must come, and that the present duty of the South is to stave off reconstruction until the "revulsion" actually occur. The argument in support of this conclusion is, that the continued supremacy of the Republican party is contingent on the acquisition of the votes of the Southern States. Prevent thisthe Mercury contends—and the Republican party will be defeated; then all will be right. Here is the statement of the case, as it is seen by this opponent of the law :-

"Kentucks, as was expected, will send a Democratic delegation to Congress, and an increase of six thousand conservative votes in each of the States of New York and Pennsylva-nia, at the coming elections, would throw their delegation and their fifty-nine electoral votes against the radical party. This is the reason why the radicals exult over the victory that Brownlow and his militia gained for them in Tennessee. They have acknowledged that they expect to lose the Middle States, and they say frankly that their continued power can only be secured by the solid votes of the Eastern States, with those of one or more of the Northwestern States, added to the solid radical vote of the ten States, added to the solld radical vote of the ten Southern States. They admit that they will be defeated unless the Southern States be admitted to Congress with radical delegations which will support, through thick and thin, the measures of the radical party. If the Southern States are not readmitted, or if they are not readmitted with radical representatives, the sun of the radical revolutionists has set forever. In every Southern State but two the whites can insure that the call for a convention, or the ratificathat the call for a convention, or the ratifica-tion of the amended Constitution, shall be de-feated, and if they do this the South is saved."

The assumption with which the Mercury starts-that the Republican party is losing ground in the States it now controls-is gratuitous. An accession of strength from the South would, of course, add to the perma nence of its sway. But on its present basis, with the strength it possesses, and the assurance of renewed success which it enjoys, the continuance of its rule over a period sufficiently long to complete the work of reconstruction does not admit of reasonable doubt. Truly stated, then, the case amounts to this: The defeat of reconstruction now by the South will not deprive the party in power of the opportunity of carrying out reconstruction on the basis laid down by Congress. Delay may lead to new and more harsh conditions. For these, however, the Congressional majority have time. On some ground, therefore, and on conditions certainly not less stringent than those of the present law, the South will be reconstructed under Republican direction, whether the Conventions be voted down or not. Delay may occur, entailing injury upon the country, especially on the South. But the final result will be as far as possible removed from that which the Charleston journal predicts for the encouragement of its malcon-

tent friends. Another fallacy which all these opponents of the law cherish is, that they may, without further inconvenience, frustrate the operations now in progress. Mr. Herschel Johnson and the Charleston Mercury alike err in this respect. Both suppose that by defeating the law as it stands, trouble will be brought to an end; the North will rush to the rescue, and the South will be "saved"-by which probably is meant "saved" from the measures of instice and safety which Congress seeks to establish. The idea does not occur to either that perhaps the North will speak in another tone, and will demand the stern punishment of men whose rebellious aspirations have thriven under a policy of comparative moderation. On the contrary, the Mercury affirms that the growth of friendly feeling at the North is evidence of the repudiation of the principles on which Congress has legislated. The leading radical members of Congress," it declares, "have given up for the present" cherished notions of vengeance-confiscation

among the number. "The public press of the North is far more moderate in its tone than it has ever been before. It deprecates harsh or severe measures, it advocates a restoration of the Union, and it shows plainly enough that, although it is not yet ready to break with the radical party it does feel that the continuance of radical dominion is the continuance of discord and dis-union, the encouragement of revolution, and the continued decline of political power and

commercial prosperity.'

These allegations furnish pretexts for the assertion that "a revulsion of feeling" in favor of the demands of the unreconstructed South has already begun. But there could be no more palpable mistake. "The leading radical members" have been overborne by more moderate Republicans, because the feeling predominant in the party is adverse to greater severity than is essential to the completion of thorough reconstruction. Let it be generally understood, however, that other and severer penalties are necessrry to perfect the work, and extinguish Rebel resistance, and these penalties will be promptly enacted and sternly enforced. If confiscation of the estates of Rebel landowners be found necessary, confiscation will be carried. It has been resisted thus far simply because it has not appeared indispensa-The same spirit which led Congress to supplement the very mild Constitutional amendment with the existing laws, will compel the adoption of more radical schemes, so

soon as the failure of the present law shall become apparent.

The more friendly tone of the Northern press admits of a similar interpretation. That which the Charleston Mercury hails as a proof of change, the result of fear, is the effect of a belief that, despite all opposition, the loyal elements in the South, black and white combined, will prove strong enough to insure compliance with the law. This belief is predicated on observations and reports akin to those of Senator Wilson, touching the rapid growth at the South of a disposition to abide by the law in good faith. We hazard nothing in saying that if this belief thus fostered be not verified-if the anticipations of reconstruction which have grown up within the last few months be not fulfilled—"the public press of the North" will, under the twin impulses of duty and self-interest, quickly dispel the de-Insions cherished by those who imagine that they may defy Congress and its laws with impunity.

We do not accept Mr. Herschel Johnson as more than the exponent of a certain class of Georgia politicians — not of the Southern people; nor do we regard the Charleston Mercury as a representative organ of Southern newspaperdom. Both are noticeable only as indexes of particular difficulties to be encountered at the South, as well before as after reconstruction. They are reasons for making the work thorough, rather than for despairing of its success.

"We, the People," From the Washington Chronicle When a distinguished member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States was congratulated upon the prospect of happiness and prosperity apparently secured by it, he replied, "That depends upon the construction that may be put upon the Constitution." The sentiment in favor of a National Government was by no means unanimous. There were local reasons of State power and policy, and jealousies of State politicians, as well as fears of the novelty of this new Government, of great but untried powers, that arrayed against it a powerful minority, many of whose members had been leaders of the revolution for independence. The necessities of the situation proved superior to their arguments. The confederation was powerless and contemptible at home and abroad. State jurisprudence was very unsatisfactory, creditors complained that justice was not secure; commerce languished; the States refused to obey Congressional requisitions, and there was no power to enforce them; civil war was imminent, and could only be prevented by the organization of a National Government. The Government of the United States then was the offspring of an exigency, the legitimate sequence of the war of independence. The Declaration was a charter of principles, the Constitution an attempt to organize government in accordance with them. Abstract theories must take the shape of law before they can become effective in government, and the obstacles interposed by vested interests frequently place governments in an attitude of hostility to the accepted faith of the nation they represent. This arises especially from the habit inculcated and perpetuated by monarchical and aristocratic governments of regarding time-honored privilege as a right, and sanctfying property over man. Freedom and progress are in constant struggle to break through the incrustrations of ages of despotism to which men have become habituated. It is much harder to secure intellectual emancipation, to get men's minds out of the old habits of thought, than to win victories upon the battle-field. Hence the rarity of revolutionary triumph and the tendency to reaction. The war of independence had been made successful by a united effort of the people of all the colonies; their unity had been cemented by a common danger. danger was passed, the "spirit of America," as it was called, subsided, and local jealousies interrupted the harmony and threatened the existence of the Union. The Convention was therefore a necessity-the Constitution was its consequence; and that was made to conform as nearly to the principles of the revolution as State rivalry and other obstacles would

Great objection was made by the opponents of the National Government to the sentence with which the preamble begins, "We, the people." It was the object of constant attack, and it is, therefore, well to keep in mind the importance of that sentence in establishing the character of our Government. If we look at the debates of the Virginia Convention, we will find that nearly all of the distinguished men in that body earnestly participated in the discussion regarding the term "we, the people," and their deliberations enable us to come to a just conclusion as to the construction put upon Patrick Henry, a leader of the revolution. and the most effective orator of his day, having become imbued with the idea that extent of territory was dangerous to liberty, that liberty could only be secure in small commonwealths. vehemently opposed the adoption of the Constitution. Of this little clause, "we, the people," he said, "What right had they to say, we, the people? My political curiosity, exclusive of my anxious solicitude for the public welfare, leads me to ask who authorized them to speak the language of we, the people, instead of we, the States? States are the characteristics and soul of a confederation. If the States be not the agents of this compact, it must be one great consolidated national Government of the people of all the States." This was as strong a method of presenting the obnoxious feature of the Constitution as this great orator and advocate of State sovereignty could devise. To minds constituted like his own, to men of similar faith, it was startling and conclu-But how was it received by the friends of the Government? Did they shrink away from the issue, alarmed at the prospect of creating a grand consolidated nationality? No. Governor Randolph replied:-"The gentleman then proceeds, and inquires why we assumed the language, 'we, people.' I ask, why not? The Government is for the people; and the misfortune was that the people had no agency in the Government before. * * What harm is there in consulting the people on the construction of a Government by which they are to be bound? Is it unfair? Is it unjust? If the Government is to be binding on the people, are not the people the proper persons to examine its

merits or defects ?" Assailed again by Mr. George Mason, who denounced it as creating a national Government, Mr. Pendleton followed in its defense, especially against Mr. Henry's assault. said:—"Who but the people have a right to form government? The expression is a common one, and a favorite one with me; the representatives of the people, by their authority, is a mode wholly inessential. If the obection be that the Union ought to be not of the people, but of the State Governments, then I think the choice of the former very happy and proper. What have the State Governments to do with it? Were they to determine, the people would not in that case be the judges upon what terms it was adopted."

Here we find the startling force of Henry's | arecrow of "consolidated nationality" by a deflant query as to what the States had to do with it. The people had the right to make a Government if they wished to, and the States, which were the creatures of the people, not their makers nor masters, had no right to intervene. If the sovereignty which was vested in the people gave them power to make State Governments, it also gave them power to make a National Government, and Mr. Pendleton, who thought that the confederation was "no government at all," said of the Constitution:- "Suppose the paper on your table dropped from one of the planets, the people found it, and sent us here to consider whether it was proper for their adoption, must we not obey them? Then the question must be between this Government and the confederation." Here was an unequivocal adoption of popular sovereignty against State sovereignty, such as must have shocked the nerves of the Confederationists very much indeed; but was followed up by the declaration of Mr. Lee, of West-moreland, that the expression, "We, the peo-ple," was introduced into the Constitution with great propriety. "This system," said he, is submitted to the people for their consideration, because on them it is to operate, if adopted;" and after he had strengthened his position by lengthened argument and illustration, Mr. Henry renewed his attack by again proclaiming the Government created a "consolidated Government." He evidently thought the declaration of that simple truth enough to warn his hearers away from it; but they were not all as much afraid of consolidation as he was, and were quite willing to accept it as the only escape from growing and threatening evils. question turns," said Henry, "on that poor little thing—the expression, We, the people, instead of the States of America." "Here is a revolution as radical as that which separated us from Great Britain." The councould hardly be frightened by the revolutionary agitator himself raising the cry of revolution anew. Neither did the usual catchpenny epithet of "radical" answer his pur-The Government was a necessity, and all his assaults upon it were fruitless. It was adopted by the people, whose Government it is; and his delineations of its character and powers may now be properly invoked by its friends to carry out those measures necessary to perfect its operations. The State sovereignty party gained ground after the adoption of the Constitution, being helped thereto by many adventitious circumstances. They came into possession of the Government, and so organized its different departments as to emasculate it and make it powerless before the

As Alexander H. Stephens said they always insisted upon a majority of the Supreme Court, and having a majority of Congress, and nearly all the Presidents; the interpretations put upon the Constitution were made chains wherewith to bind the arms of the nation. They ran the Government down the inclined plane of inimical construction for eighty years into the pit of rebellion and civil war, thus proving that its beneficence depended materially apon the construction it should receive at the hands of those who administered it.

This method having nearly ruined the Government and the nation, it is time to reverse the engine and run it upon the track of true construction; that construction which was given to it by its friends and not by its enemies. It is quite sure it can no longer be permitted to drift along dishonored as the creature of sovereign States. Its permanency can only be secured by its legitimate supremacy over the States, and to enable it to exercise the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, a law must be passed to enforce the guarantee clause thereof.

The President and His Cabinet-What Does the Emergency Require? From the Herald.

Mr. Stanton in retiring takes care to make up his case, evidently with a view to the future action of Congress. He seems, indeed, to have had the double purpose to fix his own position and at the same time the position of General Grant; trying, of course, in the latter to hold the General responsible in some part for what he esteems a violation of his rights, and this even while exchanging with the straightforward soldier expressions, hollow enough on his part, of admiration and respect. This will recall characteristic conduct of a like nature memorable in the earlier history of Mr. Stanton's official life. He is careful not to assent to any step in the President's course; to protest that it is all wrong, and that he does not yield of his free will, but only retires because assured that General Grant has accepted the appointment to his position, and that this implies "superior force." Doubtless all will agree that the retiring Secretary should save his wounded dignity and cover ignominious dismissal from a high position with this poor plea. As to ultimate right, we suspect that here, as in many other great cases, the act will be judged in relation to its results; in other words, if the President carries his movement so far as to commend it to the people to make it a popular success-it will be right while otherwise, if he halts and fails, he will be held as having been desperately in the wrong. His fate before the nation is now in his own hands, and the result of the steps

future If Mr. Johnson stops with the mere removal of Mr. Stanton, he will have taken no advantageous step. He may get secretaries quite as efficient and quite as acceptable to the country; but that is not enough. Mr. Stanton had a definite position in this case, as representing the policy of the nation, and with this has also done so well in the proper discharge of his duties as to call from a man of such unquestionable candor as General Grant an expression of appreciation for his "zeal, patriot ism, firmness, and ability." Mr. Johnson must therefore make the case so clear that it cannot possibly be supposed that he acts against Stanton merely, whose position is respectable as an efficient official and upholder of the national policy of reconstruction in its broader sense. The President must show that his action does not intend a mere reopening of his former issues with Congress, and that this present action is not to be classed and confounded with such former obstructive steps as the nullification of the Reconstruction law by Stanbery's opinion. He must render it impossible that this step shall be classified in that category of obstructive acts which irritated the country and gave all its power against him to Congress and made clamor of impeachment what it was. He will have only reawakened that dormant spirit if he does not now show distinctly that he moves to counteract, to control, to checkmate, possible, that particular tendency of the Republican party which threatens to throw the destinies of the country into the hands of the nigger; to give a dominant voice in the |councils of the nation to those newly made voters that have just come out of a barbarous condition, and in their ignorance

are the tools of the dangerous extremists, the

already taken will depend upon what is in the

theorists and demagogues who stand as their peculiar friends in virtue of the extravagant promises made-promises that can only be fulfilled at the expense of the rights of the white man.

As a blow against the negro policy-a blow in behalf of the rights of white voters North and South-the removal of Stanton is significant; for he was, during the war, the great leader of the negro clamor—the man who spent an undue amount of national money putting into the national uniform some thousands of niggers who never fired a shot, and who were only intended to be used as capital for future nigger legislation, to pave the way to this very supremacy of nigger voters. He was, therefore, a good man begin with; but the President must not stop with him. He must go through the entire Cabinet—oust Seward, Welles, Randall, and more than all, Stanbery, the man who is, perhaps, more likely than any other to compromise the President before the nation; the man whose interpretations of laws and whose declaration in the Supreme Court of Democratic sympathies make him a political millstone. All these must be driven out; and the President must then reorganize his Cabinet with men whose very names will convince the country of the honesty of his purpese-will show that he is fighting the dangerous tendencies of a faction, not opposing the will of the people. He must reorganize with men whose history, and, more especially, recent career, show them to be in sympathy with the great national movement; who were in for the war, heart and soul: who cannot be suspected of any disposition to betray the great principles for which the people fought; but who have the wisdom and the courage to oppose a firm front against that evil and dangerous policy of extreme Republicans that can only end in giving the political balance of the nation into the hands of half a million negro veters. This is the issue. If the President meets the necessity boldly, he will have the sympathy and support of the nation; if he goes half way, and stops, he will only have made matters worse.

The Proscription of Republican Voters-From the Tribune.

Nobody has ever thought it amiable to snatch bread from the starving, or polite to pull his bed from under a dying man; but, it seems to us, akin to these attentions is the attempt to bully a freedman out of his vote. There was a little too much of this for patience in the late Tennessee election. We can pass over the passion of that retired marine warrior, Admiral Semmes, for the right of an old salt to swear is as prescriptive as his right to chew tobacco; and we cannot be sufficiently thankful that he did not burst a vessel on election day, but survived the aggravation with his arteries in their usual order. We can also pass over the mournful wails of the Avalanche newspaper, which hints at going to war again, if not day after to-morrow, at least in the course of a month or two. It is quite another matter when we find the Clarksville Chronicle advising citizens to withhold work from all colored men who voted for Brownlow-not immediately, mark you! but whenever laborers can be found to take their places. Now, threatening to discharge a man from

employment unless he votes with his employer, is the most shameful sort of bribery conceivable, and the wretch who succumbs to such influences might just as well be a slave as a so called freedman. His freedom is merely nominal. The best part of him belongs to the political trader who buys him at the poor price of permitting him to earn a living by the sweat of his brow. Whether an employer thinks negro suffrage expedient or otherwise does not in the slightest degree affect the moral question. There are those who do not understand the use of money, and when they get it, unwisely squander it; but does this give anybody a right to pick their pockets? Shylock justly said that those who took the means whereby he lived, really took his life; and to abandon a man to pauperism and starvation simply for exercising a plain legal right, is no better than knocking him on the head. Then, again, what difference does it make whether the bribery of a voter is effected by a sum in hand or by prospective wages? by cajolery or by threats? by thrusting a spurious ballot

into his fist, or by promising to starve him into political orthodoxy? In every country in which anything like general suffrage prevails, this purchasing of votes, while it may not seldom be resorted to, is held to be disreputable. In England, bribery proved unseats a member of Parlia-In most of the respectable States of ment. this Union there are laws guarding the liberty of the voter to vote as he pleases; and these measures are taken to protect men who do not and cannot need the protection which is absolutely vital to the freedman. Now, intimidation, for many reasons, is vastly worse than a plump purchase. The fellow who sells himself out-and-out is probably lost to all feeling of the unspeakable degradation of his position, and no doubt would dispose of his grandmother's body to the anatomist. Of course, he who can only be secured by threatening to deprive him of bread for himself and his wife and children, is better worth saving from a shameful oppression and an insidious temptation. The fact that he must be reached by such means presupposes a certain degree of honorafeeling on his part, and the very desire for work is in itself praiseworthy. Playing, therefore, upon domestic love, taking advantage of pressing necessities, availing himself of an accidental superiority, the employer who bullies a dependant out of his most sacred privilege, and wheedles him into becoming a mere tool, is guilty of a moral larceny, and as souls are of more importance than bodies, perhaps he may be declared guilty of a moral murder. It is extortion, and extortion under aggravating circumstances. It is merely an attempt to starve a voter's opinious and preferences out of him. It is worse than bread and water, with the grave instead of a

dungeon. But we do not mean to insult the intellects of our readers by arguing this matter. We can better employ the space at our disposal in warning the people of Tennessee. If bribery be once established as a system, they may bid a long good night to the prosperity and respectability of the State. Those who buy or bully blacks will soon be buying or bullying whites; and the inevitable consequences of this will be the domination of dollars, and the gradual transfer not only of poor people but of mechanics, laborers, and shopkeepers of small means, to the hands of those who are able to pay for them. The white working man who rejoices over the attempted degradation of the black workman will find that petty tyrants are no respecters of color. His turn will come next. The want of daily bread has nothing to do with the tint of the cuticle. Man, of whatever race, eats or digests, or else dies. We predict that, if the intimidation of the blacks is successfully kept up, in a few years the advocates of confiscation will obtain a power the friends of the South will find it difficult to resist.

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Nat. Turner's Massacre.

From the Richmond Dispatch. We regret to see that, in the Association of the Shiloh district of colored Baptists, held in Manchester a few days since, the horrid masacre set on foot by Nat. Turner in Southampon in 1830 was alluded to with the appearance of much éclat and parade. The delegates from hat county were referred to as coming from he county "where Nat. Turner struck the rst blow for freedom," and they were marched orward, and there was much shaking of hands and general felicitation upon the occasion. Now this was all very bad, and very much out of place. Nat. Turner's massacre was the most barbarous and brutal of all the human butcheries of this century. Studying the moon more than he did the Bible, and the fantastical shapes in the clouds more than the principles and sentiments of justice and humanity, the poor monomaniae Turner set on foot the bloody and savage massacre, in which men, and women, and innocent girls, and even helpless babes, were slaughtered by his insensate fol lowers. It was a horror of horrors, a brutal and frenzied shedding of human blood, such as has never been exceeded in its unprovoked and brutal character.

It was a bad-hearted act in the Moderator Williams, (colored) to call up such a horrid reminiscence as worthy of special commendation. We suppose that a few persons of the colored congregation present were aware of the true nature of the Southampton feast of blood. That very year the people of Virginia were strongly inclined to the abolition of slavery. Mr. Jefferson had exerted a powerful influence on the public mind by his views against the practical benefits of slavery, and his serious apprehensions as to the injury it would inflict upon his State. The Convention of 1829-30 came near adopting a measure for the prospective abolition of slavery; and but for the efficiousness of Messrs. Arthur Tappan, his brother, and Garrison, and others, it was then believed such a measure would have passed the Convention. The horrors of Southampton reversed the tide of sentiment in the Legislature which succeeded the Convention, and " First abolition was postponed indefinitely. "First blow for freedom," indeed! It was the dead-liest blow to kind feeling for the blacks and to the growing sentiment in favor of abolition which could have been inflicted. It was an event horrible to all men, civilized and savage, and which should not be revived by any one save for deprecation and regret.

The Rev. Mr. Williams would much better subserve the cause of Christianity - would much better advance the interests of the colored people and inculcate the kind and conciliatory feeling which is indispensable to peaceful and prosperous relations between the blacks and the whites—if he would refrain from reviving such bloody and revolting re collections. But to revive them only to endorse them is an act of hostility. It can receive no other interpretation. The Rev. Mr. Colver, of Massachusetts, who is reported to be a kind-hearted and philanthropic man, was present, and would have done himself credit and subserved the cause of justice by excepting to the use made of that horror of horrors -the Southampton massacre.

The bad teachers of the blacks of Virginia, who find it to their interest to separate them from the great body of the people for party purposes, are weaving in with their orations such reminiscences as may accomplish their objects; all of which tend to foment bad feeling and suggest distrust in the minds of the freedmen of the people amongst whom they live, and upon whom they must depend for employ ment-the people with whose welfare theirs is

clearly identified. But these things will pass away. The blacks will find out the shallow-heartedness of the unscrupulous and selfish persons who are widening the breach between them and those whose prosperity is theirs, and whose peace alone can give them repose; and they will curse the day when they listened to the cunning and heartless stories of the hypocrites now misleading them.

The President and his Cabinet,

From the World. The statement that President Johnson will appoint "a New England ex-Governor." meaning Governor Andrew, as Mr. Stanton's successor, is probably one of those unfounded rumors to which conjecture gives wings whenever public curiosity is excited to a high pitch. It is against all reasonable probability that Governor Andrew would accept this appointment, if it should be tendered him. He is a radical, warm in his approval of Congress, and being a man of talents and ambition, he would not break with his party to aid the President. Nor would the President regain any influence by such an attempt to conciliate the radicals. Nothing so completely prostrates a statesman in public estimation as to play fast and loose either with political parties or public questions. The removal of Stanton is a defiant declaration of hostility to the Republicans, and the President cannot now afford to court them by inviting into his Cabinet men who are known to disapprove of his policy.

We have no great confidence that President Johnson will manage this, or any similar matter, with wisdom and skill-qualities of which he has shown so little heretofore. We can see how, at the outset, he might have appointed a strong radical Cabinet, and have gained by it. When he found that Congress inclined to be less liberal to the South than himself, two courses were open to him, either of which would have been more favorable to the success of his policy than the one he adopted, which was the worst possible, might have formed a strong Democratic Cabinet, and have precipitated his quarrel with Congress before they had time to bring the public opinion of their party up to their mark; or he might have appointed a radical Cabinet, who would have given him efficient aid in managing Congress. With amazing want of tact, he has pursued a system which combined the evils of both these methods and secured the advantages of neither. He has inflamed

Congress into as virulent exasperation as he could have done by filling all the offices of the country with Democrats, and he has secured no body of attached and strenuous supporters in either party.

President Johnson has misconceived the

relative importance of argument and action in the executive head of a great Government. We are indebted to him for many sound and admirable arguments against the policy of the radicals; but they have been of no more advantage to us, nay, of less, than would have been the same arguments from a private citizen. There are hundreds of men in the country who can reason as cogently as the President; but he was the only man who, by vigor tempered with wisdom, could have saved the South from the oppression under which it groans. We do not complain that Democrats have not had the offices, although, by aid of them, they could have turned the tide in critical elections; but what we do complain of is that the Presidency has sunk, in his hands, into a nullity. Even by a method distasteful to Democrats, the President could have arrested a vast amount of evil. His Cabinet. from the first day until now, has been a clog-It has been composed of men who would not fight Congress, and could not manage it in the interest of his policy; of men whom the Demo-crats disliked and the Republicans distrusted. A President who thus wastes and neutralizes his power, only makes matters worse by the inflammatory vigor of his language.

If, in the autumn of 1865, the President, with a keen perception of the approaching hostility of Congress, had dissolved his Cabinet, he would have had no difficulty in filling every place with a prominent radical. By this means, he could have taken out of Congress some of the talent which has been exerted against him, and he could easily have pledged the men, before he appointed them, to a policy of moderation. He could at least have fixed the Republican demands at the stage they had then reached, and, by the moral weight he would have acquired with the extremists, have secured a smooth reception for his first annual message. Besides the aid he might have derived from such a Cabinet in moulding the opinions of radical Congressmen, he could have prevented the turning of the Republican party against him by accusations of his having deserted it. By thus keeping the confidence of that party, he could have moderated, if not entirely controlled, its action. He could have got it pledged to something rather milder than it then demanded, instead of enabling Congress to bring it up to the tyrannical enormities which are now insisted on.

We, of course, could indicate a mode of action with which the Democratic party would have been better suited; but of three possible schemes the President adopted the very worst. As he decided on a Republican Cabinet and a Republican administration, it was a great mistake not to take such Republicans as could exert an influence over Congress and keep him the confidence of the party. By one course which the President could have adopted, but did not, he might have moderated Congress and prevented the enormous extension of its demands. By another course which he could but did not adopt, he might have carried the people against Congress. But, by a want of skill to which it would be difficult to find a parallel, he has managed to have no effective support either from Cabinet, Congress, or the people. President Johnson presents the surprising spectacle of the head of a great Government almost as isolated and powerless as a private citizen.

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