# THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1867.

# SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OFINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVELY DAT FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

#### Repudiation's Double Edge, From the N. Y. Tribune.

The Albany Argus smacks its lips over Mr. Pendleton's recent demonstration against the

national oreditors, saying:---

"The surject attracts great attention in the Western States, and the policy is apparently taking the shape of a popular cry. Singularly enough, it is a cry taken up from the vocabu-lary of the old enemies of the Democracy, who resisted the Independent Treasury policy of Van Buren's administration, and the recogni-tion of a specie currency, by stigmatizing it as 'gold for the office-holder, and rags for the people'

"Out West, the same cry begins to be heard— "Out West, the same cry begins to be heard— 'No more gold for the creditor, and greenbacks for the people! 'One currency for the creditor! one for the people! 'Greenbacks for the credi-tor! greenbacks for the people!' Or, as it is else-where phrased, 'Let the debt contracted by inwhere phrased, Let the descent of the logic of such flation by paid by inflation!" The logic of such popular crics goes straight to the hearts of the people, for it is addressed not to their reason, but to their interests and prejudices,"

-It is utterly false that the national debt was "contracted by inflation." It was contracted by war-by a war waged by slavery and sham democracy against the integrity of the republic. That war cost our people half a million of lives and five billions of money; and every life, every dime, is righteously scored up against the anthors and abettors of the Slaveholders' Rebellion. Had they submitted to the result of a fair election, as all beaten parties had previously done, there would have been no bloodshed and no debt. Not till the last dime is paid, the last mourner consoled, can the plotters of the Rebellion and their abettors be forgotten or forgiven.

The one righteous way to reëstablish a common currency for people and Government is to resume specie payments. But this is just what they who clamor against "rags for the people" will not have. If they will unite with us in calling and working for resumption, it can be had directly. But, while they pretend to deprecate inflation and non-redemption, they are laying plans to perpetuate and even aggravate them.

The Argus calls for a forced withdrawal from circulation of our National Bank currency, and for the Federal taxation of the public debt The income from that debt is taxed already, and is subject to Federal taxation like other income. The right to tax is not "an unlimited right," as the Argus terms it; but we see not why it is not identical with the right to tax other income.

But Mr. Pendleton's plan of paying off the whole debt by further issues of greenbacks to the extent of two billions rather staggers some of the weaker brethren, and thus demurs the Argus:-

"The proposition of Mr. Pendleton goes urther than the substitution of a Government currency for the present bank circulation. proposes to issue for the whole body of the debt, as it falls due, an equivalent amount of aeot, as it fails due, an equivalent amount of paper money. The process is to be graduated in some way; but in what way? Tue five-twenties are due in large amounts—a large part of the debt is convertible into this form. Can we afford to flood the country with the thousands of millions of greenbacks requisite for this process of debt-extinction? We can the better and the sympton the debt asy it may be thus to swamp the debt see how easy it may be thus to swamp the debt, but would it not swamp all debts and flood all property? Would not the deluge of paper sweep away the whole fabric of credit and ex-isting valuations? We must learn how this process is to be made gradual, before we can realize its value as a measure of statesman-shin."

-The Argus is evidently not up to the Western standard of Democracy. To "swamp all debts," by making money so abundant that a creditor will instinctively run at the sight of his debtor, fearing that the latter will insist ble to the country. There is no reason for on paying him off, is the hoped-for Millennium this. Impeachment is a constitutional remedy,

in such a condition that President Lincoln had great difficulty in finding a man to take his place. Finally Mr. Fescenden accepted the position; but he was so disgusted that he soon resigned. Then a creature and financial dissiple of Mr. Chase, a small country banker from Indiana and the Comptroller of the Currency, was made Secretary. Through the Chase influ-ence, and because no statesman could be found willing to take charge of the department in its condition at that time, Mr. McCulloch was, unfortunately, elevated to the position. Since he became Secretary, our financial affairs have been going from a bad to a worse condition. He has been floundering about in ignorance of where he was or what to do. At one time he raised the cry of on to specie payments, in chorus with the same radical organs which nearly ruined the country with their "on to Richmond" cries, and at another time he stops the contraction of the currency because he sees the revenue going and ruin staring him in the face. Had it not been for the wonderful resources of this great country, the Treasury would have been bankrupt before now, under his mismanagement. Should be remain Secretary 10 for three years longer, there will be reason to fear a bankrupt Treasury, notwithstanding all our national resources and the surprising industry of the people. No people or government can stand long such incapacity as he exhibits, and the stupendous frauds and losses that are the consequences. To save the Treasury from bankruptcy, the republic from great financial disasters, and himself from blame, the President should suspend Mr. McCulloch at once, and appoint some experienced financier and

Italy-Rome. From the N. Y. Tribune.

pending danger.

able statesman as Secretary of the Treasury.

This only can save the Department from im-

General Rufus King, our late Minister to Rome, has closed the shop and returned to his own country. In this he has done exactly right. Congress refused to make an appropriation for his salary after the 30th of June last; and he took the hint, as became a gentleman by birth and breeding. From no dislike or distrust of General King, but because it believed the mission no longer required, Congress stopped the salary; so the General considered his mission at an end.

Rome is a part of Italy. Her people are Italians; the walls of her capitol should echo the debates of the Italian Parliament; they would do so if her people were not awed into servility by foreign policy and foreign bayonets. France, Austria, and Spain say that Italy shall not have her ancient capitol, and Italy is forced to wait. But it was a scandal and an amazement to the republicans of Europe that this country should seem to be a silent partner in the conspiracy against Italian unity. Let us take care that she be so nevermore.

The Law of Impeachment. From the Washington Chronicle.

The remedy of impeachment is not a novel one, although its application to the President would be novel, and we presume it is because of such novelty of application in the contemplated impeachment of Andrew Johnson, that it is magnified into something terrible and startling. We do not see any justification for the impressions which have been studiously cultivated regarding it. Everything has been done to make it appear that Congress in impeaching the President would be exceeding its powers-would be perpetrating some dreadful act full of evil portent, and fraught with trouembarrassed and the thriftless. Most especially provided to meet just such cases of official malpractice as President Johnson has been guilty of, and we do not see why his removal and disfranchisement need create any greater disturbance than the removal of any other President by operation of law. Every President, except two, who died, has been retired by operation of the law, and Andrew Johnson will be retired also, whether before or at the end of his term remains to be seen. A serious error has been adopted by many people in supposing that an official must be guilty of an indictable offense to be subject to impeachment. This is not the case. Every public officer is as responsible as any private citizen to the ordinary process of the penal law, and consequently the constitutional organization of the departments of the Government only requires that the power of impeachment should apply to public officers for official offenses, by an immediate removal and perpetual disqualification. The subjects of impeachment are "treason, bribery, or other high crimes or misdemeanors." Treason is constitutionally defined; bribery is determinable by the rules of law, "other high crimes or misde meanors" are an indefinite classification of official delinquencies intended to subserve the public good by leaving it to the determination of the high court of impeachment, whether the offense charged shall be so classed, and the party on trial convicted. These embrace equally those cases of official misconduct which may also be prosecuted by indictment or information, as those cases which are only cognizable in a course of impeachment. For instance, every species of direct corruption committed by a judge, whether off or on the bench would furnish occasion for an indictment to punish the offense, as well as for impeachment to remove the offender. But for the arbitrary deportment, the oppressive conduct of a justice in court, the ordinary tribunals can afford no redress. The judicial history exhibits a great variety of both these descriptions of offenses. Lord Bacon is a memorable example of the corruption of money, yet he could not thereby produce as much oppression and wrong, as the judicial aberrations of Jeffries, Scroggs. or Tresilian, from party hatred and passion. At a period of great party contest, when popish plots were the bug-bear of religious factions, the non-conformity of the Duke of York, the presumptive heir to the crown, and a great body of the Catholic nobility, had raised a hne and cry throughout the kingdom. Lord C. J. Croggs heard that the grand jury intended to present the illustrious offenders. and he dismissed the grand jury before they had completed the business of the sessions Nobody doubts the right of the court, in the exercise of a wise discretion, to discharge a grand jury, yet the circumstances surround ing this case caused an impeachment of the chief justice. The act was charged as illegal and arbitrary; a high misdemeanor, a violation of his oath, and the means to subvert the fundamental laws of the land. Hon. Alexander Addison, chief justice of the western circuit in Pennsylvania, was impeached, tried, and removed from office for a similar offense by the Legislature of Penn-sylvania in 1802. He interrupted an associate judge, who was not a lawyer, in instructing the Grand Jury as to the law, and adjourned the court so as to prevent their hearing his associate's opinion. But as C. J. Scroggs and Judge Addison both acted as judges in court, the ordinary tribunals could not arraign

impeachment was indispensable to the pur- | poses of justice. Neither of these judges had been guilty of an indictable offense, or a technical misdemeanor under common or statute law, but of arbitrary conduct in office, which numerous settled parliamentary cases, as well as American ones, make an impeachable misdemeanor.

The difference of time and place makes often, in law and reason, an essential difference in the delinquency and punishment of an offensive act, even by a private citizen. The giving the lie, in a street or a tavern, is a breach of good manners, and generally terminates in a personal rencontre; yet it is not an offense in the law, but if the same indecorous expression is pronounced in a court of justice it is highly penal. If a man swears in the presence of a justice of the peace, he may be fined and committed. A blow given in the highway is a mere misdemeanor, but if given in West-minster Hall it has been regarded as a species of treason. If a citizen were to threaten a judge on the street or in a private roam for his conduct in court, it would only be subject to the operation of the laws regulating individual intercourse, but such a threat in court would be a contempt for which immediate commitment to jail would be the penalty. Such being the case with private citizens, it is also the case that certain officials may not be at liberty to act as base men without impairing the dignity and authority of their offices, and thereby undermining and bringing into contempt the institutions of their country. Judges have been impeached and removed from the bench in this country for getting drunk off the bench as well as on. Unfitness for duty on the bench because of drunkenness is an impeachable, but not an indictable, offense, Drunkenness off the bench is an impeachable misdemeanor because of the degradation into which it drags an important office, destroying its respectability and usefulness.

The same reasons will apply to the Presi-dent. The Executive office, like that of the king, never dies. The President cannot shift it from his shoulders, and we have never doubted the present incumbent's liability to impeachment for numerous offenses against the law and public morals. An Attorney-General has been impeached in England for giving a "wrong opinion." This would be harsh if it were merely an error of judgment; but it was not an error of judgment. Like Stanbery's opinion on the Reconstruction laws, it was intentionally perverse, and the intent was a question of fact, to be determined by the jury, just as malice is in a case of murder. Sensible men know what an Executive means by his course, just as they can trace the purpose of a criminal. Who can doubt that the assaults made by the President upon the Civil Rights law and Freedmen's Bureau law, after they had been passed by constitutional majorities over his vetoes, were impeachable offenses ? He was bound by his oath to execute the laws in good faith, instead of which he endeavored to excite the passions of the multitude against them by denouncing them as unconstitutional and otherwise obnoxious.

In Wooddeson's "Essay on the Law of Parliamentary Impeachments," page 596, he says:--"It is certain that magistrates and officers intrusted with the administration of public affairs, may abuse their delegated powers to the extensive detriment of the community, and at the same time in manner not properly cognizable before the ordinary tribunals;" and further on, at page 601-2, he continues, "Such kinds of misdeeds as peculiarly injure the commonwealth by the abuse of high offices of trust are the most proper, and have been the most usual, grounds for this kind of prosecution. Thus, if a lord chancellor be guilty of bribery, or of acting grossly contrary to the duty of his office; if the judges mislead their sovereign by unconstitutional opinions; if any other magistrate attempt to subvert the fundamental laws, or introduce arbitrary power-these have been deemed cases adapted to parliamentary inquiry and decision. So. where a lord chancellor has been thought to have put the seal to an ignominious treaty; a lord admiral to neglect the safeguard of the sea; an ambassador to betray his trust; a privy counsellor to propound or support pernicious or dishonorable measures, or a confidential adviser of his sovereign to obtain exorbitant grants or incompatible employments. These imputations have properly occasioned impeachments, because it is apparent how little the ordinary tribunals are calculated to take cognizance of such offenses, or to investigate and reform the general policy of the State. Instead of the law favoring the doctrine that a public officer can only be impeached for an indictable offense, it distinctly sustains the opposite ground, that impeachment is the remedy for official offenses which are not remediable by ordinary course of law. The Duke of Buckingham was impeached for the purchase and sale of offices. Have we any Buckinghams in this country ? Lord Finch was impeached for unlawful methods of enlarging the forest when assistant to the justices in Eyre, for delivering opinions which he knew to be contrary to law, and for drawing the business of the court to his chamber. How moderate and venial these offenses seem compared to the stupendous outrages to which the American people have been subjected by the President! We confess we have never seen the necessity for the extended examination into his personal habits and delinquencies which the Congressional Committee has undertaken. His public record convicts him of impeachable offenses enough under the law to remove a score of Presidents.

the treachery of Mr. Johnson will make the people more cantious in the future as to whom they will support for the offices of President and Vice-President. It may, however, be said with justice of General Grant that he has neither said nor

done anything which can lead any one to suppose that he indorses the acts and policy of the President; but it is this very reticence of which his friends and admirers complain. True, they have heard his Chief of Staff speak, and several prominent politicians have claimed to be the exponents of his opinions; but all this is unsatisfactory, and, if persisted in, cannot fail to damage his chances for the highest office in the gift of the people. The time has passed when that man who was never known to utter a single opinion or sentiment was the most available candidate for office. We must have men for office who are of positive character-who have identified themselves with the party to which they propose to be-long, and with which they claim to act in sympathy. General Grant is a great man. has demonstrated this on many a bloody field; and to him may fairly be ascribed the honor of having been mainly instrumental in subduing the Rebellion. But he is not greater than the people; and much as his character and genius may be admired, he will have to demonstrate to a certainty that he is thoroughly sound on all the great questions of the day, before he will receive the cordial support of those who, during our darkest days, proved their loyalty both by word and deed.

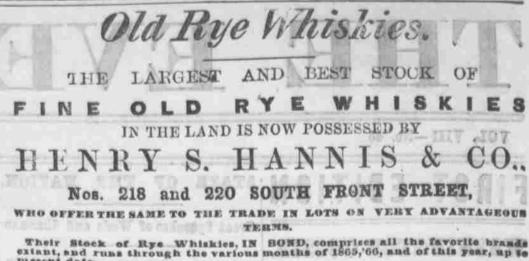
General Grant, Mr. Stanton, and the President. From the N. Y. Times.

The removal of General Sheridan affords the Tribune a pretext for again misrepresenting and assailing the position of General Grant. Our contemporary divides its attention between Mr. Johnson and the General, charging them with equal responsibility, and representing the latter as voluntarily and faithlessly instrumental in carrying out the President's design. Here is an exemplification of the tone in which the Tribune renews its assault:---

"That instrument which Edwin M. Stanton refused to become, which no power of the Pre-sident could make him, Grant is. We judge by the facts. For one year Andrew Johnson con-templated the insult to the nation of removing the soldier who of all our soldiers best reprethe soldier who of all our soldiers best repre-sents its principles, but dared not, could not, while Mr. Stanton was in the Cabinet. On August 12 Mr. Stanton is removed; on August 12 General Grant accepts his place; on August 19 General Sheridan is removed. Why, this is logic! One little week after General Grant be-comes Secretary of War, Sheridan is disgraced. How is the conclusion to be avoided that the President sought and found in General Grant the means by which he might break down the means by which he might break down Sheridan, and with him the spirit of the peo-ple? Bitterly, indeed, have the loyal been de-ceived who thought that General Grant might have said to an apostate President:—'If I become a part of an administration which every patriot despises and take at your hands this circle despises, and take at your hands this civil office, which I have as much right to refuse as that of Postmaster-General or Postmaster, I do so on this condition: you shall respect the loyal principle of the nation—you shall not remove Sheridan.' But as General Grant did not say this, the President took him into his Cabinet, and dictated to him the order by which Sheri-dan is disbonored and the people threatened and defied."

According to the Tribune, then, General Grant is the "instrument" in Mr. Johnson's hands for waging war on the reconstruction policy of Congress. Grant is "the means" "sought and found" by the President "by which he might break down Sheridan, and with him the spirit of the people." What Mr. Stanton doggedly refused to do, General Grant has cheerfully and readily done-he has become a party to "the order by which Sheridan is dishonored, and the people threatened and defied." Such are the Tribune's allegations. What are the facts?

The first point that challenges remark is the new-found fondness for Mr. Stanton which the



present date. Liberal contracts made for lots to arrive at Pennsylvania Haliroad Depot, Erricason Line Wharf, or at Bonded Warehouses, as parties may elect.

plainly reveal the attitude of General Grant than the terms of the document which he has issued. The fifth section is to all intents and purposes an indorsement of Sheridan's orders and acts, and so it is everywhere interpreted. The Tribune's Washington correspondent shall be our witness. His despatch opens thus:-

"The important army order which has been "The important army order which has been contemplated for some days past, making radi-cal changes in three military departments, was made public this alternoon by General Grant. The way it was worded created some comment, and the opinion was very freely expressed that the President and Grant had had an open rup-ture, and that the latter had issued the instruc-tions to Thomas in the fifth section solely be-cause the President would not heed his advice not to remove Sheridan." not to remove Sheridan."

Does this look like collusion with Mr. Johnson? Does this indicate that wicked and wanton compliance with Mr. Johnson's will, for which the Tribune would have General Grant arraigned at the bar of loyal opinion? Does it not rather show that, while in the performance of a mere routine act General Grant carries out the order of the President, he does it in a manner which most effectually asserts his own authority to control the administration of the law? In effect, this fifth section declares: "Mr. Johnson may remove district commanders, but appoint whom he may, their administration of the law shall be subject only

to the orders of General Grant." We shall not be accused of piling up proofs unnecessarily, if we add to the Tribune's statements those of the careful correspondent of the Boston Advertiser. The despatch of the latter is as follows:----

"The style in which General Grant issued the

"The style in which General Grant issued the President's order relieving General Sheridan is very distasteful to Mr. Johnson's friends, and particularly so to the ring who have been clamoring for General Sheridan's removal. "The President has made no allusion to General Grant's written protest against it, and the evident intention is to suppress General Grant's letter on the subject. At. any rate, the President went so far last night as to intimate that no such document existed. It is, however, known positively that when the President an known positively that when the President an nounced his intention to suspend Secretary Stanton, General Grant sent in writing at earnest remonstrance to the President against the proposed action. "This paper is now buried at the White House.

In the same manner General Grant, on receiv-ing the President's order yesterday, at once called upon him and protested against it, and afterwards sent a written project couched in very strong and pointed language, which will, in all probability, be withheld."

Beyond douby, the style of General Grant's order "is very distasteful to Mr. Johnson's friends." It shows that he will not yield to Mr. Johnson's dictation in matters which Congress has confided to the General of the Army of the United States. It shows that his action is only in the line of his duty, and that his real influence will be exerted in support of the intentions of Congress touching the administration of the law.

In confirmation of what the Boston Adveriser's correspondent affirms as to the written

struction law. Nothing, however, could more | speare. He says that "the nigger is evidently a poor blockhead, with good disaffections, attachments-with a positions. turn for nigger melodies and the like." By which it does not seem to have occurred to the angry old gentleman that "nigger melodies" are written and sung exclusively by white men, who blacken their faces with burnt cork in order to attain by art a status in humanity which they were denied by nature. "Servantship," says our grumbler, "ought to be a contract for life;" to which he adds, "aud this was already the nigger's essential position." What a pity it is, therefore, that American slavery has been abolished ! "The American slavery has been abounded in the American case," he says, is "begirt with frantic abolitionists, fire-breathing like the old chimera." Accordingly, he throws cold water on the abolitionists, in order to put out the incendiary flames. "The nigger's case," he adds, "was not the most pressing in the world, but among the least so." And the wrinkle-faced, shaggy-browed cynic is actually in a pet because the good-natured nigger has had the luck to get his unimportant case so early attended to. The grim critic describes the British colonies in general as "all ungoverned, and nine-tenths of them full of boaconstrictors, rattlesnakes, parliamentary eloquences, and emancipated niggers, ripening towards nothing but destruction.". He then, in particular, describes Dominica, and says that it is governed by a "piebald Parliament of Eleven," and that "the head Demosthenes there is a nigger tinman."

Well, these extracts are enough for specimens

Now in what state of mind must a man be who can sit down, in good health, in comfortable circumstances, and in the year 1867, and write such a diatribe ? What can be the fibre of his brain ? What are the compo-nent juices of his blood ? Is this the same man who once taught us to revere Oliver Cromwell ? But certainly, if Oliver Cromwell were alive to-day, there is no man in England whom he would so roughly rebuke as Thomas Carlyle. In former days Mr. Carlyle rendered great service to progress. He helped to emancipate the intellect both of England and America. Thousands of young men, in both countries-taking up his books, and reading them with unwonted eagerness-grew strong with the strength of this sturdy master. But the palmy days of the old hero are past. He has outlived his better self. He is in his dotage. He is fallen into a peevish garrulity. He insists on making himself an enemy of liberty. Once, when his hands were strong, he sought to push the world ahead; now that they are weak, he is trying to hold it back.

What business has Thomas Carlyle to be taking the side of the American slaveholder against the American negro and his emancipation ? What business has Thomas Carlyle to be taking the side of the British aristocracy against the British people?

men could easily pay their debts-or suppose they could-if we only had ten times the currency we now have: so that \$1000 worth (at present valuation) of corner-lots or wild lands would readily pay \$10,000 of debt. Only pass the word that the Pendleton policy will "swamp all debts," and its champions will be rapidly multiplied, especially at the West.

The Treasury Department in Danger. From the N. Y. Heraid.

It is necessary that President Johnson should turn his attention at once to the condition of the Treasury Department. The recent letter of McCulloch does not meet the case. The enormous frauds that have been committed upon the revenue - in whisky, tobacco, petroleum, and other things - amount, as far as they have been discovered, to little less than a hundred millions of dollars. What the undiscovered frauds amount to we cannot say; but judging from the gross mismanagement of the Treasury in all its branches, the losses of the Government are much greater, probably, than those that have been brought to light. Then there are the startling revelations of deficiencies and irregularities, involving stupendous sums, which we have referred to before, and which the extracts of secret and suppressed investigations in our hands seem to confirm. The aggregate amount is said to be hundreds of millions; so enormous, indeed, that we have been afraid to publish the evidence. This was brought out by a committee of the House, not yet published. The specific amounts named, about which there appears little doubt, is in one case over fifty millions, in another twenty millions, and so on of other sums. Some of these deficiencies and irregularities date back to the time when Mr. Chase left the Treasury Department. But although the extracts we hold, taken from the investigations secretly made in the committee, show a fearful state of things, the evidence has been so carefully withheld from the public, or suppressed, that there is reason to believe the whole truth has not yet been obtained. We want more light upon the subject. The bondholders and the people generally will feel uneasy until the Treasury Department be thoroughly overhauled. It devolves upon the President to see that this be done without delay. He must not be satisfied with what this or that official may tell him; but he must know, and must let the public know, the true condition of the Treasury as investigated by a Committee of the House.

Mr. Chase, when Secretary, organized the Department in all its details; but he was not much of an organizer, as we have seen from the looseness of the whole system, from the opportunities afforded for frauds, and from the accumulation of a stupendous debt for which there was no necessity. Had the Treasury been properly managed by him, and the amount of revenue raised at that time which we now raise, instead of borrowing and issuing bonds at a ruinous rate, the debt would not have been more than half or a third as large. He was utterly incompetent for the position he held. He had but one ides, and that was to create a bondholding class, a moneyed oligarchy, and the powerful national bank system, for the purpose of reaching the Presidency through their influence. He left the Treasury or punish their misconduct, and the process of ral Grant by making such a comparison, still

# General Grant's Position. From the Chicago Republican.

It is useless to deny that the acceptance by General Grant of the office of Secretary of War, even though it be temporary, has disappointed many of his most cordial friends and ardent admirers. Here in Illinois we have not been in the habit of questioning the propriety of his conduct, our admiration for the achievements of the man having been so great as to almost preclude the idea that it was possible for him to make a mistake. He "swung around the circle" with Andrew Johnson, and his friends were satisfied with the explanation "that he was obeying the orders of his Commander-in-Chief. "He made few or no speeches, but his remarks, in public and private, were of such a negative character as Even then to please both friends and foes. his admirers never wavered in their support, but upheld him as the high-toned gentleman and thorough soldier. It is true, Mr. Washburn and others-who claim to know-informed us that Grant was "all right," and these repeated assurances tended to relieve the public mind of all anxiety with regard to his real position.

But this is the wrong time to try to satisfy the American people with the asseverations of friends. Andrew Johnson's assurances were never once doubted by the Republican party till after the assasination of the lamented Lin-coln: and although word not insult Gene. coln; and, although we would not insult Gene-

Tribune displays. We are asked to believe that "for one year" he alone prevented the removal of Sheridan. Now we are not unmindful of Mr. Stanton's firmness in opposition to the ill-advised course of the President, and on that ground have regretted and condemned his suspension. How happens it, however, that "for one year" and more the Tribune uttered not a word in Mr. Stanton's praise, but on the contrary uniformly did what it could to break him down? How happens it that when Mr. Stanton was suspended the Tribune looked on complacently-forgetting public interests and party necessities in the gratification of a long-cherished personal grudge? The Tribune then said nothing about Mr. Stanton's support of Sheridan-nothing about his fidelity to the Republican policynothing about the outrage to the party implied in the President's act. What is now printed in Mr. Stanton's praise is a mere after-thought, a piece of shallow hypocrisy, dictated by no regard for him, personally or politically, nor by any other consideration than a desire to tarnish the reputation of General Grant. In the pursuit of this object, the Tribune's only chance lies in the falsification of unquestioned facts. As the basis of its attack, it as-

sumes that but for Mr. Stanton's suspension and General Grant's temporary acceptance of the War Department, Sheridan would not have been removed. The hypothesis is too absurd to deceive anybody. Mr. Johnson re-moves Sheridan now in defiance of General Grant's remonstrances; as easily might he have done so six months ago, whether Mr. Stanton concurred or not. It is an assertion of Executive authority which the War Department could nowise hinder. Save in the form of protest, both Mr. Stanton and General Grant were powerless in the premises. All that is needed for the justification of either is proof that he did exert his influence, honestly and energetically, in support of Sheridan. So far as Mr. Stanton is con cerned, this is admitted. How is it with re-

gard to General Grant ? We are not required to go beyond the columns of the Tribune for an answer. From its editorials, brimful of malice and perversion, we turn to its Washington despatches. These afford conclusive evidence that General Grant was not the passive "instrument" he is alleged to have been-that he was not the willing "means" in the perpetration of a blunder and a wrong. And on this subject our contemporary's correspondent is in harmony with the correspondents of all the daily onrnals. Without an exception, so far as we have observed, the Washington despatches, from whatever source, bear testimony to the fact that before and since his acceptance of the Secretaryship General Grant steadily and earnestly opposed the removal of Sheridan. To this extent Grant stands completely justified. He has not accepted the President's policy. He has not identified himself with the Presi dent's insane conduct. He has not made himself a party to the responsibility of the President in this deliberate onslaught on the policy of Congress.

But does not Grant's issue of the order implicate him? Most assuredly not. We can magine the form of an order which General Grant could not have signed without selfstultification and dishonor. An order, for instance, embodying censure of Sheridan for the manner in which he has executed the Recon-

communications of General Grant to the President, we are enabled to state that these documents were couched in the most emphatic language, and that they leave no room for a repetition of the misrepresentations indulged by the Tribune. These letters should be published, and published they will be when Congress assembles, if not sooner. Were General Grant a mere partisan, a popularityhunter, their publication would not be contingent on the selfish caprice of Mr. Johnson. The same reserve, the same disinterested devotion to duty, the same consciousness of strength and assurance of final success which have characterized the soldier, now characterize the Acting Secretary of War. He can patiently await the time when the publication of his views will vindicate him from aspersions cast by those who, like the Tribune, disguise the trickery of partisanship under a shallow pretense of patriotic zeal. In the meantime, the order to which General Grant's signature is attached sufficiently indicates the principles and purposes by which he will be actuated in his present sphere of duty. It is enough to know that these are as far removed from the principles and purposes of Mr. Johnson as from the aims of the Southern malcontents to whom the Tribune would extend amnesty and power.

## Mr. Carlyle in the Rapids of Miagara. From the N. Y. Independent.

Bewilderment, when not too stunning, is a pleasing sensation. It pricks the mind into a delightful activity; it wraps one's faculties with a cool and bracing sea-mist of agreeable doubts; it is, in fact, a genuine refreshment for a languid summerday.

For instance, on such a sultry forenoon as the one that now finds us driving our accustomed editorial pen-an occupation which, at this season, men in more favored professions can exchange for bluefish-we find ourselves under obligation to our old friend, Mr. Thomas Carlyle, for a variety of cool, refreshing, bewildering, exquisite sensations, consequent upon reading his last lucubration, entitled "Shooting Niagara; and After ?" No bluefish at Fire Island is so full of game as our stiff and stubborn old friend, Mr. Carlyle. A perusal of his last paper has made our very nerves tingle with merriment, indignation, pride, and grief. The venerable philosopher is still full of grandeur, conceit, olly, wisdom, nobility, and meanness. There is no man like him. When he dies and is buried, let his name not be forgotten; for nature will never reproduce his like; and if he is lost from remembrance, he is lost to the world forever.

Apparently the object of Mr. Carlyle's latest neubration is to protest against Democracy. He begins with America, and ends with England, ridiculing whatever is noblest in the democratic tendencies of both. He is, perhaps, the only distinguished literary man now living who spells negro with two gs. We have not counted, but we make a rough estimate that he says "nigger" about a hundred times. For he wants to know whether a instance, "Quashee Nigger" is equal to "Socrates or Shakespeare." Of course not; for a Quashee Shakespeare. nigger, like Mr. Carlyle himself, cannot justiv called equal to Socrates or Shakebe

'How are the mighty fallen !'

### The Martyrs.

From the N. Y. Evening Express.

We really do not see what the radical brethren are going to do. The "Martyrs" are multiplying so rapidly on their hands that they cannot tell what to do with them, or where to put them. When the President ejected Mr. Stanton from the Cabinet, the other day, the sympathies of the brethren were acutely touched, and in a moment of gushing benevolence some of them resolved to make him a candidate for the Presidency-if only to spite President Johnson and the Copperheads.

But now that General Sheridan has also been shown the back door, the "moral idea" party find another martyr upon their hands. He, too, must be provided for. But how, is the thing that perplexes them. As there is only one President to elect, it is perfectly clear that the nomination cannot be distributed among several. In this dilemma, we trust it will not be deemed an impertinence on the part of the Express to suggest to our radical friends a ready mode of freeing them from their embarrass ment. We propose when the Rump Con-gress reassembles next winter, that the Constitution be so amended as to provide for the election of several Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The power to accomplish some such change in the fundamental law is undoubted. As the same power has been exercised in varions other cases, why not in this ? To make assurance doubly sure, the majority have only to turn out of their seats the few Democrats that are still permitted to sit there. They have the "power" to do that too, and as they have not scrupled to exercise it time and again heretofore, when some "moral idea" was to be realized, it is not to be presumed they will hesitate to avail themselves of it now, when "martyrs" are to be provided for. All the fat offices of right belong to the radicals, and if President Johnson expel the one, or remove another for cause, ways and means will necessarily be found to repair the loss. Hence the necessity, under existing circumstances, of the Constitutional amendment.

