### SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Situation in Europe - Napoleon's speech on Peace.

From the N. Y. Heraid.

By a special telegram through the Atlantic cable, dated in Lille, France, Friday aftermoon, we were informed that the Emperor Napoleon, who met with a temporary delay on his journey from Arras towards Paris, appeared on the Bourse of the first named city and addressed the assembled financiers and dealers

on the present aspect of political affairs. His Majesty said that "business would progress better if certain journals did not exaggerate the situation. I hope," added the Emperor, "that commerce will improve with the certsinty of peace, and I shall do everything in my power to reestablish confidence."

The city of Lille is perhaps the most important manufacturing centre in France. Its artisans have to work hard for small wages. They are rather poorly housed in crowded tenements, and not overfed at any time. They are, however, intelligent and of independent minds, and grumble ominously when the country is about to be disturbed and trade depressed by war, for the men of Lille have come of late to prefer the shuttle to the rifle or sabre. To such a population it must be very agreeable to have from the imperial lips an assurance of the "certainty of peace," accompanied by a promise that their ruler would do everything in his power to "re-Establish confidence."

The use of the words "reëstablish confidence" leads to the inference that the situation, as tending to war, had impaired it, and perhaps the knowledge of this highly important fact imposed on Napoleon what we may term a necessity for the delivery of the very significant words which our special corres-

pondent transmitted by the cable. We learn, indeed, from other sources, under date of Friday, that a more secure feeling has been created in the mind of the public at large by the news reports from Paris. We are told that Napoleon has given pacific assurances to Prussia, and that it is expected that an imperial note will immediately be issued from the French Foreign office declaring a like policy for the empire to the world. Identical with this, the Stuttgart Gazette, the organ of the King of Wurtemburg, denies that the plan of a South German Bund was even mentioned during the Salzburg conference, and it is to be presumed that the King is accurately informed on the subject.

What does this mean? Has Napoleon sounded the feeling of France, and read it mere accurately since his visit to the camp at Chalons and the Salzburg conference. Has he measured the strength of North Germany with more care, and estimated the value of a South German alliance more truly? Perhaps he has; and, if so, his present professions are

likely to be sincere. We must not, however, trust too much to appearances, or place unlimited faith in the words of the French monarch. We recollect that on the 1st of January, 1859, the Emperor Napoleon suddenly and openly delivered his war insult to Baron Huebner, the Austrian Minister in Paris, at a levee at the Tuileries. A war panic immediately followed, and prevailed with great intensity on the Paris Bourse on the days of the 3d and 4th of the month. On the 7th of January, thirty thousand Austrian soldiers had marched for Italy; yet on the very same day the Paris Moniteur published an article written to "soothe the panie." A month later, on the 7th of February, 1859, Napoleon opened the session of the French Legislature with a speech, in which he said: 'Far be from us, then, these false alarms, these unjust suspicions, these interested apprehensions, as peace, I hope, will not be disturbed. Resume, then, calmly the usual course of your labors. I have explained to you the state of our foreign relations, and this explanation corresponds with all that I have made known during the last two months, both at home and abroad. You will, I flatter myself, find that my policy has never ceased to be otherwise than firm, but conciliatory."

On the 19th of April the Moniteur had a "pacific" article; and yet on the 24th of the same month the commands of the French army were assigned to the marshals, and the Sardinian frontier was crossed the next day. Peace may now be maintained in Europe

but our readers may not be surprised should they hear of war.

#### When Shall We Have Peace! From the N. Y. Tribune.

The first interest of the American people is justice; but the second-hardly less important, and more palpably urgent-is peace. We need to build, and repair, and restore, and replant. Vast regions, lately devastated by civil war, still lie waste; multitudes of widows and orphans of the war, in spite of returning abundan , are thin-clad and famishing. There is much capital at the North which should be transferred to the South, and there invested in draining swamps, civilizing wilds, erecting factories, and making all manner of useful wares and fabrics. Something is being done in the right direction; but immensely more awaits the advent of assured peace.

How long must that be still awaited? Had President Johnson called the late Con gress directly on his accession to power, and said to it :- "The Rebellion is ended; the work of reconstruction should begin at once. propose such and such bases; consider and modify them as you shall see fit"—all would have been ended ere this. Those who had been Rebels were then ready and anxious for reconstruction, and prepared to accept any terms that did not threaten their property or their lives.

Mr. Johnson did not call Congress: he de vised and promulgated a programme of his own. It had all the faults which are attributed to the plan of Congress, differing from that only in putting the Southern blacks, who were loyal, under the feet of the whites, who had nearly all been Rebels.

Congress at length met, and dissented from the President's programme; but was quite too tardy in perfecting and submitting one of its own. The Southern whites, believing they were at liberty to choose, adhered to the President's plan; the blacks, with nearly all whites who had been loyal throughout, sided with Congress. Hence reconstruction halted while an appeal was taken to the people of the loyal States, which resulted in an overwhelming majority for Congress; which thereupon rewised its terms of reconstruction, making them less favorable to the ex-Rebels than they had been. Its new terms differ radically from the old in this: they are not a proffer to be considered; they are laws to be obeyed. And the indications have been favorable to general

- But Mr. Johnson interposes again, and opens a new fight with Congress, by suspendas the Secretary of War, and ordering a re-

moval of the more radical district commanders. He thus inaugurates a new struggle, which threatens to be a long and bitter one.

But why should it? Who is to gain by it? If the Southern States shall promptly comply with the requirements of Congress, the work of reconstruction may be soon completed. The machinery is in motion; the registrations are nearly completed, every State may be organized as Congress prescribes before this year closes. But if, on the contrary, the South shall reject the terms of Congress, we are all at sea for no one knows how long. Meantime, military rule must be maintained at the South at heavy cost, while peace, security and thrift cannot return. The present Congress holds till March 3, 1869; and no one imagines that it will meantime abandon the course which it has already marked out. The South may have reconstruction and peace by accepting the terms dictated by Congress; it may reject these, and cling to Johnson if it will; but, if it should, all must await in doubt and feud the issue of the next Presidential

-Who wishes thus to protract a fruitless strife, a pernicious uncertainty? What is to be gained thereby? and who will gain it? If the South should now refuse to recoustruct her States as Congress has prescribed, she cannot think so badly as she has talked of military despotism. She will virtually say that her position is quite tolerable when contrasted with a form of self-government which recognizes and treats blacks as men. To reject the terms of Congress would be to defy that body

to do its worst. Let us have peace !--not some time nor perhaps, but surely and soon! Industry and business are weary of waiting while politicians play out their little game. Let us have none other than a real peace; but let us have this surely and soon !

# The Fate of the Republic-Despotism or Anarchy.

From the N. Y. Herald. For two years the party which has held the pewer has been trying to restore harmony to the country. For six months the work went bravely on, and we had hope. The President, however, backed by a Cabinet created only for evil, and urged on by a rabid rebel faction which appreciates nothing but force, threw in the first element of discord, and the political duel between the Executive and Congress then had its birth. The radical faction were apparently only too happy to pick up the gauntlet which Mr. Johnson threw to them. The contest continued for many months; the President almost reached out his hand for the purple. Congress, defeating the effort, has struck in its turn for a military dictatorship. Still the fight goes on, and the end is not yet. Now, the struggle is narrowed down, and argument almost ceases to be one of its elements. Now it is force! Who is to reconstruct the country, the Congressional or the Executive power? If the former alone, then we have a usurpation and a dictatorial government; if the latter alone, then here, too, we have a dictator. Congress undoubtedly intended, in its late laws, to make General Grant the focus of force, who thus, as "Mayor of the Palace," to hold Mr. Johnson a nonentity-a mythical power. The contest between the rivals trembles in the brink of open war. In the mean time they have forgotten every interest of the country; wrecked our finances and internal improvements; swept the ocean of our commerce; marched on in such a mad party race that nothing save the youthful vigor of the nation stands the staggering blows dealt against it. It is evident that the problem of reconstruction has not been well dealt with. It was not commenced in a proper manner, and the mending process has been going on from bad to worse until the sword alone threatens to cut the knot so stupidly entangled. What are the remedies proposed in this

crisis? On the part of Congress it is advocated that the President be impeached, and that the President of the Senate, Mr. Wade, on the moment and before trial, proceed to the White House and eject Mr. Johnson by force if necessary. If General Grant refuses to lend himself to the seizing of the Government by one of its branches, he must give place to some general who will not so refuse. The executive plan is not inferior in boldness, and leans for support upon the Bonaparte method-the overthrow of Congress and the absorption of its powers within the Executive -in fact, a dictatorship. In all this turmoil the radical organs published throughout the country, and especially in this city, know not where they stand. They and the radical leaders have, like Phaeten, tried to drive the chariot of the sun for a day, and, finding the task beyond their skill, now require a Jupiter to restore harmony. They have not vet the boldness to take extreme measures, but are tremulously trying to push each other up to the point. One of their great leaders, Mr. Stevens, bolder and more honest than his fellows, frankly avows that Congress has attempted a usurpation of all power-an overthrow of the Constitution and the establishment of a revolutionary government. The political weapon, the negro franchise, with which they struck for power in the South, has such a dread recoil that it makes the North tremble; and society, as reconstructed there, threatens, by its proconsular system, to contaminate the whole nation: threatens to pour its wave of ignorance northward; threatens the stability of the republic; for this is a representative government, and intelligence is

now in the minority. If the country is allowed in this way to be made a political football, kicked and torn by the narrow ideas of party rule, then we are to have naught but anarchy; its attendant internal dissensions; the splitting into fragments; the overturning of all social progress and material development; and, after long labor and pains that will destroy all that we prize, then must come the birth of despotism; for despotism reaches and culminates in power, side by side with ruin. To this we march with such rapid strides that few among those who now contend for power dare face the results which they have challenged. There s but one exit from the maelstrom, and that lies in the intelligence, the common sense of our people, both North and South. They must rise in the coming elections, overturn the contending factions, and, basing the Gov-ernment on intelligence, not ignorance, restore the republic.

#### The Question of Relative Authority-A Pitiful Dispute.

From the N. Y. Times. The dispute raised by the President touching the powers of the General-in-Chief under the Reconstruction acts is characteristic, and in the least degree discreditable. It is another illustration of the disingenuous spirit that prevails at the White House in regard to the interpretation of Congressional enactments. And it exemplifies the dishonesty of Mr. Johnson in all that he has done or proposes to do on the subject of reconstruction under the existing laws.

With the help of pettifoggers, it seems, Mr.

Johnson has discovered that the Supplementary act of the special session is in certain respects susceptible of an interpretation favorable to his pretensions. By some looseness of language, a pretext is alleged to be afforded for the opinion that the set does not confer on General Grant the plenary powers with which public opinion has endowed him. The prevailing idea is that, under the law, the General has absolute anthority over the work of reconstruction-that he is, in fact, its administrator, clothed with all the powers and attributes essential to its efficiency. The President, however, with Mr. Buchanan's Attorney General at his back, insists that an exact rendering of the terms of the law limits Grant's power to the single question of removals, and loes not authorize him to instruct the district commanders; that this, one of the vital points of reconstruction, remains subject to the order of the President alone.

Evidently the difficulty thus raised by Mr. ohnson is a mere device to defeat the purpose of the law, and for the time to gain a factious advantage over Congress. Mr. Johnson does not pretend, nor can any man pretend, that the version he gives to the law harmonizes with the intentions of Congress. There is no room for difference of opinion as to what these intentions were. It is not denied in any quarter that Congress designed to confer absolute authority on General Grant-to invest him with suspensory power over the whole matter-to make him the responsible administrator and the final judge in all affairs pertaining to the reconstruction plan. These being the admitted purposes of Congressthese the admitted ideas conveyed by a broad and general consideration of the statute-Mr. Johnson has no right to go beyond or behind them, and to profit by slight verbal omissions or vagueness which Congress, in its haste, may have committed. A Five Points lawyer would be expected to resort to tricks of this kind. The professional knave who studies law only that he may frustrate its provisions would be at liberty to profit by the most trivial blunder in the wording of an act. But Mr. Johnson, as the President, is not privileged to govern the country according to the notions of the Tombs' lawyers, or to fight Congress with weapons furnished by pettifoggers. His duty is to accept the law according to its manifest purpose-to accept the declared and well-understood objects of Congress as the key to the interpretation of its enactments-and to disregard all flaws that are at variance with their general scope and

The fact that Mr. Johnson refuses to recognize this conception of his duty, and prefers instead to obey the promptings of mercenary adherents and unscrupulous pettifoggers, is proof that he can no longer be entrusted with the administration of the law. The functionary who examines the law simply that he may bring it to naught, by that circumstance demonstrates his unfitness for his office. And the Executive who assails authority which Congress intended to make independent of him, and employs the accidental advantages of a constitutional position to pick holes in measures formed to provide for the safety and unity of the republic, provokes the exercise of harsher means of restraint than have yet been employed against him.

#### The President and General Grant. From the N. Y. Tribune.

An act of Congress is not a riddle to which ingenious minds may furnish a dozen answers. It is the law of the land, and is as binding upon the President as upon the humblest citizen-more binding upon him because he is sworn to execute it. In the private citizen evasion may be but a fault; in the public officer it is a crime. In the highest officer it is the highest crime, and ignorance of the law will not avail to shield the President from the censequences of disobedience. The past is irrecoverable, but Mr. Johuson may possibly atone for it in the future. We would simply ask if it is probable that the people will endure for one year and seven months that fatal and unnecessary war upon the laws which he vindictively forces upon them? They ask him for peace. Are they to forever beg what it is

in their power to command ? The President understands the Reconstruction law. Of that there is no doubt, for he has explained it. We shall see what that explanation is. The present issue, no longer upon general principle, is narrowed down to a plain question of fact-whether the paramount authority over the Rebel States is given by Congress to the District Commanders and the deneral of the Army, or to the President. Mr. Johnson now claims that the law gives him the authority; let us see what he declared little more than a month ago, in his veto message of July 19. "In conclusion," said the President, "I must respectfully ask the attention of Congress to the consideration of one more question arising under this bill. It vests in the Military Commanders, subject only to the approval of the General of the Army of the United States, an unlimited power to remove from office any civil or military officer in each of these ten States; and the further power, subject to the same approval, to detail or ap point any military officer or soldier of the nited States to perform the duties of the officer so removed, and to fill all vacancies occurring in those States by death, resignation, or otherwise." Unlimited power, it will be observed, and not subject to the approval of the President, but only to the approval of the General. Mr. Johnson continues his interpretation of the law: "Within a period less than a year the legislation of Congress has attempted to strip the executive department of the Government of some of its essential powers. The Constitution, and the oath provided in it, devolve upon the President the power and duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed. The Constitution, in order to carry out this power, gives him the choice of the agents, and makes them subject to his control and supervision; but in the execution of these laws the constitutional obligation upon the President remains, but the power to exercise that constitutional duty is effectually taken away. The military commander is, as to the power of appointment, made to take the place of the President, and the General of the Army the place of the Senate, and any attempt on the part of the President to assert his own constitutional powers may, under pretense of law, be met by official insubordination. It is to be feared that these military officers, looking to the authority given by these laws, rather than to the letter of the Constitution, will recognize no authority but the Commander of the District and the Gene ral of the Army." The power of the Presi dent is effectually taken away; the Military Commander takes the place of the President. This was Mr. Johnson's official construction of the law, and he declared expressly that if the Executive trust, which he supposed to be constitutionally vested in the President, "is to be taken from him and vested in a subordinate

officer, the responsibility will be with Con-

gress in clothing the subordinates with unobn-

that Mr. Johnson declared in it that he would yield to the law under protest; it is not forgotten that the suspicion that he would resist nearly resulted in his immediate impeachment. His construction of the Constitution is not an element of the dispute; he has held nearly all the laws passed by the Thirty-ninth Congress unconstitutional. The question is solely one of understanding of the law, and obedience. 'The remedy,' he then said, "must come from the people themselves."

But now where does Andrew Johnson seek his remedy? In his own arbitrary power. He forces his interpretation of the law upon General Grant, and compels Grant to submit to it. Grant has the law behind him, Congress to lean upou, the President's own intrepretation as an argument, the people to sustain him, yet he is overruled by Presidential tyranny. Johnson has admitted that he is not to be the judge between himself and Congress, admits that the laws are binding till repealed, whether constitutional or not, yet makes himself the judge, and repeals at his pleasure. He appoints and directs, though he has announced that the law gives to the General the ultimate control of appointments. He tears from Grant's reluctant hands the weapons with which Congress armed him, and usurps all the authority of which he solemnly proclaimed he had been

absolutely deprived. But was Mr. Johnson's July interpretation of the law right, so far as he declared that Congress gave the supreme executive power to the General? Unquestionably. There may be verbal looseness in some of the sections, but the law itself is plain. Everywhere the General of the Army, not the President, is named as the officer to whom all appeals shall be made, by whom alone any order may be disapproved. And to secure by double security the meaning which stood self-revealed and clear as the sun. Congress added the eleventh section, which declares, "That all the provisions of this act, and the acts to which this is supplementary, shall be construed liberally to the end that all the intents thereof may be fully and perfectly carried out." Audrew Johnson knows these intents, but he construes every word with an intellect which, to gain its end, is not ashamed to affect the most abject and grovelling imbecility. We regret that General Grant did not maintain the rights given to him by Congress, but he may yet more clearly understand the law of which he is the executive. He has only to assert the constitutional powers given him by Congress, by the law maker, to conquer for the people. The President cannot remove or suspend him. Congress, in imposing upon him the responsi-bility of executing its laws, placed its invin-cible spear in his hand, and its impenetrable buckler on his arm.

### Powers of the General of the Army Under the Reconstruction Law. From the N. Y. World.

It has been currently, and we suppose truly, reported for the last two days that a difference has arisen between President Johnson and General Grant, and that the General had declined to issue a particular order of the President. General Grant seems to have become convinced that he was wrong, and that his authority had no such scope as he had hastily been led to suppose. We have printed the order issued by him Thursday, under the President's direction, which virtually rescinds certain sections of the curious and presumptuous order by which he promulgated the removal of Sheridan. General Grant forbade Sheridan's successor to alter or revoke any of his orders: the President causes General Hancock to be informed by General Grant himself that he is at full liberty to exercise all the powers conferred by law on any of the District Commanders. General Grant ordered Sheridan to report to him in person at Washington before going West; he now orders Sheridan, by the command of the President, to proceed forthwith to Fort Leavenworth, without making any such detour.

As General Grant undoubtedly acted from a sense of duty in hesitating to obey the command of the President, and from a more deliberate and better informed sense of duty in finally complying, it is of some interest to trace the grounds both of the hesitation and the compliance. We insert the second supplementary Reconstruction bill entire, the difference of opinion being simply a question as

to its proper interpretation:-Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Reresentatives of the United States of America, a Congress assembled. That it is hereby declared to have been the true intent and meaning of the act of the 2d day of March, 1867, entitled. "An act to provide for the more efficient govern-ment of the Rebel States," and of the act supple-mentary thereto, passed on the 25d day of March, 1867, that the governments then existing in the Rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Loui-siana, Florida, Texas, and Arkanas were not legal State governments, and that thereafter said governments, if continued, were continued subject in all respects to the military commanders of the respective districts, and to paramount authority of Congress.

authority of Congress.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That the commander of any district named in said act shall have power, subject to the disappreval of the General of the Army of the United States, and to have effect until disapproved, whenever in the opinion of such commander the proper administration of said act shall require it, to suspend or remove from office, or from the per-formance of official duties, and the exercise of official powers, any officer or person holding or exercising, or professing to hold or exercise, any civil or military office or duty in such district under any power, election, appointment, or authority derived from, or granted by, or claimed under, any so-called State, or the Government thereof, or sny municipal or other division thereof, and upon such suspension or removal, such commander, subject to the dis-approval of the General aforesaid, shall have ower to provide from time to time for the per-ormance of the said duties of such officer or person so suspended or removed, by the detail of some competent officer or soldier of the army, or by the appointment of some other person to perform the same, and to fill vacancies occasioned by death, resignation, or other-

Section 3 And be it further enacted, the General of the Armies of the United States shall be invested with all the powers of suspen-sion, removal, appointment, and detail granted in the preceding section to District Command-

Section 4. And be it further enacted. That the Section 4. And be it further enacted, Tiffs the acts of the officers of the army already done in removing in said districts persons exercising the functions of civil officers, and appointing others in their stead, are hereoy confirmed. Provided, That any person heretofore or hereafter appointed by any District Commander to exercise the functions of any civil office, may be removed either by the military officers in command of the district or by the General of the Army.

Section 5. And be it further enacted, That the Boards of Registration provided for in the act.

Section 5. And be it further enacted, That the Boards of Registration provided for in the act entitled "An act supplementary to an act entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the Rebei States, passed March 2, 1867, and to facilitate restoration," passed March 23, 1867, shall have power, and it shall be their duty, before allowing the registration of any person, to ascertain upon such facts or information as they can obtain, whether such person is entitled to be registered under said act, and the oath required by said act shall not be conclusive on such question, and no person shall be registered unless such Board shall decide that he is entitled thereto; and such Board shall also have power to examine under oath (to be administered by any member of such Board) any one touching the qualification of any person claiming registration; but in every case of refusal by the Board to register an applicant, and in every case of striking his name from the list as hereinafter provided, the Board shall make a note or memorandum, which shall prestarted with the registration to the Comstitutional power, and with the officer who assumes its exercise." It was understood by Congress, when this message was received, shall make a note or memorandum, which shall be returned with the registration to the Com-

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manding General of the district, setting forth the ground of such refusal or striking from the list: Provided, that no person shall be disquali-fied as a member of any board of registration by resnon of race or color. Section 6. And be it further enacted, That the

true intent and meaning of the oath prescribed in said supplementary act is (among other things) that no person who has been a member of the Legislature of any State, or who has beld any executive or indictal office in any State, whether be has taken an outh to support the Constitution of the United States or not, and whether he was holding such office at the commencement of the Rebellion, or had held it before, and who has afterwards engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United states, or given aid and comfort to the enemithereof, is entitled to be registered or to vote, and the words "executive and judicial officers in any State" in said oath mentioned, shall be construed to include all civil officers created by law for the administration of any general law of a State, or for the administration of justice

or for the keeping of the public peace.

Section 7. And be it further enacted, That the time for completing the original registration provided for in said act may, in the discretion of the commander of any district, be extended to the first day of October, 1867; and the boards of registration shall have power, and it shall be their duty, commencing fourteen days prior to any election under said act, and upon reasona-ble public notice of the time and place thereof, to revise, for a period of five days, the registra-tion lists; and, upon being satisfied that any person not entitled thereto has been registered, to strike the name of such person from the list, and such person shall not be allowed to vote. And such Board shall also, during the same person, add to such registry the names of all persons who at that time possess the qualifications required by said act who have not been already registered. And no person shall at any time be entitled to be registered or to vote by reason of any Executive pardon or amnesty fo any act or thing which, without such pardon or ampesty, would disqualify him from registra tion or voting. Section 8. And be it further enacted, That see

tion four of said last named act shall be con strued to anthorize the commanding genera named therein, whenever he shall deem i needful, to remove any member of a board of

registration, and to appoint another in his stead, and to fill any vacancy in such board, Section 9. And be it further enacted, That all members of said boards of registration, and all persons hereafter elected or appointed to office in said military districts, under any so-called State or municipal authority, or by detail or appointment of the district commanders, shall be required to take and subscribe the oath of office prescribed by law for officers of the United

States.
Section 10. And be it further enacted, That no district commander or member of the board of registration, or any of the officers or appointees acting under them, shall be bound in his action by any opinion of any civil officer of the United

States.
Section 11. And be it futher enacted, That all the provisions of this act, and the acts to which this is supplementary, shall be construed liberally to the end that all the intents thereof may be fully and perfectly carried out. A close reading of the context will show

that the powers conferred on the General of the Army relate solely to the removal and appointment of civil officers in the State Governments, and to no other subject whatever. This is so evident, on a careful reading of the act as to preclude elucidation. Still, questions might arise as to the completeness of General Grant's authority within this narrow sphere. The third section would seem to make it plenary, but a more careful examination will show that it is limited. There are two kinds of interference permitted to the General; one supervisory over the action of the District Commanders, the other a direct intervention without their agency. The first is very carefully limited. It consists solely in the power to annul orders made by the District Commanders. These commanders have full power to remove any State officers they please, to appoint whomsoever they please for their successors, and orders take effect immediately without the approval of the General of the Army. The authority conferred on him is not that of approval but of "disapproval;" that is to say, the order goes into effect without his approval, but he can annul it afterwards if he chooses to intervene for that purpose. He cannot intervene to keep the orders of a District Commander in force, but only to revoke them. His direction, therefore, to General Sheridan's successor not to modify any of Sheridan's orders was in excess of his authority. The law authorizes General Hancock (see proviso to section 4) to remove any of General Sheridan's appointees he thinks fit and to appoint whom he thinks fit in their place. General Grant can, to be sure, afterwards revoke his action if so inclined; but the law gives him no authority to interfere beforehand to prevent it. His forbidding the revocation of Sheridan's orders was clearly illegal, as he seems to be himself now con-With regard to the powers which General

Frant may exercise directly and de novo in the Military Districts, they are confined solely to the removal of civil officers and filling the vacancies. He can displace whom he will; appoint whom he will; and neither the District Commanders below him" nor the President above him can interfere. The reason wby the President cannot interfere is that General Grant possesses this authority by law. and the President is as much bound to obey the law as the lowest subordinate in the army. And, for precisely the same reason, General Grant cannot forbid a District Com mander to exercise any authority which the law declares he may exercise. This is why his prohibition to modify Sheridan's orders is The release of the District Commanders, by

the tenth section of the act, from obligation to pay any regard to any civil officer of the United States as to the extent of their powers. goes for nothing as against the President, who, besides being a civil officer, is the Com-mander-in-Chief of the Army. The District Commanders would be obliged to defer to the opinion of the President respecting the extent of their powers, though not to that of the Judges of the Supreme Court, who are merely civil officers. No law can be passed abridging the military authority of the President as Commander in-Chief of the Army; or if passed, t would be null and bind nobody.

Whether the second section of the Army Appropriation bill is constitutional, is a point ve will not now discuss; but even conceding it to come within the authority of Congress to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces," it is perfectly nugatory as a restraint upon the military authority of the President. It requires all military orders of

the President to be issued through the headquarters of the General of the Army, made stationary in Washington. The question is, can the General refuse to issue any order which he is directed to issue by the President? No such authority is conferred on him in the law by express words; but the Constitution does by express words make the President Commander-in-Chief, an authority which would be nullified if the only officer through whom he can issue orders had any choice as to whether he would obey.

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