

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

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

The Insurrection in Spain.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Some years ago it was commonly reported that Louis Napoleon had proposed the recognition of Spain as one of the great powers of Europe, and her admission to the Conference which undertake the peaceful solution of great international complications. Spain, at that time, had an area far exceeding that of Prussia; her population was only about two millions less than that of Prussia, but exceeded it in all her colonies were counted. There is no reason why, under an able administration, Spain should not have exceeded Prussia, and have asserted, without any formal recognition, her right to be respected as one of the most powerful nations of the Old World. But Spain has been declining for centuries from want of good administration. Her natural resources have not been made use of, and the people have grown in ignorance and indolence. Thus the Government has come to be despised abroad as well as at home, and the idea of admitting Spain among the leading nations of Europe—if the proposition has ever been really made—could only be laughed at. There have been a few laud intervals in the general gloom of modern Spanish history. Such an interval was the brilliant administration of Espartero from 1837 to 1856. Since then Spain has been alternately ruled by Narvaez and O'Donnell, who, if not equally despotic, were at least equally opposed to a constitutional form of government, and to all thorough-going reforms. Spain, as every other country of Europe, has its progressive party, which demands freedom of the press, freedom of religion, extension of suffrage, and in general the carrying through in legislation of the popular will. This party has worked with great energy, and not without success. As long as it was allowed to publish liberal papers, the party was strongly represented in the daily press. There were a power in all the large cities, and in particular in those of the eastern provinces, Barcelona, Saragossa, Valencia, Tarragona, and others. Their efforts for the regeneration of their country are worthy of the highest praise, and though they were not successful, inspired a large portion of the people with confidence in a better future. If the Government had given them a fair chance at the general elections, they would have fought with peaceable weapons; but as despotism deprived them of all possibility to show their strength at the polls, nothing remained for them but to show it in insurrection. And in this, as the recent history of Spain shows, they have not been remiss.

Twice during the year 1866 an attempt was made to rid the country of its despotic Government. Both attempts failed, but they showed that discontent with the Government prevailed throughout the kingdom. In December of that year a stirring proclamation to the Spanish people was issued by the revolutionary Junta of Madrid, and widely circulated in all the provinces. Ever since, the utmost efforts have been made in the preparation of the insurrection which broke out about a month ago. We gave a few days ago a full statement of all the intelligence that has thus far been received. As usual, it largely consists of rumors and contrary reports; but the declaration of siege throughout Spain, and the proclamations of the generals and the governors of provinces, leave no doubt that this time it was not a military revolution exclusively, but that in many places the people took an active part in it. The insurrection has now been in progress for more than three weeks, and according to the latest cable despatches, it was meeting with success in the Eastern provinces, and even held control of the city of Saragossa, the capital of Aragon. We shall probably have to wait only a few more days to learn the final result. The Government has concentrated all its military power to crush the movement; if it fails in this, the insurrection will probably march to an easy victory.

The head of this, as of former insurrections, is General Prim, the acknowledged leader of the Progressive party of Spain. Prim is on intimate terms with Garibaldi, and it is stated that a number of Garibaldian volunteers are already fighting in the ranks of the insurgents. It is certain that, in case of success, the insurgents will not be satisfied with a change of Ministry, but will expel the Bourbon dynasty from Spain, and call a National Convention to decide the future government of the country. A year ago the Liberals were mostly in favor of a union of Spain with Portugal; but since then the Portuguese Chambers, as well as the King, have declared against this plan, which, therefore, is said to have been abandoned. Probably the leaders of the Liberals are at present not fully agreed on this point, and will leave its decision to the majority of a National Convention.

Another Proclamation.

From the N. Y. Times.

For the edification and amusement offered by the proclamation from the President, we presume the country should thank the wisdom and ingenuity of the illustrious Bineckley. It bears the mark of his handiwork. It is an appropriate addition to the contributions which, in Mr. Stanton's absence, he has furnished to the official literature of the period. The impeachment-conspiracy business was his first effort after immortality. His muddled argument in defense of the removal of Sickles, the other day, was sublime as well in its impudence as in its folly. And now comes this proclamation, which the irreverent multitude will be more disposed to mock than to praise. For the credit of the Attorney-General's office, therefore, we trust that Mr. Stanton's absence will not be prolonged indefinitely. His opinions are hard of digestion, but at least they are respectable in style and logic. He cannot afford to have the dignity of his position dragged in the dirt by the person who subscribes himself "Acting Attorney-General."

What occasion there is for this proclamation, or what good it is likely to accomplish, we are unable to discover. If it admit of any description, it may be said to be an exhortation to the military officers on duty in North and South Carolina not to obstruct, but on the contrary to aid and sustain, the civil courts of the United States in the performance of their duties in that district. As an order addressed to the service, of which the President is Commander-in-Chief, it seems superfluous. Instructions issued in the ordinary form, and through the ordinary channels, would have been more effective and more proper.

We suspect, however, that the President, under the advice of the Bineckleys who surround him, intends this document to be a formal demonstration in connection with his recent course on the reconstruction question. It affords a method of reviving indirectly one of his old issues with Congress, involving the present status of the South in the eyes of the

Government and the law. The people's representatives by their enactments have declared that the Southern States are not in the Union, and that they are in all things subject to the military organization which has been created as an agency for their reconstruction. Mr. Johnson holds himself at liberty to assume that these States are already in the Union; that civil authority is supreme there as elsewhere; and that the military officials are mere auxiliaries of civil authority operating there, and not the controlling governing influence created by Congress to direct the performance of a specific work.

The proclamation lays much stress on the Constitution. So does Bineckley in his advice to Mr. Johnson, and so does Mr. Johnson in all his speeches. Both forget that, though the Constitution imposes on the President the responsibilities of an administrator and the duties of Commander-in-Chief, it does not invest him with authority to interpret the laws, or to enforce his interpretation, in defiance of the understood intentions of Congress.

Equally emphatic is the proclamation in its references to the civil law as supreme. The comment which the country will most likely make upon this feature will not be very flattering to Mr. Johnson. "He appeals," the people will say, "to the law as the supreme authority in the Carolinas: why does he not himself respect the Reconstruction law, which is applicable to the Carolinas and the whole South?"

If Mr. Johnson intends to follow this expression of general views with direct and explicit instructions in harmony with their spirit, we must anticipate further complications and conflicts before the 21st of November. After that date Bineckley will sink once more into obscurity, and Mr. Johnson will find the opinions and proclamations which are now manufactured to order, rudely treated as so much waste paper.

Impeachment—Stanton for President—The Reported Scheme.

From the N. Y. Herald.

We have some very curious and suggestive information from Washington, touching a reported radical scheme embracing the impeachment and removal of President Johnson, and the advancement pro tempore of Mr. Stanton, the displaced Secretary of War, to the White House. The programme contemplated is said to be this:—Mr. Stanton will first resign as Secretary of War, and next Mr. Cameron, of the same State—Pennsylvania—will resign his seat in the Senate, in order that Governor Geary may fill this vacancy by the appointment of Mr. Stanton. Mr. Wade is then to resign as President of the Senate, in order that Mr. Stanton may be put into his place. Next, President Johnson is to be impeached and deposed, and then, under the existing law of Congress, under the authority of the Constitution, Mr. Stanton, as President of the Senate, will take the place of "the man at the other end of the avenue." Mr. Wade will then be re-elected President of the Senate, and Mr. Cameron, to fill the vacancy left by Mr. Stanton, will be restored to the Senate.

Now, like the famous quarrel contrived by Sir Lucius O'Trigger, this is a very pretty affair as it stands, and it is almost a pity to spoil it. As a compromise among the Republican Presidential aspirants and cliques, it is sufficiently plausible to justify the suspicion that there is something in it. Recent events have so far strengthened the impeachment faction that the removal of Mr. Johnson seems now to be regarded as a necessity and as the common purpose of all shades of the Republican party. But the alternative of "Old Ben Wade" is a serious difficulty among the Congressional managers who have other axes to grind. The ultra radical and intractable Wade in the White House, like a bull in a China shop, may smash up their crockery, and spoil their calculations. Assuming, however, that Mr. Wade is, after all, only a sort of good man Friday to Chief Justice Chase, and that Chase for the next Presidency is the real object of all these nice arrangements, the case becomes very simple and easy of explanation.

The suspended Secretary of War, as a martyr in the cause of Congress, must have his reward. His wounds must be healed, and his claims cannot safely be disregarded. A few months in the White House, under the scheme proposed, will doubtless satisfy him, and get him nicely out of the way in reference to the main contest of the succession.

In the next place, neither Cameron nor Wade will lose anything in playing their part in this beautiful game; for, with its consummation, each will be, as he was before, in the Senate, with the addition of a first-class claim, first upon the party, and next upon Mr. Chase, in the event of his nomination and election to the Presidency next fall. For example, Mr. Cameron, with Mr. Chase and Mr. Seward, after having failed as competitors against Abraham Lincoln in the Republican Convention of 1860, were, after his election, the first among his cabinet appointments. Calling again in 1864, as a candidate against Lincoln, Chase was rewarded for his services with the office of Chief Justice. So, then, Cameron, Wade, and half-a-dozen other Presidential rivals may be conciliated in view of the contemplated settlement of the approaching contest. This whole plan, therefore, involving Johnson's impeachment and Stanton's promotion temporarily to his place, if we rest it upon the main idea of Chase for the succession, becomes a beautiful and feasible plan from the beginning to the end.

There is, however, this unfortunate weakness hanging to it. The parties in this scheme, assuming that such a scheme has been projected, have been reckoning without their host. They are playing Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. We dare say, too, that the leading radical managers in the interest of the Chief Justice are flattered themselves that General Grant has so far committed himself as to be entirely subject to their good will and pleasure. We will venture to say, however, that General Grant's superior claims to the Presidential succession will not be so easily set aside or postponed, but that in all probability, from the developments of Southern reconstruction, and of the approaching elections in Pennsylvania, New York, and elsewhere, west of Vermont, all the radical schemes and schemes against Grant will be upset by the meeting of Congress. President Johnson himself, in working harmoniously with Grant, may still flank the impeachment faction, and utterly defeat all their plans and expectations dependent upon his removal from office. For the present we are inclined to believe that how they are to get rid of Wade as a substitute for Johnson is the first and leading question with the Republican managers at Washington, if they have not virtually agreed upon the aforesaid compromise between him and Stanton and Cameron.

Republicans War Upon the Memory of Mr. Lincoln.

From the N. Y. World.

We propose to show that the frothy venom which the Republicans are daily spitting at President Johnson, defiles his predecessor equally with himself. We shall thus expose the hypocrisy of pretending to venerate Mr.

Lincoln as a political saint and martyred patriot, by the same persons who cry down Mr. Johnson as a renegade and traitor.

In performing this duty, we shall not affect for Mr. Lincoln any veneration which we do not feel. We will frankly say that we have no sympathy, nor much patience, with the Republican cant of always calling him "our martyred President." Mr. Lincoln's character is neither better nor worse from the fact that he died by assassination. We would no more canonize Abraham Lincoln than we would old John Brown, although Lincoln was every way a more estimable man than Brown. The fact that one was killed by an assassin and the other by a hangman, makes neither of them a political saint. Both are to be judged by what they respectively did before their tragical ends. John Brown was a felon, and deservedly met a felon's fate. He indeed differed from a common felon, in not acting from a common felon's motives. But this is true of Wilkes Booth. Mr. Lincoln resembled neither of these criminal enthusiasts, except in the circumstance that he did not die a natural death; but the fact that he was cut off by violence should not in any degree alter our estimate of his character. To call him a martyr is absurd; the essence of martyrdom being a voluntary sacrifice of life in attestation of the sufferer's convictions.

But Mr. Lincoln, though no saint nor much of a statesman, was a man of good impulses, fair intentions, and more than ordinary probity. The make of his mind, and all his habits of thought, were averse to sophistry and chicanery; and this intellectual fairness, which we do not know that anybody ever denied him, relieves him, and ought to redeem his successor, who treads in his footsteps, from the imputation of perversely adopting a policy for which there is no warrant in the Constitution. Every shaft aimed at President Johnson passes directly through the body of Abraham Lincoln.

In the first place (to begin with the consideration which lies at the core of the controversy), Mr. Lincoln believed that the right of the Southern States to representation in Congress never lapsed at all during the Rebellion, and that it remained perfect whenever they should choose to exercise it. We could give many proofs of this, but we will formally present only one, as others will appear incidentally in the evidence we shall have occasion to bring forward in support of another position. In December, 1862, Fernando Wood wrote a letter to the President, stating that he had intelligence from Richmond that the Rebels were ready to send Representatives to Congress, provided the President by an amnesty would shield them from the penalties of treason. Mr. Lincoln, in his reply, expressed doubts, or rather a disbelief, of the authenticity of Mr. Wood's information, but was willing to grant an amnesty, if he could be convinced that the States wished to resume their places in Congress. "I do not think it would be proper," he continued, "now to communicate this, formally or informally, to the people of the Southern States. My belief is that they already know it; and when they choose, if ever, they can communicate with me unequivocally." The right of the States to resume their representation in Congress was so incontestable, and the interest of the United States in allowing them to exercise that right so obvious, that Mr. Lincoln thought the Southern people might know it without any special assurances from him. Although we promised to give only one documentary proof on this head, another occurs to us of such general notoriety that we can recall it by a mere allusion, without the tediousness of quotation. France, at a later stage of the war, tendered her good offices as a mediator between the Federal Government and the revolted States. Our Government rejected the proffer, and the Secretary of State, by President Lincoln's direction, stated in the reply that seats in Congress awaited the Southern States whenever they chose to occupy them, and that discussion and adjustment between the parties in that arena, was preferable to any form of mediation.

We now proceed to state the views of President Lincoln on the other great point in controversy—the organization of the State Governments. The Republicans contend that it is a usurpation on the part of the President to pretend that this can be done without Congressional authorization. If this be so, President Lincoln was just as much a usurper as President Johnson. The proofs, as of the other point, are conspicuous; but the obtrusive din which is kept up about President Johnson's usurpation is causing them to slide into forgetfulness. In his annual message in December, 1863, Mr. Lincoln informed Congress of a plan of reconstruction which he had adopted, and was about to offer to the South; and without awaiting, or even asking, any action of Congress thereupon, he published a reconstruction proclamation on the same day he sent in the message. He sought no advice, but only told Congress what he had decided to do, and put his resolution in practice before they had time to protest, or even to consider the subject. He forthwith set the machinery of reconstruction at work in Louisiana and Arkansas, and he encouraged reconstruction by another method in Tennessee, independently of any action by Congress. He regarded this as no usurpation, because the right of the States to organize republican governments and send Senators and Representatives, was not derived from Congress but from the Constitution. There was needed no permissive law to enable them to exercise a right which was theirs by right. Mr. Lincoln proposed his plan only as a suggestion to the States; he encouraged a different mode of proceeding in Tennessee; and he professed a willingness to countenance any plan which the people of the States might adopt to accomplish the same end of restoring the States to their Federal relations.

It may be said that President Johnson differs from his predecessor in adhering to his own plan after Congress has taken its stand in favor of another policy. But this would be said in the face of evidence. It is a matter of history that Congress disliked, and attempted to upset, President Lincoln's plan of reconstruction; that it rejected the Senators and Representatives from Louisiana and Arkansas; that it passed a bill directing a different method of reconstruction; and that President Lincoln nevertheless stood by his own idea. He did not veto the bill, because he received it only three hours before Congress adjourned. But he was not content to defeat it by silently withholding his signature. He took the unusual, the unexampled course of publishing a proclamation against it. He refused to sign it, he said, not because it might not be a good enough plan for any State choosing to adopt it, but because it contravened his own, under which some progress had been made, and he thought it inexpedient that the work should be undone; and because he thought it wrong to impose any rigid unvarying plan in a matter which, by the Constitution, depends upon the voluntary action of the States.

We have thus demonstrated that, on the reconstruction question, Mr. Johnson stands exactly in Mr. Lincoln's shoes; and that all the vituperative and which is so predigally flung at him stick to the garments of his predecessor.

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It affords us much pleasure to announce to our numerous patrons and the public, that in consequence of a slight decline in Hoop Skirt material, together with our increased facilities for manufacturing, and a strict adherence to BUYING and SELLING FOR CASH, we are enabled to offer all our BEST CELEBRATED HOOP SKIRTS at REDUCED PRICES. And our Skirts will always, as heretofore, be found in every respect more desirable and really cheaper than any single or double spring Hoop Skirt in the market, while our assortment is unequalled. Also, constantly receiving from New York and the Eastern States full lines of low priced Skirts at very low prices; among which is a lot of Plain Skirts at the following rates:—18 springs, 50c.; 20 springs, 55c.; 22 springs, 60c.; 24 springs, 65c.; 26 springs, 70c.; 28 springs, 75c.; 30 springs, 80c.; and 32 springs, 85c. Skirts made to order, altered, and repaired. Whole sale and retail, at the Philadelphia Hoop Skirt and Petticoat Manufactory, No. 68 ARCH STREET, below Seventh. 10 1/2 m WILLIAM T. HOPKINS.