SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

The Democrats and the Public Debt. From the N. Y. A ation.

As might have been expected, the public debt is likely to form the most prominent topic of discussion in preparation for the State elections of this fall, perhaps even more prominent than the dispute between the President and Congress. The importance of this dispute depends entirely on the bearing it is likely to have on the work of reconstruction, and the work of reconstruction on the Congressional plan is more likely to be frustrated by a determined assault on the public credit than in any other way. In selecting the pub-lic credit, too, as the object of their attacks, the Democratic leaders are displaying that intimate acquaintance with the worst side of human nature by which for years past their greatest triumphs have been won. The character of a people is, in fact, much more severely tested by the pecuniary cost of a war than by the war itself. During the progress of hostilities there are plenty of sources besides mere love of principle from which men draw the courage never to submit or yield. There is pride, hatred, animal pugnacity, interest in the dread game itself, all of which have often operated to protract a war for years after its original cause or objects had been forgotten, and after all principle or semblance of principle had died out of it.

But when the last shot had been fired, the banners have been folded, the dead buried, the books balanced, and men have to settle down to the dull routine of their old life, and toil not only to repair their shattered fortunes, but to pay off money borrowed to help them to secure objects which have been already secured or lost beyond doubt-money, too, which, like most money borrowed in seasons of doubt and danger, has perhaps been borrowed on very unfavorable terms, and which has doubtless been spent wildly, recklessly, and extravagantly, as money is apt to be in time of warthen, and only then, comes the real trial of their honor and patriotism. Almost any male animal will fight, but it is only the élite of the human race which, when the fighting is over, will sit down in the calm of peace and doggedly and industriously pay. Demagogues know this, of course, perfectly well, and count on it, so that, whether they have in the first instance advocated the war or not, they are pretty sure, when it is over, to advise people to repudiate.

The leaders of the Democratic party have, perhaps, stronger reasons for urging repudiation than any other demagogues have ever had. In the first place, they violently opposed the war, and predicted steadily and persistently that the money borrowed for it would never be refunded. Therefore, they have the ordinary human interest in bringing about the fulfilment of their own prophecies. In the second place, they look on the public debt as a great instrument of national consolidation, and to consolidation they are violently opposed; and if they should succeed in breaking down the national credit at this juncture, they feel satisfied that the United States would never again be able to borrow on any great scale or for any great enterprise-certainly never to resist a new attempt at secession.

Moreover, they are the friends of only one "section," and that is the South. To them New England is nothing and New York is nothing and the West is nothing; but for the South as a unit they have a real tenderness. Now, the South will probably feel the burden of the debt more than any other part of the country. To her it is not simply a debt, it is a penalty, and a very humiliating penalty-a moral as well as a physical burden. It is at once the sign and memorial of her defeat. To get rid of the debt is, therefore, the highest service the Democrats can render the South, and, perhaps, the only way they can hope to win back the Southern whites into the old

Of course they do not now propose downright repudiation. They are much too shrewd to be guilty of such brutal frankness as this. know perfectly well that the memories of the war are still strong and still sacred, and though they opposed it bitterly and mourned over every Union victory, and though the sight of a uniform is odious to them, they like to get a Union soldier for their candidate whenever they can, and affect to consider their participation in the struggle a title to popular confidence. Occasionally at a nominating convention, as the other day in Ohio, a drunken or indiscreet member blurts out the real feeling of the party about the Northern army, but he is instantly checked, and one of his colleagues "sits on his head," as on a fallen horse, till his kicking and plunging can do no harm. So, also, with regard to the public debt, they approach it cautiously and with the tenderest regard for what they consider the popular weakness. They have accordingly opened the campaign by a determined attack on the interest of it, while for the principal they profess the profoundest respect.

This idea of assailing the public credit as an

instrument of party warfare was undoubtedly conceived long ago. The first public expression of it was made in Mr. Johnson's conversation with Miles O'Reilly, in which he denonneed the public creditors as a "bond aristooracy," and declared the design of the radicals was to administer the Government for their benefit. But in Mr. Johnson's hands it has not, as might have been expected, been used with as much dexterity as in Mr. Pendleton's. The theory on which the "bond aristocracy" was held up for popular execration was that the United States bonds were mainly held by very wealthy men, and that the Government was passing more and more into the hands of its creditors and used to serve their purposes. Mr. Pendleton knows, of course, that this is absurd, or what is, perhaps, more to the purpose, knows that no-body will believe it; so, instead of maintaining that the debt is kept up for the benefit of a few bloated capitalists, he simply says that for the debt he has the deepest respect; all that he objects to is the interest. He says that the holders of the bonds did not pay for them in specie but in greenbacks, and this at a time when greenbacks were worth very much less than they are now; therefore, what can be more fair than to pay them off in greenbacks In this way they will get what they gave. The greenbacks required to settle their claims will only cost a few hours' labor at the printing-press, and the people will be relieved of burden of the interest.

The answer to this proposal is, of course obvious. The price which every holder of United States bonds paid for them was what they were worth at the time. Investing in "Governments" during the war was a specia lation which it required, both on the part of the native and foreigner, considerable faith to make. At the time when most of the United States bonds were issued some of the ablest financiers in the world were strongly of opinion that they would never be paid. The fortunes of war were still doubtful. Even the most of the outset, no doubt, Mr. Johnson was re-

ardent supporters of it could eay little more in 1800 and 1864, than that they would never give up-that, come sooner come later, victory would be for the North, though what it would cost in men and money to achieve it nobody could tell.

Moreover, the low rate in specie at which bonds could be bought was one of the arguments most strongly urged in recommending them to investors. To turn round now and use it as an argument for not paying them in specie would be very like fining a man for his simplicity in being taken in by a cheat. Every nation which has never had its credit severely tested, and which is engaged in a war waged not for conquest or disputed succession. but to decide whether it is a nation or not, must expect to borrow money at a disadvantage, and berrowing at a disadvantage means getting very little and undertaking to pay a

If we now undertake to pay off these bonds in greenbacks, the minute the proposition was made public greenbacks would lose nearly all their value; first, because the very issue of them would be a sign that the United States' promises to pay were worthless. Nobody in his senses would give anything for the promissory notes of a Government which had repudiated its bonds, particularly when these very petes were issued as the means of repudiation; secondly, because the number of greenbacks would be so greatly increased that, even if their payment is certain, their value in relation to gold would fall to about one-half its present figure. It is not probable, in fact, that after the Democratic plan of getting rid of the interest had been adopted, greenbacks would bring five cents on the dollar. There would be a general return to specie payments; but it would be through one of the greatest swindles on record. Except for the fun and excitement of the "financiering," simple and undisguised repudiation would be much preferable, as it would certainly be more simple and manly, and would certainly make a less unfavorable impression on mankind as to the condition of American morals.

The argument which Mr. Pendleton and his confrères bring forward, and which is pro-ducing, and will produce, more effect than any, is the weight with which the interest of the debt presses on the mass of the people. But this is not a question which, with a people making any pretensions to morality, is worth a moment's consideration. The repayment of borrowed money is almost always a painful and inconvenient process; but this has never been held to be a good reason for not repaying Everybody knew the burden of the public debt would be heavy when the loans were raised, and whether they were well or ill spent is something with which the lenders have nothing to do; the national faith being pledged to them that they will be repaid in coin and in any event, not if we find it convenient, or if the West is satisfied or the East is satisfied, or if the poor are satisfied, but under all circumstances and at any hazard. It is pledged, too, against all forced conversions or wrigglings or twistings or turnings which will make the debt any less valuable to bondholders than it was agreed that it should be when it was contracted. If we should fail to pay as we promised to pay, the creditors have, it is true, no remedy. There is no tribunal before which a nation can be cited; but no nation has ever yet repudiated without finding before very long what a terrible thing the loss of credit is, for nations which repudiate are almost always governed by knaves, and so badly governed that they can never very long keep out of scrapes which make loans necessary.

We confess, however, that except as an illustration of the way in which demagogues seek to use human baseness for their own selfish ends, we do not consider the Democratic crusade against the public debt very formidable. The "bond aristocracy" is happily a figment of Mr. Johnson's excited though not very cultivated imagination. The vast majority of the holders of the national bonds are poor men and women who are glad to commit their hardly-won savings to the national keeping, and where they do not hold them directly the savings banks hold them by the million, so that the public credit has plenty of support in the interest as well as in the honor of the

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the course of the majority on a question of this sort. If democracy is going to excel monarchies and aristocracies in nothing but in being stronger, better fed, and richer, everybody who believes that the mission nations, as of men, is not to breed to "incline to fast and get fat, but God's will and walk in His way," will be glad to see the last of it. If this democracy were deliberately to embrace the principles preached by what is called the Democratic party in this country, history would talk of it as the worst curse that ever befel mankind. From the vices of kings and nobles there was an appeal to popular virtue, but from the vices of democracy there is no appeal but to despotism. It is, of course, of the highest importance that we should all get rich as fast as we can; but in getting rich we should never forget that the State is something "better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and of coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all arts, a partnership in every virtue and in all

The South and the President.

From the N. Y. Times.

The recent action of the President, and the ill-concealed antagonism that exists between his position and that of General Grant, seem scarcely to have disturbed the current of Southern opinion. Taking the press as a correct exponent of the various shades of local feeling, we must conclude that the hope once cherished of help from the President has been universally abandoned, and that the interest felt in his policy is limited to the personal and partisan complications which it involves. The journals opposed to Congress and the Reconstruction law are violent in their denunciation of Grant. His approval of Sheridan's course, his resistance to the Presi dent's schemes, and his identification with the measures of Congress, have raised the ire of editors who mistook his moderation for indifference and his silence for sympathy. But this altered tone in regard to General Grant has not been attended with the slightest growth of faith in Mr. Johnson or in his ability to lessen the burdens of the Southern people. As a mere gladiator, he is cheered ustily enough. But in his own fortunes or in the result of his conflicts, there is comparative little interest. To this extent the Southern aspect is satisfactory.

The slight importance which our Southern contemporaries attach to events now trans-piring at Washington, is the effect in some degree of a more just estimate of the relative

lied upon hopefully, confidently, by the opponents of reconstruction. In his efforts in their behalf, they saw a chance of deliverance, and even of ultimate triumph. The last few months have dissipated these delusions. Mr. Johnson, it is seen, is as nothing and nobody against Congress, backed by the firm will of the nation. His aid has rendered matters worse, not better. And they have outlived the folly that would place any dependence upon pretensions and endeavors which a few weeks hence will be crushed and frustrated by the power of Congress. We find none suffi ciently ignorant or weak to believe that the display now made by Mr. Johnson will avail him or his abettors in the smallest degree; while there is everywhere an evident conscious ness of the fact that Congress, when it assembles, will make its mastery of the situation more absolute than ever.

Apart from the loss of all reliance on the power of Mr. Johnson, we trace in Southern ournalism an entire want of respect for his judgment. Whatever be the interpretation put upon his motives, there is no longer any reliance upon his sagacity or statesmanship It is seen and felt that as President he is a blunderer all the time-marring even good things by his manner of doing them, and making bad things tolerable by the temper in which they are attempted. Hence he has ceased to enjoy credit as a friend of the South, and is rated instead amongst its worst enemies.

Material interests, too, are gradually asserting their supremacy over malcontents and partisans. The Wade Hamptons, the Hills, and the Herschel Johnsons may avow their preference for a continuance of military government over governments reconstructed in conformity with the law; but the Southern people appear to be tired of agitation, whether originated by Southern citizens or forced upon them by a President powerless except for evil. If the press forms an index to opinion, we are warranted in assuming that the desire for reconstruction, even subject to existing conditions, is gradually but surely prevailing over the efforts of Rebel agitators. We were not without fears that this tendency might be temporarily checked by Mr. Johnson's unwise demonstrations. Of this, however, we find no sign. On the contrary, we do find many tokens of mistrust of Mr. Johnson as an obstacle to the peace and prosperity which the South needs and craves above all other things.

Madness of the Republican Party Leaders From the N. Y. Heraid

The radical journals and party leaders are beginning a new revolutionary programme, and endeavoring, by their violent appeals, to lead the country on in a whirl of excitement to anarchy and ruin. They are repeating the policy pursued by the ultra pro-slavery politicians of the Southern States for a year or two before the Rebellion, and are seeking to raise a storm of passion and prejudice violent enough to carry reason and common sense before it. Cool judgment and firm action are more than ever needed at the present time in the administration of our public affairs. The South is undergoing a military process of reconstruction which will result in giving the control of the local Governments of ten or eleven States of the Union into the hands of the negroes. This will oblige us to establish a permanent military police in all the reconstructed territory, and to maintain a standing army large enough to hold possession of the Southern States and enforce the authority of their civil governments by the power of the bayonet. To give up the South to the political rule of the negroes, and then to withdraw the protection of the United States army, would be simply preparing the way for a war of races and general massacre. We are in as much confusion and trouble financially as politically. The Treasury Department is assailed damaging rumors and charges, and the general impression is that our whole financial system is rotten to the core. The national credit is suffering, and nothing will remove the feeling of apprehension and insecurity that prevails except a thorough change in the Treasury Department, and exhaustive investigations into all its transactions for the past four or five years.

In such a condition of affairs, as we have said, we require broad statesmanship and calm judgment to guide us safely through our difficulties. And yet we find the executive and legislative branches of the Government, all Republicans together, striving which can increase in the most violent degree the madness of the hour. The radical faction, in their family quarrel with their own President, appear to be getting perfectly wild and reckless. Some of them seem to desire the Governors of the several loyal States to lead the Grand Army of the Republic down to Washington and seize possession of the Government. Their organs and party leaders brand the President of the United States as a drunken loafer, but the fact is they are all drunk together. Greeley's article in Wednesday's Tribune, like Wade's speech in Ohio few days since, must have been incited by the fumes of whisky, and very bad whisky at that. The accounts from Washington every day show that all the affairs of the Government are in a terrible state of demoralization, and officials, high and low, civil and military appear to forget that we live under a written Constitution, which assigns to each depart ment of the Government its legitimate fund tions and authority.

Is it not time for the rank and file of th Republican party to withdraw their counter nance from the violence and recklessness which mark the conduct of their leaders ? The steadfastness of the Republican masses carried to a successful issue the great objects of the war, but they can have neither part nor sympathy with the men who are tearing at each other like savage beasts in their struggle for the spoils of office. They should repudiate them and their doings altogether, and take the power they abuse out of their hands. The country is getting heartily sick and tired of such disgraceful brawls, and a well-timed movement on the part of the respectable por tion of the Republican party will easily carry the next election and sweep away the entire breed of agitators, including Johnson, Greeley, Wade, Stanton, and the whole radical Congress, who are all drunk, revolutionary, and mad together.

Amnesty.

From the N. Y. Tribune. It is said that Mr. Johnson is about to publish a proclamation of amnesty, and the probabilities are that it will be pretty nearly universal in its terms. Let us see just how this matter stands.

By the act of July 17, 1862, the President was empowered to extend at any time, by pro-clamation, "to persons who may have participated in the existing Rebellion in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions, and at such time and on such conditions, as he may deem expedient for the pub-lic welfare." In accordance with this authori-zation President Lincoln issued his amnesty proclamations of the 8th December, 1863, and 20th March, 1864, and Mr. Johnson, on the 29th May, 1865, published another granting am-

nesty, parden, and restoration of property to all Rebels, certain classes excepted, who would take the oath of allegiance. The exceptions wers civil and diplomatic officers and foreign agents of the Confederate Government. military officers above the rank of Colonel, naval officers above the rank of Lieutenant, Governors of States under the Confederacy all persons who left judicial stations under the United States, or seats in Congress, to aid th Rebellion, officers of the army or navy who tendered their resignations to avoid duty in suppressing the Rebellion, military and naval officers of the Confederacy who were educated at West Point or Annapolis, all persons who treated unlawfully our prisoners of war, all who left the United States or entered the rebellious States for the purpose of aiding the Rebellion, privateers, the Canada raiders, persons in custody at the time of applying for the benefits of the amnesty, and all Rebels whose taxable property exceeds \$20,000 in value. This is the offer of amnesty which the United States still hold out to the conquered Rebels and this is the most which the loyal people have thus far shown a willingness to grant. On the 3d of December last, the House of Representatives, on motion of Mr. Kliot, repealed the section of the act of July 17, 1862, which conferred upon the President the power of declaring a general amnesty; on the 7th of January the Senate did the same, and as the Executive neither signed nor returned the bill, it became a law ten days afterwards. Thus, the authority of Congress for the publication of a fresh offer of amnesty has been explicitly withdrawn.

But can the President make such an offer in virtue of the powers vested in him by the Constitution, and without the intervention of Congress? We think it very clear that he cannot. The Constitution gives him authority to "grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States." Now, a pardon and an amnesty are two very different things. A pardon is an act of grace exempting a person from penalties which he has incurred under the law. Amnesty is defined as "an act of the sovereign power, the object of which is "to efface and cause to be forgotten a crime or misdemeanor." Amnesty is abo-lition of the offense. Pardon is remission of the penalty. The sovereign power of this nation is not the President, but the people. The representative of the people is not Andrew Johnson, but the national Congress. The President may pardon individual offenders, but the Constitution gives him no authorits to declare a general amnesty. If it did, he might nullify every act of legislation to the violation of which any penalty is affixed, and virtually exercise an absolute veto over many of the most important proceedings of Congress.

This proposed proclamation, therefore, can only be regarded as the boldest defiance of the people which the President has yet uttered. He assumes to exercise a power which was only granted him for a time, and then deliberately taken away. It is better for him to understand that when the people, through their representatives, took away that temporary authority, they meant to keep it in their own hands, and there they will keep it, Johnson. Binckley, and all the rest of the nullifiers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Politics in the Army. From the N. Y. Herald.

It appears that General Grant has requested to be excused from all Cabinet meetings except where military affairs are to be discussed. Under this simple request we see much that means good to the country, and a lesson to the crazy politicians, who, in their race for power, forget all the principles of statesmanship, and bequeath, as an inheritance to the future, the elements of a dozen military desposms and countless internal wars. Since ti close of the Rebellion we have virtually set up a political school for the education of our army officers. Before the Rebellion, and even during the war, politics in the army were ignored by all true soldiers, and especially was this the case with the regular army. The officer who tarnished his epaulettes by descending from the lofty position of a soldier of the republic to the petty bickerings, jealousies, and revenges of party feeling, lost caste with his fellows. The subject was degrading, and while the republic went purely on the officer was a true soldier and pure. Now all is changed. Our first soldier is a Cabinet officer and a forced partisan in a hot political contest between the Executive and Congressional power of the nation. Five of our principal Generals are placed in political control of five pro-consulships, with the right to use the military power of the nation to support them in their civil rule. These Generals and all their subordinate officers, with the task imposed upon them by Congress, are made administrators of civil law through military power, and are readily learning the force of the combination placed in their hands.

We are marching to the system of the Roman republic, where every soldier was a politician, where all government had its b rth in the military element, and where the military, finally learning that it had acquired all power, overturned the republic, and established the empire upon its ruins. We advance more rapidly even than the French republic to the moment when the military politician must become the man of the hour, and where politics, engrafted upon the army, become a powerful weapon for any military man who has the brain and will to handle the forces thus unwittingly placed in his control. The French Revolution, in its progress, forced the army to become a political machine, and nothing but the empire restored it to a status where it no longer became a weapon in the hands of military political commanders. The English soldier to day is entirely aloof from a political contact which gives him any power to shape the destinles of England; and his feeling in that direction goes no further than a transient interest in a change of ministry. The whole of Spanish America may be held up as a warning of the effect of making politicians of soil diers; for there every officer is the exporent of some political principle or faction, and the soldier is virtually the government.

We commenced our reconstruction on a bad basis. Civil governors should have been appointed over each of the five districts of the South, with power to call for aid upon the United States troops whenever aid might be required to enforce the civil law. No officer in the army should have been appointed to even the most inferior civil office. In fact, the army should be held in its position and sub ject to the purposes for which it was organzed-an armed unit of power to enforce civil law where the ordinary process fails after trial Had this method been pursued, there would have been no necessity on the part of General Sickles to make the people in his district feel the sting of a military dictatorship, when he ordered the American flag to be saluted by those who failed to pay it homage; no neces-sity for General Schofield to suppress news-paper publications which were not exactly in harmony with the radical sentiment of the country; no necessity for smothering an ex-pression of opinion on the part of any man who felt that he was living in a country which professed to give him free speech; no necessity

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of boldly threatening the stability of the republic by merging military and civil power into the same hands, and treading immediately upon the border of a military despotism. Congress, by the folly of its legislation, has almost wrecked the nation, and many of its most radical members are beginning to see the effect of the strokes which they have struck at its fundamental principles. They have set wo great powers at work in the South to conrol that section-the negro and the soldier. To the negro they give the vote, and to the army they give military control of the country, while the negro rides into political power. The result is clear to impartial eyes. means either a war of races, the extinction of white or black, or both, in the South, or else a strong military power to stand in the breach and hold the two clashing forces at bay. It means, then, ten years of military dictator-ship over the five districts; ten years of political education for the army; ten years of marching towards a military despotism; and as a resultant, the overthrow of the Republic by the imposing of the same rule over the North that now exists in the South. The politicians have gone mad. The country must rise, through the votes of the people, and hurl back this wave that threatens to engulf everything-must place statesmen in our Congress, a clear-headed and firm man at the helm, and, above all, keep politics out of military hands.

The Internal Revenue. From the N. Y. World.

The movement against Commissioner Rollins is prompted by cupidity, and it is being en-gineered by men who have conspired to defraud the Internal kevenue; who have been prose-cuting their unlawful traffic here for several weeks, and whose operations are embarrass

by Mr. Rollins.

The pretext for these frauds upon the revenue is, that the money is wanted to sustain the National Intelligencer, whose managers (Snow & Coyle) claim to have the President's authority

for their depredations upon the revenue.

The reported Cabinet removals originated with those Intelligencer whisky manipulators who are auxiliaries of the Blairs, Jerry Black, and Fernando Wood.

The protection of the revenue was sufficiently

onerous to tax all the time, ability, and courage of the revenue officers before the National Intelligencer gang, armed as they profess with the authority of the President, entered the field.

Brooklyn, before an indomitably honest District Autorney commenced his raid upon revenue robbers was given over to illustrately revenue robbers, was given over to illicit distil-lation. The demoralization was general, em-bracing manufacturers, inspectors, and collectors. The conflict was fearful, for in money there is power. One man who, before his whisky enterprise commenced, scarcely knew the use of a bank book, was depositing daily from \$5000 to \$25,000, of which amounts the revenue was defrauded. This man, with some of the dishonest revenue inspectors, are indicted. One dishonest collector was removed. dicted. One dishonest collector was removed,

but that was not the only reform demanded.

The removal of Mr. Rollius, and the appointment as his successor of a dishonest or weak man, would open the floodgates of fraud and erruption to an appalling pination is already formidable. The profit is so large that it makes men reckless. The conspirators are making money fraudulently now, but not last enough. Their "appetite increases by what it feeds on." The Metropolitan Board is endeavoring to do its duty, but if Mr. Rollins should be removed, or their powers in any other way diminished, all control over the question

would be lost.
Andrew Johnson maintained, through life, the reputation of personal and public pecuni-ary integrity. That reputation, strengthened by his early and consistent devotion to the Union, made him Vice-President. We confided, Union, made him Vice-President. We confided, and we still confide, in his straight-forward, uncompromising honesty. We believe that men who are systematically defrauding the revenue; use his name either without his authority, or that he is not informed of the dishonest nature of their operations. We think the President erred, in principle, in endeavoring to resist the action of Congress in reconstruction after the people had declared in favor of Congress. We think he erred (in policy) in not, from the hegipping, giving the radicals all of Congress. We think he erred (in policy) in not, from the beginning giving the radicals all the rope they wanted, for if he had done so their leaders would ere this be looking through

But if the President, now that he is informed of the operations and designs of men wno have conspired to rob the Treasury, lends himself to them, the last link in the chain which bo os to him will have been broken,-N. Y. Cor.

The allegations contained in the foregoing article merit careful consideration. The gist of the matter, as laid by the Commercial, is that Mr. Blair, senior, Mr. Montgomery Blair, and Mr. Black, are in a conspiracy with the managers of the National Intelligence to defraud the internal revenue; that this band of conspirators has set on foot a movement for the removal of Mr. Rollins, the present Commissioner; and that the cause of this movement is the embarrassment he offers to the before-mentioned schemes of unlawful

It will be observed that this alarming inculpation by the Commercial embraces names of much prominence in public affairs, and to which, hitherto, no taint of dishonor in pecuniary matters has ever attached, whatever criticisms may have been vented upon the political opinions and actions of the indiviluals referred to. We have never heard before that anybody believed Mr. Blair, senior, or his son, or Mr. Black, to be capable of performing acts so base as are distinctly charged by Mr. Weed. And we do not think a man can be found, outside a lunatic asylum, who will put credit in the averments of the Com mercial upon this point. Such a conclusion upon one branch of the article necessarily involves suspicion of the truthfulness of the re-

We do not doubt that Mr. Rolling has done the best he could to secure an honest and efficient administration of the internal revenue law. Has he succeeded? If he has not, does a suggestion that another man could be found to fill the office, compel us to jump to the con-

clusion that the suggestion is made in the interest of illicit distillers? There is no denying grossly improper prac-tices in the Internal Revenue Department, nor the failure of the Government to collect the full amount of tax on certain manufactures. The existence of dishonest officers, and gross frands in that department, are as notorious as the existence of fellow fever at New Orleans. It is generally believed that prominent officials in this city are in the pay of those who evade the Internal Revenue laws, and we cannot understand how it is that the Secretary of the Tressury and the Commissioner do not require that those officials shall explain how it happens that, within a few years of official

life, they have sprung from most limited means to be men of opulence. And it is still more inexplicable to us (unless upon a theory we shall hereafter mention) why the department at Washington has made no striking removals or changes, in the face of this admitted fact, that the collectors and assessors fall utterly to execute the law. The action of the Treasury Department in

organizing the Metropolitan Board, is a confes-

sion of inability to collect the taxes imposed by law through the machinery directly provided by law. The Board was a contrivance to supplement the regular officers of the internal revenue. It was avowedly an attempted repair of a broken-down machine. If a correct history of the inception of this Board were written, we think it would appear to be the device of those in New York who despaired of any effective, thorough re-form coming directly from Washington, and bearing immediately on the inspectors, as-sessors, and collectors. It is said that Mr. Tracy, the Federal District Attorney for the Eastern District of New York, was mainly instrumental in getting up the Board. It is to him that the Commercial refers as "an indomitably honest District Attorney," and it is admitted on all hands that he brought more labor, ability, and persistency to bear against illicit whisky distillers than any one in the public service. But he found that, acting alone and with no more power than he possessed by law, he could not master the evil giant who was stalking defiantly through New York and Brooklyn. He made efforts, therefore, to induce the Treasury Department to change its regulations about removals from bonded warehouses, class B; but when that was accomplished, bogus bonds, improper compromises, infirm prosecutions, fraudulent officers were still beyond his reach. Hence the Metropolitan Board, which required the three adjacent district attorneys to act in concert, and permitted each to scrutinize the official acts of the other, and which placed all internal revenue officers in this vicinity under surveillance. Whether the project of this Board was at first acceptable at Washington we do not knew. It was, at any rate, adopted in the end, and we are informed and believe that, early in its operation, there was an irrepressible jealousy, rivalry, and finally open hostility between Mr. Tracy and certain other members, which was carried before the Commissioner, and involving the action of the Deputy Commissioner therein. We have observed with curiosity that the Internal Revenue Record, a weekly publication in this city, the official organ of the Bureau at Washington, which is in the habit of discussing with freedom matters of public interest in the internal revenue service, says hardly a word in commendation of the Board, but does express with much force its conviction that no reform will avail anything which does not start upon a basis of honest and efficient inspectors, assessors, and collectors. Its idea is that it is beginning at the wrong end to select a Board to watch rogues in the subordinate offices. And in this it is right. The reform must begin at the bottom, under the administration of a penetrating chief at Washington. The Metropolitan Board may be well enough as an exceptional and temporary thing, provided it, too, be run in the interest of dishonest officials who are in league with illicit distillers; but corruption in one branch of the department will, before long, work its way everywhere. It must be got rid of—not merely weeded out it must be extirpated.

In our opinion, the Internal Revenue Bureau will never be purified until two things are

First, Mr. McCulloch must cease to trust so implicitly certain subordinates, and must really study into the practical working of the Bureau.

Secondly. There must be political harmony between the Commissioner, the Secretary, and the President. Till that comes, all else will be in vain, and there may be corrupt deputy commissioners, district attorneys, collectors, and assessors in office. As it stands now, and there is known to be conflict of opinion as to matters inside the Republican organization, between these three officers, and that the quarrel is bitter, if the Commissioner detects and attempts to remove or otherwise discipline an officer, the latter instantly starts the cry that he is persecuted by the Commissioner be cause he is a political sympathizer with the Secretary or the President. So if the Secretary initiates inquiry in respect to the conduct of an unworthy officer, the Commissioner is made to think that the complaint comes from the fact that the inculpated person is a radical. The result is that nobody is removed, and rogues have a carnival.

We have no desire to see a Democrat made Commissioner. That would only complicate troubles; but we do insist that the Internal Revenue Bureau shall politically be in harmony with the Secretary of the Treasury, and the latter with the President. How that is to be done is a matter of Republican politics. But done it must be, or existing rottenness will give rise to unendurable steuch.

We dare say that Mr. Rollins is amused by the claim set up that he is vital to the in-tegrity and security of the national revenue. He would probably not deny that, with a little practical experience at Washington, Mr. Tracy, or a hundred other men easily named, could administer the Bureau as efficiently as is now done. This idea that any one man is essential to the proper on-going of the Government can be pushed so far as to make it ridiculous. It has been carried up to the last point, and per-haps strained a little, in the case of Mr. Mc-

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