THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JCURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Lesson of the Massacre.

From the Tribune. Dreadful as were the riots at New Orleans there is a dread which they suggest far greater. Those scenes of blood and death have a more terrible significance when we reflect that they were not exceptional, that they too faithfully express the spirit of a strong class at the South, and its Northern friends, and that they are the result of a national poincy. We should attach little importance to a single outbreak, if there was reason to believe it was due to local causes, but the conviction is forced upon us that New Orleans means the whole Souta, as Presiden tially reconstructed, and we shudder to think of

When the war ended, and the South, prostrate on the battle-ne'd, litted up its hands and implored mercy of its conquerors, we, too, pleaded in its behalf. That for four years it had fought against the Union with a terocity which ahens might have been ashamed of; that it had imposed upon the country a vast debt which generations unborn would be heavily taxed to pay; that it had forleited every right it formerly possessed-all this we remembered, but we did not forget that on our part we had fought and conquered these enemies to keep them forever our countrymen. To retain the Southern States in the Union the war had been waged and won, and, not alarmed by the fable of the man who warmed the viper in his bosom, we desired the Government to win the South to the Union by a magnanimous pardon rather than to bind it by chains of rear. Then we urged universal amnesty, and with it, with equal rervor, universal sufrage. The first mone has raised the enemies of the Union to their ancient power; it has given back the while into their hands, and already in New Orleans they have grasped the sword. But what has it done for the triends of the Union in the South? The white men are in a poweriess minority, and the loval blacks, although nominally free, are naked and defenseless, without a voice in the Government, abandoned to the very men who began the war to maintain and extend the stave sys-This may be called mercy, but it It is punishment to the loyal; it is reward to the trators. The seed thus sown has sprung up in poison flowers over all the South, and ripened in the riots of New Orieans.

Universal suffrage would have destroyed the cause of all quarrels. When the war ended, the South expected impartial suffrage to be required, and would have sladly agreed to it. Too gladly would nine-tenths of the leading Rebeis have purchased amnesty by this sim, le concession, for who could have thought that in common justice the Government would have given less reward to its true and consistent friends; would have required less for its own honor and the interests of humanity. When it culpably fatign to insist that the right of franchise to all loyal men should be the precedent of forgiveness to traitors, it surrendered all the moral and nearly all the legal powers it pos-sessed over the Rebel States. It abandoned every position of strength, till to-day it stands as the apologist for Rebellion and the defender of Bebels. But it has not discouraged the triends of impartial suffrage, nor caused them to abundon their work. It never will; we are resolved to bave it, and the New Orleans massacres are the strongest proof that it is the only hope for the restoration of the South and the peace of

The Louisiana Convention had broken no law, or it they had they were willing to have the case adjudged in the courts. But the mere suspicion of an effort to obtain the franchise for the blacks, peaceful as it was, aroused the worst passions of slavery, and, assured that the Gov-ernment would not interfere, the mob resolved to make a bloody example of the reformers, and teach them that such a Convention could never be held in any Southern State. This is the result of paraoning traitors without enfran-chising Union men. Had the treedmen been given the right to vote, its exercise might have led to disturbances at the polls, similar to the partisan fights which have always occurred; but this general conspiracy to establish a reign of terror throughout the South could never have been organized. Now, there are but two courses, either we must forever submit to see the Rebel power dominant, and the loyal blacks reduced to the conduion of ser's, or we must continue to demand their rights. To the dis-grace we can never yield; never, never was the duty of working for universal rights more sacred. We have tried a policy which has disnonored the nation; it has made Sheridan the mere deu-terant of a Rebel officer; it has murdered the Union men of Louisiana; it has proved to be the parent of revolution and death. Let us adopt the true policy. Let us combine the two principles of universal amnesty and impartial suffrage, and we establish peace. Continue to divide them, and though we may still escape a war, we are certain of continued trouble.

The Ocean Telegraph-A Fair Field and No Favor.

From the Times. The reading public cannot, as yet, be congratulated on the fulness, the despatch, or the value of the intelligence from Europe via the cable. The unfortunate break in the St. Lawrence submarine wire, the employment of sailing vessels in place of that necessary telegraphic link, and the rush of private messages, have doubtless all combined to cheat the expectant public of fuller and more trustworthy reports. We see it stated in the Canada papers that on Wednesday last Lord Monck was in receipt of despatches from the Colonial Secretary in London (Lord Carnarvon), and that Lord Monk was enabled to acknowledge these despatches the same day. The present telegraphic arrangements, including the tariff of charges, are merely provisional. And it is perhaps premature to become querulous over the early working of so great and novel an enterprise. There are one or two points, how ever, on which, atter due time has been given the directors to get their machinery in order, the directors will do well to ponder. The first of these is that an end be put to the puffers of individuals connected with the enterprise. The second is, that the press of this country, which, through its agent, will be far the largest and most profitable contributor to the Company's treasury, shall not have its messages shoved aside for any class of private despatches. We

financial advices for operating purposes. The press will very promptly see to it that any grafflo of this sort carried on against the public interest shall not thrive; and any company that should attempt to lend itself thereto will very speedily be damned. When the cable is once in thorough working order, the leading journals of the country will take probably among them not less than five to six hundred pounds sterling of despatches duly, besides their individual special telegrams. This will involve a yearly tax—all accruing to the Company—of at least a mittion dollars in gold. For such a such a such, tair, regular, prompt, and ready

patches on Government account, either Ameri-

can or British; but special commercial and

course, include in the latter des

service will be demanded. Without putting forward any special grievance suffered thus far, it is is as well, perhaps, to take advantage of the interval between the opening and the working of the line, to say what will be expected by those who have the responsibility of supplying the public with intelligence. An association like that of the Press, prepared to spend a million a year for carry news, would have little difficulty, if necessary, in finding the have little difficulty, if necessary, in finding the capital to procure it, at no distant day, through an independent channel. And this fact alone will probably impress upon the Company the consideration that intelligence procured and

and that the property of the state of the

intended for the public shall not be neld of subordinate account to any despatches whatever of an anofficial and private character. In saving this timeously, we intend no reflection whatever upon the direction of the Company thus far. They have had enormous difficult es to overcome. These difficult es they have apparently overcome. And we are bound to wait patiently until they find the means of getting their working sophances in order. What we aim at is to impress upon them that the Press will be their largest customer, and that the Press has claims, as the press of the working ways which we distinct the press has claims, as the organ of the public, over which no private interest or individual can have precedence.

The Test Oath.

From the Daily News. It has been demonstrated that the qualifica. tions of Senators and Representatives which are prescribed by the Constitution cannot be varied by Act of Congress. The Test act which pre, scribes an additional qualification, is therefore unconstitutional in this respect,

No other argument should be necessary to assure the repeal of any law. Time was when the American people disputed among themselves about the meaning of the Constitution, but they all, except the abolitionists, agreed that the Constitution must be obeyed. It was venerated in the halls of Congress and in the assemblies of the people as the supreme law of the land. Now the Constitution, broken and slighted, must beg for support—the poorest beggar made by the civil war. Yet never more than now, at least in time of peace, was the authority of the Constitution more necessary "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquisity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our pos

The country has been rent asunder, and great States have, for four years, confronted each other in war. One party has succumbed, and there may be those who imagine that the South can and ought to be held as a suiugated province. But, consigning that barbarous rolly to its proper limbo, how can all the States meet again to form a more perfect Union and insure domestic tranquillity? On what common ground of sentiment, of right, of compact, or of law can they ever stand together? On nothing but the Constitution. It is to this alone that each party can sacrifice its resentments. It is this alone that each can freely acknowledge as the proper standard of their rights, the equivable bond of union and the supreme law over all. This alone turnishes a certain rule that will be obeyed on one size if obeyed on the other, in spite of all memories and all passions, until the passions, at first held in check by a sense of justice, shall, under the influence of time and equal laws, give place to the feelings of common interest, national aims, and traternal concord, which are the firmest ligaments of union.

A nation plunged in civil war emerges from it under the reign of force. Its first duty to itself is to restore the reign of law. Thanks to the Presidert, we have made some procress in that work; but it will not be complete until the people shall require the Government to observe, with exact fidelity, every provision of the Con-stitut on—the law of laws.

The tremendous power of the Federal Govern-ment has just proved uself to be irresistible at home, whatever it may be abroad. It it is restrained by no law, popular liberty, no less than the rights of the States, lies at its mercy. To day it is an engine of fanat cism to tyrannize over one portion of the people. To-morrow a reaction may come, and another faction may crush the liberty of its adversaries. The struggles of parties for the possession of such a power will be waged with desperation. They will not long be content with the ballot.

The sword, once the guard of our frontiers, has shown itself as the arbiter of our domestic politics. This use of it, if nabitual, soon turns the sword into a sceptre. It will come into habitual use if the supreme law is habitually disregarded. The civil war has bequeathed to the country many elements of violence. The public mind has become familiar with the reign of force, and has learned to approve it for the sake of a cause. War has filled the land with corruption and demoralized popular sentiment. The old standards of right and or law have disappeared amid the confusion of intestine strite. Upon what "platform" can the good of all the land unite to restore the supremacy of law and repair the bulwarks of civil liberty? Not upon theories of government; not upon a transient and disputed solicy; not upon the questions of a civil war; not upon the negro; not upon a party name; but upon the Constitution. When the people shall ordain that every political question shall be brought to the "test" Constitution, and that no inconsistent test shall be entorced, then will the institutions or republican liberry settle again on their old

and sure foundations. But, aside from the paramount importance of observing the Constitution, the exclusion of Senators and Representatives duly chosen by the Legislatures and people of States regularly within the Union, merely because the persons chosen have taken the part of the South in the late civil war, is a measure full of mischief and barren of good. All experience proves that political test oaths are the most odious and yet the least efficient means of guarding a govern-ment. The facility with which Senator Patterson took an oath of allegiance to the Confede rate Government, and turned his back upon it, and the approbation accorded to his conduct by the Senate, may serve to illustrate the general sense of mankind respecting the political value of compulsory oaths, or else the laxity of morals which these common devices of civil war induce. But it is not the oath merely that we would signalize as the mother of mischiet here; it is the pertentous fact that all the States and people of the South are forbidden to choose representatives who concur with themselves in sentiment, and who are endeared to them common struggles and perils in the past. by common struggle- and persuch men a- the oath does not disquality, the oath is needless. It is only when it serves to deteat their voluntary choice that the law is operative. The first, though not the greatest objection to such legislation is that it cannot attain its professed object. Among candidates who can take the oath the electors will, of course, choose those who concede most to their wishes. These may be pliant demagogues who have been Unionists for profit, and who will become anything for office. Having no influence with Southern constituencies, they will pander to the pas sions of the most numerous class of Conscious that the past has placed a barrier between them and the electors on whom they depend, they will pass all moderation in the luture advo-cacy of local protensions. Or, in a lew years they will be supplanted by young men who can take the oath because iney were boys during the war, and who, to hereditary secessionsm, will add resentment inflamed by the exclusion of their friends and countrymen from posts of honor. Thus there will soon be Southern representatives in Congress more unfriendly to na-tional interests than those who have made disastrous trial of bosulity during a long and unsuccessful war. A test oath is the most filmsy as well as the most irritating contrivance to bridie opposition. But when the Southern people perceive a design to exclude their most able and efficient men from Congress, they will know that they are not themselves to be admitted to a fair share of power. When the exclusion is for acts in which they have, nearly all, zealously participated, they will feel that it is the entire South which is placed under a disgraceful ban. It their attachment to the Union is now suspected, what will their feelings become under this injury and this insult? Lest they should inadvertently overlook such exasperating circumstances, we are by the Test act to provoke an immense array of talent, influence, and ambition in the South to the percetual agitation of discontents. By throwing open the doors of Congress to all who can be elected, we enlist the ambition of the South on the national side. The more able

and aspiring a man may be, the more hope he

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with disgrace, the most vehement passions of our nature with impel them to use a cangerous influence over a people who will sympathize with their complaints. Leaders and people, encouraging each other in chronic discontent, will have a standing wrong to avenge when opportunity offers. Let us hope that, if thus provoked and tempted, they will prove to be wiser and better than other men.

The real question is whether we are to have a frank and durable peace between the North and South. We propose to admit the Southern States to a part cipation or Federal power. We will suffer them to elect Senators and Representativer. They are to possess power and influence—sadly diminished, indeed, but substantial still Then we are to keep upon the statute-book an act which assails the South and the Constitution at once—a relic of civil war—a denunciation, a provocation, an insult to the cherished recollections of a people whom we have left only recollections to cherish. We will acknowledg their right to representation, and then forbid them to choose representatives according to the Constitution. This paltering style of tyranny is galling to the vanquished and dangerous for he victors. This is not peace. It is not union It is not thus that wise statesmen would pacify a distracted country. We should frankly treat our late foes as countrymen and friends, and make with them a solid, durable peace, by loyally observing our own Constitution. The Constitution is peace.

The New Orleans Riot-The Radical Game-The Impeachment of President Johnson.

From the Herald. Failing in Congress to carry out their revolutionary schemes of reconstruction, in consequence of the stout resistance of President Johnson, the baffled radicals have evidently resolved upon a system of bold and desperate expedients for the instigation of mobs and riots in the South, whereby to maintain their ascendancy among the Union war elements of the North, Southern "Rebel mobs" and riots against Yankees, Seuthern white Unionists and negroes are the very things now most urgently required and desired by Northern radicals for their electioneering purposes. How else can they satisfy the masses of the North that the late rebellious people of the South are as buterly rebellious as ever, and as unfit to be trusted in the Government as when Lee was pushing the columns of McClellan oown the Chickshominy. or when Bragg was tulininating his proclama-

of when bragg was statistically the state of blacks of that place; and we have no doubt that as election eering capital against Southern Rebels, Northern Copperheads, and Johnson conservatives, Mr. Washourne's report will be worked up elaborately on the sump by radical orators, from Maine to California. And the more these riot-meeting radicals South can provoke these outbreaks of Southern whites against Yankees, abolitionists, and negroes, the better they will serve the purpose of Thaddeng Stevens and his co-taborers. Their working political capital has been and must still be made up from such materials. But it is apparent, also, that from these late New Orleans riots we may look for a case to be made up for the impeacament of President Johnson. This extreme measure of radical hostility was more than once hinted at during the late session or Congress; but the experiment was suggestive of great danger in view of the approaching Congressional elections. If, however, by a general hue and cry against Andrew Johnson, as a confederate of ferocious Southern Rebels and sympathizing Northern Copperheads, these coming elections can be turned against him and a radical majority can be secured in the next Congress, then we may prepare for this threatened case of

impeachment. The Federal Constitution declares the House of Representatives "shall have the sole power of impeachment." As "old Thad" dedues it, in other words, the House is the "grand inquest" for the indictment of refractory and obnoxious Federal office-holders. The Constitution fur-ther ordains that "the Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments;" that when the Fresident of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside;" that "no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present;" and that judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law."

Now, we know that the radicals of the present Congress have the will and the necessary majority in the House and the two-cards required in the Senate for the impeachment of Andreas Johnson. It was not expedient during the late session to move in this matter, because it might react to the advantage of President Johnson in coming elections for the next Congress. But let the radicals get safely through this contest, and shortly after the reassembling of the existing Congress, in December, we shall doubtless hear of charges of impeacament against the President by the House.

A leading radical organ thus foreshadows the probable bill of indictment in reference to the late New Orleans riots: - "The more evidence we accomulate, the more we are convinced of the justice of the judgment that the President must be held directly responsible for all that he has done in New Orleans;" that "be engendered the spirit which broke forth in riots, murdered loyalists, and finally taised the confederate flag;" that said riots "are the result of the Presi dent's policy in Louisiana," and a "fitting sequel to his policy in Tennessee, where the military authorities are prevented from punishing the authors of the massacre at Memphis;" that the President began his late chapter of usurpations at New Orleans, July 2, "by menacing Governor -Wells, a Governor of a sovereign State;" that this lawless and despotic work "was continued by deposing him, and to make the work surer, by placing the army at the disposal of a Rebei officer." After some other specializations, the radical organ in question asks, "Do wee not see this man (President Johnson), while clamoring sgainst usurpation, performing himself the very highest usurpation when it suits his purpose?"

Surely here are facts and charges enough, and of sufficient gravity, for a radical impeachment of the party accused. Preposterous as these accusations may be, what is the difference to the party accused if his accusers are bent upon his removal, and have the power in Congress to carry out their designs? The radicals profess to be very sanguine of carrying the approaching Congress onal elections, substantially as they carried the elections of 1864. If they are suc cessful to this extent, or even in securing a majority in the next House, there will be reason, we say, to lear the fullest developments of heir revolutionary schemes with the reassembling of the present Congress in December, he ginning with the impeachment of President Johnson. This, therefore, is now one of the questions to be considered by the people in view the fast approaching fall elections for the next Congress.

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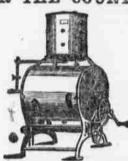
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