#### THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

#### Stephen A. Douglas.

From the Tribune. The President of the United States, the first General of the Army, the first Admiral of the Navy, and many thousands of their fellow-citizens, assembled yesterday on the beautiful shores of Lake Michigan to do honor to the late Stephen A. Douglas. It is not often that statesmen find eulogists in their own generation. The men who stood around the grave of Stephen A. Douglas were his companions. They knew him well. In the course of nature he should still be with them; for Douglas died comparatively young, in the very fulness of his life. In fact, the orator who yesterday discussed his career is almost old enough to have been his father.

It is thirty-two years since Douglas, a poor wayfaring Yankee boy, went to seek his fortunes in the State which afterwards honored him as one of her most eminent citizens. He wandered early from his Green Mountain home, with nothing but a plain New England education, and a determination to rise. Tired of cabinetmaking and teaching, he engaged in what was called "studying law." The fame of Jackson filled the land, and the smart Yankee, not oppressed with scruples, saw that the sign in Tennessee was the star of conquest. His great rival, Lincoln, was keeping a post office, fresh from the glories of the Black Hawk war. Andrew Johnson, was Mayor of a little mountain town in Tennessee, Jefferson Davis, a lieutenant of dragoons, was chasing the Indians, Seward was grieving over his defeat as Gov-ernor, Breckingade was studying the orations of Cicero against Cataline at a Kentucky College, Chase was endeavoring to gain a law practice in Cinemnati, Sumner was entering the Boston bar, Broderick was cutting stone, Grant was a schoolboy, in his teens. Farragut was watching the honor of bu flag on the torrid coasts of Brazil, and the orator of to-day, tired of war and law, had entered politics and become the New York Secretary of State. Unlike many of these men, Lincoln especially, Douglas blossomed early. He beespecially, Douglas blossomed early. He be-longed to that hardy breed of men who suit any soil and every latitude Torrid or frigid, sunshine or snow, the lite in him was enduring. He beheved in the rowdy virtue of American poli-tics, and had much of the rowdy in his nature, He managed his debates very much as Mr. Heenan manages his prize fights, and conquered by sheer thumping. The records of our Senate show no debates more bruial, and yet more powerful, than those of Douglas, especially on the Nebraska bill; and it was during this debate that he showed the smazing power which made his personal influence while he lived greater than that of any American statesman.

We say "American statesman," and yet we cannot rank Mr. Douglas among the men whose lives have become a part of the nation's history by the very nationality of their services and their fame. His career in Illinois was that of one who conquered by energy, audacity, and qualities of mind and body that made him the leader of a mob. As a popular leader, no one possessed so many elements of success as Mr. Douglas, and when we say this we have answered the highest demand of his fame. Con-science would have made him a radical, but by andering to an Illinois mob, he managed to be for the greater part of his career always victo-rious. By surrendering himself to the spirit of slavery he became conspicuous as a leader of the extreme pro-slavery wing of the Democratic party. During the period of the Southern do-mination that succeeded the fall of Van Buren, when public men of the North strove to outdo each other in pandering to the South, Mr. Douglas went beyond them all, and offered up the Missouri Compromise as a sacrifice for the Presidency. What the extreme men of the South did not dream of doing, what they scarcely dared to ask, Mr. Douglas did. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the great event of his public life. It is not for us to consider his after thought of an argument called "Popular Sovereignty"-not an argument, indeed, but an excuse and propitiation. The nation saw only an ambitious, striving politician, clamoring for the Presidency, and willing to rise upon the roins of a sacred, time-honored compromise, Whether their judgment was the true one or not, we have not the power to say, but certainly the American people thus believed, and Dougla lost the confidence that otherwise would have made him President. Even the Missouri Compromise would not propitiate the South; and at Cincinnati the men for whom he had incurred public scorn, for whom he had risked his fame and fortune, abandoned him with cowardly

timidity, and selected James Buchanan.
This desertion convinced the aspiring Senator that the system of slavery added to other sins that of duplicity and heartlessness. From the moment of Mr. Buchanan's election, Mr. Douglas ceased to act with the slave-power. Had he lived through the war, this might have been the turning-point of an illustrious and use-ful career. He created the Anti-Lecompton party, and fought Mr. Buchanan with as much courage as could be expected from a statesman who would insist upon being a politician. He saw nothing grander in our system than the Democratic party, and to this party he clung with superstitious tenacity. But one step higher, and he might have become the leader of the American people. He refused that step in 1858, when the country yearned for him, when leaders of the Republican party were willing to carry his colors. Rather than abandon an organization that was really in the hands of theeves and money-changers, he stood begging in the Senate tor his old committee, only to be repulsed with contempt by the South, and to go to Illinois and do their bidding. It was the want of moral purpose which makes men create expedients that in the case of Douglas led him to seek a third party when he ran tor the Presidency. His friends in the South sacrificed him for Breckinridge, while other triends in the North, claiming to follow his principles, walked over him as a bridge, to the side of the victorious Lincoln. It is in these last days of his career that we find the real merit of Douglas' life. Taking him all in all, as one of the justiest men of this generation, his fate reminds us of a Spanish matador who goes down to the arena gorgeous with spangles and feathers, and valiant with his spear. He threw the red rag at the country, and made a magnificent fight. But matadors have misfortunes, and this from Illinois was tossed, and gored, and trampied, dyirg in the very moment when he of all men seemed called upon to live—never to flout his red rag any more.

What the war would have made Douglas it is vain to imagine. He was a strenuous American, and he knew that the Sumter guns meant war. The last words of his life were loyal and brave. He saw the necessity of national unity and energy. While urging and warning the people and insisting upon manly, patriotic action, the strange tendency of his nature sought its chimax in the declaration that the Democratic party could not be perpetuated unless every Democrat could not be perpetuated unless every Democrat became a patriot! The party was all in all, and if men would be good Democrats, let them fight! Mr. Douglas' philosophy never sought a higher level. He did not see a principle in the issue—a great wrong struggling to extends its sinful power—a mighty nation warring with a crime that it had nurtured. He was keenly practical—lived merely in the day, had no more earnest prayer than for daily bread, and, like all noted men whose lives are governed by mere policy, leaves but a dim mark upon our history. The party but a dim mark upon our history. The party which he made is dissolved, and we speak of Douglas Democrats with as much feeling of long ago as though we were speaking of the Federalists and Anti-Masons. There is no true tame that is not based on truth, and the best we can say of Douglas is that he was expedient.

Presidential Dignity. From the World.

Some of the Republican papers seem to be shocked at what they describe as President's Johnson's want of dignity in noticing opprobrious words flung out by persons in the crowds he addresses, and particularly by a scene of this kind at Cleveland, where the President's retorts effectually silenced rude impertipence. As coming from Republicans, criticism of this kind hardly deserves reply, since it can hardly be honest. A party which has never complained of Chief Justice Chase for going about the country making stump speeches, has suddenly grown tastidious. The Chief Justicespio s not a political office, and none of Chief Justice Chase's predecessors ever permitted themselves to make polytical speeches. The Republicans profess a great veneration for President Lincoln, who, of all the Presidents we have ever had, stood the lowest in the scale of personal bearing. The ingenuous vouth of the country will, no doubt, be improved and edified when such a model of clerical and official propriety as Parson Governor Brownlow excuses himself from speaking, as he did at Philadelphia, on the ground that he had too much respect for the dignity of his position "to go about making stump speeches like a foolish fellow that is President."

As against Brownlow and the Republicans, it would be ridiculous to make any other reply to such craticisms than to "hold the mirror up to nature" and let them see their own image. But es it is easy to suppose animadversions might be as it is easy to suppose animadversions might be made on the President's course by pers as of more sincerity, it may not be out of place to observe that the value put upon a stiff sense of official dignity differs with different persons. We apprehend that the mass of citizens like their Chief Magistrate none the less for his not choosing to speak to them in a state-paper style. We suppose that President Lincoln's broad jokes were a strong element of his popularity. They showed, in the estimation of the bonest and hearty working classes, that he was not what they call "stuck up," because he happened to hold an office. President Johnson's trespasses over, dignity are of a different kind, proceeding rom his straightforward directness of purpose and irascible temper. There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent the people electing such a man to high office if they please; and in another Tennessee President that we once had, uch a temper was compatible with a successful idministration and unexampled personal popu-

In 1833 President Jackson and his Cabinet left Washington, as President Johnson and his Cabanet have new done, to lay the corner-sione of a monument. While on their way President Jackson was included by a young man named Randolph, a heutenant in the navy, who had been lately dismissed. Randolph thrust his hand into the President's face while he was seated at a table on board a steamboat, and tried to pull his nose. General Jackson expressed regret, after Randolph had escaped, that he was seater in such a position that he was not quick enough to inflict a personal chastisement, which he clared he would have done on the spot, if he had not been taken at a disadvantage. It might have been more dignified, perhaps, in a President of the United States to surrender such a miscreant to the law instead of giving him a cauing; as it might in President Johnson to have taken no notice of his interrupter instead of annihilating him by keen retorts. Such promptitude of redress may be against high official etiquette; but it at least shows a vigor of character which is not likely to stop at small obstacles or be scared by small criticisms. Cromwell and Luther, we believe, had the same careless intrepidity in such matters that is evinced by Presi-

#### Exclusion of the Southern States. From the Times

A transparent fallacy is employed by the radicals to hide the tendency of their Congressional policy. To excuse the result of their action in refusing to admit Southern Representatives, they argue that the fact of exclusion is one for which the Southern States are alone responsible. "If the Union has not been restored," they reason, "it is because the South objects to restoration." Following out this ine, they are care to profess their readiness to receive the South, as evidence that its nonadmission is the result of its own obstinacy. The Chicago Tribune falls back upon this pre-

"The doors of Congress are not closed to the epresentatives of these States; they are not xeluded indefinitely, nor are they sought to be excluded. On the contrary, they are excluding themselves. Congress seeks their restoration, and would eladly welcome them to the Umon if they will present themselves with the credentials which the hideous past has made an imperative necessity. Congress meets in December There is not one of these ten States but might convene its Legislature, and, ratifying the amendment, have its Senators and Representatives present at the meeting of Congress. There no shorter or more expeditions mode of regaining admission. Congress, in the case of Tennessee, sufficiently displayed how earnestly and anxiously it desired the representation of he people of these Rebel States. Even in the ast hours of the session, without waiting for he official announcement of the action of the Legistature, the pressing business of the hour was suspended that Tennessee might be welcomed through her representatives to the Union of the States. Instead of Congress proposing, as the President and his followers assert, the indefinite exclusion of these States from representation, there is an earnest desire on the part of Congress that they be received with the least osable delay,"

This is a mere play upon words, which cannot deceive the most superficial thinker. Congress, we take it, must be responsible for the consequences of its own action. And we must also assume that the radical majority re-solved upon their action with a full knowledge of its effect. Whether they avow honestly that the South shall not be admitted, or couple an invitation to enter with conditions which they know will not be accepted, matters com paratively little. The result is the same. The South is excluded. And it is excluded deliberately, intentionally, and apparently indefi-nitely, by the course of the radicals in regard

The wrong is more flagrant because gratultous. If the exclusion of Southern representa-tives proceeded from a rigid interpretation of constitutional provisions, no objection could be fairly rawed against it. Not only, however, is it not warranted by the Constitution, but it is directly at variance with the requirements of the Constitution upon the subject. To keep out Southern members, the radicals discard the Constitution, evade the duty it imposes on them and insist upon stipulations for which that in strument gives no authority. How absurd, then, is the plea that the failure to restore the Union is attributable to the South, not to the

radicals! The South has for months stood at the door of Congress asking for admission, subject to the requirements of the existing law and the test of individual fitness. Had Congress opened its door subject to these conditions, and these only. its position would have been vindicated. Its readiness to complete the restoration of the Union would have been demonstrated, and no complaint could have been urged because of exclusion of non-qualified representatives The onus of justification would have rested upon the constituencies by whom the unfit men had been elected. But Congress surrendered this vantage-ground when it refused to enter-tain the applications of the South, or to con-sider the individual eligibility of those who appeared in the name of the South. And when appeared in the name of the South. And when Congress adopted tests framed for the occasion, in defiance of Southern feelings and convictions, it excluded the South as effectually, as really, as though it had in terms decreed exclusion.

And what shall be done when it becomes formally known that the ten excluded States decline to accept the extra-constitutional conditions dictated by Congress. Will Congress.

tions dictated by Congress ! Will Congress re cede from its position, content itself with the

Constitution as it is, and recognize the right of the South to representation? Or will it adhere to its conditions, and so do what it can to render the exclusion permanent?

These are the inquiries which merit the attention of the friends of peace and Union. The past is on record; but what of the incure? For that the South will not ratify the amendment is Equally certain is it that a permanent denial of representation to ten States is incompatible with the existence of the republic. How shall the difficulty be eventually overcome? By adopting the suggestions of Brownlow and Butler, renewing war, devastating the South afresu, and appinilating its white people, as preliminaries to the almission of negro representatives? Or by recognizing in the end the right which should be unconditionally recognized now?

This aspect of the question the racicals disingenuously evade. But come it will, sooner or later, in a form that will not admit of delay; and then how will their policy stand the trial? If it is to be ashered to at all bazards, and re gardless of all consequences, let the country be so informed. If not-if after all, it cannot be pushed to extremities except at a cost which the country is not willing to pay-why persist in an agitation which does infinite harm, and cannot possibly yield the slightest good?

#### The Contrast Between the Two Philadelphia Conventions

From the Royald. The great and striking points of difference between the conservative and radical parties of this country are admirably exhibited in the contrast between the Union Convention, which met at Philadelphia in August, and the Nigger Worshippers' Convention, which is now in session in the same city. The one was dignitied and statesmanlike; the other is violent and vol The one welcomed the return of peace; the other insists upon the renewal of the war. The one declared emphatically for the Union: the other advocates a policy that must lead to disunion. The one favored the restoration of our white citizens to their constitutional rights: the other is committed to the extermination theories of Parson Brownlow and Ben, Butler's cry for blood. The one was attended by some of our bravest soldiers and wisest statesmen the other is composed of insane and revolution-

ary radicals. The one was an honor to the country; the other is absurd and disgraceful. At the Union Convention all the States and Territories were represented by delegations chosen by the people and expressing the sentiments of the people. The delegates to the Nigger-Worshippers' Convention are without constituencies; they represent nobody out themselves; the majority of them never saw the States from which they profess to come, and Philadelphia loafers, picked up in the streets or the bar-rooms, pretend to speak for the loval of the South. The Union Convention as sembled for a certain purpose, transacted its business in an orderly and parliamentary manner, and adjourned harmon ously. The Nigzer-Worshippers' Convention has already wasted more time in wrangling, abusing the conservatives and slaudering the President than the ouner Convention required for all its sessions. The Union Convention had well-defined and constitutional principles, which it incorporated into a brief, emphatic, and inviacible platform. The Nigger-Worshippers' Convention seems de remuned to repudiate the only principle-that of universal negro suffrage to which it can be said to have any claim, unless bloodshed, rioting, miscegenation, debauchery, and anarchy may be called principles, and they are certainly enurciated as such in the speeches of the radical

Compare the characters of the callant Dis and Senator Doclittle, the temporary and per-menent chairmen of the Union Convention, with those of Tom Durant and Mr. Speed, who fill the same offices in the Nigger-Worshippers' Convention, and they will be found apt exponents of the two assemblages. Compare the characters of the delegates to the two Conventions, the resolutions presented, the speeched delivered, the conduct and deportment of all concerned, and it will be found that while the was a body only equalled in ability by that which trained the Constitution, the other is a vicious collection of the most violent extremists of both North and South. To impeach and remove the President, and to inche negro insurrections in the South, are the objects of these radicals, openly avowed in such speeches as that of Senator Chandler. They negroes from the Convention, and want to keen the negro-suffrage issue hidden for a time in order to deluce the voters at the time in order to deluce the voters at the ap-proaching elections, and are thus willing to break all their promises to the blacks so as to secure a little longer lease of political power. But under this concealment lurk dark and dangerous schemes, which are only now and then revealed by the most reckless of the ranters. our graphic reports of the proceedings give all the various phases of the gathering—its comic side, its rebellious side, its ridiculous side, and its disuniou stor; and we have no need to re capitulate now the utterances of the delegates from their threats of assassination to avowals of miscegenation theores. All this has been carefully perused by our readers, and will be useful for reference bereafter. At present, we have to ask the candid and intelligent voters of the country to consider the between this Convention and that which met in August, and to decide for themselves which is the more worthy of their sympathy, their ad-herence, and their support at the polls.

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The Stockholders of this tompany are hereby notified that toe Board of Manasers have determined to a low to all persons who shall appear as Stockholders on the Books of the Company on the Sth of September next, after the closing of transfers, at 3 P. M. of tha day the privilege of subscribing for new stock of part, to the extent of one share of new stock for every five shares then standing in their names. Each shoreholder entitled to a tractional part of a share shall have the privilege of subscribing for a full share.
The subscription books will open on MONDAY, September 9, and close on SATUEDAY, December 1, 1868.
Fayment will be considered due June 1, 1867, but an Farment will be considered due June 1, 1867, but an

Farment will be considered due June 1, 1867, but an installment of 20 per cent, or ten do less per share, must be paid at he time of subscribing. The balance may be paid from time to time, at the option of the subscribers, before the let of November, 1867. On all payments, including the atoresald installment, made before the let of June 1867, discount will be allowed as the rate of 6 per cent, per annum ano on a loarments made between that dafe and the let of November, 1867, introcest will be charged at the same rate.

A latock not caid up in fall by the let of November, 1867 will be infected to be use of the Company Certificates for the new stock will not be issued until after June 1, 1867, and and stock, it paid up in fall, will be entit of to the November dividend of 1867, but to no earlier dividend.

SOLOMON SHEPHERD,
Treasurer.

THE PENNSYLVANIA FIRE INSU-BANCE COMPANY.
At the Annual Weeting of the Stockholders of this Com-any held on M. inday, the 3st of September, 1868, the ollowing gentlemen were duly elected DIRECTORS for

owing gentationen were duly elected consulting year, viz:

Daniel Smith Jr., John I Alexander Benson, Thomas Isane Haziehuist, Henry Thomas Robins, J. Glif Daniel Haddock, Jr. John Devereux, Thomas Smith, Henry Lewis. J. Gifflingham Fell,

And at a meeting of the Directors on the same day. DANIEL SMITH, Jr., Esq. was unanimously re-elected WILLIAM G. CROWELL, Secretary.

THE PENNSYLVANIA FIRE IN-SURANCE COMPANY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1866. The Directors have this day deciared a dividend of Si-V+N DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS per share on the Steck of the Compsny for the last six months, which will be paid to the Steckholders or their legal representatives after the 18th instant

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WILLIAM G. CROWELL, Secretary.

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the twelth day of September 1866, at 4 o'clock P M.,
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