EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

SCRIPTED RVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH

Our National Humiliation.

From the Bound Table. The only event that could be more disastrous so the country than the continuance of the present fend between the President and Congress, would be the complete triumph of either of the

parties to it. Yet it is impossible to discern by what other event the nation can be extricated from its embarrassments. The passions of the opponents are wrought to a white heat that dmits of no cool reflection, and renders compromise impracticable. Neither can recede, if is would, from its present position. Neither has any option but to advance, and it can only advance by the subjection of the other. Any change of tactics made by either party must be for the adoption of still more violent measures than it

has yet essayed.

No ordinary mode of escape from this state of things is apparent but the reversal of the majority in Congress; and, whatever were the prospects previously, the electioneering tour of the President and Secretary of State, which even the presence of Grant and Farragut could not redeem from contempt, has rendered it reasonable contain that the full elections instead of has yet essayed. ably certain that the fall elections, instead of annulling the supremacy of the Congressional party, will largely strengthen it. Even in the almost impossible—event of there being in the new Congress a majority for the Administration, the effect would be rather to increase the vio lence of the existing body during the remain-der of its term than to diminish it. In either case, whoever has watched the course of the Serce and eager factions thus far, must find it difficult to put away the apprehension that whichever of them is worsted is capable of some desperate expedient for sweeping the victor from its path, and, under more or less guise of legal and constitutional warrant, establishing

an unchecked authority of its own.

Nothing could have brought us to this critical situation had not the Government, at a time when there was the greatest need of able and temperate statesmanship, been confided to hands unfit for the trust. The course of each party is anexcusable. Each has afforded its opponents pretext for the extreme lengths to which they have pushed their animosities. The radicals honestly desirous to re-establish the Union beyond the possibility of a renewal of the dissen sion which had imperilled it, exercised their power so offensively as to hopelessly disgust those with whom it behooved them to keep on terms. This faction deliberately repudiated that moderation which the exigency of the occasion demanded. It accepted the leadership of men embittered by contemptuous freatment during the years they had passed in an impotent minority; who were not only unfitted for rule by the intoxication always produced by sudden exaltation to power, but who seized the oppor-tunity to retort on their now helpless opponents the insults they had formerly experienced from them. Its violent procedures elicited as violent

The South, indeed, had no grounds for looking for a full and immediate restoration to all its former rights; but it was expected both at the North and the South that restoration would be effected without unnecessary delay. Had the operation been entered upon with the cheerfulness and good faith that would have been employed under Mr. Lincoln's guidance, all exasperation might have been avoided, and the south restored in all sincerity to its allegiance. But the radicals, by imposing immoderately severe and vexatious conditions, by character-izing all their dealings by a supercilious hauteur and exasperating assertion of power, have in-spired the disaffected States-among whose virtues patience and forbearance never shone—with a bitter and indignant resentment, too deep seated to be easily allayed. This line of conduct enabled the turbulent and brutal elements of the Southern community to obtain the upper hand, and perpetrate atrocities importing such reckless defiance of law as precludes the possibility, with regard for the general safety, of their present admission to the national coun-

The same characteristics marked their conduct towards the President. Had he been a man of dignity, firmness, and self-control, he might have avoided a collision, and even checked their extravagances. But no one could have been less qualified to meet the situation than the perwho filled the Executive chair. A man naturally of immoderate and hasty temper, he was suddenly exalted to a position for which he had no capacity, and which dazzled him with a certain vague sense of its dignity and grandeur. He had, furthermore, a degree of self-assurance and weak vanity, accompanied, as is frequently the case among ignorant and vulgar men, by a hopeless obstinacy, which rendered him the certain prey of any flatterers ready to sufficiently mselves before him. Such a man was peculiarly susceptible to annoyance at having his schemes roughly thwarted by a Congress as arbitrary as himself. Its attempts to force him had the natural effect of driving him as their pronounced enemy into the open arms of the common enemies of them both and of the

The President and his advisers, whose record had been of a violence and extravagance hardly inferior to that of the radicals, soon gave play to the peculiar harred apostates always feel for the cause they have betrayed. Blinded by his fury, he has vehemently espoused associations which formerly he reviled no less vehemently, The conduct of his difference with the Congressional party has been such as to disgrace us in the eyes of the world. In the excited condition of men's minds, all regard for decency has been dismissed. The partisans have vied with each other in the foulest vituperation. We have seen the unparalleled spectacle of a half-drunken President bandying epithets with the rabble, and exhausting upon his opponents a disgust-ing repertoire of offensive names. The press have done their best to go beyond him in scurrility, and each party is resolving Itself into a coterie of blackguards.

But, beyond his utter indelleacy, his mock abasement, his blatant self-assertion, he has been guilty of graver excesses—the scandalous use of the public patronage, the surveillance and garbling of official despatches, and, it is asserted, the exclusion of obnoxious newspapers from the mails, and the accumulation of immense stores of arms, insufficiently guarded, parently by design, in the midst of a hostile population. Where the matter can ead, it is impossible to see. The impeachment of the President is gravely discussed—more seriously, we imagine, than is generally supposed. As a counterblow, is canvassed the erection of a rival Congress in his interest; and the stormy nature of the times seems to render by no means wild or visionary the threats of enterprises which would precipitate us into more dis astrous convulsions than those we have emerged

We have no desire to be thought alarmists, nor do we think our view too gloomy when we find threatenings of another outbreak beyond the ability of popular patriotism to subdue or the recuperative power of the country to sur-We may make our escape from the present crisis without the adoption of any extra-ordinary expedients, though we confess our mability to see in what manner it can be accomplished. But the instrumentalities which have brought us thus again to the verge of ruin will be still at work. No nation can long exist in which grand uprisings of the people are requisite to correct the blunders of the politicians. It our experience teaches us anything, it is that our political system has failed to secure us virtue, capacity, wisdom, in our rulers. We have long had reason to lament that

"We are in a position to state that the presence of these officers—which has generally created surprise—was involuntary on their part. Whether or not an invitation had been declined by them we are not enabled to say; but they accompanied the Presidential suite under orders.

PERSONAL COLOR - TERMINATION

our highest legislative body was largely com-posed of men contemptible in every respect but their command of the good-will of dema-acques and dexterity in pandering to the ignorant prejudices of the multitude. We have had room, during its sessions, for apprehending some new exhibition of the blackguardism, debauchery, and brutal violence whose frequent display has made our Congress, in spite of its many illustrious statesmen, a chronic occasion

But it is the first time that the Presidential chair has been filled by a besotted sans-culotte, the object of universal derision and source of constant mortification—a man of such offensive person and speech as should exclude him from the seciety of gentlemen, and con-ign him to the low haunts frequented by his kind. The the low haunts frequented by his kind. The deterioration which has brought us to this depth of degradation has progressed uniformly with the growth of demagoguism, and seems inseparable from any system which obliges parties and party leaders to obey not the sentiments of thinking, patriotic men, but the passions of the mob immersed in ignorance, often in vice. No one who has studied the appearance of the crowd which an election gathers about the polls, or followed the means which are made used. or followed the means which are made use of to influence popular sentiment, can long remain in doubt whether the licentious freedom of our suffrage is compatible with an enlightened Government.

In the nature of things, it is folly to expect in the nature of thing, it is brily to expect judicious decisions of great national issues from an ignorant, impressible populace, marched from the impassioned philippies of an adroit orator to the ballot-box. It is madness to leave the final appeal to the judgment of a mass mainly composed of such elements as no sane man would repose confidence in on the simplest every day affairs. The greatest discouling every-day affairs. The greatest difficulties, it is true, must attend any effort to restrict the suffrage, It is hard to see clearly in what quarters curtailment should be made, or upon what principles the right to vote should be awarded; but there is yearly less and less doubt that our national prosperity, it not our national existence, can only be preserved by abandoning a republicanism based, as every temperate ob-server must admit, upon the most utopian misapprehension of human progress.

The Republican Party-Past, Present, and Future. From the Times.

The Republican party embraced in its ranks o large a proportion of the best elements of our American population-so much of that which is liberal, and progressive, and freedomloving, and national; and it had about it such a poble enthusiasm and purity of purpose, that it seems nothing less than a public calamity for it to fall under the control of illiberal, narrowminded, sectional partisans, inspired by seltish

objects and governed by malignant feelings.
We remember how it sprang up in 1856, and, putting forth Fremont as its leader, and the Pittsburg platform as its basis of principles, swept over all those parts of the country not directly and absolutely under the domination of slavery, gathering hosts of adherents from all parties, and giving consistency and power to an dea which, though vital to the existence of American freedom, and been lost sight of in the practical conduct of Government. We remember how again, in 1860, standing upon the Chicago platform with Lincoln for its leader, it was borne into power by an enthusiastic people, controlled by a fervent yet intelligent zeal to deliver the country from the power of a party which, though professing national and liberal

spirit hostile to the continuance of fraternal feeling and the perpetuity of the Union.

We remember how again, in 1864, with Lincoln again as its leader, and with the Baltimore platform as its guiding rule, it demanded the support of the country in the midst of war, and how grandly the people responded to the great principles which it bore aloft, and, by an overwhelming majority, gave it again the control of the Government. No Republican can ever for-get the spirit which controlled or the idea which inspired the great body of the young party in these three great campaigns; and if it were for-gotten, or if it be ignored, the platforms of the party, and the principles upon which it appealed to the people for their suffrages, remain for reference and instruction. It was the party of political liberalism, of broad, national ideas, of magnanimity and justice, of progress and re-form and freedom—the party of devotion to the Constitution—supporting at once the union of the States and the rights of the States. Upon these principles it grew to power, and by this sign it triumphed.

The ideas which have been foisted upon the Republican party of late by men who, through adroit management, have obtained a temporary control of it, are in direct antagonism with those upon which it was founded, and which have guided it during the ten years of its existence. They are not the doctrines of political liberalism, but of the extremest political bigotry and prejudice-not the doctrines of a compreheneive nationality, but of an unyielding tionalism. Their principle is not that of rigid adhesion to the Constitution under all circumstances, and adapting all political action to its requirements, but a very loose principle of subordinating the Constitution to temporary exigencies or supposed necessities—not the princi-ple of upholding the guaranteed rights of all the States in the Union of States, but a convenient principle of denying both the existence and the rights of States, as the necessities of party may require. These self-appointed leaders would transform the spirit as well as overthrow the established platforms of the Republican party, and, instead of magnanimity and fraternity would inspire it with feelings of malice and revenge, and lead it to destruction by pandering to those passions which it is the duty of good

men to repress.

But we do not believe that such ideas and leaders can continue to control a party with such elements as compose the Republican party. We do not believe it has been really represented at all by the policy of the radical leaders. We believe that the policy of exclusion and natred and sectionalism which stevens and Butler have been and still are trying to thrust upon it, will be disavowed and repudiated long before this policy can ripen into the action which they de-mand. We believe that the original principles of its existence are too deeply implanted in its being to be rooted out or crushed down by any such means as these violent agitators have adopted; and perhaps in the very hour of their apparent triumph they will dis-cover that their plans have failed, and that their game is lost. We think there are signs enough now, notwithstanding the elections in New England, that the popular mind is becoming thoroughly weary of the wild and dangerous schemes of these men-wears with politicians who keep the Union unrestored States unrepresented, citizens disfranchised. We believe that, on this subject, the popular demands upon Congress next winter will be irresistible; and we say this without regard to party triumpts in the elections of the next two months. Congress will then have an opportu nity, it its dealings with the South, to supple ment and rectify its past action in accordance with justice and the Constitution; and the Re-publican party, raising again the old standards, and showing it-elf equal to the new demands of the new times, will have an opportunity of con-solidating the power which the totty of some of its leaders has imperilled.

Grand Smash at Cleveland.

From the Tribune. The Cleveland Convention signalized its first day's proceedings by quietly kicking over all the elaborate arrangements made by Generals Steedman, Custer, Este, McCook, and company, for appending it as a bob to the draggled tail of President Johnson's kite. This was quietly but most effectually accomplished by the grand strategy of the New York delegation in pushing Major-General Gordon Granger for permanent chairman. The "Andy Johnson programme" was to have the fossilized General John E. Wool for temporary chairman, with General Steedman as his permanent successor; but the New York soldiers kicked sgainst this, and secured General Granger's election by a scant majority of one n the Committee on Organization, consisting

of one from each State. Substantially, this has changed the gathering from an "Andy" to an "anti" Johnson machine—the managers being in favor of "prompt reconstruction," etc., but very careful to disconnect their political future from the personal fortunes of the gentleman who has left that celebrated "Constitution and the flag with its thirty-six stars" at every rall read depot from here to Sf. Louis, and back again. Republics are indeed ungrateful!

What They All Mean.

From the Tribune. "The Constitution as it is, the Union as it was, and the niggers as they were," was a potent and popular Copperhead war cry throughout the dark days of the Rebellion. Governor Seward having assumed the role of 'conservative" directly after Mr. Lincoln's first election, made haste to despatch to Minister Dayton at Paris the utterly gratuitous and wholly unauthorized assurance that the status of no single human being, whether bond or tree, would be changed by the result of the war. He wrote the French Minister in 1863 that the Rebels might resume at pleasure the seats in Congress they had wantonly abandoned—though the law expressly forbade it. Vallandigham & Co. tried repeatedly to piedge Copgress to this proposition, but un-successfully. The freeing and arming of slaves in defense of the Union was resisted quite as furiously as their entranchisement now is, being represented by Copperheads as a death blow to all hope of restoring the Union. And, though driven from position after position, they are still fighting on that line, so far as they have been able to hold it.

Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., at the Cleveland Convention on Monday, said:—

"They owed allegiance rather to the Constitution than to philanthropic theories, however right. To save the Constitution they were ready to strike hands with the Democratic party, and labor with it so long as it remained true to the Union. We may look in vain for the South to vote to degrade 200,000 of their ablest men, or to surrender one-fourth of their representatives as a penalty for refusing suffrage to the negroes."

—That is to say: The Rebeis will not let the blacks vote, but insist on voting for them. Sambo's right to vote is an absurdity; but Legree's right to cast two votes—one for himself and another for Sambo-will never be waived even though Legree should be kept out of Congress till he consents to waive it. Isn't Legree an oppressed, persecuted soul if he isn't allowed to come back from his little experiment of rebellion with two votes to our one? The Times thus exults over the Hoffman turn-

out of Monday evening:—
"The new lights of the radical party demand conditions and concessions which never entered into the head of Washington. They insist upon innovation in all directions. The old religion is out of fashion with them. The old morality is in their minds synonymous with fogysm. And the old Constitution talls far short of their standard. Therefore, they propose to reconstruct the Union according to their amended theory of the Constitution-not according to

the Constitution as its authors promulgated it. Why, sirs ! will you not comprehend that we are living under an "amended Constitution"— not in theory, but in naked fact? The Federal Constitution which we now swear to support is not "the Constitution as its authors promulgated it," but one radically different. That Constitution allowed every State to do as it pleased with its own people: the Constitution as it stands to-day expressly clothes Congress with the power and invests it with the duty of guarding the liberties and personal rights of all the people of the United States. How can you persist in ignoring the most momentous, glaring facts? Why not realize that we are to deal, not with an "amended theory," but a vitally amended Constitution?

The platform of the arm-in-arm National Johnson Convention of Philadelphia ignored the Constitutional amendment, and rested the freedom of the blacks on a naked assumption that the Southern States have present no desire or purpose to re-establish slavery. The New York ratifying meeting follows in the footsteps of its predecessor. where does a "conservative" gathering recog-nize and honor the loyalty of the blacks in our late struggle. Montgomery Blair says one hun-dred of them helped the Rebellion where one helped the Union! Such calumnies on living and dead patriots are a necessity of the Johnson attitude. Falsehood is employed to cover the blackest ingratitude. But this cannot deceive the great majority of the soldiers and the people. We shall achieve a true reconstruction and a lasting peace—"true reconstruction" because it excludes none, and an enduring peace because it guarantees the rights and satisfies the just

The Next Senator from the Keystone From the Herald.

The guternatorial election in Pennsylvania will be all one way. Major-General Geary will undoubtedly be elected by a majority that will settle the questions at issue in all the other loyal States, and revive the old proverb, "As goes Pennsylvania so goes the Union." Thousands of the supporters of President Johnson cannot conscientiously vote for Heister Clymer, and the President himself cannot desire the defeat of such a candidate as Geary. The chief importance of the Pennsylvania election, therefore, is in its bearings upon the next Sena-

The candidates for the Senate are understood to be Cameron, Thad. Stevens, Curtin, and Forney, Cowan is practically out of the race since there is no possible chance of his election. Forney is emphatically "a dead duck," without a single friend in politics, and resting his hopes of success solely upon his own vanity. Curtin s a poor weak person who amounts to nothing. He is altogether in the power of a political clique who use him to serve their purposes and whose opinions he merely reflects, like a cheap mirror. His disposition is amiable to a fault, and his mind is not strong enough for him to undertake anything original—not even original The Pennsylvanians have had enough of him as Governor, and there is no likelihood of his reaching the Senate. Thad, Stevens has been switched off by a renomination for Congress. It is probable that he would rather go to the House than to the Senate. It suits his peculiar talents better and gives greater scope to his in-domitable energy. Besides this, we very much doubt whether the people of Pennsylvania are prepared to be represented by so inveterate reckless, and envenomed a radical. Still, a our last advices, the contest was practically be-tween Stevens and Cameron—the representatives of the extreme and the moderate men.

The Senator who ought to be elected, and who probably will be elected, is Simon Cameron. He understands the interests of his State better than any other Pennsylvanian, and he can advance and improve them better. Of late he has been a little radical in some of his views, but his radicalism is like the nap on a new pair of trowsers, and will wear off before long. As a member of President Lincoln's Cabinet, he may fairly claim to be an exponent of Mr. Lincoln' policy. The only charge that has been brought against him is that of corruption; but we are satisfied that there is a great deal of humbug about this accusation. Simon Cameron's corruption consists in being true to his friends, but ometimes his triends are corrupt and thus get

him into trouble. This was the case with Cummings, who started a pious paper here upon the profits of his con-tracts for straw hats, linen pantaloons, fresh butter and army ale, porter and potted herring, all purchased at Erastus Corning's hardware store, at Albany, and shipped upon extrava-gantly chariered sceamers. The father of Cum-mings was one of the earliest friends of Simon Cameron, and advanced him the money to enable him to start in the printing business. For this Cameron took a solemn vow that he would never forget nor desert the Cummings family, and when the son of the elder Cummings came and asked him for a contract he at once as-sented. Gratitude is to rare a virtue for us to find fault with it because it sometimes led Mr. Cameron into error. He is like the Camerons

Stockton-Cattell. From the World,

The radicals of New Jersey have put the capsheaf upon one piece of infamy done by to-Rump Congress. They have elected a Senator to take the place of John Stockton, the true and lawfully elected Senator from New Jersey, whom, being a Democrat, the Rump radicals conspired to throw out of his seat in order to obtain a two-thirds majority in the Rump Senate. The name of the Senator who carries about in his person the shame of New Jersey, the prostitution of a fair State to the wicked and lawless purposes of the Rump, is Cattell. And so it turns out that there was not honor

enough, not State pride enough, not justice enough, not decency enough in the New Jersey radicals to resent the insult put upon every voter in the State of New Jersey by the Rump Senate. Poor, mean-spirited, self-seeking partisans! they grasp a party advantage and submit to a public open insult to the State! The mere having of a radical rather than a Democrat in the United States Senate, is a sufficient bribe to them to pocket the insuit to themselves and their once-honored State. Instead of resenting the insult put upon them and their State by the Rump Senate and sending John Stockton back to the halls of Congress with a unanimous vote which should tell the mad fanatics there that they might be base themselves, but could not niorce baseness upon others, these radicals of New Jersey assembled themselves together at Trenton on Friday in order to publicly proclaim themselves curs of low degree; they licked the boots of their masters; did the deed that was demanded of them, and now, tor a few years, this Cattell will seat himself in the high place o which his State's dishonor bore him, wearing the badge of that dishonor, and himself its living memento.

The Democrats of New Jersey refused to vote. and thereby to recognize a vacancy. They protest in manly terms against the wrong to which they refuse to be parties, and include in their protest a brief but conclusive demonstration of he right of John Stockton to the seat which he would be filling to-day were there one spark of honor or pride in the New Jersey radicals.

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