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

The South and the Situation. From the Times

The damage inflicted upon the National Union movement by the bad taith of the Northern Deprevailing sentiment of the North, as embodied in this great amendment. Coming next to the speech of Senator Cowan at Harrisburg, we find that, as a Johnson Re-publican, he fails to state the issue before the country. He presents it as the issue between Johnson and Stevens; but it is no such thing. Sievens was defeated upon all his proportions mocrats naturally reacts with peculiar fores apon the people of the South. The moderation, the sober sense, the evident desire to conclliate whichidistinguished the Southern delegates at Philadelphia, merited a more considerate return on the part of those who claim to be their friends in the Northern States. To bring back genuine national harmony, the representatives of the South were prepared to acquiesce cordially in the propositions and plans conceived with special reference to the requirements of Northern sentiment. They indicated a readiness to lorego opinions and preferences that the general cause of the Union might be thereby benented. The least they had a right to ex-pect by way of response was a willingness to We have next but a passing word to say of the intestamp speech of Mayor Hoffman at Roches-ter. If hes before as in one of our exchanges. A tresome rigmarole of the current Copperhead sacrifice partisan prejudice and greed, that nothing might recard the combination of Union forces in the States which will this autumn determine the grave issues now on trial before the country.

Why these national expectations have been baffied, the South need have no difficulty in udging. For whatever disappointment it may scher, the South may thank those who, like the New York Democracy, nave preferred the gratification of their paltry ambition and the promotion of their corrupt plans to the organization of a great Union carty with every fair guarantee of success. In other words, if foe South to-day discern a cloud over the prospect presented at Philadelphia, it is because the Democrats have refused to abide by the conditions which were there solemnly ratified. They have broken faith plighted with liberal Republicans and with the South, and have applied themselves instead to the hopeless task of reviving and aggrandizing

the Democratic party. If aught were wanted to teach the South the folly of looking for counsel or succor to the Democracy of the North, surely this last display of treachery should be enough. There might have been some excuse for it had the Democratic party, as a distinctive organization, the slightest hope of victory. The duplicity, the infidelity, would have remained the same as towards the liberal Republicans: but the South might not necessarily have suffered in the same degree. The certainty of deleat, however, deprives the party even of this poor apology. Trammelied with the odium incurred by its leaders during the war, it has nowhere the slightest chance of success. It is chargeable, therefore, with the deliberate betrayal of the South as well as of those who composed the Philadelphia Convention.

It is for the South now to acknowledge the significance of indisputable facts, and to govern itself accordingly. The hopes engendered by the magnitude gathering at Philadelphia have been wantonly destroyed. The patriotic move-ment taere inaugurated has been summarily and inexcusably arrested. There is no longer reasonable ground for supposing that in Penn-sylvania, in Ohio, ta Indiana, or New York the principles affirmed by the Convention will be sustained at the polls. The probability of achieving a triumph of Union principles by the joint efforts of conservative Republicans and moderate Democrats is at an end. And the South cannot too soon accept the conclusion, that, in the adjustment of existing differences, it will be required to deal with the party now represented by the majority in Cougress.

L it the South were made up of men resem-bling Mayor Monroe, of New Orleans, or if any considerable proportion of its people were likely to act upon the advice of divers of our Democratic neighbors, there might be danger of a refusal thus to recognize the logic of events. But since the war the South has evinced more calmness and discretion than it has been credited with. The conduct and language of those whom it sent to Philadelphia afford ground

piot, Stevens of the House, have been and will be rejected by the great body of the Bepublican are to wait for it until the ex-patriarchs see fit to give it to us, we may have another, and still be rejected by the great body of the Republican party in Congress. It was Summer, with his charge of whitewashing against the President at the beginning of the last session, and it was Stevens, with his warning of the face of Charles I, who fomented all this trouble between the Pre-sident and Congress; but still both Houses, in spite of all the efforts of these men, have been constelled by mission compared them them. another insurrection before the desirable con summat

controlled by wiser counsels than theirs. Hence, when Sumner from Massachusetts cries out that

the Constitutional amendment will not do, and when Stevens from Pennsylvania echoes the

cry, they do not frighten anybody, because we

have seen that they have no power over the prevailing sentiment of Congress, which is the prevailing sentiment of the North, as embodied

of Southern negro suffrage, Southern contisca-

tion, and Southern distranchisement, and tac pian adopted by Congress is substantially Presi-

dent Johnson's plan of restoration, chapter and verse. Mr. Cowan must now, and in common fairness ought to admit, that it is not Thadacus

Stevens, but the Constitutional amendment of Congress that is before the States for their rati-

nestion. Mr. Cowan, a few days hence at all events, will discover that the people of Penn-sylvania understand this nice distinction be-

tween the schemes of Stevens and the plan of Congress; and so we dismiss Mr. Cowan.

election serving clap-trap. The only point made by this champion of the Tammany "ring" against the amendment before the people that

we deem worthy of notice is, that if the ex-cluded States ratify this amendment it will not

admit them into Congress. We answer again that C ngress has bound itself to their admis-sion in the admission of Tennessee. Hoffman,

in short, is playing the Sumner and Stevens game to deleat this amendment, and in this

way Copperheads and radical Jacobins are

giving aid and comfort to each other and to Southern revolutionists.

and unscrupulous factionists it is refreshing to

turn to such an exposition of the issue before

the country as we find in the reports of a late speech of Senator Sherman, at Cincinnati. He

tells the people that in the adoption of the plan of Congress the joint committee of the two Houses "laid aside every radical measure

brought before them," including universal suffrage and the treatment of the late Rebel

States as territor'es, and that as a member of

the Senate he hopes the Southern States will

adopt the amendment, because it will admit

them into Congress; and he wants them to un-

derstand that if they will not accept this, "the

same power that conquered them once will

impose terms upon them that they won't like

The issue, then, is this amendment or some-

thing worse for the excluded States. There is

no prospect of anything better. The very worst

results from political discords North, and bloody anarchy South, and confusion everywhere, are

to be feared from the rejection by the South of

this amendment. Its adoption will admit the excluded States and restore them at once to

financial confidence, order, development, and prosperity. Shall we have this amendment and

reunion, peace and progres, or shall chaos come again? This, after all, is the real issue be ore

the country; for the alternative presented the

excluded States on the one hand is restoration and prosperity, and on the other confusion and

Order or Anarchy.

It is the misfortune of many public men, with the President at the head of them, that they

have no idea of a radical and general change of

national opinion. Twenty-five years ago, an

Abolitionist was denounced as a fanatic in the

most respectable quarters-in Courts of Justice,

Legislatures, Congress and churches, not to

mention the political conventions and the por-

ter-houses; while nine commercial men out of

ten united to swell the chorus of censure. Such

so well.

destruction

From the Tribune.

From all these stump speeches of quibbling

summation. The Maryland soldiers, true to the Union, the other day resolved in Baltimore, "that having rought four years to beat down treason and treachery, they were prepared to fight four more sooner than patch up a peace by cowardly com-promise." Andy Johnson wrote, last week, to his political triends in Knoxville, that "design-um had men" are notified and the dotted of the dott ing bad men" are plotting another 'dissolution of the Union," The "friends" of the Administra-tion are threatening as with a Slamese Congress -with that very worst forn of anarchy, a double Legislature. Industry is retarded, en-terprise is hindered, the country is kept in an uneasy and leverish condition by the determination of a few men at the North, of a larger num ber at the South, to reconstruct out of the frag ments to which the war has reduced it the old oligarchy, with its rotten-borougn system of representation, with its heathenish adherence to caste, with its grasping appropria-tion of the befter molety of the wages of its producing class, with its nonopoly of power both at home and in Washington. Our only safe juard against the violent outbreaks which this un-atistactory condition of affairs renders not improbable is to be found in the election of Lot improbable is to be found in the election of a House of Representatives which can neither be bulked, nor bribed, nor intimidated by veloes nor controlled by faction. From this point of view, we consider the coning Congres-sional elections the most important since the establishment of the Government. Everything depends upon the quality of the members to be elected; but in this, as in all other political emergencies, we believe the great American people are to be trusted. people are to be trusted.

The New Orleans Riot Served Up in a New Dish.

From the World. The shocking riot at New Orleans has been

gloated over by the radicals, ever since its occurrence, as a particular godiend to their party. They caught at it with delighted avidity, and have been constantly chuckling and rejoicing as they would at the unexpected discovery of a valuable treasure. They boast that it has enabled them to carry the Maine election by an increased majority. On the strength of it they expect to succeed in most of the elections in the other States. In thus exulting over what all good citizens, North and South, ought to deplore, they exhibit the heartless character of their party, which rejoices in all bloodshed that helps it attain its partisan ends, and which even regards the late civil war with intense satisfac tion, because it has enabled the abolitionists to

accomplish their darling object. The invaluable New Orleans riot is every week or two dished up by them in some new form to enable them to keep it constantly before the public. Ever and anon, it has to be "investigated" anew, with a view, as they say, to fix the responsibility; and they have now brought out a report, by a pretended military board, which, according to the *Tribune*, fastens the whole blame of the riot upon Mayor Monroe.

We do not deem it uccessary, now and here, to contest the correctness of this conclusion It seems more important to show, that, even admitting the fact to be as the radicals would have it, they are not warranted in making it a casus bell against the whole white outpulation of the South. Why should six or eight millions of people be held responsible for one man's misdeeds? Even if Mayor Monroe is regarded as the representative of those who elected him, his conduct would inculpate only the city of New Orleans, and there is still the injustice of making the whole South answerable for occurrences in a single municipality, over which they have no sort of control.

The New Orleans riot affords a good occasion for retorting upon the Republicans some of their own reasoning. They hold that large cities, abounding in criminal and daugerous classes, are unit to be trusted with their own govern-ment. According to the Republican view, if New York were not held in restraint by the legislative commissions imposed upon it by the rural districts, this city would be a turoulent pandemonium in which no decent citizen could live. Now let us suppose that all these legislative commissions were withdrawn, and that New York was as completely self-governed as New Orleans is. Suppose that Fernando Wood-we mention Mr. Wood because he



for the opinion that it neither demands nor expects extravagant concessions. It is anxious above all things for a restored Union, for a reconstructed industry, for a revival of commerce, and the obliteration of passions and prejudices growing out of the struggle. Compared with these things, politics, as hitherto understood, are of triding account. And all attempts of Democratic candidates and writers in the North to encourage the Southern people in pretensions which, in present circumstances, cannot possibly be sustained, will, we believe,

fail of their purpo e. The Southern people are not fools that they should intrust the repair of their ruined fortunes to a party which is destined to deteat in every Northern State. They are not lunatics that they should make their peace and prosperity contingent upon the triumph of the Executive in the face of the emphatic verdict of the North. Their recent action affords proof that they are prepared to acquiesce with a good grace in that which is inexorable. And the improved tone of the Richmond Examiner, and journals of that stamp-the earnestness with which they are devoting themselves to questions connected with the material welfare of their respective localities—their evident desire to solve the problem of negro labor and education in a spirit of kindness and humanity—encourage the hope that the South will not fail to comprehend the situation as now it 19, and to prepare for the changes which really seem to be inevitable

The Political Marplots of the Day-The Real Issue Before the Country. From the Herald.

From Massachusetts to Kansas political mass meetings, stump orators, and stump speeches are the order of the day. The fight is between the Republican party and the Chicago rump of the old Democratic party, the radical Jacobins making the most noise on the one side, and the old dyed-in-the-wool peace Copperheads ruling the roost on the other. Here and there we find a solitary stumper known as a Johnson Republican, whose efforts to enlighten the people only serve to make confusion worse confounded. We had, for instance, in the Herald of Wednes, day a specimen radical brick from Mr. Sumner. and a specimen from Senator Cowan, of Pennsylvania, of the Johnson Republican school, and in other papers lying before us we have a touch of the radicalism of "Old Thad. Stevens" and an overdose of Copperhead twaddle in a speech of Baron Von Hoffman. Turning first to the radical Boston speech of Senator Sumner, we find it mainly devoted to

a vigorous and merciless scolding of President Johnson, including the disclosure of Mr. Sumner's confidential conversations with him; how the man of Tennessee pulled the wool over the eyes of the man of Massachusetts; how Jeff. Davis and Johnson are now in the same hoat; how and why universal and impartial suffrage must be enforced; how "the President must be taught that usurpation and apostacy cannot prevail;" and how "he who promised to be Moses and has become Pharaoh must be overthrown." even as "the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea." Of the Constitutional amendment Mr. Sumner says:-"As far as it goes it is well; but it does not go far enough. More must be done." This was his cry in the Senate all the last long session; but it availed nothing. The amendment was passed by the Republican conservatives in spite of the radical-, and with its ratification by Tennessee her members elect were admitted into the House and the Senate as a rule and a precedent for all the other States concerned. So much, then, for this radical speech of the

radical Summer. It amounts to nothing. His and the most dangerous of delusions. The only extreme counsels, like those of his fellow-mar. salety is in "establishing justice;" but, if we

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petulence was not then absolutely foolish, for it had a real object and a genuine though indefensible purpose; but it is somewhat of a tax upon our patience to listen now to the untimely repe tition of nicknames applied with ludicrous so-lemnity or undignified auger to a large ma-jority of the inhabitants of the country. Slavery is abelished. An intelligent man like Mr. Peter Cooper,

whose letter to Mr. Johnson we were glad the other day to publish, accepts the lact, takes his stand upon it, and makes no attempt to get round it, under it, or over it. He is content to ask himselt and others what new public and private duties are to be interred from this fun-damental social change; while cowards are shricking their apprehensions, while Copper-head politicians are bewaiting the alteration, while indomitable Southern aristocrats are seeking to save some fragments of irresponsible authority out of the fire, this honorable New York merchant—we hope that we have many like him—begins immediately and con-scientiously to inquire what legislation is needed to render these freedmen in name really and truly freedmen in fact. We make a note of this, because we are sure that the prosperity and safety of the country demand a general and hearty acquiescence in the vital change which the violence of accession rendered it impossible longer to postoone. Now the question comes up, in naked simplicity, whether we are to oe apostates to those principles of democracy which we profess to revere, or whether we shall courageously carry them out to their fullest extent.

To do this, we admit, requires a little bravery. Already, the alarmists are bringing out their largest and most ingeniously norrible bugbears. Mayor Wood rides this monster and Senator Doolittle that; General Dix has his doubts; and while Mr. Weed nods as gravely as Lord Burleigh, the Times and the World, great newspapers and little ones, are proud to nod in such excellent company. These gentlemen and these journals will not see that treasonable bostility to the United States has varied its tactics, and is now seeking to postpone peace, in the hope that something diabolical may turn up by grand and petty persecution of the freedman. The advantage of this is patpable. Just so long as there is anything to dispute about, they keep up a quasi condition as a superior class; they keep down the vital principle of social equality and ot equality before the law; they color legislation to suit their own purposes; and they can always, whenever they are ready for another Rebellion, have a subject of dispute with the intelligent and really Republican masses of the North. While they keep "the social power," North. While they keep "the social power," which Mr. Johnson once said "must be de-stroyed," they can at any time put their States into a position of antagonism to the general Government, voting always in cliques and in families; by their votes swaying the destinies of their respective States, and making chronic the quarrel between truth and falsehood, equity and injustice, actual and merely nomical freedom. It is useless to talk of anything as "settled" while Southern society is in this unfixed and ab-normal condition. "Settled" is a beautiful word; normal condition. "Settled" is a brauthal word, but we have heard it too olten to be deceived by it now. Things were "settled" when Con-gress three out the anti-slavery petitions—when the Fugitive Slave law was passed—when the Compromise measures were manufactured into statutes—when Judge Taney gave his great Dred Sact decision who Mr. Buchman was elected Statutes - when Judge Taney gave his great Died Scott decision - when Mr. Buchanan was elected to the Presidency. We played over and over again the childish name of jack-in-a-box; we pressed down the little joker, and instantly he was up again as fresh and lively as ever. All our flax, and we had plenty of it, didn't put out the fire. If anything, matters are now more complicated than ever, because we have a nominal emancipation which cruelty and hatred, prejudice and rage, revenge and obhatred, prejudice and rage, revenue and ob stinacy will all combine to make the bitterest and the most dangerous of delusions. The only

white for more than 11 will be approximately a presented by

used to be regarded by the Republicans as the bete now of our city politics-were Mayor, with the complete control of the police which be once had. It, under such cir-cumstances, a riot should occur in the city, by which a political meeting was broken up, some blood spilled, and some lives lost, we ask the Republicans if there would be any justice in charging the goilt upon not merely the whole people of the State, but the whole people of the North? Would there be any ustice even in charging it upon the whole people of the city ? It is the constant song of the Republicans that the respectable inhabitants of the city need to be protected by the tural dis tricts against the domination of the dangerous classes. Let them apply their own reasoning to New Orleans, which is the New York of the South. In that view, the late riot is merely an argument against municipal government in New Orleans. It logic does not change its nature with latitude, all that any Republican has a right to inter from the New Orleans riot is, that that city ought to be put under the government of a dozen commissioners appointed by the Louisiana Legislature; that its Mayor should be divested of the control of the police, as Mayor Wood was several years ago New York police; and that its direction should be given to a virtuous police commission emanating from the healthful moral atmosphere of the rural districts. But whether municipal self-government the proper thing for New Orleans or not, it is clear enough that the whole South ought not to be punished and distranchised for a local disturbance in that city, which not one in a hundled of its own citizens participated in or

approved of. The South is pre-eminently an agricultural section. Its urban population and the magnitude of its cities, is far smaller pro-portionally than those of the agricultural West. The dew cities the South has, contain the sweepings of the restless classes of a vast sec-tion which has been desolated by war, and the disbanding of whose armies has turned loose many rough and insubordinate characters ready to plunge recklessly into any excitement. To make a creat population of planters, living quietly on their estates and trying to mend their broken fortunes, responsible for the vio-lence of the thugs of a single city, is the height

of absurdity as well as of injustice. Reasonable readers will admit, that even if the whole responsibility of the New Orleans not rests upon Mayor Monroe, and none of it upon the convention of conspirators who had met for the declared purpose of overthrowing the State government, that regrettable occar rence does not justify the use made of it by the radicals. To say that the people of Georgia and nine other states shall not be represented in Congress because there has been a riot in New Orleans, shocks every sentiment of equity.





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