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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVENY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH

The Late Important Elections-The Pre-sident and Congress. From the Herald.

The results of the late elections are positively sublime. They reaffirm the high intelligence which pervades the Northern States, and their immovable purpose to re-establish the Union on a solid foundation. They demonstrate the correctness of our estimates of the moral significancy and pressure of the Maine election of September, and the inevitable solution of the vital question of reconstruction. They reveal a prevailing intensity of feeling in the Northern public mind which is without a precedent in our state elections not connected with a Presidential contest. Heretofore for three years after a Presidential vote the popular turn-out at our State elections has fallen largely behind it. Hail way between one Presidential campaign and another, our political excitements have been at dead low water, and our State elections, upon a skeleton vote, have gone by default. But here the order of the tides is reversed, and at the usual season of the lowest ebb the swelling sea rolls in and rises beyond high-water mark, Philadelphia, for instance, polled on Tuesday last a popular vote exceeding the last and highest Presidential vote of this metropolis. Such startling facts as these involve instructions from the people which, by men in power and by disturbing outside political factions, cannot be lightly contemplated.

Encouraged by the moral and material sup-port of the Administration, and by the hope of decisive accessions from the rank and file of the Republican camp, the Democrats in these elec-tions have displayed a remarkable degree of vitality and strength. But it is only the last flaring and flickering of the expiring candle, to be followed by darkness, smoke, and a bad odor. The Democratic Chicago peace party of the war cannot be galvanized into life again. The experiment has been thoroughly tried and has utterly failed. The strength which it has exhibited in these October elections was spasmodic and gaivanic, and with the removat of the battery the remains may be buried in the grave-yard of parties dead and gone. From this truitless experiment of galvanism President Johnson is invited to turn his energies in another direction. Or, to change the figure, his new wine of restoration has broken the old bottles of the Chicago Democracy, and they are done for. What is he now to do? What else can he do than yield to the voice of the mighty North and fall in with the Constitutional amend, ment of Congress? There is no limit to his power for good in this direction, and, as he stands, there is an end to all hopes from further resistance. He has made his appeal, he has his verdict; and we are sure that as a man of the people he will act accordingly.

n the results of these October elections we thus read the verdict of all the Northern States on the case of the President versus Congress. We demand the policy of Congress. We must have our securities for the nuture in the Constitution as the conditions of Southern restoration - security touching the equality before the law of all citizens in their civil rights-security in regard to suffrage and representation—security for the payment of the national debt, and against any future recogni-tion of the debt of the Rebeilion or of any claims for emancipated slaves; and we approve the security proposed in the Constitutional amendment against the return to pointical power of any of the traitorous and revolutionary political contrivers and managers of the late Rebellion. These securities are the ultimatum of the North, and it is the only policy of wisdom and safety on the part of the President and the South to adopt them.

The "Union as it was," with parties as they were, is the absurdest of absurd ideas. We might as well talk of the restoration of the Bourbons as they were in France before her reign of terror, or of Pompell and Herculaneum lev were neonle and all he fore the Hory eruption in which they were buried. No! The dead must await the trumpet of Gabriel. We have had a terrible civil war-a tremendous revolution-a fiery deluge, and many things that were exist no more. The victorious party of the war has decreed a reconstruction of the Union on new constitutional guarantees, involving the expulsion from the new sanctuary of those treacherons Southern teachers and im-postors that defiled and brought down tire and ruin upon the old one. They are to be excluded, and the Southern States are to have a new lease of lite and prosperty, under new leaders, new ideals, and new party organizations. So in the North the Copperhead peace Democracy of the war are dead, and will soon be buried, as a political party or as political leaders, and the only really disturbing faction that will remain be the Jacobin faction of Northern radi cals. Their turn, however, will be next in order. Fust of all, the duty now devolves upon Pre-sident Johnson of preparing the Southern States for their manifest destiny, and of pre-paring such a message for Congress in Decem-ber as will bring him at once into "a happy accord" with the conservative Republican ma-jority of the two Houses, which, rejecting all the extreme measures of the radicals, adopted the fair and reasonable conditions of the Con-stitutional amendment. With harmony thus restored between President and Congress, as it ought to be, and with the excluded States next ought to be, and with the excluded States next restored on the basis of the amendment, as they will be, we shall have the great party of the future in full operation. Then will come the real fight with the radicals: and their fate is as certain as that of the recent domineering and fire-cating Kebel faction of the South, or of their servile followers, the dirt-cating peace-atany-price Copperhead faction of the North.

ballots. Your majority is not equal to the num-ber of voters well paid for supporting your ticket." But now all the Federal patronage is turned against us-it is wielded and enjoyed by our adversaries; and still we triumph. Geary's majority is probably greater than Curtin's, and we have actually gained Representatives in Congress, Yet Cowan was on trial, and everything done that could be to force a verdict for the "Polley" of Johnson.

We submit that the sentiment of the old free States is no longer a subject of controversy. They sustain Congress, and insist on guarantees against future rebellions. Johnson must gain against future receiptons. Sources in a least twenty Representatives to give him a control over legislation by the veto power. Already, seven States have voted, choosing sixty-eight members, and be has gained none at all. It is no longer possible to constitute a bogus House, composed in good part of ex-Rebels unable to take the "iron-clad" oath. The struggle is virtually ended, though a good many States have yet to vote. The Constitu-tional amendment will be presented by the North to the South and accepted.

The Wrong Remedy. From the Independent.

It is observable that some journals, among which the Round Table is the most conspicuous, while denouncing President Johnson, strike also at republican institutions over his shoulders. They attribute all his little obliquities to universal suffrage, and propose to improve matters for the future by curtailing that. This seems very much as if General Grant had proposed to take Richmond by curtailing his own army. As we view it, President Johnson and such as he are the remains of a disease, for which universal suffrage is the remedy.

Certainly it was not universal suffrage, nor even such approach to it as the North exhibits, which gave us our present Chief Magistrate. It did not even give him to us for Vice-President. He was the bequest of the slave power. His speeches are its last dying speech and confe-sion. He is conspicuous because he has outhis proper time and kindred. In past ears the South produced many such men, and every department at Washington was full of In the early days of the Rebellion nearly all of them went under, or went over, or went omewhere. He, imgering, apparently taithful. was injudiciously accepted by the great Repub-lican party, simply because he represented a Southern State. Nobody pretends that he would have been nominated as Vice-President f he had been a citizen of Maine or Michigan. Nobody now doubts that it was a mistake. Nobody thinks that the mistake will be repeat-With him the list of Southern chief magistrates fitly closes. It is not likely that another Southern man will even reach the Vice-Presidency, until the associations of slavery are so far forgotten that the very name of Northerser and Southern have passed from use.

All the "blackguardism, the debauchery, the brutal violence" which the Round Jabie charges upon past Congresses were as directly the front of slavery as a slave jail or a whipping post. Universal suffrage had nothing to do with them. All Washington felt the purification, from the time of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration to that of his death. Every iniciligent man recognizes the advance made in all private moralities by the present Congress over its predecessors. Rouseau was the exception which proved the rule, by showing that, wherever the traditions of slavery lingered, the old, bad spirit survived. Yet, even in that case, it was a step in advance, from Brooks to Rousseau, from South Carolina to Kentucky. The Kentucky bully at least felt himself finally disgraced; whereas, in the good old times, he would have been the hero of Wash ington, and would have been presented with walking canes enough for a centipede.

Nearly every peculiar atrocity which has disraced our political existence has grown directly or indirectly from slavery; in other words, from oligarchy. On the other hand, the anti-slavery movement has been, from its origin, a move-On the other hand, the anti-slavery ment of the common people. Not many wise, not many rich, not many great have been called. It was a printer's boy who first threw down his metaphorical (or typical) gauntlet against the Mayor of Boston, in this contest; and it was "gentlemen of property and standing" who afterwards mobbed that young mechanic into everlasting fame. State, church, college, capital, all seemed arrayed against freedom. It grew strong only by the songs of the poets, the recontion of the saints, and the self-devotion of the poor. But for popular suffrage, and the acitation it implied, anti-shvery effort would have fallen dead. It was in conventions, primary meetings, obscure churches, rural constituen-cies, that its strength lay. Oif the pavement it found itself strong; in the centres of capital and culture it was weak. The leaders of business and society never were anti-slavery; they are not so now. But the masses whom the *Bound Table* calls "ignorant," kn-w enough to establish rightcousness in spite of their leaders. Set aside the Irish vote-which was determined by exceptional and ecclesiastical influences-and those whom the Round Table would distranchise have proved themselves far more trustworthy that select constituency after which the than Round Table pines. We counsel our contemporary, if a reform in suffrage is desired, to look for it in the opposite direction-enlarging, not curtailing. There is nothing wrong about our present system in the Northern States, except that it is not universal enough. In some States negroes are un-righteously distranchised; in all the States, women. Had women been allowed the ballot twenty years since, the anti-slavery reform would have doubled us rate of progress, and lavery might have been abolished without a

test to which every candidate, every platform, has been subjected. Shall the President be sus-tained in his plan for restoring the Union by the immediate admission of the Southern States o the Capitol? Or shall the recommendations f the President be repudlated, and the action of Congress endorsed? The question may have been more or less modified in particular locali-ties, as in that represented by Mr. Theodens Stevens, but as a rule this has been its shape— the President or Congress? The immediate admission of the South, or the exaction of preminary conditions, embodied in the Constitutional amendment? And the answer leaves room neither for equivocation nor doubt. It is overwhelmingly against the President-clearly, onmistakably, decisively in favor of Congress and its policy. Séldom, indeed, has a contest been conducted

with so exclusive reference to a single issue. True, the antecedents of candidates during the war have had much to do with the question of individual eligibility. Clymer has been consigned to private life because his sympathies and efforts were against the war for the Union, while Geary's were heroically in its support. But, after all, there have been few of the considerations which in ordinary times have entered into party controversy. The tariff, mternal improvements, the currency, the foreign relations of the Government, have been disused only incidentally. Everywhere the conditions of unitonal unity and peace have formed the theme of debate, and the standard by which party nominations have been weighed and judged. Minor questions, therefore, cannot be pleaded in abatement of the account as it now stands

It is a settlement which can be altered only to be made more stringent. It is a declaration of the popular determination to exact from the South guarantees for the maintenance of the Union as the war has made it; a Union assuring national citizenship to black and white, assuring equality before the law, the just representation of the sections, and the inviolability of the loyal debt, and providing effectually against the future assumption of the Rebel debts or claims. This the sum and substance of Tuesday's verdict. Not negro suffrage-noticonfiscation-not harsh or vindictive penalties; but the plan of restoration dictated by Congress, and designed to be a final adjustment of our national difficulties.

It is too late to say that the popular verdict hardly comes up to the rigid constitutional standard. It would avail nothing now to argue that the amendment, equirable and moderate though it be, ought not to be a condition of restoration. Equally useless were it to consider by what possible combinations and compronises the view for which we have contended might have acquired greater prominence and support. The people have been heard from, from their decision our form of government provides no appeal. The South, it wise, will hearken and comply. And the President, if politic, will not reluse to listen to a verdict which specially concerns himself and the plan to which he is committed.

At least one source of apprehension has been removed. Had these elections ended adversely to Congress-had promises been held out of any considerable change in the complexion of that body-the idea of a second House, with the Southern representatives unconditionally ad-mitted, might possibly have assumed dangerous The proposition that a innensions, Congress should be organized, and that the resident should recognize the one favorable to his plan, might then have been more plausible. Fortunately this beginning of revolution has been obviated. Not the faintest pretext can Low be found for impugning the validity of the Congressional decision, or for mosting the legitimacy of any other body. The people have taken care that this threatened peril shail not be heard of more.

They have decreed, not only that Congress as now is faithfully represents their convictions and purposes, but that the Congress which will come after shall sustain substantially the same policy. Neither the South nor the President, then, has aught to expect from delay. The South must choose between prolonged exclusion, with the probability of more stringent terms, and the acceptance of the overture already submitted to them. The President must be content to see Congress push forward its new method of seitlement, despite protesta tion and vetoes, or must trankly accept the verdict pronounced by the people who elected him, and use his opportunities to hasten restoration on the only basis that is practicable. He has stated his own case, and the people have refused to accept it. The part of statesmanship surely is to concede graciously and premptly to the popular requirements, and to exert the influence of the Executive in support of the compromise now tendered to the Southern States.

- The existence of the danger which impends over us being thus generally acknowledged, we des m it pertinent to remark, in the first place, that the peril is not of Southern, but of Northern origin. At the close of the late war, the sub-nission of the South, and its manly acceptance of the result, was a marvel of good feeling and moral magnanimity. The pratitying and unex-pected attitude of that section was due to its good sense and to the considence inspired by the generous terms of surrender granted to the Rebels when they were compelled to my down their arms. The prompt alacrity with which they co-operated with the Federal Government in his conclusion attempts to restore the revolted States to their tormer political relations, fostered kindly sentiments, and authorized the hope that the wounds caused by the war would be speedily healed. It was the radicals of the North that stepped in to may the returning harmony. It was the Northern radica's that highted anew the torch of discord, and flung it,

It was the radicals that stirred up a mutiny against the President, having determined, at all hazards, to arrest and undo his pacific work. The South could not be otherwise than dissatised, and yet its bearing, throughout the session of Congress and up to this time, has been con iderate and patriotic. Its spirit in the Phila leiphia Convention was exemplary and praise worthy. Its State Legislatures, particularly that of South Carolina, which was the cradle of secession, have voluntarily passed laws giving equal protection to the treedmen in all their civil rights. Their public journals, with one or two exceptions depending on peculiarities of individual temper in the editors, have been far more temperate in their discussions than the average press of the North. The present danger is not of Southern but of Northern creation. It is solely the work of the reckless and infuriated Northern radicals, who refused the cheerful submission of the Southern people to the Federal authority, and who have done their utmost to exasperate them by wicked calumnies on their character, and to force upon them the detested policy of negro suffrage, which even the Northern States, to whom negro suffrage could never have been dangerous, have hitherto ejected from strong antipathy of race.

Another remark pertinent to the existing danger is, that a new civil war would have more of the hideous character which that phrase imports, than the one which has just closed. The late war between the North and the South was very similar to a war between two foreign countries. Each, for the time being, had its own Government, to which all its people submitted. The contest of each was against a people divided from it by a geographical line. It we have a new war, the enemie will not be thus territorially separated. It will be a contest fought in every locality of the North, Men's deadliest foes will be their own neighbors and kindred. The horiors of the late struggle will grow pale before such a contest, Another pertinent observation is, that it will be a war for no justifiable object. It will be a

war to reduce, in contempt of the Constitution, the representation of a section which is already in a hopeless and constantly decreasing minority If the South comes into Congress with all the representatives which the unamended Constitution gives it, the North will still outvote it three or four to one. All the new States yet to come in will be States with Northern sympathics. All the growth of the country by emigration will increase the preponderance of the North. In wealth, and the weight and influence which wealth gives, all comparison is distanced. The disparity will grow greater and greater. To go to war to reduce the Southern representa tion is, therefore, to go to war for a chimera, it is as though a growing elephant would worry himselt to reduce the strength of an antelope, lest, in some future trial of strength, the ante-

lope should get the better of him. We trust that there may yet be virtue and moderation enough in the country to prevent the radicals from consummating their infernal designs.

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DUPLEX SKIRTS.

The October Elections.

From the Tribune.

If there were two among the old free States which the champions of "My Policy" could hope to carry, they are Pennsylvania and Indiana. Those States stopped the Republican ball in mid-career in 1856, electing Buchanau over Fremont; and they were only carried Republican in '60 by the distraction of the adverse host-Indiana giving Lincoln but 5923 votes more than his antagonists. Each of them borders for hundreds of miles on what were till recently slave States, and is largely connected with them by traffic, migration, and inter-marriage. The Common School system of Pennsylvania is but thirty years old, and its blessings have not been enjoyed by nearly all her native voters. An enormous naturalization in the cities and mining districts threw some twentythousand new votes in Pennsylvania into the scale of our adversaries. To have carried both States by decided majorities is, under the cir-cumstances, a remarkable proof that the Republican-Unionists are practically invincible in the old free States.

When we triumphed in 1860, our adversaries When we triumphed in 1860, our adversaries said, "We were divided, hopeless of success, and could not call out our strength." In 1862, they outvoted us in all the Middle States, including Ohio. In 1863, there was no State election in Indiana, but we regained Pennsylvania after a decreate structured by 15 000 majority. In 1864 desperate struggle, by 15,000 majority. In 1861, we raised this, by the hardest work, to 20,000, which we rather increased in the tame straggle of last year. "On, you have all the Federal offices; you control the navy yards; you are building and araing iron chads, hiring transports, casting guns, buying ordnance stores, and thus subsiduzing a good share of the business men," urged our adversaries. "The soldiers vote your ticket of course-they are not allowed to hear our side, nor we to supply them with

CALL LAND DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY OF THE PA

The People's Verdict. From the Times.

The verdict pronounced by the people of four States is merely the fulfilment of an expectation entertained by every man who has watched honestly the temper and purposes of the country. The boasting of the Democratic press during the progress of the canvass has not misled anybody. They who now claim the Empire State for Hoffman confidently assigned Pennsylvania to Clymer, and predicted decisive Democratic gains in Ohio and Indiana. But these pretensions have never had sincere believers. And though World on Wednesday attempted to divert the attention from its failures as a prophet by cast ing general discredit upon telegraphic dispatches there never was any good reason for doubting the result. It was as certain on Monday as it is to-day. Nor does it necessarily involve any very nice study of the details which have been received. The party substitution will deem it his duty to ponder every return-to compare the figures of this year with the figures of other years, and to study the causes of every change, The people, however, have little relish for these fine drawn distinctions. Gains or losses these line-drawn distinctions. Gains or losses here or there matter comparatively little to them. They have no taste for the casuistry that would convert defeat into victory, or for the philosophy that would suck consolation out of inevitable disaster. The general re-sult is all that concerns them. They know that Pennsylvania, which has been the theatre of one of the hottest contests ever known, has rejected the overtures of the Democracy, and has planted itself of the Democracy, and has planted itself more firmly than ever on the side of the party represented by Congress.

They know that Ohio and Indiana have con-tributed their quota towards the maintenance of Republican supremacy, and that Iowa has not wavered in the faith which made her Congressional delegation an unit in support of the Union party. All else is, in the popular judg-ment, a matter of indifference. For it con-cludes, rightly and reasonably, that the im-pulses and convictions which on Tuesday impelled four States to follow the lead of Maine and Vermont, will as surely determine the con-test in New York, and in the States which have yet to pass judgment on the issues before them. The one great result which has now been reached is the ratification by the people of the position assumed by Congress in relation to the President and the South. This has been the

Great Danger of a New Civil War. From the World.

We have several times within the last two months felt it our duty to warn our countrymen that we stand on the declivity towards another civil war. The proofs that our fears were not chimerical or premature, thicken every day. Violent language and fierce recriminations have been followed, as was natural, by political riots in several cities. The public mind has been kindled to such an inflammatory pitch, that men have grown reckless and defiant. The present state of the public mind forebodes infinite mischief. The following extracts, all taken from the city Republican journals of Wednesday, show that we are not singular in supposing that the country is in imminent danger. These extracts are, of course, finged with party feeling. They are quoted by us merely as evidence that intelligent observers of all parties consider the pre-sent state of public feeling as critical and portentous.

From the Evening Post.

The great mass of our population, excited almost to the same degree as when the Rebel guns bombarded Fort Sumter, will listen to no project of reconstruction short of the acceptance of the amendments to the Constitution. From the Tribune.

I warn those who are now seeking what they term a conservative restoration of the Union that a republic cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that it must rest on and be upheld oy the attections of its people; that, if the loyal blacks of the South shall not be fully enfranchised, there will soon be another outbreak of the Rebel spirit now smouldering there, even more desperate and formidable than that which has cost the country such lakes of blood and such mountains of treasure. Count the four millions of blacks ciphers, and the Rebellion has to-day—what it had not in the winter of '60-61-a decided preponderance at the South; and that preponderance will soon bloodily maniest it-ely. There is no safety, no real peace, but in universal justice and impartial freedom. H. G.

From the Herald.

Out-ide of Congress the political stump speak-ers on both sides have been yet more rotous and violent. The Butlers and Brownlows and Hamiltons on one side, and the Snarkeys, Daw-sons, and Monroes on the other, have done their best to excite the prejudices and passions of the people and to destroy the ble sings of peace. One set of men in the South, and another set in the East, have used their breath unceasingly to fan the smonldering en blems of fanaticism and ecctionalism once more into a flame. On one side we are told that Congress is to be forcibly entered by the Southern members, and the Organization carried at the point of the bayone!. On the other we are promised the impeachment of the President as soon as Congress reassem bles.

From the Times.

The same teeling prevailed six years ago. Few The same teeling prevailed six years ago. Few then attached importance to the threats of the fire-eaters, or realized the crisis which was im-minent. So it is to-day. The explosive force of the elements which are at work is underesti-mated. The possibility of collision, of conflict, of civil war, is not acknowledged. The causes which operate in that direction are passed over as of no immediate importance, and the influences that are most likely to bring it about are persistently disregarded.

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