EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JCURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERT DAY FOR EVERING TELEGRAPH.

What is the Real Position of the From the Berald.

Before the secessionists of the South raised the standard of revolt against the Government of the United States and forced the Southern people into rebellion, there were two parties in the country, wide apart in principle, but united on the main object sought to be accomplished by each namely, the destruction of the Constitution and the disruption of the Union. These parties were the radical abolition fanatics of the North and the radical slavery-extension fireenters of the South. At that time the seeds of rebellion were sown in the free States by Wendell Phillips, who denounced the Constitution of the United States as a league with hell and a covenant with the devil, and by the Jacobins of the 2ribune school, who wrote poetry inciting people to "tear down the flaunting lie"-meaning the American flag-and prose vindicating the sacred right of secession. In the slave States the corresponding work was done by the Yarceys, Lamars, and Rhetts, and by such papers as the Charleston Mercury and Rich-

nond Enquirer. These same two parties exist to-day; and as before the war they worked for the same end, the destruction of the Union, so now the war is eputed, they labor for a common object—to ob-struct the restoration of the Union. One of these parties is represented at the North to-day by Butler, Chandler, Stevens, and Phillips, with such men as Hamilton and Brownlow as their allies in the South; and the other, at the South, by Wade Hampton, Humphreys, Monroe, and Dawson, with Fernando Wood, Vallandigham, Hoffman, Seymour, Clymer, and the Copper-head organs generally, as their allies in the

Both these parties are engaged in making vicient appeals to the passions and prejudices of the people of either section of the Union and in preaching up another rebellion. The Northern wing of the Jacobin army is threatening the impeacement of the President, the seizure the Government by Congress, and the destruc-tion of General Grant and the regular army The Southern and Copperhead wing is talking about forcing the members from the ex-Rebel States into Congress at the point of the bayo-net. So far as any real danger is concerned, these threats and boastings are mere balderdash,

and amount to nothing.

The people have settled that question very de cisively in the recent elections by declaring in favor of the Congressional solution of the prolem of restoration, as embodied in the Constitutional amendment, and by confirming that policy as a fixed fact during the entire balance of President Johnson's Administration. For the impeachment of the President the Northern Jacobins could not get thirty votes in the House of Representatives; while the original seed sionists of the South and their Copperhead allies of the North would and it difficult to persuade such a cunning political fox as President John-son to put his head into any trap they could bait

There may be some little risk that the Ben Butler Jacobins on one side, and the Monroes and Forrests and Dawsons on the other, may incite unthinking people here and there to vio-late the law and create riots, as they did at New Orleans and Memphis; but such outbreaks can only end in unnecessary bloodshed and the slaughter of a few intatuated victims, and the slaughter of a few intatuated victims, and they are easily subdued. Something of this kind may spring from the advice of the Northen radicals to the Baltimore Police Commissioners to resist a plain law and rebel against-the Constitutional authority of the Governor of the State of Maryland. If so, it will be speedly checked and the guilty parties brought to punishment. But so far as any serious trouble to the country may appear to be threatened by the violence of the radicals on either side, the public mind may rest at ease, and feel satisfied that it is all balderdash, and that the nation that it is all balderdash, and that the nation was never more secure against any rebellion

A political revolution must, however, take place shorily that will mark the lines of parties for the next quarter of a century in this country. In the Southern States there will spring up two distinct factions, the one opposing Constitutional amendment and the other favoring that settlement of the question of restora-tion. The former will embrace all the old fireeaters and worn-out political backs who are set aside by the Constitutional amendment, and who desire still to figure on the public stage and seed at the public crib. The latter will comprise the new generation—the young men of the South who went into the war thro reckiess gallantry, and the quiet, respectable reckless gallantry, and the quiet, respectable citizens who desire to see peace and prosperity restored to their States. These parties will contend for political mastery at the South among themselves, and it is easy to predict which side will win. In the Northern States the lines will be drawn between the radical Jacobins and the Republicans. The former, probably at the next session, or certainly in the next Copgress, led by Butler, Phillips, and Stevens, will proclaim their pro-gramme of abolishing the Constitution, placing the executive as well as legislative power in the hands of Congress, and seizing upon the Governments of all the Southern States, and holding them as subdued provinces. The Republicans will draw off in a distinct conservative party against the Jacobin radicals, and the late Democrats, totally demolished and wiped out as an organization in the elections of this year, will select their places in one or other of these new divisions. Eventually the Southern Constitutional amendment party will combine with the Republican party, and form the great national organization that will elect the next President, and rule the nation for the next quarter of a

Century.

The breaking up and reformation of political organizations will be more complete and distinct than anything of the kind that has occurred in this country since the formation of the old Republican and Federal parties. It will be greater and more sweeping than that, as the nation is more powerful and the issues more vital than they were in those early days of the republic. This is the revolution that is in store for us. It will be a peaceful one; but who can estimate the importance of its results?

# The South and the Constitutional Amendments.

The Richmond Enquirer remonstrates, with dignity and force, against the course of the Times in recommending the adoption of the Constitutional amendment by the Southern States, Having regarded the Times and its editor as friendly to the South, it finds their recent action "inexplicable, on the principles which determine the obligations of fidelity among men." And in a very natural tone of disappointment, not unmingled with some equally natural resentment, it protests against the alleged injustice and hostility of our course. Possibly we may be able to remove some of the Enquirer's misconceptions upon this

subject.

I. We regard the early restoration of the Southern States to the Union under the Constitution as the most pressing and imperative necessity of the day. Every day's delay seems to us fraught with formidable evils and dangers. The prolonged exclusion of ten States and eight millions of people from all Southern States to the Union under the Constitution as the most pressing and imperative necessity of the day. Every day's delay seems to us fraught with formidable evils and dangers. The prolonged exclusion of ten States and eight millions of people from all participation in a Government whose laws they are required to obey, no matter what may be the motive of that exclusion, is an anomaly in our republican system which must be fruitful of the worst results. It sours and glienates those who are thus excluded. It

rankles in the hearts of men who have suffered dejeat in war, as an additional humdra-tion-all the more galling because they are tion—all the more galling because they are powerless to resist it. It sharpens and intensifies every blow they have already received, and infuses the poison of rancor and hatred into the weapons of war and the wounds they have caused. It breeds distrust when and where confidence is the one thing required, and educates the rising generation in the memory and resentment of hostilities which it is for the interest of the nation and the world that they should forget. It checks the development of their material resources, arrests their industhey should forget. It cheeks the development of their material resources, arrests their industry, and deprives them of the ability, while it begets an indisposition, to pay the taxes and bear the burdens of the General Government. It nurses the seeds of division between the two sections, when it have an advanced on the content of the sections, plants new thorns of discontent, strengthens the hands of those who would make two nations in feeling, in interest, in ambition, and in fact, where the people would have but one, and in every way contributes powerfully and dangerously to the ruin and degradation of the South, while it inspires and strengthens the temper of tyranny and arrogant domination, which is no less dangerous to liberty and to the perpetuity of our republican institutions, in the Northern States. Such a state of things, so full of evir and of peril, should be ended at the eariest moment possible.

II. We are anxious above all things to end it. It seems to us not nearly so important, either to the North or the South, or to the nation at large, how it shall be ended, as that it shall be ended soon. Long delay involves more peril than almost any method of adjustment. We believed, and still believe, that it ought to have been ended at the outset—that the restoration of the Union should have been the immediate result of the overthrow of the Rebellion against it. Congress last December should have taken up the work just where the President's action had left it, and should have carried it forward, promptly and with vigor, to full completion. That course would have given us peace, order, content, the resumption of enterprise, a prompt reorganization of industry, all needed legislative reforms, and a political reorganization based on the ideas established by the war, and in full and permanent co-operation with the princiof the Union should have been the immediate permanent co-operation with the princi-ples and measures of the National Union party. We labored earnestly for that result. We continued our efforts throughout the session, against steadily increasing obstacles and discouragements; and after the session closed we still struggled, in the Philadelphia Convention and in these columns, for the restoration of the Union by the admission into Congress of men, from loyal States, found to have been elected, returned, and qualified according to law for seats therein. Certainly, in all this there was no lack of "fidelity"—not to the South, or we were not seeklug the welfare of any setion—but to the country, and to the principle which we deemed essential to its welfare—the early and full restoration of the Union.

III. The late elections put an oud to any hope of effecting this restoration in the way proposed. Right or wrong, wise or unwise, that decision had been reached. It was and is absolutely certain that the Southern States cannot be admitted at the time and in the way proposed. The Congress which will control that question has been elected, and will hold power until March 4 1862 when the official terror. March 4, 1869, when the official term of President Johnson will expire. He is powerless in the premises, first, because he has no control whatever over the admission of members into Congress, and secondly, because there is a majority in both branches sufficient to override and annul his veto power. As matters stand now therefore it is extend that the South search low, therefore, it is certain that the South cannot be restored to its constitutional relations in the Union by any direct exercise of political power, and against the will of the Union maority, until after a new President shall have en elected, and still another Congress chosen. This is a fixed fact, and neither the South nor the North, neither the President nor his friends, nor anybody else, can change it.

IV. Now, under these circumstances, what can best be done? What course of action does a wise regard for their own interests prescribe to the Southern States? On the one hand they are advised to persist in demanding their rights —in denouncing the Union party which has complete control of Congress, and in waging, in alliance with the Democratic minority, a bitter and relentless war upon it. The President is urged to the same course, as if it were in the interest of the Southern States. Wade Hampton and Covernor Hamptons coursel the holdern and Governor Humphreys counsel the boidest and most high-toned defiance to their "oppressors." The Democratic party, as a matter of course, give the same advice, as it is only in his direction that they foresee any possibility of their own return to power. Now, what pos-sible good can result from such a policy?

Will the Richmond Enquirer inform us how the South can possibly better its condition by such action? If it has studied the recent drift of public sentiment in the North to any pur-pose, it must know that it is extremely sensitive to the positive and peremptory demand of political power in the National Government, as a matter of right, on the part of those States and communities that waged a bloody war of four years for the destruction of that Government, and that desisted only when, and only because, they were physically unable to wage it any longer. Nothing tends more certainly to consolidate the Republican party, and to to consolidate the Republican party, and to strengthen its most ultra element, than such demands so urged. The Enquirer may easily see how, under their influence, the temper of the North has been steadily rising day by day since the war was closed. Nor is this at all unnatural or inexplicable—however unwise it may be in point of policy. The people of the North have been compelled to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives and millions upon millions of money to rescue the Government from destruction; they are very naturally collected to see it has a torice into the hands of reluctant to see it pass at once into the hands of the people who sought its overthrow; and when very States seek to snatch it from their grasp-to seize it as a matter of right, and take possession of it as if it had always been their cherished possession—they inevitably arouse a sharp and hot resistance. This may not be statesmanlike nor wise, but it is natural and

The South, therefore, it seems to us, has nothing to gain and much to lose by persisting in waging war upon the victorious North for resteration as a matter of absolute right. It cannot possibly succeed, because the Congress which controls the matter for three years to come is beyond its reach. It cannot overthrow it—it cannot reverse the people's verdict—it cannot annul the laws of Congress—it cannot secure for itself any voice in the election of President in 1868. Open hostility on its part, or on its behalf, only strengthens its opponents, and confirms their power. They may persist in it, and may count as their friends only those who urge them on. With some men such persistence passes for principle, and is deemed the only consistent course. So long as no good can possibly result from it-so long as it seems certain only to multiply and increase the evils and dangers by which the Southern cause is already encompassed-it seems to us simple obstinacy, neither demanded by any principle nor credita-ble to the judgment and good sense of those who adopt it as the guide of their political action. V. When the attempt at restoration by a prompt and unconditional admission of the

loyal South into Congress has clearly and finally failed, it has seemed to us most consistent with "fidelity" to the South, and with the best interests of the whole country, to seek restoration in some other way. It is eminently a practical matter, and should be dealt with in a practical way. We have advised the acceptance of the Constitutional amendment, as the best way of accomplishing the work of restoration, now that the other way has been finally closed. We believe we are thus doing the South the very best service in our power. We are not, it is true, ministering to their resentments, nor inflaming oyal South into Congress has clearly and finally

and substitute from the same and assembly the same of the same of

ance of the Constitutional amendment. We believe it to be the only way now open for their restoration to the Union and to their exercise of policical power in the Government. By its prompt adoption we believe they can secure representation in Congress during the coming winter, with a voice and voice inpon the various measures of special conern to themselves, and also a voice in the election of President in 1868. By rejecting it, as they seem inclined now to do, we believe they will prolong their exclusion toth from Congress and the Electoral College until after Fresident Johnson's successor shall have taken his seat, and possibly a good deal longer.

cessor shall have taken his seat, and possibly a good deal longer.

This is what we have done, and these are our reasons for doing it. We do not know whether they will commend themselves to the Laquirer's respect or not; but we see in them nothing inconsistent with our own.

The Engurer insists that "the Southern people cannot adopt the Constitutional amendment without personal dishonor and infame."

without personal dishonor and infamy." If we believed that to be so, we should not ask its adoption. But we do not. We regard this as an exaggerated and unreal view of the case. The amendment involves a loss of representative power, and a temporary exclusion from office of certain classes of their people. They are not asked to decree either of these as of their own motion, but to accept and assent to them as motion, but to accept and assent to them as modifications of an existing state of things. At present they have no representation, and none of the unpardoned among their people can hold office. These are the results—the unfortunate but natural and necessary results—of their war upon the Government. That war was their voluntary act. They took all its risks of failure as of success, and among them was this of distranof success, and among them was this of distran-chisement. They can have back their political power, somewhat curtailed and modified. We see in their assent to this nothing of "infamy" or of "dishonor," It is simply accepting one of the results of an unsuccessful Rebellion, as a means of averting others still more severe and disastrons.

But the Enquirer says they have no security that they will be restored, even if they do adopt the amendment.

"Where is any guarantee of the consideration? Where is any promise of it? Where is any reason to expect it? Where is any reason to expect it? Where is any plausible room to hope for it?

"The New York Times recently contained a demonstration that there was no pledge in existence that the adoption of the amendment would readmit the South and end the present anarchy; that there was no respectable commitment to that effect; that the House of Representatives had, on the contrary, expressly rejected a declaration of that purport; that the prominent Republican leaders have protested against being held to any such idea. And this view of the Times is sustained by abundant other proots."

"If Mr. Raymond really thinks the Southern States ought to adopt the amendment as the con-

States ought to adopt the amendment as the condition of reconstruction, he ought first to secure such an offer to us. To cail on us, day after day, to accept what has never been offered, nay, what he hmselt says has been refused, is nothing less than absurd."

There is truth and force in all this. There is certainly no pledge on the part of Congress to admit southern members upon their ratification of the amendment. The bill embodying such a pledge was rejected; but it should be borne in mind that it was not rejected solely of the votes of those opposed to admission. The ex-treme radicals voted against it, because they would not and will not admit the South except on the basis of negro suffrage. But the Democrats and many others also voted against it, because they did not believe Congress had any right to impose conditions at all. The decision against admission, therefore, upon the adoption of the smendment was not final or conclusive. On the contrary. Tennessee was instantly admitted upon its adoption, and there were not

twenty votes in the House against it.

If the South should now adopt the amendment, we believe its admission to Congress would fol-low at once and as a matter of course. The discussions before the people have strengthened this conviction. None but the most extreme radicals have ventured to take ground against radicals have ventured to take ground against admission. The general understanding of the whole country—the whole current of public sentiment, the universal expectation in Congress and out, is in that direction; and the prompt action of the Southern States would so strengthen this feeling that nothing could resist it. And it would have this effect all the more if that action should be taken in the absence of any specific pledge, and in reliance upon the justice and good faith of the dominant party in Congress and in the country. And if party in Congress and in the country. And if, after all, this reliance should tail-if the violence and still exclude the South from representation in the Government, nothing practical would be lost, and an issue would then be formed upon which their overthrow would be certain.

The South has the decision of this matter in

its own hands. Its action influences public sen iment in the North far more than anything its friends here can do or say. If it is required to make sacrifices and do acts which offend its pride and sense of right, it is but just to remember that its own action has given the North the power to impose them. Its grand mistake, the source of all its cvils-fons of origo majorum —was its rebellion against the Government. It cannot expect to see all its rills dried up in

### New York-New Jersey.

From the Tribune. Between New England on the northeast and Pennsylvania on the southwest lie the States of New York and New Jersey, with a population of some five millions, and sending thirty-six Representatives to the more popular branch of Congress. These are all to be chosen on Tuesday, November 6: and a United States Senator for six years from New York, and probably another for four years from New Jersey, are to be elected by the Legislatures simultaneously chosen. The election in these States is necessarily regarded with lively interest by the whole American

In 1864 New York was carried for Lincoln. Fenton, and the Republican tickets generally, by majorities averaging 7500-majorities which quadrupled in the aggregate returns in Whether there are plausible grounds for believing, or fearing, or hoping, that this majority of thirty thousand votes for the Republican Union ticket can be overcome at the next annual election, each will judge for himself; but every dispassionate observer must regard such a result as but a taint possibility. Johnsonism -Femanism-devotion or repugnance to the Excise act of our last Legislature-approval or condemnation of one or more of Governor Fenton's vetoes-these are all the make-weights that may be supposed to influence the result. Who believes that, by means of these or in de-flance of them, the thirty thousand majority of last year is now to be subverted and overborne? What is there in the course of events, the resuits of recent elections, or other manifestations of public sentiment, that indicates and predicts such a change?

New Jersey was the only free State that gave a popular majority in 1860 for electors opposed to Mr. Lincoln. Alone among the free States of 1860, she gave a majority for General McClellan in 1864. That majority was overborne, and a Republican Governor and Legislature elected in after a most spirited and energetic canvass, the Republicans carrying three of the five Congressional districts, and losing a fourth by barely fifty votes. Tals result was mainly due to the return of New Jersey's honorably discharged soldiers from serving their country in the War for the Union. Her Democratic Legislatures of 1863-4 denied them the privilege of voting in the field, while those fit for duty could not be spared to come home. Hence the State went against Lincoln by over 4000 majority, yet was nevertheless carried by Governor Ward in 1865

by some 1700 majority.

New Jersey is to day one of the surest and firmest Republican States in the Union, though several are far ahead of her in the magnitude of their majorities. She will very surely elect three, probably four, possibly five Republicans as her Representatives in the part House. She as her Representatives in the next House. She will in due time fill the place of Mr. Wright in the U. S. Scuate with a Republican. She will

beautiful appearing in carrier afficements.

we their vote and majority than she did last year. In stroise short, she has taken her place among the thoroughly free States, and she will keep it.

These are the only two States above the old alaye line that Johns onized Demogracy can even be to curry; for the Northwest is radigal to the core, as lowa has just demonstrated. New York in 1884 elected 26 Republican to 11 Demogratic Representatives in Congress; New Jeisey 2 to 3—together 22 to 14. That these states will now elect more than 22 opponents of "My Policy" and its author is as certain as any result yet inture well could be. Governor Fenton's majority can hardly be less than thrice that of 1864; while New Jersey, then Democratic, will be with Congress in every branch of them. her government.

We say these results are inevitable, because the set of the popular current is clear, and because a public sentiment so decided always vindicates itself in the results of current elections. When the East and West shall have thus spoken, why need the controversy be protracted? What will be left practically to struggle for? Why should not the Southern States resume their places in the Union on the terms prescribed by Congress, and the whole land once more enjoy the blessings of security and perfect peace

Rights of Southern Citizens in Other States. From the World,

The labyrinth of absurdity in which the radical doctrine wanders is well illustrated by the manner in which they make political guilt attach to local residence and not to personal conduct. In the city of Baltimore, seveneighths (this is the proportion stated by the committee which waited upon Governor Swann) of the citizens are disfranchised in consequence of alleged sympathy with the late Rebellion. But if any of these disfranchised citizens remove to other States, they are immediately absolved from all political stains and recover all the rights of citizenship. Suppose that, one year ago, ten of the disfranchised citizens of Baltimore and ten citizens of Vermont had taken up their residence in this State, they would be, all alike, entitled to vote in our elections, in ac-cordance with our laws. It is, of course, a glaring absordity that Marylanders who, after a year's residence, vote in New York, cannot, by any length of residence, reacquire their right to

The same absurdity inheres in all the radical attempts at distranchisement. It a thousand hardy New York soldiers, having served in the South and become acquainted with the openings it affords for making money, should emigrate thither and purchase cotton lands at a cheap rate from ruined planters, they would be punished by the radical Congress as political outcasts, and denied representation in the Government for which they perilled their lives And if, on the other hand, the planters who spent their property m supporting the Rebellion should come to New York, they would acquire by the mere fact of removal, the same rights of representation in Congress as are possessed by citizens born in the State. There are pro-bably in this city at least five thousand Southerners who would be denied representation at home, and yet share it as fully here as if

they had come from Massachusetts. Every Southern reiugee who has been in this tate a year, and has resided four mouths in the county, has, by our laws, just the same right to vote in the coming election as our own citizens. Like the rest of us, he must be registered; but this formality compiled with, he has an equal voice with every other citizen in determining who shall be Governor, who shall be elected to Congress in the district where he votes, and who shall till all other offices for which increases the elected to the compiler of the compiler o which incumbents are chosen at this election. It is a most extraordinary species of political guilt which may be thus educed or incurred by simply removing from one State to another. It is the soil, not the man, that is accursed. A man's political guilt or innocence does not depend upon what he has done, but upon where

he resides. The Constitution was once supposed to or fer these things differently. It was supposed that the Federal Government acted directitly on individual citizens, and that its relations to them, whether for protection or punishment, were precisely the same whether they resided in one State or another. What can be more fau-tastically absurd than for Congress to make men's characters a problem in geography instead of a question of morals?

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Specifications may be has at the Department of Surveys, which will be strictly adhered to W. W. SMEDLEY.

OFFICE OF THE LEHIGH COAL

OFFICE OF THE LEHIGH COAL
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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 10, and carried SATURDAY, December 1, 1865 at 3 P M.

Tay ment will be commented to the subscribing of the paid at the time of subscribing. The balance may be paid a rom time to time, at the option of the subscribing including the aloresaid instalment, made before the lat of November, 1867 On all payments including the aloresaid instalment, made before the lat of June 1867, discount will be allowed at the rate of 6 per cent, per annum, and on a l payments made between that date and the 18 of November, 1867, interest will be charged at the same rate. that date and the is of November, 1887, interest will be charged at the same rate.

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