THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR LVENING TELFORAPH

Constitutional Equilibrium. From the Tribune.

The elaborate absurdity of Secretary Browning's letter on the Constitution (what else should the President's redoubtable servant write about unless it be the flag ?) is almost past comment, but, as Mr. Browning is a fair type of those narrow logicians who conservatively think that the Chinese process of dwarfing a nation is necessary to keep it from suicide, a few of his yet unserved sophisms deserve to be treated to death with the instrument they invoke.

Mr. Browning opposes all amendment of the Constitution, though it has been amended in half-a-dozen instances. He objects to changing the basis of representation, because "aggregate population is its true basis." Then why not disperse from the lefter of the law the "three-fifths of all persons?" He thinks that these three-fifths should remain as they are, because neither unfranchised women nor foreigners can yote, though they are included in the represen-tation number. Yet the conjution is universal tative number. Yet the conviction is universal that foreigners, under our now unamended laws, can vote after a short and needed expe-rience of our institutions, and that women are more or less intimately represented by fathers, brothers, and children. The unrepresented "three-diths" were until lately slaves; bought, sold, and liable to be malireated, by the very terms of law and sale. They have no voice in representation save through their owners, who are not expected to year satisfies their own bar. are not expected to vote against their own bar-

These native citizens have not even the prospect to vote which is accorded to, foreigners of any class, unloss we assure it to thea. Hence, the nation is heartily in favor of restoring to the negro the fraction of two-fliths robbed from his manhood, and erecting him into full citizenship. We must either do this, and by the in-controvertible influences of law, interest, and justice, make all races iriends, or we must conent that the black man shall be represented by his enemy and our own, to his oppression and our deleaf. We cannot yield to a bargain so stupendously absurd as to make a platform of murdered rights for treason to stand on and confront loyalty. If there is any danger in the superstructure of representation which we are to plant on the popular basis at the South, it will be tenfold more disastrous if we deny justice at the loundation.

Mr. Browning may mistake his own dritt, but we assure him that he has been molling back-wards in the interest of dishonesty. Why should he repeat the stale talk about "equilibrium," when, if we must know 'no North, South, East, or West, but the whole country," we must dismiss such antique logic as this:-"It would be better for all parties and interests, and far more hopeful for the perpetuity of the Government, if something like an equilibrium of strength between the different sections of the country could be maintained." Does our oracle of yesterday mean that we are still to conserve a North and a South, and draw lines between East and West, under some notion that in a national union of commonwealths there must be some such old-world idea as a balance of power? The true equilibrium must every year make the Union more national, and South Caroline and Bhole Island more local, and the country, to all points of the compass, more united and homogeneous. But we cannot do this by perpetualing under a compact utterly violated encounter and the state of the s violated on one side such unrighteous advan-tages in South Carolina as we cannot tolerate in the much larger State of New York. That is not equilibrium, popular or otherwise, wherein the South has most privileges and the North most provides and the North most population. Make a true equilibrium of equal rights and exact justice towards all men, and we shall hear little of State lines and risky balances between North and South at the mercy of whatever traitor who chooses to kick the

By advice and consent of the President, Mr. Browning opposes amendments to the Constitution in toto; but neither could have remembered that, when a Senator, Mr. Johnson offered amendments to that same instrument halt-a-dozen times, and that in his first message to

burst forth with overwhelming force and carried After the fail elections are over a good many questions of interest and importance will de-mand public discussion; and some of them, we are included to suspect, are inrelated wed in the brief article from the *Standard* to which we have referred.

The Eastern Question,

From the World. We printed yesterday a condensed account of the origin of the "Eastern Question" in Europe, and of its past and present relations with European politics and diplomacy. All the signs now point to an early and serious embrollment of the European powers over this question, an embroilment which, even if it does not result in a great and general European war, must at least definitely put an end to the dominion of the Turks in Europe, and introduce upon the stage of European events one, if not two, new nationalities in the East. The English press, while it earnestly deprecates the idea of a new war on the "Eastern Question," very plainly intimates that England will certainly fight to prevent the acquisition of Egypt by any great European power, which resolution, if Eng-Iand holds to it, must preity certainly compel Eugland, however unwitting she may be to do so, to join France in preventing the acquisition by Russia either of Constantinople or of any territory the postession of which would tend to give Russia the control of the Black Ser. give Russia the control of the Black Sea. For while France, under Napoleon III, is perfectly capable of leaving the European provinces of Turkey to group themselves into new and inde-pendent communities, it is clear that she could not permit Russia to aggrandize horself in the Levant without balancing that aggrandizement by acquisitions of her own. Russia at Constan-tupple pecessarily means France at Smyrna and Alexandria.

Alexandria. It is probably of good omen for the peaceful adjustment of the "Eastern Question," that the three powerful States of Central and Southern Europe, Prussia, Austria, and Italy, are now alike interested in preventing the growth of the Russian power southward, and in securing to the Christian populations of Turkey-Sclavonic, Greek, and Roumanian-the greatest possible development of their own resources. As our sketch of the "Eastern Question" shows, how-ever, it has always been complicated with and modified by the general policy of Europe. This modified by the general policy of Europe. This fact, and not the power of Turkey to retain her European possessions, originally made it a "Question;" and in this fact its perils for Europe still reside. The revolutionary spirit, to sup-press which was the aim of the European Congress which in 1815 created the "Eastern Ques-tion," has indeed completely triumphed; and the 'balance of power' which the same Con-gress so carnestly sought to preserve, has been utterly changed by the emancipation of Italy, the ejection of Austria from Germany, and the development of the power of Prussia.

But the territorial relations of Prussia with France, and the conditions of the new Germanic dualism, are still in an unsatisfactory state; and there must necessarily arise out of any grave Oriental crisis many occasions which can be converted into excuses, if any great power seeks such excuses, for bringing on in the East a war intended to produce its effects, not in the East, but in the West. While Prossia still keeps her hand on the hill of the hardly sheathed sword; while Austria still chafes under her deteat and hesitates as to her future policy; while Russia still sees a hope, however faint, of regaining the ground she lost in 1856—ground which if it be not speedily regained, is doubtless lost forever; and while Nameter III while Napoleon III., whose one grand pre-occu-pation it is to leave as few mischievous European questions as possible to trouble his son and suc-successor, still has to fortify the frontiers of France against the probable consolidation of German power, it is impossible that the political destiny of European Turkey can be seriously taken up and acted upon without the very gravest danger to the peace of the world.

The Next Message of the President to Congress.

From the Herald.

It is reported that the President has commenced preparing the materials for his message to Congress on the assembling of that body in December. Similar state papers from hum heretofore have been marked for their ability, and we have reason to expect this will be also. The state of the country, the important questions at issue and to be submitted, and the pecu. liar position he and Congress occupy towards each other, will necessarily cause much serious thought over and careful preparation of this document. The message, like all that have preceded it rom himself and former Presidents, will embrace, of course, a general view of the situation of the country, from the gravest national and international questions to matters relating to the Indians and the District of Columbia. But there are a few subjects of absorbing interest. which we believe will be placed prominently in the foreground. These will be, probably, the subject of restoration of the Southern States, that of our foreign relations, and that of the The question of Southern restoration, while it is a very important one, need not occupy much space in the message, for the President has exhausted it, so far as his duties and fund tions go. He has reconstructed the late rebellious States as far as Executive power could go, and has-with the best motives, undoubtedly-endeavored to finish the work of reconstruction by urging upon Congress the imme-diate admission of Senators and members from those States. That is all he could do; the completion of the work, as he admits, rests with Congress; for that body has the sole power of admitting or rejecting Representatives and Senators, Whether Congress has and acted wisely, or strictly in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution and theory of our Government, is a question upon which people differ, and which it is unnecessary to discuss here. It had the power in its hands, and enose to excrelse it in excluding the Southern States until certain conditions should be complied with. These conditions are embraced in the Constitutional amendment. The conflict be-tween the President and Congress on the policy of immediate restoration, or restoration only under these conditions, has unfortunately ended in a bitter political issue and much bad feeling, and, as a consequence, has tended to retaid the work of restoring the South. This issue was brought into the late elections, and the people of the North have sustained the policy of gress. We cannot go behind this verdict. The President himself should gracefully yield to the President himself should gracefully yield to the voice of the people. It is the part of statesman-ship to do so. The greatest statesmen in all countries in the present age try to direct the current rather than to stem it. How much more should this be the case under our popular and republican form of government! The Pre-sident, therefore, need say but little on the sub-ject of restoration; but he should leave it where it now rests, with Congress. Any further conflict would be useless, and might do much narm. On the subject of our foreign relations the President has a wider and an ample field. He can take a position on this subject which will secure him the support of both Congress and the people. He could not only restore his popularity, but might become more popular than ever he was. Up to the present period of our history we have scarcely had what might be properly termed a foreign policy. We have not even had a comprehensive American policy; for the Monroe doctrine, as it is called, was never well defined, admitted of great lautude of interpretation, and has been more than once violated with impunity. In fact the public men of the United States have been disposed all along to ignore or neglect questions of an junction of Washington not to form entangling alliances with foreign nations, we have been led interpretation of the other way, we have been led narm. and will be really more homogeneous and better adapted to *their* purposes without the South than with it. It must not be forgotten that this senti-ment asserted itself with a good deal of emphasis at the outbreak of the Rebellion; but it was in-stantly overborne by the Union sentiment which CO. 's, No. 432 CHESNUT Sileet. 10 17 world

policy by forming alliances with the Govern-ments of the Old World, or by meddling in their affairs. But the the time has arrived when both the dignity and interests of this great republic demand a broader and more declaive foreign policy. Our position among the great powers of the world, and particularly our position on the American continent, calls for this. It is our destiny, and we must follow it. Our role on this side the Atlantic must be something like that of the Roman Republic towards the surthat of the Roman Republic towards the sur-rounding nations, except that instead of making conquests by arms, we should control the other States of America, by our moral power and pro-tection. The incalculable and varied surplus wealth of this vast continent, both South and North, can be drawn here as the wealth of the world was attracted to ancient Rome, And such a policy would be made beneticial to the other American nations as well as to our-selves.

First of all, the President should insist upor an immediate settlement of our difficulties with European powers. Among these are the prompt payment of the Aladama claims by England. This should be followed by a definite settlement of the neutrality laws, both with Great Britain and other countries, so as to pre-vent trouble in the future. The removal of the exotic imperial establishment in Mexico, with exotic imperial establishment in Mexico, with all the French troops and every vestige of that intervention, should be demanded. The whole movement was a gross and defiant insult to the United States, and it is a standing insult as long as Maximilian and a French soldier remain. To save further shedding of the blood of citizens of that neighboring republic, as well as to re-lieve ourselves of any more trouble about the lieve ourselves of any more trouble about the matter, we should require the withdrawal of the matter, we should require the withdrawal of the so-called Emperor and the French troops without delay. In order to facilitate this our Government might make an arrangement with the Mexican republic and the Emperor Napoleon to pay the legitimate Frenchideot against Mexico, and take the sparsely settled Northern States of Mexico for the amount. Mexico would be stronger without that portion of her territory, and we should have our boundary rounded off with the ports and lines of communication we need on ports and lines of communication we need on and to the Pacific. We ought to form a closer commercial alliance with all the republics of America, and to use our influence to make and keep the whole continent republican in government. We should lay down a policy with the view of ultimately excluding all European and monarchical Governments from the soli of this continent. That is the broad and comprehen-sive foreign policy President Johnson should inaugurate. If he should do so, be would make his Administration popular and obtain a great

There is another subject of vast importance which the President ought to bring for ward in his message. We refer to our national finances. A thorough examination and revision is impera-tively demanded. The expenditures and taxes must be cut down to the lowest figure. The people have become greatly corrupted within the last few years by a reckless waste of money and extravagance. A sinking fund, to be made permanent at d held sacred, should be estab-lished to extinguish the national debt within a reasonable and given time. Above all, the Presi-dent should recommend the abolishment of that monstrous non-sycd monopoly of the national banks. It is rapidly fastening itself upon the courtry and drawing into its vortex the pro-ductive industry of the people. If suffered to exist it will absorb all the profits of labor, will control the merical on the states of the sufference. will control the markets and will prove to be the most dangerous political machine that ever existed. It should be cut up root and branch

existed. It should be cut up root and branch before it becomes too strong. These are the subjects of vital importance Mr. Johnson should take up, leaving Congress to settle the question of restoration. Never before was such an opportunity presented for a states-man to distinguish himself or to make his name famous in the pages of history. We hope to see such a message to Congress as will assure us that the President is not going to lose the oppor-tunity aflorded, and that we shall see the repubtunity afforded, and that we shall see the repub-lic rise to unexampled grandeur and prosperity under his administration.

John Morrissey for Congress. From the Nation.

John Morrissey, the purilist, and of late years a successful betting and gambling man, will probably he returned from tais city to the Fortieth Congress. He is, we believe, "a gentleman of fine talents and dignified manners," OR and has, perhaps, as large diamon is as anybody of his size and weight in either hemisphere. There are throughout the country, we believe, a good many simple people who will be shocked by his election; but these the Democratic mana-gers propose to silence by an argument which to some minds is conclusive, viz., that a cele-brated pugilist once sat in the British Parliament for a Yorkshire borough, and that George the Fourth and Charles James Fox played high. We, for our part, so far from being surprised that he should be returned to Congress, are gratly surprised that he has not been there for many years. There is nobody who knows of what manner of men the Democratic majority of this city is composed, who must not feel astonished at the decency and moderation of its leaders. They might, with a little effort, send to Congress, if they pleased, the foulest pimp or the vilest Jeremy Diddler who haunts our streets, and yet they don't. DRY GOODS. CURWEN STODDART & BRO. FRENCH MERINOES. **REDUCED PRICES.** Additional lots from the late Auction Sales. CURWEN STODDART & BROTHER, Nos. 450, 452, and 454 N. SECOND Stree 10 26 3t ABOVE WILLOW. RICH PLAID POPLINS. FROM LATE AUCTION SALES, AT REDUCED PRICES. 10.20 CURWEN STODDART & BROTHER, Nos. 450, 452, and 454 N. SECOND Street, ABOVE WILLOW. A LL-WOOL CASHMERE PLAIDS ONLY 50 CENTS. CURWEN SIODDART & BROTHER, Nos. 450, 452, and 454 N. SECOND Street. ABOVE WILLOW. 10 26 31 RICH BLACK SILKS. CURWEN STODDART & BROTHER. Nos. 450, 452, and 454 N. SECOND Street, ABOVE WILLOW. 10 26 3t DROMENADE AND OPERA CLOAKS NOW IN STOCK. Novelties in Sacques, Circulars, and Basques. CURWEN STODDART & BROTHER, Nos. 450, 452, and 454 N. SECOND Street, ABOVE WILLOW. 10 26 3t SHAKER FLANNELS. OF ALL GRADES AND PRICES.

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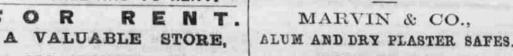
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LEGAL NOTICES.

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Congress he suggested this very one concerning representation which has become the body of the plan offered by Congress to the people. If Mr. Browning be right, should we not erase every section and article which has been added to the Constitution? But the Constitution differs from Mr. Browning and the President. It provides for its own amendment. Clearly, then, is it not irrational to oppose amending the Constitution, when the great instrument itself so Nay-is not such opposition un-conprovides? stitutional?

New Political Questions. From the Times.

We copied yesterday from the Anti-Slavery Standard of this week, a brief article which may command more attention by-and-by than it is likely to receive at the present moment.

One of the ultra extremists writes to Wendell Phillips, touching a new danger which he snuffs in the breeze. He is satisfied that the Constitutional amendment will be adopted by a portion at least of the Southern States, and that the Southern members will thereupon be admitted to their seats in Congress. This, he says, leaves the negroes of the South without the right of suffrage, and thus revives the whole programme upon which the extremists have carried on the contest. Under these circumstances he thinks

part of the game may be saved by "trading" with the South for the negro vote. This is his plan. The clause in the amendment which is-most objectionable to the South is that which excludes a class of their peop e from office; yet this may be abrogated at any time with the assent of two thords of Congress Now he proassent of two-thirds of Congress. Now, he proposes, let Congress agree to abrogate that clause whenever the South will give the right of suf-

whenever the south will give the right of suf-frage impartially to all her people. The writer of this proposition says he has good reason to believe that such a proposition would find favor, as a basis of adjustment, with the people of the South, and especially in South Carolina; and he asks Mr. Phillips to accede to it.

This is significant of the drift of radical sen-timent in one direction. It shows that negro suffrage, and not any new basis of representa-tion, nor any exclusion of Rebels from office. tion, nor any exclusion of Rebeis from office, is what the ultra men, as a body, are really seeking to secure. But the reply of Mr. Phillips is equally significant in another direc-tion. He makes no strong objection to this proposition per se, but says he is opposed to recognizing the Southern States as States at all. He does not wish the South admitted to the Union with a share of political power under the Constitution. He aims at her permanent or indefinite exclusion.

We deem it not at all improbable that the Southern States may assent to, even if they do not themselves propose, the admission of colored men to the right of suffrage upon some terms of qualideation, such, for example, as are now pre-scribed by the Constitution of the State of New York. As we have more than once pointed out, all their interests will lead them in that direct York. As we have more than once pointed out, all their interests will lead them in that direc-tion. Whenever that shall happen, we venture to predict that a party will be developed in New England opposed to the readmission of the Southern States into the Union at all. There is already a very strong conviction within those six compact and ambitious little Common-wealths, that the Union can be better governed, and will be really more homogeneous and batter and will be really more homogeneous and better adapted to their purposes without the South than with it. It must not be forgotten that this senti-

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