EDITORIAD OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

COMPLEED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING THERGRAPH.

Omlnous News from Europe-Threatened Destruction of Turkey-Prospect of a

From the Times. The cable announcement that the Turks have made a levy of 150,000 troops to suppress the Greek revolt, confirms the previous news that the insurrection of the Greek subjects of Turkey, which began in Crete, was spreading, and had broken out in several of the insular dependencies in the Archipelago, as well as in Thessaly. In fact, the whole of the Greek subjects of the Sultan, as well as the population of the Greek kingdom itself, are thoroughly excited and aroused by their sympathy with the struggling Cretans, and it seems impossible to restrain them longer from taking part in the war against

But it is not only in the Greek portions of the Torkish ampire that the spirit of revolution is rife. We have a despatch to-day that an insurrection is on the point of breaking out in the Province of Bosnia; and we learn by the latest mail from Europe that Roumania and Servia are preparing for the opportunity—which the present insurrectionary movements will give them—to shake oil the last shadow of alle-giance to the power that rules at Constanti-nople. In fact, in every part of European Turkey, and among all 1s Christian peoples, Sciavonian as well as Hellenic, there is an agitation which is too profound, and has already gone too far, and covers too much surface, to have any other ending than in such a war as will break down and smash up the tottering

Turkish Empire. It is assuredly a critical time for the Turk— the most critical he has seen during all the

centuries of his encampment in Europe.

The vital question, however, in the whole matter, is as to the action of the great European powers. England and France have long been trying to stave oil and postpone this terrible and intricate "Eastern Question," which is ever looming up ominously and ever threatening to come to a crisis, and which they declare is certain to involve Europe in a general war. The Crimes settled nothing. It was merely a war ot postponement. The issue is now assuming a form which will not much longer permit of this style of treatment.

Tukey has broken off diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Greece, and the Ambassador has been recalled from Athens. The Greeks, on their part, are actively continuing their assistance to their revolutionary brethren in Crete, and the Cretans are reported to have received from Greece large numbers of military reinforcements, with fresh supplies of arms. This rupture, which, unless prevented by outside force, will result in open hostilities between the two Governments, necessitates the interference of the great powers. Neither Greece nor Torkey have been permitted to exist for their own convenience, but for the convenience of Western Europe; and the fundamental condition of their existence is, that they maintain the peace between themselves. If they mil to do this-if they create an opportunity for Russian aggrandizement—they fail in the purpose for which one was called into existence, and the other has been protected. The next thing is for their masters to take them in

The Russian feeling, the Russian interest, and the Russian designs in regard to this Eastern question have never been and are not now in any way concealed. We learn by the cable that the Czar and the Imperial family have just given their countenance and their presence at a ball in aid of the suffering families of the insurred tionary Cretans, and this is an incident which will not be without effect upon the revolt itself, and will be construed as of the utmost significance throughout Europe. It has been the common accusation in the journals of England and France, since the beginning of the present Cretan difficulties, that they were stimulated by Russian emissaries, in the interest of Russia, and that the Czar was only waiting the opportune moment in the progress of this affair, when the condition of Turkey should be such that he could at last carry out his designs upon Con-stantinople. He will not have to wait long for a pretext, it, in addition to the Greeks, the Sclavonic population in the North has also risen in arms against their Turkish masters.

The sympathies of the Liberals of Continen-tal Europe, and also of England, are with the Greeks. Representative men like Mazzini and Victor Hugo have spoken eloquently in their behalf, and it is reported to-day that Garibaldi has carried out the purpose which he had previously announced or going to aid the people of

It is impossible yet to foresee the precise course of the Governments of England and France. Of course, should Russia prematurely take a hand in the affairs, the policy of the Governments just mentioned will very soon be apparent. They will from necessity combine to restrain the ambitious designs of the Czar, as they did twelve years ago; and both Russia and the Western Powers will attempt to form the best combinations possible with Austria and Prussia; for in the present condition of European affairs the Turkish question cannot be settled without the active interference of these two Governments. Austria has purposes of her own to accomplish on the Danube, and Prussia has ends to serve for which this would be her

best opportunity.

But if, as is likely, England and France have the first word in this matter between Turkey and Greece, they will doubtless make the most strenuous efforts to secure peace, and once more postpone the Eastern question. Upon any principle other than that of temporary expediencywhich is no principle at all-it is certainly impossible to see how these powers can take any further steps for supporting this wretched farce and wretched despotism, the Turkish Empire. They know it is doomed, and they might as well make preparations at once for the new order of things—the new arrangement of nationalities that must follow it. Bitterly opposed as they are to Russian aggrandizement, it goes altogether against the Christianity of England to support the Mahometan power over a great Christian population; and it is impossible to see how France, which, with Napoleon at its head, supports so strongly the doctrine of "united nationalities," can take part in suppressing the aspirations of the Greeks.

The English press are calling for a European conference to settle the question. The London Globe of Saturday last speaks of the matter as being now so pressing that it demands immediate attention, and advocates this idea. It may come to this, if, in the meantime, the complica-tions of the case and the conduct of Russia do not compel an appeal to arms. However it ends, we hope that at its close the world will have seen the last of Turkey in Europe.

The Powers and Policy of Congress in Reference to the South.

From the Herald. The conflict between Congress and the Administration in reference to the present status of the excluded States has resulted in a confusion of ideas and theories on the subject which can be settled only by first ascertaining the status of said States with their submission as members of a hostile confederacy to the armed forces of the United States. What, then, was the position of those insurgent States with the surrender of the last detachment of the armed forces of the so-called Confederate States? According to President Johnson, taking into the account certain issues decided by the war, they were thrown back to the legal condition in which they stood just before their rebellion; but as their local Governments existing at the close of the war had been derived from, and ha

been participants in, the Rebellion, the were void, and no new local Governments on a local basis were necessary. All this was based on the piansible theory that a State caunot withdraw from the Union, and cannot be expelled or defied its Constitutional right as a member of the Union. To admit the theory we must, of course, accept the Rebellion and its bloody battles as nothing more than a series of election riots, during which the authority of the general Government over the Rebel States was not legally interrupted or impaired.

Against this thoory, however, the facts are overwholming. The States leagued together in the Rebellion were organized under a hostile Confederate government—first at Montgomery, Alabama, and next at Richomond, Virginia—to the end of the war. Under this government the league, in its efforts by force of arms to establish an independent Union, resting upon "the corner-stone of African slavery," was recognized in the outset by the Western powers of Europe as a belligerent, entitled to belligerent rights, and was treated from the beginning of hostilities, in exchanges of prisoners, etc. as of hostilities, in exchanges of prisoners, etc., as a beiligerent by the United States. It is a fact, then, that the late war was a war between two hostile Governments for the possession of certain States, people, and territory, seized by a rebellious asurpation. We know, too, that had this Rebel usurpation proved the stronger party in the war, compelling the United States to a recognition of its independence, the Rebel States would thereafter have had nothing more to do with the Government at Washington than the British North American provinces. But he the British North American provinces. But by the superior armed forces of the United States that is, of the States still adhering to the Union—this hostile Southern Confederacy was put down; and so the States concerned, people and territory, under the decisive laws of war and the general law of nations, reverted, in fact, to the Union States in the condition of a foreign the United States in the condition of a foreign hostile people subjugated and of territories wrested from a foreign power.

This, then, at the close of the year, was the

status of the Rebel States and their people; and as war is the last resort of kings and peoples, from which there is no appeal, those States cannot now appeal from the issues of their war, as a foreign and hostile coalition, to the Supreme Court for their torfeited rights under the Constitution. stitution. They stand subject to the terms of restoration which the United States of the war may think fit to impose. The States constituting our general Government de facto and de jure during the war are still in law the United States; and the States still excluded on account of the Rebellion have no right to a voice in the matter of a Constitutional amendment, although it may be imposed upon them as a condition of restoration, or as the supreme law everywhere under the Federal jurisdiction, when railfied by three-fourths of the adhering States. We are dealing with facts and their logical results, not with theories ignoring the final decisions of the war. Next in order it follows that, as the termof Southern restoration belong to the law-making power of the Government, all that the Executive has done in the way of Southern reconstruction, if disapproved by Congress, falls to the ground, and the States concerned stand as they stood with Kirby Smith's surrender— subject to the terms which Congress may deem proper and expedient, even to the extent of the

obliveration of their State boundaries.

Such, from the decisions of the war, are the owers of Congress over this question. But the fact must not be forgotten in this connec-ion, that in absorbing a foreign State we absorb its obligations. The Rebel States, as members of the Union, each in its State capacity before the war, had incurred a heavy bill of State debts, ranging from ten to forty or fitty millions, more or less, for each State. Those debts by each of the States concerned are now held as binding upon them; and, if we act consistently with the grand issue of the war, that the Rebel States with their subjugation ceased to exist as States, we must at least assume the debts which they owed down to the hour of their secession from the United States. The rights, powers, and obligations of a conqueror go together. The question then recurs, Will it be best, with the full powers of Congress over the subject of Southern reconstruction, to assume the legal debts of the States concerned, to the extent of two or three hundred millions of money; or, partially adopting the theory of President Johnson, will it be best to insist only upon the right of Congress to prescribe the terms of reconstruction and resto-

This is a nice question, and it should at least be settled in view of the rights of honest credi-tors. It may be settled by the assumption of the State debts with the assumption of the reorganize them as Territories; but it may be settled by recognizing the States interested as "States whose functions have been impaired and suspended, but not destroyed by their Rebellion," as viewed by President Johnson. Thus, acting upon the sound conclusion that the States represented in the general Government are legally the United States, Congress has only to declare the pending Constitutional amend-ment part and parcel of the supreme law of the land, with its ratification by three-fourths of the adhering States, in order to make it binding upon the outside States, with or without their consent, just as the amendment abolishing lavery applies to Kentucky, though three or four times rejected by Kentucky. But what of the Supreme Court? Even in view of impediments from this quarter the policy here indi-cated, we think, is best; because it can be made o hold till the next Presidential election, which will establish this settlement beyond a perad-

The Latest Phase of Reconstruction. From the Tribune.

It is definitely settled and proclaimed that the late slaveholding States, Tennessee only excepted, will not, as at present organized, ratily the Constitutional amendment matured and adopted by Congress last winter. On the contrary, they will each and all reject it. Most of them, in fact, have already formally done so. In a single instance only-that of Texas-has this rejection been couched in indeporous or insulting terms. Usually, the manner has been unexceptionable, if not even courteous. The wiser and more considerate Southrons say to the North in substance;- "What you propose may seem proper and just from your point of view; we will not here dispute tais, nor deny your power in the premises; it may even be right that you should distranchise us or debar our accession to office; we do not judge you nor decide what you can or should do: but, when you ask us to exclude from office our foremost men because they were our leaders in the late struggle, our reply must be that honor and good faith preclude our assent. Disfranchise as all if you will—debar us from holding office ever-more—but do not ask us to punish our leaders for doing the work we assigned them.'

This rejection, then—or rather, this reason for such rejection—has a manly aspect that appeals to every generous mind. But whether you agree in this view or not, the fact remains. There are fourteen States that will not ratify the Amendment; and it can only be carried over their heads by ignoring them in the count, and assuming that three-fourths of the States at pre sent represented in Congress will suffice to ratify. That assumption, however, will certainly be controverted in the Supreme Court, and pro-

bably overruled. After our recent experience, this is a rock to be avoided. It is, therefore, plain that Congress must and will undertake the work of reorganizing the States now unrepresented in either House. Whether it shall regard the existing organiza-tions as temporary scaffoldings, to be used in making a more substantial, permanent structure, or shall resolve to build from the foundation, is

immaterial. The essential matter is, that they build wisely, justly, beneficently.

The first point to be regarded is the ultimate The first point to be regarded is the ultimate if not instant enfranchisement of all the Southern people. If it be deemed necessary temporarily to withhold the right of suffrage from some of those who were zealous, active Rebels, we have nothing to say. So, if it should be deemed fit that a portion of the more ignorant, vagrant, irresponsible Southerners, white or black, should be denied the same right, we have no opposed to make. But no man should be left no protest to make. But no man should be left

ATMENT AND PROPERTY AND ADMINISTRATION ADMINISTRATION ADMINISTRATION ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATION ADMINISTRATION ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATION ADMINISTRATION ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATION AN

unfranchised for any reason not grounded in his personal incapacity to vote intelligently or to vote patriotically. And whatever disabilities may be imposed should be expressly terminable within a brief period, unless the proscribed shall persist in demonstrating his unfitness to exercise the trust of a voter.

We doubt the existence of an intelligent American who does not realize that the day must come, and cannot be far distant, wherein no inhabitant or any of our States will be devied.

ne inhabitant of any of our States will be denied the right of suffrace because he is a negro, or because he was a Rebel. And ff we all know that impartial suffrace must ultimately be the rule, why should not all considerate citizens unite to hasien its adoption? Suppose we reconstruct the Union, and leave out four willings. unite to hasien its adoption? Suppose we reconstruct the Union, and leave out four millions of Rebels or four millions of negroes, deny them any voice in making, amending, or executing the laws whereby they are to be governed—who does not know that a new and flerce struggle for their enfranchisement will commence directly—that we shall have made peace only to clear the decks for a new fight? Nay, who does not know that the champions of enfranchisement—whether it be of the blacks or of the Rebels—will surely, and not remotely, triumph. And what is to compensate for the years of flerce, sterile agitation which the intervening distranchisement will have caused.

We appeal to patriots, to thoughtful men of all parties, for prompt, decisive action in the

all parties, for prompt, decisive action in the premises. We have had six years of civil strife premises. We have had six years of civil strife and convelsion, most of them destructive and bloody; let us try now to have peace. But an adjustment that leaves four millions under the ban will be hardly a truce. It is high time that every one should be incited to go to work, with full assurance that the Government will not strip him of his property, nor tamely consent to see him stripped by others. It is high time that good, men of all parties should confer and consult, in the hope that they may thus contribute to a speedy and complete pacification. And what basis for that adjustment can be found more comprehensive, more beneficent. be found more comprehensive, more beneficent, than that of universal amnesty with impartial

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