THE NEW YORK PRESS.

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

The Test Question-What Will President Johnson Do With It? From the Herald.

Where Jackson stood now doth another stand,
The favored ruler of our favored land;
With heart as pure and patriotism as great,
A second Andrew steers the ship of state.
The end approaches—that sublime event—
The people rallying to their President.

So sings the enthusiastic B. F. French, Commissioner of Public Buildings at Washington, Chief Bouquet Provider for the White House and Poet Laureate of President Johnson. His "great expectations," however, have vanished, like those of the prophet Miller, who foresaw a little too soon

The angel Gabriel with his trumpet come, The day of judgment and millennium.

The Rev. Dr. Cumming, with his three fearful books-"The Great Tribulation," "The Coming Preparation," and "The Awful Con. summation"-is much nearer the mark. The raptures of Mr. French are like those of the excited Frenchman at Niagara Falls:-"Ah ! dis is de grand spectackel! Supaarb! Magnifique! By gar! he is a come down first rate!" Moreover, as the hard-fisted democracy were very much scandalized with the gorgeous silver-plated artistocratic coach-andfour of President Van Buren, what will they say of this royal appendage of a poet laureate to President Jehnson? The action of the House of Representatives, in refusing any appropriation for this monarchical luxury. will be approved by the people. Shall the glories of the Administration be hawked about in doggerel verses like the healing virtues of "Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's sarsaparilla?" No! We must hold even President Johnson to the line and plummet of the Constitution, and to the diagnosis of old Thad. Stevens and his All-healing Reconstruction Bitters.

Upon this test, how stands "the Second Andrew" of the enraptured Mr. French? It appears that the Blairs, the whole family, from the old man down, advise the President to smother the bill in his pocket; that Mr. Seward advises him to veto it, for reasons best known to himself; and that the Democrats of Congress, taking their cue from Senator Reverdy Johnson, are urging the saving policy of signing the bill. This Maryland Senator, it appears, entertains the impression that if this bill shall finally fail, the incoming Congress will go a step further in parcelling out the lands of Southern white Rebels among the loyal negroes of that distracted section. Old Thad. Stevens is watching his chance. General Fitz John Porter, now in New York, who has no great cause for admiration of the radicals, it is also given out, has written to Senator Johnson highly approving his course in going, as a last resort, for this radical Reconstruction bill. It is rumored, too, that this sagacious Senator, apprehensive of a veto, has been counselling the President to walk lightly over the ground of his objections, lest in stepping too heavily he may spring the impeachment steel trap which lies under them. The prevailing idea seems to be that the President, within a day or two, will send in a moderate veto, so as still to give the two Houses of this Congress an opportunity to pass the bill over his head.

This course, if pursued as a compromise, may answer the purpose of securing the policy of Congress without sacrificing the Executive. In withholding the veto, if resolved upon, till too late to be reversed by this Congress, or in pocketing the bill, a challenge is involved to the incoming Congress, elected upon the precise test of hostility to Mr. Johnson's policy. Some concession, therefore, to the present Congress has become essential to his toleration under the next. If Mr. Johnson, therefore, cannot bring himself to the point of putting the repudiation of his pet policy under his own hand and seal, he can, perhaps, overcome the difficulty by a temperate veto sent up in season, and with the understanding that he wishes to avoid every appearance of any further tactics or strategy to defeat the will of a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress. We think that, with the evidence before him of a two-thirds vote for the bill in each House, his best plan is to put in his objections against it, and then the reasons of Senator Johnson for signing it. This course would not only effect at once the indefinite postponement of the impeachment proceedings of the Judiciary Committee of the House, but it would at once prepare the ruling politicians of the Rebel States for a graceful submission to the law.

Captain John Tyler was the fullest exemplifi-cation of "the happy man." He enjoyed it with a keen relish. He threw in his vetoes right and left, and laughed at the wrath of Henry Clay and the rage of John Minor Botts. He could afford to do it, because the Southern States were then all in Congress, and the Whigs had but a scant majority in either House. He had John Jones as his Sancho Panza and the great unbroken Democratic party to back him. Yet Tyler's administration was a parenthesis, Fillmore's ditto; and wherefore? Because Tyler and Fillmore were each a little too fast for another term. But if Mr. Johnson will only get that buzzing fly out of his ear, he may still do better than Tyler or Fillmore, a great deal better. Yielding to and co-operating actively with the plan of Congress, on this Southern question and the negro question, he can bring the great money question into the foreground, and upon that, in an inevitable recasting of parties and party lines, he may win the balance of power in both Houses. Then Mr. B. B. French's immortal lines will come into play; then, like Apollo, he may strike his golden lute or lyre, or his banjo, and sing-

Of all the occupants of the White House,

The climax cometh—that sublime event— The people rallying to their President.

Black Clouds in the Southern Sky. From the Times.

One reason which led many persons to tole rate the passage of the Reconstruction bill, who disapprove wholly of its principles, was apprehension that the longer the subject is left open the more severe and intolerant will be the terms imposed upon the South. This was urged last year as a reason why the South should accept the Constitutional amendment, but it was scouted by the Southern States; under the advice of their pretended political friends at the North. They were advised by the World, and other Democratic journals, not to accept the amendment, and were assured

ment could or would be proposed. We have seen the result of that experiment. The Southern States, with very great una-nimity, rejected the amendment, and new they have got that, with universal negro suffrage and partial white disfranchisement, and mili-

that neither negro suffrage nor any other

terms severer than the Constitutional amend-

tary government to back them' up, as a substitute for it. And Reverdy Johnson, a staunch Democrat and a Southern man, voted for this bill under the apprehension that, if some final action is not now taken, something still worse will be forced upon the country and the South

It may be well enough to state that these onsions are not wholly without founda tion. It is very well understood that bills are in course of preparation for early introduction into the next Congress, providing for a sweep-ing confiscation of Rebel property in the Southern States, and for its distribution among the entranchised slaves, for paying claims of loyal men for property destroyed during the war, and for giv.ag farms to Northern soldiers who will settle in the South. Mr. Stevens has declared his purpose, "God willing and he ' to press such a measure as this upon living, Congress; and General Banks, in debate, declared himself in favor of such distribution of Southern farms among Northern soldiers as the only effectual mode of reconstructing Southern society. It may safely be assumed that the whole body of radicals in Congress go for such a measure; and it is confiexpected that the rejection by the South of the new terms now proposed will reate a fresh feeling of resentment which will give it popularity and strength throughout The measure "self has element

of attraction for many clr r.es, and is expected to secure the support of the soldiers in a body. It may be supposed that the Supreme Court will present a final barrier against the ultimate success of such a project. But it must be remembered that four members of that Court out of nine would now, beyond all doubt endorse such a measure; and that of the five who would oppose it, one if not two will probably never again sit on the bench in consequence of extreme age and illness. A law was passed, moreover, at the last session, which declares that in case of the death of a Supreme Court Judge, the vacancy shall not be filled until the whole number of Judges shall have been reduced by death or otherwise to seven. The chances are, therefore, that within the next year the Supreme Court of the United States will be as thoroughly in the hands of the radicals as Congress is.

Senator Johnson's misgivings, therefore, would seem to have a very substantial foundation in the probabilities of the future.

The Expected Veto.

From the Tribune. Washington advices concur in anticipating a veto of the Reconstruction bill. It is expected to be sent in to-morrow.

We can regard this veto no otherwise than as a very grave mistake and a national misfortune; and hopeless as may be the task, we cannot refrain from showing why this bill should not be vetoed.

Let us begin by admitting that the terms of reconstruction proposed in the bill are harsher than we wish they were—as they are harsher than they would have been had not the Democratic minority of the House chosen to follow the lead of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. They knew-for he frankly avowed-that his object was to make the bill harsher; yet they saw fit to unite with a minority of the Republicans in voting down the Blaine-Sherman proposition, after it had passed the Senate by 29 to 10every Republican Senator voting for it. The Democrats so voted as to compel the majority of the Republicans to accept such a plan of reconstruction as was satisfactory to Mr. Stevens. or none at all. The fact that a majority of the Republicans are at heart with Blaine and Sherman, and not with Stevens, is one to be regarded in acting on the main question.

As to the military provisions of the bill now before the President, it must be considered that they amount in substance to this-The President is clothed with power to maintain order and protect loyal men from outrage and murder in the South. The President is to select the commandants of the several districts; he is to instruct them in their duties; he is to supervise their official actions, and to revise their judgments. What chance is there of wrong and oppression?

Are not these provisions needed? Read Mr. Pike's report on the murder of the three Union soldiers on the Savannah river, the escape of these murderers from justice through a writ of habeas corpus issued by Judge Hall, of Delaware, and the general satisfaction with which their return was greeted by their ex-Rebel neighbors. Is it possible that any man who calls himself a Unionist will say that the punishment of such murders can safely or should be left to the local authorities of the South? And, if not, who can say that the military provisions of the Reconstruction bill are unneeded

or too stringent? Again: No one will contend that no negroes have been killed since the surrender of the Rebel armies. We know that negroes have here killed whites, and have been punished therefor, as was right. We know that whites have killed many negroes, and have not been punished. Weeks ago, we asked any one to point us to a single instance wherein the ex-Rebel slayer of a negro had been arrested, tried, convicted, and punished by the local authorities at the South. The answer is blank silence. The fact is virtually conceded that the ex-Rebel whites at the South will not-at all events, do not—punish the assassins of Union soldiers or of negroes,

Need we argue that those assassins must and will be punished, even though it should be necessary to this end that judges should be hurled from the bench and consigned to the dungeon? If there is anything on which the loyal heart of the country is fixed, it is that there shall be law and order at the South, and that the Rebel assassins of loyal men shall be punished. And, if you do not object to this. why object to the military features of the Reconstruction bill? They are essentially provisional-transitory-transitional. Who

need dread their operation? "There's none ever feared that the truth should

But they whom the truth would indict," Now as to Reconstruction:-Will those who are advising the President to veto this bill tell him what is to be gained by "the South" from such a veto? We ask a practical question, and desire a practical answer. If this were the beginning of a controversy, it might be well to veto by way of taking an appeal from Congress to the people. But the appeal has been taken; it was fairly, boldly made by the President a year ago, and the verdict is overwhelmingly against him. It cannot be mistaken, nor argued down. The people have decided that the terms of reconstruction shall be settled by their representatives in Congress. If it was right to make the appeal, how can it be wrong

to abide the decision ! The XLth Congress is already chosen-in so far at least, that its political character is fully decided. It is notorious that the next Congress will be quite as radical as that which closes with this week. Evidently, nothing is to be gained for "the South" by delay.

Look, now, at the fifth and sixth sections of the bill, and note that they recognize and legalize the existing State Governments at the South—recognize them, indeed, as "provi-ional only;" but who ever contended that they

were more? We claim that this act legalizes all that has been or may be done by those governments, except that which Congress may

expressly overrule. Is this nothing As for the residue of these sections, it is almost wholly promissory or permissive in its character—that is, it authorizes "the South" to reconstruct herself in a certain way, but mmands nothing, compels nothing. If "the South" does not choose to accept the proffered conditions, she declines them, and remains Why deny her a chance to say whether she will or will not be so recon structed?

The exclusions and disfranchisements stipulated are, in the nature of things, temporary. They are sure to be remitted whenever we shall have fully returned to order and peace. And you cannot destroy the natural weight and influence of able and wise men by prescribing that they shall neither vote or hold You are quite likely to increase them. A law prescribing that an ounce shall outweigh

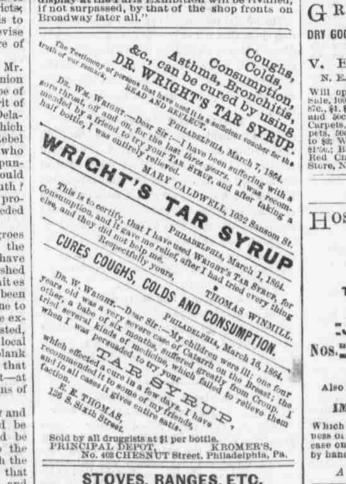
a pound would not avail. Profoundly believing that the President's approval of this bill would be a great step towards the restoration of our country to har mony and true peace, we cannot quite forego the hope that he will sign it. And we will thank any one who has his ear to remind him

When Mr. Douglas had canvassed Illinois against Lincoln in 1858, and won his re-election as United States Sonator, he came on to Washington, and, like a good Democrat, called on the head of his party, President Buchanan. After mutual greetings had passed, the President was the first to broach the all-absorbing topic: - "Mr. Douglas, what can we do with this distracting Kansas-Lecompton question?" "Why, Mr. President," responded the Little Giant, "I can imagine that we should have some trouble with that matter up at the Capitol; but I don't see why you should have any. For the Constitution says, 'Congress shall make all needful regulations respecting the Territories;' but it says

nothing about the President's making any.' Surely, when the people have decided a matter on appeal, and have affirmed the judgment of Congress, the President may ustly feel discharged from further responsi

-The New York Herald, of yesterday, speaking of the great Paris Exposition of 1867, says:-

"To an exhibition so unique as this is intended to be, every nation should contribute articles really interesting and instructive. The objects saually displayed at international affairs of this kind may be seen to equal advantage in store windows, galleries of art, and machine shops. Something more characteristic ought to be selected. Let John Bull send over an Irish cabin complete, with its walls of whitewashed clay, its scanty, smoky peat fire, and a few peasants dying of slow starvation. Prussia is good for a fine collection of needle-guns. Austria could create a sensation by exhibiting her plans for the future. Italy should contribute a model of Venice. As to the United States, about whose department we are especially concerned, there is an embarransment of curiosities. The comfortable home of an emigrant, who fled from poverty in the Old World to find plenty in the New, would not be devoid of interest. A picture of a President who refuses to coincide with the popular will, or a tableau of Congress during an exciting debate, when the word 'liar' is freely used, would give Europeans a fine idea of the beauties of repub-lican government. There is not room in Paris for the Mammoth Cave, and Niagara Falls could not be sufely transported. could not be safely transported across the ocean; but a few caged specimens of the untamed Southerner, subjugated but not conquered, beaten during the Rebellion, but still furious for State rights, and eloquent over State wrongs, would do as well to convince the world of the grandeur of our institutions. No foreign museum contains anything or remerting foreign museum contains anything so remark-able as Secretary McCulloch's views on finance; Dr. Cheever's theory that the negroes all go to Heaven and the whites to Hades; Mr. Greeley's plan for the business management of a news paper, or Congressman Raymond's formula for eing upon both sides of the question at the same time. Napoleon is doing wonders for his exhibition in the way of building and orna-mentation; but unless there is some such deviation from the usual routine as we propose, the display at the Paris Exhibition will be rivalled, if not surpassed, by that of the shop fronts on Broadway fater all."



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