THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1867.

THE NEW YORK PRESS. EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS. UPOD CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED RVERY DAT FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Bowling for the Constitution, From the Berald.

Among the howling dervishes of the Copperhead Democracy who can do the loudest and longest howling for the Constitution are two of the members from this city in the present Congress-James Brooks and Fernando Wood. On Tuesday last, just before the passage of the new Reconstruction bill, the howling of Brooks for the Constitution was painful to hear, and the howling of Wood was equally dismal. The howl of the one was that of a hungry Bohemian whose occupation is gone, and the howl of the other was that of the political huckster who could find no ten thonsand dollar job in the bill before the House. At the conclusion of all this melancholy, senseless, and useless howling, "Old Thad. Stevens," in closing up the debate, in a plain statement of the actual political situation of the South and of the absolute and exclusive powers of Congress over the subjugated Rebel States, made short and decisive work of the constitutional twaddle of our two howling dervishes, and the bill was passed-yeas, 119; nays, 31.

According to the historian Brooks, this bill upsets the Bill of Rights, the old English barons and their Magna Charta, the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights, and every natural and national law, in addition to the Constitution. It is worse, he protested, than the law of conquest applied by the Tartars to China; it has no parallel "except in the inhu-man conduct of the Duke of Alva;" it out-Herods the Czar of Russia and the Emperor of Austria, and lacks the wisdom of the negro governments of Hayti and Liberia. Master Brooks knew not what the President of the United States would do; but, said Master B., "were I in his position I know what I would do before sending this bill back to Congress. I would send Sheridan to Massachusetts and Maine, and Sickles to Walrussia, to teach the Esquimaux. Why should Mr. Johnson be afraid of impeachment? Let them impeach." We fear, however, that this appealing from Felix to Cæsar will not be heard by the "man at the other end of the avenue."

The indignant howling for the Constitution by the representative of the New York Express was appropriately followed by the pathetic constitutional howl of the representative of the old exploded Copperhead Daily News; but it must be confessed that Fernando Wood, in this effort as a humanitarian, is only surpassed by Greeley in his abounding charity for Jeff. Davis. But what does all this constitutional howling signify? It is "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Messrs. Brooks and Wood, like old Rip Van Winkle waking up from his long sleep, are seven years behind time. Their pleadings and howlings for the Constitution might have been to some purpose seven years ago, if administered in the right direction. But within this interval of seven years we have had a tremendous conflict with a hostile confederacy of rebellious States, which, repudiating the Constitution, and setting themselves up as an independent power, undertook, by force of arms, to esta-blish a separate government. They were sub-dued, and thus became subject to the laws of war and the will of the conqueror. Hence, their system of African slavery, the cornerstone of their hostile confederacy, has been abolished, and thus, in all other respects, they have fallen absolutely under the discretion of

Congress and the victorious loyal States. These essential historical facts 'are overof ability and experience available for the new State Governmenta is dwelt upon by the General, who urges a more liberal amousty as, in his judgment, "essential to the ano-cess of the Congressional plan of recommuni-tion." tion."

These views are not original with General Sickles, but his hearty adoption of them adds immensely to the force of an argument with which only Rebels have been supposed to sympathize. In the naked, unqualified form in which it has been advocated by Mr. Greeley. it is inadmissible. There is a certain suphony in the proposition "iniversal suffrage and universal amnesty," and a certain plausibility which may satisfy those who would reduce everything to the standard of barter. But since negro suffrage has been enacted as a right as well as a measure of expediency, there would be neither justice nor wisdom in a dicker that would at once render the authors and directors of the Rebellion eligible for place and power. General Sickles does not propose this. But he does propose, with evident pro-priety, that the wholesale disabilities which in me quarters are demanded, shall be discountenanced, and that, instead, a liberal policy shall be adopted, looking to the future usefulness of a large class who are at present

debarred from the public service. As a matter of safety, General Sickles says truly that the enfranchisement of the freedmen is sufficient. Apart from the question of right, which remains debatable, the negro vote has been created as a means of securing the lasting predominance of the loyal element in the South. The assumption is that this vote will be on the Union side, and as a gene-ral thing it is doubtless correct. With peace and unity thus secured, what necessity can there be for imposing disabilities upon men whose future political life depends wholly upon the confidence of the Union masses? Reconstruction is now possible only on the safe basis laid down by Congress; why insist upon penalties not essential to the public weal, and which at the same time deprive the States of the services of individuals the best qualified to promote their welfare ? A loyal constituency may well be intrusted with the selection of its servants; and if it choose men who were once disloyal, may it not be held to be the most proper judge of its own interests ?

The suggestion of General Sickles invests these considerations with a practical importance which has hitherto not been appreciated. So long as the question was abstract in its nature-so long as it was argued on its general merits, irrespective of the circumstances of the South, it possessed comparatively little weight. Its aspect is materially altered by the testimony of the Military Commander of North and South Carolina. His competency as a witness cannot be assailed. The most rigid of the faithfal will not impugn his fidelity to the radical idea of reconstruction. We have deemed it our duty more than once to criticize some acts of his administration as needlessly severe and vexatious, but the fact that his course has been in any respect susceptible of this interpretation, adds significance to his present appeal. It is an appeal for the adoption of a more conciliatory policy towards parties concerned in the Rebellion, preferred by an officer whose errors have been on the side of stringency, and who has had the best possible opportunities of judging as well as to the strength and trustworthiness of the loyal vote as to the dispesition of those in whose behalf he recommends "a more liberal amnesty."

It is scarcely possible that any legislation will be attempted this session in the direction indicated by General Sickles. We should be glad to see something of the kind engrafted upon one or the other of the supplementary bills now before Congress, not because it is essential to the completion of the reconstruction process, but because it would exert a happy influence upon the Southern people. Meanwhile, under the law as it is, and as it will be when amended, a wide discretion is left to the district commanders, which, under General Grant's instructions, may be used most advantageously. True, this discretionary authority does not apply to the disabilities which exist in the shape of exclusion from office, but it may liberalize and soften the disfranchising conditions to an extent that would be extremely desirable. Harsh as the policy of Congress is, we be-lieve that it is not intended to entail prolonged punishment, still less prolonged injustice. Senator Wilson's remark, the other day, was but a repetition of assurances given last sesrion, while the existing law was under debate. The present disfranchisement, he said in substance, will be maintained only until reconstruction shall have been satisfactorily accomplished. That finished, the penalty now enforced will be remitted. Mr. Sherman and other Republicans equally pronounced in their views have held similar language. We cherish the hope, therefore, that a policy more gene-rous than the strict letter of the law is by no means remote, if the Southern people in the interior comply with the terms laid down, and so justify the confidence which alone can cement a restored Union.

parts of the same system, each being as essential to the main design as are both blades of a pair of shears to enable either to do its work. It is diagraceful that party aims should govern the policy of Congress on so momentous a subject; but the end being once decided upon, there is no inconsistency in the double means

General Sickles makes another objection to the system of disfranchisement, which is, in every view, perfectly well taken and solid. The disfranchising clauses will place the Gov-ernments of the Southern States in liands totally incompetent to administer them. He gives as a reason why he has displaced none of the State officers in his district, that the restriction placed by Congress upon filling places from the disfranchised classes leaves him no materials for selection capable of discharging the duties. This statement, coming from a source which Republicans have no rea son to impeach, ought to arrest their attention How are the State Governments to be adminis tered after the reorganization, with the dia-franchised classes excluded i The present State officers will then be superseded and go out, as a matter of course. But if General Sickles cannot find men among those not disfranchised fit to fill occasional vacancies, how is a whole State Government, with its innumerable local offices, to be manned and equipped by popular election ? A general in command feels responsible for the success of his appointees, and hesitates to fill public positions with men incapable of performing their duties. But a mass of ignorant negroes. tickled with the novelty of voting, will feel no such responsibility or hesitation. Any demagogue bold and pushing enough to get a caucus nomination is sure to command their votes. Nor can they be blamed for making a bad choice, when the declared ineligibility of competent men takes away all possibility of making a good one. They may as well vote for negroes as for whites, when they are forbidden to vote for any white men whose qualifications command their respect. The conse-quence will be, that at the most important crisis in public affairs the most ignorant and incapable men in the community will be charged with their management.

That the State offices will be mostly filled by negroes is a necessary consequence of the policy of Congress. A premium is put on in-capacity by rendering it alone eligible to office. The respect which the negroes should naturally feel for superior abilities being thus de-stroyed by degrading all men of ability and experience into political outcasts, the contests for offices will be mere sordid scrambles of incompetent men; and where all respect for abilities is thus abolished by law, the negroes will scout the idea that their modesty should restrain them from seeking public positions for themselves. Forming an overwhelming majority of the party with which they act, they will possess the power and claim the right to elect men of their color to every office. Besides the strong attractions which such places have for white men, they will be doubly prized by the negroes, first as removing the badge of inferiority stamped upon them by their color, and secondly because the emoluments of office will be tempting advances upon the wages they can earn in any private employment.

The necessary result of the negro régime in the South to which the policy of Congress in-evitably tends is official insolence and white insubordination, leading through countless broils to universal anarchy. If Congress persists in its absurd reconstruction policy, it can never safely withdraw its armies. Bad as military government is, it would be an elysium in comparison with the intolerable insolence of negro rule over the subject whites. The white population, exasperated to madness by such degradation, would rise against the negro Governments and demolish them the moment external military pressure was withdrawn. They outnumber the negroes almost everywhere, and although disfranchisement may reduce them to a minority at the ballotbox, it leaves them a majority for a fight. The reconstructed Governments, with their negro officers, will not stand a month without military support. Congressional reconstruction, instead of ending our troubles, will introduce the final act of a terrible tragedy, with the extermination of one race or the other for its catastrophe.

exhibition at this time has not been expressly declared; but it is in perfect accordance with the usual policy of the Church of Rome to appeal to the imagination through the medium of the senses. It presented the influence and power of the Church in a visible, spectacular form. More than any arguments addressed to the understanding, more than all the cold deductions of logic, more than the most impressive suggestions of passionless and serene wisdom, was that holiday pageant adapted to gain possession of the hearts of the multitude. The impressible Italian nature is roused to its highest possibilities in such an atmosphere; while less ardent temperaments are fired by example and sympathy. The Roman Church has always understood the secret of bringing this element of human nature to bear on the promotion of its interests. It looks upon men and women not as beings of pure contemplation, not as endowed by their Creator with exclusively spiritual attributes, not indeed as capable of high intellectual advancement; but rather as children of a larger growth, who are to be tempted, as if by sweetmeats, and cakes, and fine clothes, to the pursuit of virtue and the attainment of salvation.

power of association. If it makes provision for the indulgence of ascetic tendencies, and the gratification of a taste for solitary life, it presents innumerable points of contact for persons of a contrary disposition. It finds an effective agency in the aggregate of numbers. A crowd assembled in the midst of consummate architectural splendors, in an atmosphere perfumed with the odors of incense and soothed with the strains of the grand ecclesiastical music of the middle ages, presents all the conditions for a profound religious influence. It is not necessary to believe that this is mere illusion of the imagination and the senses. The spiritual truth, of which every form of religious worship is to a greater or less degree the symbol, is brought out of the sphere of abstraction, held in solution, so to speak, and presented in a state to be assimilated by the individual.

exhibitions at Rome as any proof of the in-creasing power of the Church over the most advanced life of the community. The best minds at the present day which bow at the Catholic altar utter an inward protest against the pretensions of the Pope and the dogmas of the creed. Many who are more faithful than Mazzini to the visible allegiance to its au-thority, agree with him in the opinion that death has seized upon its vitals, and that a worthier manifestation of truth is in reserve

SUMMER RESORTS.



looked by all these howlers for the Constitution in discussing this subject of reconstruc-tion, from Brooks and Wood down to the Charleston Mercury. With them the Rebellion was nothing more than a constitutional election riot, or series of riots, running through a period of four years, and all that has been done since in the way of pains and penalties has been unconstitutional and in violation, too, of King John's compact with those old English barons.

In the progress of events, nevertheless, we dare say that some even of these old fossil politicians and constitutional howlers will be brought to their senses. They have yet to learn, however, that the Constitution itself is not what it was seven years ago, but that, in the single amendment abolishing slavery, we have accomplished in the Constitution a greater revolution than was effected from fifty years of civil wars in Rome, from Sylla to Augustus, or in fifty years of the civil wars of England, beginning with Charles the First and ending with William of Orange. Yes, in this single amendment we have a greater revolution in the cause of human progress and human rights than has been accomplished in France from that terrible convulsion of 1789 down to this day, and there are still other amendments soon to become part of our supreme law of the land. How absurd, then, is this Copperhead howling over the Constitution of 1860, when the Constitution of 1867 has taken its place, tearing out the State rights notions of Calhoun and the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court of 1856 by the roots !

The war has settled the question. Congress has full authority to reconstruct the conquered Rebel States according to the Constitution, not as it was, but as it is. This will be done, and through these Southern military provisional governments. The ordeal is established, and the States concerned must pass through it. All things considered, too, we are getting on very well. President Johnson has blundered sadly, and persists in his blunders. Northern Copperhead and Southern fire-eating howlers for the Constitution have created some trouble; radical fanatics have stood in the way as stumbling-blocks, and mock heroic philanthropists, such as Greeley and Gerrit Smith. in behalf of Jeff. Davis, have made "confusion worse confounded;" but still the good work of reconstruction goes on. Jeff. Davis is out of the way on straw bail, under the protection of the New Dominion of Canada, and if Greeley, Gerrit Smith, and all these Copperhead howlers for the Constitution were with the self-exiled President of the so-called Confederate States, the good work would go on a great deal faster.

A Generous Policy the One Thing Needful From the Times.

General Sickles, in his letter to Senator Trumbull, enunciates an opinion which should not be overlooked in the deliberations of Congress. Recognizing the enfranchisement of the negroes as "the true conservative guarantee against reaction" at the South, he deprecates as unnecessary any sweeping penalty in the shape of white disfranchisement. "The people," he remarks, "can surely be intrusted to judge and select from those who took part in the Rebellion the men at once qualified and sincers in their adhesion to the new order of

The Reconstruction Blunder. From the World.

General Sickles, in his letter to Senator Trumbull, objects to the Reconstruction laws now in force that they form parts of different and incongruous systems. The disfranchising provisions, he says, belong to the constitutional amendment scheme which was first proposed as the basis of restoration, the object of the disfranchisement being to prevent the Rebel element getting the ascendancy in the State Governments. But in the new scheme proposed in the Reconstruction acts, General Sickles says, the same object was sought to be accomplished by an entirely different method, namely, by the enfranchisement of the blacks to overbalance the disloyal vote. He therefore thinks that in logic, though not in law, these two systems mutually exclude each other, and that the last ought in consistency to supersede and displace the first. This reasoning is plausible in itself, but it overlooks the utterly partisan standpoint from which the subject is viewed by Congress.

The sole purpose of Congress has been from the first, and is, to keep the States out until they can be relied on to act with the Republi-can water to the the terms and the terms can party. In this view, the two systems are not incompatible, but are necessary complements of each other. The exclusion of white voters by the Constitutional Amendment was insufficient to secure a Republican majority, the excluded classes forming but a minority of the white citizens. On the other hand, the enfranchisement of the negroes, taken alone, would not suffice, since in all the States but two the negroes are a minority of the population. To insure Republican majorities it is deemed necessary not only to enfranchise all the negroes, but to disfranchise a sufficient number of the whites to bring the votes of the two races so near to an equality that the office-seeking whites and their friends, by uniting with the negroes, will turn the scale in favor of the Republican party. General Sickles is therefore mistaken in considering the two

The Boman Pageant.

From the Independent.

The Eternal City has recently been the scene of one of those gorgeous and imposing ceremonial displays with which the Church of Rome delights to captivate the senses of the multitude. The martyrdom of St. Peter, just eighteen centuries ago, and the canonization of twenty-five servants of the Church who laid down their lives in Japan for the sake of their religion, furnished the occasion for the glittering pageant. Previous to the grand exhibition of religious pomp beneath the dome of St-Peter's, a public consistory was held by the Holy Father, at which were gathered, in their pontifical robes, more than four hundred Roman Catholic bishops, coming from every part of the world. The Pope addressed the assembled clergy in a formal allocution. Their presence was interpreted as a testimony to their zeal and devotedness in the cause of the Church. It was held up to the faithful as an illustration of their fidelity to the Holy See, and as an example to the enemies of Rome of the universal power which is still exercised by the chair of St. Peter.

The Roman Catholic clergy of this country were largely represented on the occasion. They came, like the wise men of the East to Bethlehem, with costly gifts in their hands. A quarter of a million of dollars in gold coin, and a silver model of one of the famous American yachts, which was the contribution of the faithful in the United States, placed his Holiness in excellent good humor, and drew from his lips a specimen of the pleasantries with which reverend ecclesiastics are wont to edify their docile listeners. This diversion of the hard earnings of American labor from the cause of the Fenians to the objects of the Church was doubtless regarded as an omen of happy import. The Pope spoke of the devo-tion and generosity of his American children in terms of gracious approval, and was profuse in compliments to all who represented the interests of this country.

But the grand object of attraction was on a subsequent day, when all the resources of St. Peter's were combined to give dramatic effect to the canonization of the martyrs. The first scene was the illumination of the whole city on the previous evening, bathing the towers and steeples of Rome as in a sea of liquid fire. With the earliest rays of the morning sun, a procession of pre-lates, priests, monks, and soldiers passed in shining apparel and solemn array from the Vatican to St. Peter's, while the dazzled multitude that swarmed in the streets and on the house-tops rent the air with their acclamations. The Pope was borne in triumph on his jewelled throne by the shoulders of men. The interior of St. Peter's presented a spectacle of bewildering grandeur. Every foot of space in that vast area was occupied by The necessity of making residents schemes as incongruous. They are necessary a promiso nous crowd of all nations and

101 GOLDSMITH'S HALL, LIBRARY Street