# THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1368.

# SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

#### The Southern States-Radical Reconstruction on Its Last Legs. From the N. Y. Herald.

Our readers will have noticed that in most of the speeches of prominent Southern leaders, recently delivered, the colored voter has formed a theme of more than mere passing interest. To-day we add to the number extracts from a speech delivered by a distinguished representative of "Young South," General James B. Gordon, of Georgia, and from a letter on the subject written upon the more mature judgment of Mr. James B. Campbell, of South Carolina. These appeals and warnings cannot be without their effect upon the colored population of the South, and that they are destined to produce a revolution in the minds of the colored voters in favor of their former masters seems to be as clear as the fact that the influence of the Northern adventurers over the freedmen is fast waning. There is nothing at all extraordinary in this. The untutored negroes have discovered that the promises of their newly found Northern friends are shams and delusions, and their natural instinct leads them to distrust all who have once deceived them. In no instance have the pledges of their radical allies been carried out. At the outset they promised them forty acres of land and a pair of mules if they would vote the radical ticket. They obeyed instructions, but have never seen either land or mules. They were assured that they should possess the confiscated houses and lands of the Rebel leaders. This the radicals failed to carry out from fear of the indignation the atrocity of the act would create throughout the North. They were told that they should hold seats in Congress, in the State Legislatures, and in the City Conneils, and in all respects enjoy every civil right and prerogative possessed by the white man. In all these promises they have been deceived and cheated. They have neither lands nor mules; they possess no confiscated plantations; they hold no seats in Congress, and only a few days ago a batch of their colored brethren were expelled from a Southern Legislature by the vote of nearly every white radical in it. The sensible portion of the Southern colored population begin to realize that those Northern adventurers who have located among them have no lands to give; while on the other hand they see that their late masters have and that those masters are disposed to treat them with kindness and with a proper consideration of their newly enfranchised condition. Hence it is no wonder that the Southern colored voter is in a political position which, with very litle adroitness, can be turned to the advantage of their old masters, leaving the treacherous carpet-baggers to their fate.

Now, then, comes the opportunity of the Southern leaders. With the assistance of the votes of the colored population they can secure ascendancy in nearly every one of the Southern States, and that accomplished down goes radical reconstruction of its own volition, and up goes the era of Southern restoration. Therefore is it that leaders like Wade Hampton, Forrest, Toombs, Henry A. Wise, A. H. Stephens, General Gordon, Judge Campbell, and hundreds of others distinguished for their political influence in the South, are palavering with the negro voter, joining with him in barbecues, sitting on the same platform with him, and showing him as clearly as noonday on which side his bread is buttered.

The Southern political leaders are most acute and audacious fellows. They are the greatest politicians that ever existed. Even their generals, headed by Robert E. Lee and Beauregard, seem to be as skillful and prudent in the politicians' closet as they were brave and cool on the field of battle. This was seen in Rosecrans' interview with them at White Sulphur Springs. Take them all together, whether we regard them while conducting the Government for more than half a century, or observe them in the work of breaking up the Union, or in carrying on a rebellion upon a most gigantic scale, in building great war ships in foreign ports, in bringing foreign capitalists to their aid, in obliging foreign courts to give them a quasi recognition, in humbugging old European diplomats, or whether we look at them after the war is over proclaiming themselves the truest, purest, most uncontaminated of Union men, lauding the Constitution as if they had never raised a finger to disturb it, and professing to be better lovers of republican institutions and better friends of human freedom than those who fought to defend the one and procure the other, we see them the same bold, impulsive, plucky, vehement, presumptuous, and auda cious political leaders. In sagacity and cunning they out Machiavelli Machiavelli. They play the game of the astute and subtle old Italian statesman better than he could himself, and in a way, indeed, to charm the very bones of that ancient political philosopher out of their tomb. The bitter feuds in Italy excited by Machiavelli, the arraying of one side against another, the sharp corners he turned in his diplomacy, his intrigues, combinations and machinations, afford no parallel to the keenness, energy, and intensity of the Southern political philosophers of our day. They do things ou a grander scale. They can keep up continual feuds among their opponents; they can attempt to break down a government one day which they swear the next they are the only saviours of; they can arraign for almost crimes the leader of the armies that conquered them; they can cajole or coerce a great political party into nominating a candidate of their own selection for the Presidency; they can win to their side the support of three million human beings whom they have held in bondage for centuries; in short, they can perform deeds which, compared with those of the old Roman or Italian politicians, is like contrasting the tremendous volcanic eruptions and earthquakes of the American Continent to the popgun explosions of the volcances of Europe. These are the political leaders who in 1872, no matter what they may accomplish in the meantime, will restore the entence corduale of the great Democratic party, smash up the Republican party, elect Frank Blair or Pendieton to the Presidency and pave the way for a century's permanent ascendancy in the Government of the United States.

fairly embarked on an ebb tide, to be drifted | minority, if the majority shall repudiate the out to a sea that has no shore. Iowa, Nebraska, and West Virginia are likewise to hold their elections, the former ou the same day with the three States named, and the other two later. In all of these there

have been marked Democratic gains, so much so as to warrant a hope of securing the electoral votes of West Virginia and Nebraska. As for the important States mentioned, whose votes will practically decide the general issue, Pennsylvania showed a Democratic gain last year of over twenty thousand votes, and a clear majority of the same size this year is among the probabilities. The Democracy are working vigorously, and concentrating their forces for a repulse and rout of the faction which has played false to all its professions and to the general trust. Ohio made a Democratic gain in its last election of fifty-seven thousand, choosing a Democratic Legislature and sending a staunch Union man to the Senate in place of revolutionary Ban. Wade. Indiana gained to the Democrats six thousand in her last election, and promises by every popular token to roll up immense gains for Mr. Hendricks, who is conducting so energetic a campaign. The latest advices from that State are very positive in favor of a complete Democratic vic

tory on the 13th of October. The contest thus hinges on the three States mentioned, two of which have already given Democratic majorities, and the third very large Democratic gains. It is the true policy of the Democrats to concentrate their exertions in this field. There is where the thick of the fight is to come. Abler speeches than those already addressed to the people on the issues of the hour, by Messrs. Hendricks and Pendleton, no political campaign presents. What it mostly concerns the people to discuss, that they hear thoroughly discussed. It is only the living interests of the country-the salvation of free government, the restoration of fraternal feeling, the revival of industry and prosperity, the lightening of debt and taxes, and the perpetual right of the people to self-government-it is these living interests alone that are presented

The solemnity of this judgment-hour of our institutions would be mocked by appeals for a continuance of mere party supremacy. The discussions before the people involve the common safety and happiness No worn-out party phrases count for anything now. The Democratic speakers address themselves to the great questions of the hour; and they force home on the popular mind the conviction that a democratic government on this continent is not possible under a longer lease of radical power.

The contest is going on between directly opposite conceptions of government. If the Democracy prevail, the perpetaity of our republican system is secured. If they fail, the struggle afterwards will be simply to see how much may be saved from the general wreck. They have every possible stimulus for exertions such as patriots are rarely summoned to make.

### Shall the Majority Rule? From the N. Y. World.

We indorse so much of the following paragraph from a long article in the Times, as sets forth the potency of public opinion: -

"For, in spite of the eismor and confesion that always accompany a political canvass the will of the people, when once declared, always challenges and commands respect. All parties, all sections, all in crest, and all classes respect that is the network tengon of commands respect all Sections, all increst, and all classes respect it. It is the natural tendency of popular senti-ment to defer to and obey it. The history of the nation affords only one instance of an effort to disregard and resist it—ani the r-sult of that was so disastrous, so ut ery fatal to those by whom it was made—that there is out little danger of its being renewed, during the present generation at all events."

What the Times refers to as an exception rather exemplifies the rule. The submission of the South to the will of the people as declared in the Presidential election of 1860. was, in one aspect, too absolute and complete.

negro reconstruction policy by electing Sey-mour and Blair. Clearly, the predicted troubles can never take place, unless the beaten party refuses to be bound by the popular ver-

A Chivalrous Censor. From the N. Y. Times.

The Charleston Mercury shares the demoralization which just now seems chronic among Democratic journals. It misrepresents the Times, thus:-

"The New York Times, of the 8th Instant comes out as a revolutionist. Its argument is very simple—as simple as that of Nicnolas I. The acts of Congress are like the ukase of the The acts of Congress are like the ukase of the Emperor of the Russias, or like the ukase of the Modes and Persians, that altereth not. There-fore, be it known to all ye vassals of the Em-pire that the Reconstruction acts are, and alter hol; that all acts of subsequent Congresses—all declarations or acts to ret aside the same, are ford war.' Now we have only a little to say. Here are men deliberately threatening war against the Government of the United Sintes and the Constitution of the United Sintes. Whit is the covernment of the United Sintes. Whit is the covernment of the Recou-tast thrown up all pretension to legality or constitutionality in the claims of the Recou-studion sets. It boldly admits their after unconstitutionality. And on the back of these demostors, it how prodaims for revolution to arry out their lawless designs." It is not necessary for us to say that the

It is not necessary for us to say that the Mercury grossly and deliberately misstates our position. Neither on the 8th inst., nor at any other time, have we said anything which implies the unchangeableness of the Reconstruction acts, or the unwillingness of the Republican party to abide by the legal results of the plan it inaugurated.

This, however, we have said-that the only method of effecting change which the loyal sentiment of the country will allow, is that which Federal or local law prescribes. In seven of the Southern States the Reconstruction acts have been superseded by the system they were intended to establish. The new constitutions and the National Constitution, as amended by the fourteenth addition, define the methods and conditions of change; and these, even subsequent Congresses must respect. The repeal of the Reconstruction acts to-morrow would effect nothing, save in the three States which are still governed by them. In the other States, local Constitutions are in full force, and local governments are at work under them. These are accomplished facts, which the Democratic party cannot disregard without plunging into insucrection.

To liken respect for law to the affirmation of its unchangeableness, and to pretend that the maintenance of authority as now existing as against Democratic threats is despotic and revolutionary is to blend falsehood with folly. The only party to which "lawless designs may with the slightest truth be imputed, is the Democratic party, which proposes to set aside seven Constitutions, without consulting the majority who framed and enacted them, and to upset seven governments formed under the law, and now in peaceful operation. If the party could accomplish its ends without violating organic law, national or local, we should have nothing to say except as to the injustice or inexpediency of its action. But it contemplates no such limitation. It threatens to enforce disfranchisement in spite of law, and to re establish "white men's governments" in defiance of constitutional hindrances. Executive usurpation, and the exercise of force by the disloyal organizations which abound throughout the South, are the means relied upon by the Democratic leaders; and the use of these means would constitute revolution.

The Constitution of Georgia. From the N. Y. Tribune.

On examination of the Constitution of the State of Georgia, we find the legal aspects of the question whether colored men have the right to hold office under that Constitution to be as follows:-The present Constitution contains no clause expressly defining who shall or who shall not hold office, except provisions

clearly as wrong in law as it is unjust politi-cally. As this is a question not merely of the malifications of certain members of the Legislature, but of the eligibility of all persons of a certain race to hold office, the decision of the Legislature of Georgia is subject to be overruled by the Courts, and the question will doubiless be brought in some form before the Supreme Court of the United States. As the logical result of the exclusion of a race from holding office would be their future exclusion from the right of suffrage, the effect of the action of Georgia will be to impress Congress more fully with the necessity of passing a uniform suffrage act for all the States.

Some Democratic journals have hastily asanmed that, because of the passage of the act for the admission of Georgia into the Union, Congress has no further power over the questions involved in the expulsion of these members. This presumption is clearly nowarranted. The sot readmitting Georgia to the Union takes effect only on the ratification by the Legislature of Georgia of the Fourteenth Amendment. No vote had been taken on the Amendment in the Georgia Legislature at the time the proclamations of the President and of Mr. Seward, declaring its ratification, were issued. Georgia is not named in these proclamations as one of the States by whose votes the Amendment was ratified.

Subsequently a vote was taken by the Legislature of Georgia, and it was declared ratified by a majority, according to McPner-son's Manual, of 10 in the Senate and 24 (others say 19) in the House. But included in this vote were 39 perjured ex-Rebel memhers who sat in violation of that clause of the Fourteenth Article itself which excludes from holding office men who joined the Rebellion after having taken an official oath to support the Constitution. Add to these the 24 colored members who have just been illegally expelled, and we have 63 members voting on that question, of whom 39 voted unlawfally; and if the remaining 24 voted lawfally, then they must return to their seats, and the recent decision excluding them must stand for naught. If

Congress holds the entire 63 votes to have been unlawful, then the Fourteenth Amendment has not yet been adopted, and consequently Georgia is not yet in the Union. If Congress holds the colored votes to have been lawful, it must see that the Georgia Legislature restores them to their seats before allowing Georgia to resume her own seats in Congress. The whole subject is, therefore, still within the jurisdiction of Congress, and the Rebels of Georgia will probably have to walk out of the Georgia Legislature themselves, as the net result of their motion.

## WANTS.

A GENTS WANTED. - THE BEST WORK for Canvassers Seud for Circulars, f MACKENZIES UNIVERSAL ENCYCLOPEDIA MACKENZIE'S 10,000 RECIPES.

THE BEST BOOK OF THE KIND. Edited by Professors in the best colleges in the coun try. Everybody needs it. New edition now ready

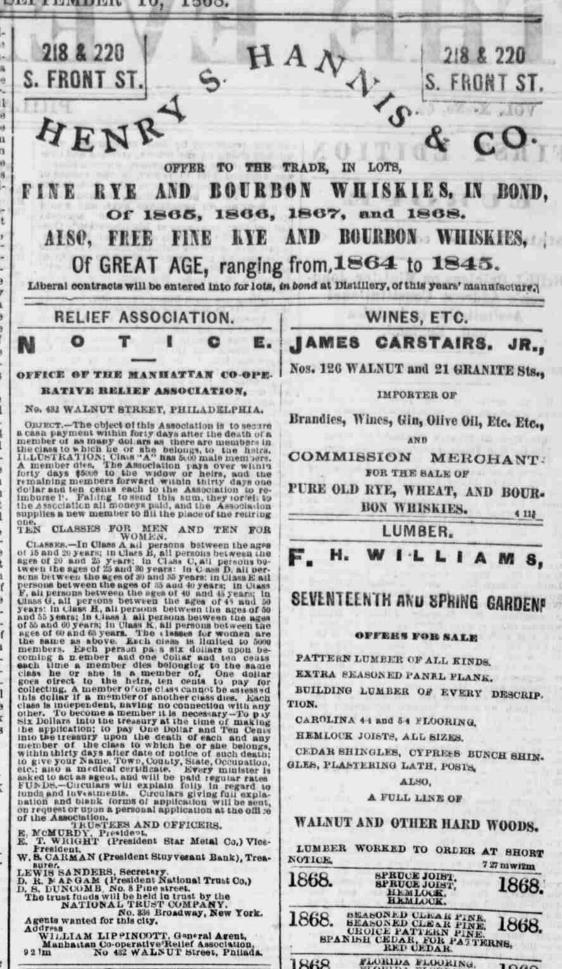
The best article upon BEES AND THEIR MANAGEMENT, Eve published, in the new edition. Article upon

FARMING IMPLEMENTS, BEST MOWERS, REAPERS, ETC. Tis invaluable to Farmers. This is the book for AGENTS AND CANVASSERS.

DOMESTIC MEDICINE. By the Professor of Hygiene, in the University of Pennsylvania Prevention and Cure of CATTLE DISEASE.

COOKING, PRESERVING, PHOTOGRAPHY, ETC Almost everything is to be found in this work, and t has been pronounced THE BEST SECULAR BOOK IN THE WORLD.'

The Michigan "Reporter" says (Ang. 11):- "It is the most extensive and reliable work of the kind ever printed The "Bural American," of New York, says, (Aug



The Preliminary Elections. From the Boston Post.

Larger results have never depended on the fall State elections than will make themselves visible this year. The three important, and, we may say, the decisive elections to occur in October are those in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, and they all take place on the same day, the 13th. Coming so very near to the general election in November-but three weeks-their immediate influence on that event will tell visibly. Should they be very closely contested, we shall witness an in-creased intensity of effort on both sides in every State to secure the final triumph; but in case the Democrats and conservatives sweep these three great States clean of the vestiges of radicalism, the November conclusion, in a fair and open trial, will be a faregone one. The radical party may then consider themselves

When the result of the election became known, the South did not object to Abraham Lincoln being President of the United States. They fully acquiesced in that; but determined that their section should be no longer a part of the country of which he was the duly elected Chief Magistrate. They also fully accepted, as a result of the election, the exclusion of slavery from all the Territories of the United States. They meant to seize and hold as large a portion of those Territories as they were able; but they had no thought of disturbing the decision of the people that in such Territories as continued to be held, or should afterwards be acquired, by the United States, there should be no slavery. The South might have contested this result of the election on good grounds and with fair hopes of success, as both Houses of Congress and the Supreme Court were on their side. But a majority of the Northern people having decided against them, they surrendered those great advantages to the controlling force of public opinion, and fell back on what they then believed to be their constitutional right of secession. It was the supposed impossibility of resisting, for any length of time, the flat of public opinion, that impelled them upon their mad and suicidal course. We sabmit, therefore, that the Times' alleged excep-

tion rather confirms the rule. Whether that exception be real or only apparent, the rule itself is acknowledged. It is safe to assume that, in accordance with it, the minority will peaceably submit to the result of this Presidential election, and surrender the Reconstruction policy which the majority of the people will have condemned. But as the whole drift of Republican electioneering militates against such a supposition, we wish that the Times, or some other organ of the party, would be explicit and tell its readers whether the new policy is to be persisted in, if a majority of the people shall, by their votes in this election, repudiate it. If the beaten party submits to the declared will of the people on this subject, the declamation about civil strife as a consequence of the election of Seymour and Blair, is nonsense. How can there be any strife, if the Republicans accept the popular verdict? All their electioneering bugbears imply a determination, on their part, to set at naught public opinion and defy the will of the majority, if the majority does not happen to be on their side. Now we wish they would tell the country whether this is their denied that the Republican policy is a great innovation, nor that it is incongruous with the regular operation of our political system. Its incongruity is confessed in the Republican platform itself, which says that the suffrage should be regulated by free local action in part of the States, and controlled by Federal authority in the others. The Republican policy is not only an upstart deviation from settled practice, but it has never been sanctioned by the people. They have never had an opportunity to pronounce upon it. No such issue as the regulation of suffrage in the States by Federal authority has ever been presented to the people in any election, until now. Have not the people a right to be consulted respecting the policy of their own Government? H they show by their votes that they reprobate such an innovation, the nature and genius of republican government require that the old system be acquiesced in until the new shall have received their sanction.

We again respectfully but earnestly ask the

that persons convicted of treason, embezzlement of public funds, malfeasance in office or bribery, and felons, idiots and insane persons, and persons guilty of dueling, shall not hold office. If these clauses stood alone, any fair court would be compelled to infer from the careful exclusion of so many classes from holding office, and from the failure to include colored men in the excluded class, that colored men had the right to hold office. The Constitution contains the usual clause that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members." Its clause relative to franchise and elections makes every male adult person born in the United States, or naturalized, or who has declared his intention to become a citizen, an elector, subject to certain qualifications of residence and oaths.

The clause, however, under which all the Democratic and a few of the Republican members have united in declaring blacks ineligible to office, and in ejecting the twenty-five colored members from the State Legislature, is

"Athleie XI. The laws of general operation in force in this State are: "I. As the Supreme Law—The Constitution of the United States, the laws of the United States in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States. "II. And hext in authority thereto this Con-

ditation "III. In subordination to the foregoing-All acts passed by any legislative body, sitting in this state as anco, since the 19th day of Janu-ary, 18d, including that body of laws known as the Code of Georgia, and the acts amendatory hereof as passed sluce that time-which said code and acts are embodied in the printed book known as Irwin's Code; and also so much of the common and statute laws of England and of the statute laws of Georgia as were in force in this State on the 19th day of December 1860, as not superseded by said code, though ne en bodied therein, except so much of the said sovers! statutes, codes, and laws as may be in-consistent with the supreme law herein recognized, or may have been passed in eid of the inte Repetition against the United States, or may be obselete, or may refer to persons held in slavery, which excepted laws are inoperative and void."

According to the above, the old Constitution and laws of Georgia in force prior to the secession of the State, and even the Rebel Constitution and laws in force during the Rebellion, are still in force, except so far as they conflict with the Constitution of the United States, or with the new Constitution of Georgia, or with the laws of Congress. We have examined settled determination; and if it is, on what ground they expect to defend it. It cannot be and in force down to the year 1860, and if and in force down to the year 1860, and it makes no distinction of color, either as respects holding office or voting. Voting is founded on citizenship only. We have not at hand the Irwin's code referred to in the above clause, but our correspondents state unqualifiedly that it contains no such clause. It is most improbable that any provision excluding negroes from holding office should have been adopted during the Rebellion, when none such had existed from 1798 down to 1860, and when the Rebellion was founded on slavery and excluded the negro even from the citizenship. It seems to be plain, there-fore, that the Democratic party in Georgia have inferred that negroes were constitutionally excluded from holding office prior to and during the Rebellion on account of their color. This inference is wholly unfounded. They were excluded only because they were not citizens. They have now become citizens. No constitution of the State ever excluded them on account of color. Therefore the only exclusion under which they ever rested has Times to give its opinion on the duty of the | been removed, and the vote of expulsion is



GROCERIES, ETC.

NEW MESS MACKEREL

IN KITTS.

ALBERT C. BOBERTS.

EXTRA FINE

FLORIDA FLOORING, FLORIDA FLOORING, CAROLINA FLOORING, VIRGINIA FLOORING, DELAWARE FLOORING, ASH FLOORING, WALNUT FLOORING, FLOBIDA STEP BOARDE, RAIL PLANK,

1868

922m

1868.

C O B N S X O H A N G E

Of every description, for Grain, Flour, Sait, Super-Phosphate of Lime, Bone Dust, Etc. Large and small GUNNY BAGS constantly on hand 2 223] Also, WOOL BACKS. JOHN T. BAILEY, JANES CASCADEN,