SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

Lessons of the California Election.

From the N. Y. Times.

The Democrats may be pardoned for the shouts of exultation with which they greet the tidings from California. They are so accustomed to defeat that the first glimmering of success, however obtained, throws them into ecstacies. In their hurry to proclaim a triumph, they forget that the result they welcome so enthusiastically is attributable less to their own strength than to accidental causes of weakness in the ranks of the Republicans; that it is, in fact, not so much a tribute to the Democratic party as a protest on the part of Republicans against political fraud and corruption.

That California, on a straight political issue, is overwhelmingly radical, there can be no reasonable doubt. Its majorities in successive contests have been too decisive to be misrepresented; and we anticipate further proofs at the State Judicial election next month. That will be a fair party fight, and until that be over, we recommend the Democrats to suspend their shouting.

As to the election just held, it is only necessary to keep in mind a few facts concerning the candidates and the manner in which the Union nomination for Governor was procured. It is admitted that John Bidwell was the nearly unanimous choice of the Unionists for that office; fully two-thirds of the delegates to the State Convention having been instructed to vote for him. He was defeated, however, by a corrupt combination between the friends of George C. Gorham and of Senator Conness, aided by the money and influence of certain powerful corporations, who desired a Legislature and an Executive subservient to their selfish purposes. By gross trickery this combination got control of the Convention, threw overboard Bidwell and nominated Gorham.

The fraud and the agencies with which it was effected disgusted the Unionists throughout the State, drove the leading Union journals of San Francisco and elsewhere into opposition to the nominee of the Convention, created a split in the party ranks, and gave rise to a widespread feeling of indifference. The personal unpopularity of Gorham added weight to all these considerations. It was notorious that he had been chief of the Legislative lobby and the special advocate and promoter of measures which, if successful, would have saddled millions of debt upon the State, and so increased the burdens of taxation, for the benefit of the private interests which had succeeded in controlling the Convention. He was regarded by many thousands only as a nominee of unscrupulous operators, anxious for the attainment of sinister objects.

On the other hand, Haight, the Democratic candidate, bore a well-known loyal record as a Unionist, having voted and acted with the Republicans during the war. He enjoys public confidence as an able and honest man; one who, whatever his party alliances, will not surrender public interests to the lobby or to leagued corruption in the Legislature.

The apathy and disgust occasioned by the causes of Gorham's nomination reacted on the whole ticket, and occasioned the not improbable defeat of the Republican party in the Legislature. The personal unpopularity of Senator Conness and his known participation in the intrigues which led to Gorham's nomination, alienated support from candidates who were believed to be identified with either. Hence the unprecedented number of voters who refused to appear at the polls. The vote of San Francisco, for instance, fell 6000 short of the number of registered voters—a circumstance which enables us to see why the Democracy boast of a majority in a city which has for years shown Union majorities. To this failure to vote of 6000 registered Unionists in the chief city of the State may be ascribed the reported defeat of Phelps, the Union candidate for Congress.

Evidently, then, the election possesses no special political significance. Its results are mortifying, unquestionably, because honest party management would have obviated them. But to claim them as indications of a reaction, as our Democratic contemporaries do, is simply absurd. They are the products of what the San Francisco *Bulletin* characterizes as "an immoral system of party management," and their prime value consists in the warning they read to political manipulators in other States.

The Politicians and the Presidency—Is There to Be an Impeachment?

From the N. Y. Herald.

If we were to accept the ravings of the radical party leaders and their organs as a faithful indication of public sentiment, we might expect a violent convulsion in the nation, ending in the overthrow of the constitutional Government and the institution of a reign of anarchy. At the best, we could but hope for the postponement of a revolutionary outbreak until the assembling of Congress in November, to be precipitated then by the swift impeachment of Andrew Johnson and the seizure of his office by the President of the Senate, pending his trial by that body. But, fortunately, experience teaches us that the boldness of political agitators displays itself more freely in words than in action; and when we recall the impotency of the angry threats of impeachment and confiscation so loudly uttered on the occasion of the commencement of the three last sessions of Congress, we are inclined to believe that the present rage of the radicals will expend itself in "sound and fury," and, so far as practical results are concerned, will signify nothing.

There is, indeed, a shrewd suspicion abroad that the politicians of the party are very well satisfied with the situation as it is, and that while their wrath against President Johnson is vehemently uttered, it is only for the purpose of keeping alive a popular excitement and diverting the attention of the people from other issues. Their main object in the legislation of last winter was to dispose of all those military officers whose popularity threatened to render them dangerous competitors for the prize of the next Presidency. In their efforts to this end they displayed a great amount of political sagacity; but they would never have succeeded so effectually if Andrew Johnson had not by his recent policy afforded them material aid. The Supplemental Reconstruction bill might have been fatal to Grant, but his appointment to Stanton's office by the President drove the nails into his political coffin. Sheridan might have been troublesome as a military martyr, but will now enable Pope to share his crown till he sinks into insignificance. What more effective assistance could the radicals have desired than Johnson has afforded them in clearing the Presidential field for their favorite candidate, Chase?

Nor is this the only instance in which Johnson has played the game of the radicals. The obstacles he has thrown in the way of reconstruction have alone enabled them to carry out their settled design of keeping the Southern States out of the Union until after the next Presidential election, and at the same time to evade direct responsibility for the continued distraction of the country. They point now to the President and his acts, and cry, "We are anxious for reconstruction; behold the power that impedes and obstructs it." Why, then, should they impeach Andrew Johnson, or seek to seize upon the Government by an unconstitutional and violent act? By leaving him where he is they keep up the excitement in the minds of their followers, and go into the next campaign with Chase as their standard-bearer upon the issue of opposition to the existing Administration. They will seek to fasten upon the anti-Republican candidate, whoever he may be, the odium of Johnson's Administration, and will represent him as the successor of Johnson's policy. In this regard Andrew Johnson will be too useful to them in the Presidential chair to render them desirous of depriving him of its occupancy for a few brief months.

There are other obstacles in the way of an impeachment of the President. Ben Wade is shrewd and ambitious, and is already a candidate not to be despised by the aspirants for the succession. The friends of Mr. Chase in the House and the Senate are well contented with matters as they stand at present; and the less prominent candidates will not be willing to give Ben Wade the advantage which the actual occupancy of the White House would not fail to secure to him in the Republican nominating convention. Under these circumstances, it seems probable that the loud cry of impeachment will die away as softly in the next session of Congress as it did in those that preceded it, and that the next Presidential battle will be fought out peaceably, with Johnson in the White House, Grant attending to his military duties, Sheridan hunting wild Indians on the plains, and Chase in the political field at the head of the combined forces of the national banks, the Puritans, the negroes, and the radical rank and file in general.

Registration at the South—Louisiana and Alabama.

From the N. Y. Times.

Probably the best indication of the direction and force of the current of public opinion in the South, may be found in the registration lists of the States in which the Registrars have completed their work. The elections in Tennessee, Kentucky, Vermont, or California do not throw so much light upon the future as the returns from Louisiana and Alabama. These returns have disappointed politicians of both parties, and falsified many of their predictions.

Taking the census of 1860 as a basis, and making allowances for changes wrought by the war, it was estimated that Louisiana contained at present 47,000 whites and 23,000 blacks over twenty-one years of age. This was the estimate made previous to registration. But the returns show that only 44,723 whites have registered, while 82,867 blacks have registered. This is a falling off in the anticipated white vote of about 2000, and an increase in the anticipated black vote of nearly 60,000. This fact has been a disagreeable surprise to the late Rebels and their friends, and it far exceeds the highest hopes of the most sanguine Republicans. The latter predicted a few weeks ago that the negroes would have a majority of 37,000 in Louisiana; and the majority actually exceeds 38,000. Add to this the white vote of about 20,000 Republicans, and there will be a majority of about 75,000 in Louisiana for reconstruction.

In Alabama the number of white votes in 1867, estimated upon the basis of the census of 1860, and making allowances for the war, should be 81,000 whites and 55,000 blacks. But the registration returns overturn completely this estimate. Instead of the whites having a majority of 20,000, they are in a minority over 15,000. There are 5000 more negro voters than any one expected. The official figures are 72,748 whites and 88,243 blacks. It is supposed that the vote in Alabama against the Convention for amending the State Constitution will not exceed 25,000, leaving a majority of over 100,000 for reconstruction.

Out of a voting white population of 128,000 in Louisiana and Alabama, about 10,000 have not registered, either because they are disqualified by act of Congress or do not wish to vote. This is not a large percentage. A rainy election day would keep more voters away from the polls in New York State. Hence there is no foundation for any sweeping charge against the Southern whites on the ground that they are sullen or indifferent in regard to national affairs. The number of "soreheads" among them is remarkably few, considering their circumstances. In fact, they take more interest in political movements than the people of this State take in the proceedings of our Constitutional Convention, and more than the Republicans of Vermont took in the success of their ticket at the late election. They have, indeed, stronger motives to action than the latter, for they wish representation in Congress. Nevertheless, their activity in the work of reconstruction is highly creditable to them. Even the certain prospect of being in a hopeless minority does not prevent a large portion of them from doing what they consider to be their duty.

The negro voting population of Louisiana and Alabama amounts to 171,108. This is 53,000 over the white voters, and 30,000 more than were calculated upon when the work of registration began. It is supposed that a considerable portion of this population are emigrants, and that States lying further north will show a corresponding decrease in negroes. It is estimated that there has been a falling off in the colored population of Virginia of about 10,000; although it is considered certain in Virginia and other States where the negro vote is not less than the white will give majorities in favor of reconstruction. Even the men who are working against this result admit that they will fail. Southern conservatives base their only hopes of success upon a reaction in Northern opinion. The October and November elections will most likely correct this view; while the aspect of the registration returns from the South will give new courage and strength to the Republicans of the North.

The Situation—What Move Next?

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Many of our contemporaries are advising Grant to "do this and that." We fear that the General has limited his usefulness by dealing so gently with the President. He represents Congress, while the President represents the spirit of disunion and slavery. The President thus far has controlled the game. Three pieces have been captured from the chess-board—Stanton, Sheridan, Sickles—and three stronger pieces do not remain upon our side. Grant has made one or two "checks," but the President has avoided them and taken our pieces. The trouble with Congress and Grant is that they have played too easy a game with his Excellency. They "check" him and annoy him, but don't get ahead. Johnson moved nearly all of his friends into good places last Congress, and all of his leading antagonists out of place. We call this splendid play, and he is strong enough to do more mischief. Grant seems to feel that Congress did not give him enough power, and his friends urge that if he is powerless it is because Congress left him so. The President did not think that when he wrote his veto, expressly complaining that most of his authority had been transferred to Grant. Congress did not think so when it passed the bill of which Sheridan complained. If Grant is in doubt, it is, we fear, because some "astute lawyer" has been unsettling him.

Still the responsibility is with Grant, and it is so refreshing to find military men submitting to responsibility that we perhaps ought to be content. We feel that his heart is right, and that he will do all he can. At the same time a man who surrenders the powers which Congress strove to impose upon him can do but little. In the case of Sickles, for instance, Grant permits the President to plainly override him in the interpretation of the law, and allows himself to be rebuked in the removal of his subordinate. Suppose the President directs Canby to suspend General Order No. 10, for which Sickles was removed. What is Grant to do? We may be told that he issued an order to the commanders to permit the orders of their predecessors to stand. But he also issued an order to Sheridan to report to Washington to consult on public business. The President, afraid that some of us might cheer "Little Phil.," orders him to the Indian country. Sheridan goes, and Grant's order falls like a crisp September leaf. So it will be with General Order No. 10, with Throckmorton and Wells, with the whole Reconstruction movement. Between the haste and crudeness of Congress, and what had better be called the extreme amiability and conscientiousness of Grant, there is no law but Johnson's whim for the Southern States, and our champion is only an anxious, earnest, protesting soldier, who at best does not say much, and whose power is limited to signing himself "by order of the President," General of the Army. Grant will do us good in one way. He will save the public money, and oppose the thieves. So far as his influence is heeded it will be healthy. But this is all.

Thus the game goes on, the President playing with resolution, shrewdness, energy. Congress is away, and we see piece after piece removed, while the enemies of the country shout and cheer. Thus, we fear, it will be until within a week of the meeting of Congress, when Mr. Johnson will suddenly become conciliatory, and kind, and wheedling. All the promises he has made and broken will be repeated, and certain nervous people's cousins, and uncles, and brothers will be placed in office. We shall be asked to "trust" the President, for he "means well," and confirm his special pets, if for nothing else, because he will make a radical Postmaster in a rural town. Great issues will be lost in official horse-jockeying, unless public opinion becomes resolute and vigilant. Just now the President holds the game; and loudly declares he will play it, Congress and country, whether or no. The hand that might make a checkmate is powerless. We do not imagine that any circumstance can arise in which the President may not overrule General Grant. A Rebel Deputy Marshal of the United States is more powerful to-day than the General of the army. The removal of Sickles shows that. We think there is one move that would have ended the business. Suppose, when the President directed the military commanders practically to disobey Grant's order and make and unmake such regulations as they pleased, the General had said to the President, "By command of the Congress of the United States, in law plainly written, I decline to have the powers expressly delegated to me in any way amended, misconstrued, or limited, and therefore respectfully refuse to issue an order which compels me to violate my duty!" What would have followed? Grant would have done just what the country and Congress want, what the law in spirit directs, and what he can only be excused from doing on the plea that he is a part of the Executive—a hand, finger, or foot—and only amenable to such laws as the President permitted him to respect.

Perhaps we take a wrong view of the matter. We write rather to state a case and suggest inquiry without giving absolute advice. We respect the trying position of the General and the dignity of his office. We desire in no way to dishearten him or limit his usefulness by unjust criticism. But we beg him to look well to his duty. It is high and perplexing; but God does not place men in those positions for an unwise purpose. We beseech him to stand like a wall between the President and freedom, and we beg him, whatever he may do, to feel that he can make no error in the eyes of this nation on the side of an energetic support of Congress and the country.

British Cotton Manufacture.

From the N. Y. World.

The greatness of the cotton manufacture of Great Britain, the immense wealth and power which accrue to her from it, and the method pursued by her for the attainment of such splendid results as those that now lie before the world in this respect, are points well deserving the earnest study of the political economist.

Of the extent which this branch of British industry has reached at this day, an estimate may be formed when we state that the three thousand cotton factories whose busy hum was heard all over the United Kingdom before the war, and soon to be heard again, contain thirty-three million spindles, and furnish employment to nearly one million operatives. It ranks first one of the five principal articles of export from that country; and necessarily raw cotton ranks as the leading one of the five most important articles of import. In 1860, Great Britain paid out about eighty-five millions for her raw cotton. In 1865, only five years thereafter, she paid over three hundred and thirty millions for that article, and exported manufactured cotton to an amount of over two hundred and eighty-six millions; which shows an immense home consumption of cotton goods within the kingdom. The eighty-eight millions' worth of cotton purchased in 1860 came out of her factories advanced to a value of more than two hundred and forty-two millions; her industry, skill, and capital producing about one hundred and fifty-four millions of excess above the value of the raw article. It has been estimated that in 1860 the increase of value produced was doubled; from which it may be safe to conclude that the excess in 1865 was very closely approximated three hundred millions. It was in the latter year that our magnificent crop of nearly five million bales was gathered. Three hundred millions of increased value is a result that may be credited to the persevering efforts made by Great Britain to attain perfection and control in this great branch of industry.

In 1860 England sent from her own shores to those of other nations more than two and two-third billion yards of cotton goods, while we sent forth but one hundred million yards. But while the above named British export in that year was valued at about two hundred and ten millions, their export in 1864, which was one billion yards less, was valued at about two hundred and twenty-eight millions; the difference being caused, of course, by the exceedingly high prices which prevailed in the latter year.

In that year England complained of being compelled to pay double price for half the quantity of cotton she required; and the complaint, it must be admitted, was entirely reasonable when we consider that she actually paid out over three hundred and ninety-one millions of hard money for such cotton as she was forced to take in the absence of the American staple.

The Brazilian cotton she could not largely use, and even could she have done so, the supply was limited. The Egyptian could only be employed by altering her machinery, and the East Indian and other growths were not worth half as much as the American, in quality or strength of fibre.

And all these cottons have only been used for special purposes in manufacture—for which alone they are adapted—while it is the American cotton which England has always used, and uses still, for the great bulk of her cotton fabrics.

Thus, during the war, she not only suffered in a heavy deficiency of supply, but also in the inferiority of quality of a large portion of the supply that she did receive.

There is every encouragement to believe that if the increase continues, we shall have sufficient in this country in a few years to manufacture for export alone at least one and a half billion of yards, of the value of one hundred and eighty to two hundred million dollars. The capital, skill, and ability of this people could do it. But to accomplish this the Government would have to lend its aid, and repeal, as early as could wisely be done, all taxes upon the elements which enter into the manufacture of raw cotton.

We could export two million bales of the raw staple, worth at least two hundred millions under the prices that are destined to prevail for some time to come. Our cotton export, altogether, would thus approximate, if not quite reach, or even exceed, four hundred millions per annum. The total of cotton manufactures exported by Great Britain in 1863 was two hundred and thirty-seven millions; in 1864, two hundred and seventy-four millions; and in 1865, two hundred and eighty-six millions. To show her rise in this trade within a period of fifty years, we will state that her importation of cotton in 1815 was only ninety-nine million pounds, equal to two hundred and forty-seven and a half thousand bales.

This branch of British industry is worthy of close attention on the part of those in our own country who have the advancement of our cotton manufacturing interest at heart; and we fully believe that if the impediment of taxation and other obstacles are removed necessary to its progress, the day is not far distant when our export of manufactured cotton, in all forms, will much exceed in value that of our great and successful rival in the Old World. But a free trade tariff is the first requisite to successful competition.

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