SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

Suffrage for the Blacks.

From the N. Y. Times.

Wade Hampton adheres to the opinion he expressed some time since, that negroes in the Southern States should be recognized as citizens, and admitted to the suffrage. He believes that such a course would contribute largely to the peace and prosperity of the whole community. He thinks, however, that this should be done by the State and not by Congress, and that suffrage for both whites and blacks should be made to depend upon character and intelligence.

We do not doubt that the thinking men of the South generally concur in this opinion. There is much less of mere prejudice against the negro in the South than among certain classes in the North. Even before the abolition of slavery, negroes were sure of better personal treatment from Southern people than from Northern. The South very naturally objects to universal negro suffrage, because they know very well that the great body of the negroes are utterly unqualified for it; that they know nothing whatever of the questions which their votes may determine; and that they will inevitably become tools in the hands of demagogues. But there can be very little doubt that if Mr. Lincoln had lived, or if the policy of reconstruction which he devised and favored had been carried out, negroes would have been allowed to vote in nearly, if not quite all the Southern States, just as fast as they might have become qualified so to do. He himself recommended it, as did also Mr. Johnson when he succeeded to the office; and the general sentiment of the intelligent political leaders of the South was decidedly in favor of it. The shallow pretense that this is the "white man's government," and that none but white men should ever have any share in making the laws and choosing the rulers which all are required to obey, died with slavery among all sensible and reflecting men, South as well as North; and it has been reserved for the Democratic Bourbons of the present day to revive it and make it the basis of their political creed.

It ought to be remembered, moreover, that the adoption of universal negro suffrage, both in the District of Columbia and throughout the South, is due directly to the Democratic representatives in the last Congress. A large majority of the Republican party decided in caucus against it; and when it was proposed in Congress to establish intelligence as a qualification for negro suffrage in the District of Columbia, the Democrats voted with the extreme radicals against it, and thus secured its defeat.

Universal negro suffrage, with a disfranchisement of the great body of the whites, forced upon the Southern States by military power, and leading in nearly all those States to the absolute supremacy of the negroes in the Government, must of necessity be odious and intolerable to the white inhabitants. Even if forced to consent to it, such a step must implant in their minds the most bitter resentment towards those by whom the blow has been inflicted. Its direct tendency, moreover, is to array the blacks and whites against each other—to make each feel that the other is his enemy, and thus to sow the seeds of future collisions and hatreds between the two races. If the work had been done by the people of those States themselves, the result would have been very different. That it must have been done sooner or later is certain. The negroes in all the Southern States are so numerous, the capital and industry of the South are so dependent upon them, that their admission to the suffrage would very soon become absolutely indispensable to the safety of Southern society; and the Southern whites would have consulted their own interests quite as much as those of the blacks, by bringing them in as rapidly as possible to the exercise of political power.

The violent and arbitrary manner in which Congress has seen fit to settle this question, is unquestionably one very powerful element in the recent reverses which the Republican party has sustained in the Northern States. But we are glad to see that Wade Hampton and other Southern men of position and influence have not changed their views on this subject. If the Southern States can be led to take wise and generous action on this matter, they will contribute very largely to the harmony of sentiment between the two sections which is so important to the welfare of both.

The Indian Peace Commission.

From the N. Y. Times.

The Indian Peace Commission, of which Generals Sherman and Harney are members, if it does not eventually succeed in satisfactorily arranging a permanent peace with the hostile Indian tribes, has accomplished some good already. The Commission had an advantage over all others which have preceded them of late, in the fact that they were authorized to offer to the various tribes some definite terms, and to bind the Government to the faithful fulfilment of them. Other Commissions have been sent out "to investigate," and while Indians were induced to come to their councils by the offer of presents, consisting mainly of guns and ammunition, finding that the Commissioners in reality had no authority to *do* anything, they listened to the messages from their "great father," and then returned to the plains to test their new guns upon the first passing stage coach or emigrant train.

General Sherman's Commission offers them permanent homes, the means of securing a livelihood, and an immediate prospect of improving their condition. The Indians with whom they have consulted have taken the matter under consideration, and are to return their answer at the council in November. They promised that meantime no depredations should be committed, and thus far they have kept their word. Since that council we have heard of no outrages on either stage coaches, emigrants, railroads, or road stations. Settlers have been undisturbed, and horses and mules have been safe from "stampedes." The Indians require but an ordinary amount of civil treatment to make them behave reasonably, and we doubt not that, if their authority is sufficient, the Commission will make friends of those tribes who have recently been such an annoyance on the line of the Pacific Railroad.

Having put matters in trim for securing peace with the Northern Indians, the Commission is now hastening further south to hold a grand council with the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches, who are there assembled, and anxiously awaiting the Commissioners. These tribes have been brought in after much trouble and many promises, and are reported to be desirous to secure peace. They make their complaints of bad treatment and broken treaties, and now rely upon the new Commission to right their wrongs. They will be offered homes and support, the same as the other tribes were, and will doubtless be sensible enough to exchange their roving, irregular life for comfortable houses and Government rations. Should they refuse this, however, the Peace Commission will have done some good in withdrawing, for a few weeks at least, so many hostile savages from the great lines of travel.

The Presidential Question—Uprising of the People for General Grant.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Like a dazzling castle in the clouds, the gorgeous and imposing Presidential structure of Mr. Chase and his followers has suddenly melted away and vanished. From its turrets to its foundations it has disappeared. The late emphatic verdict of the people of Ohio against immediate and universal negro suffrage has, in a word, set aside Mr. Chase as a Presidential candidate for 1868, and brought the great soldier and champion of the Union cause conspicously in the foreground as the central figure on the canvass, around whom all other Presidential availables or aspirants are secondary and subordinate characters.

As it was with Cæsar, so it may now be said of Mr. Chase—"Yesterday he might have stood against the world;" but now, looking to the succession among practical matter-of-fact men, "there are none so poor as to do him reverence." Yesterday he had, apparently, the game in his hands against all competitors. Standing on the platform of universal negro suffrage, and strengthened on every side by his financial system, including his national banks, holding within his grasp the controlling machinery of the Republican party, believing his ruling idea on suffrage a foregone conclusion, and having, as he supposed, neutralized the claims of Grant, Sheridan, Stanton, and other heroes of the military department, by jostling their heads together with that of "Andy Johnson," the rank and file of the Republican party were silenced. They said nothing, because they saw not clearly any way of escape. Mr. Chase, to all appearances, was the coming man. This was his attitude on the morning of the 8th of October; but the next rising of the sun found him in the position of General Lee at Appomattox Court House, and Grant the master of the situation.

What do we now see? A general uprising of the conservative masses of the great Union party of the war in the name of General Grant. From Maryland to Missouri, from Massachusetts to Montana, from the Delaware to the Sacramento, public meetings and resolutions proclaiming General Grant for the succession are the order of the day. At one of these meetings at Philadelphia the other day a Republican speaker, touching upon the popular sense of gratitude for preëminent public services in the field of war, said that Grant, like Washington and Jackson and Harrison and Taylor, was sure of his reward. But it might have been added that, while the people of the loyal States remember that the armies of the Union, scattered about over eight hundred thousand square miles of territory, eclipsed, under Grant, the grandest combinations, battles, and victories of the great Napoleon, it will be folly to talk of other candidates for the Presidency if Grant is in the field.

Nor, in practical statesmanship, has any one of the leading politicians of the day proved himself the superior or the equal of General Grant in the management, for instance, of this difficult business of Southern reconstruction. In this view, then, as a statesman, on his first appearance as a Presidential candidate before the country, he will stand in comparison not only far above Taylor or Harrison, but much higher than Jackson himself; for in the outset General Jackson was known in the East only as the hero of New Orleans, and of some Indian fights in Alabama, and of the hanging of six militia men, and of that fatal duel with Dickson, and of a bloody rough-and-tumble fight, pistols and bowie-knives, with Colonel Benton and other parties, on both sides, in Nashville. This was so; yet, when put to the test, "Old Hickory" proved himself more than a match in statesmanship for Clay, Calhoun, Webster, and Nick Biddle, separately or combined. Grant presents none of these attributes of the ferocious backwoodsman. He is a quiet, amiable, modest little man. He is a puzzle to experts in character and to the keenest politicians, and yet he stands, like King Saul, a head and shoulders above all the host of mighty men of Israel.

The Republican party has been carrying too much baggage. Grant is the man to cast it off and to bring his army into the field in clean fighting trim. The heavy caravan of camels and donkeys, with all the traps and trumpery of Chase, Stevens, Sumner, Butler, Phillips, Greeley, and their set, will have to be left behind. The result will probably be a separate camp of the intractable "manhood suffrage," Sunday prohibition liquor law, and women's rights people, and other moral reformers, after the manner of the old abolition faction in their day. Let them go. The people who carried the country right side up through the late terrible war have their own notions of reconstruction, and Grant is their man. The dominant party in Congress, and the Republican leaders outside, must fall into line or clear the track. Otherwise they will be run down and destroyed. The Democrats will probably concentrate again upon General McClellan, and, if relieved of Vallandigham, he will serve as well as any other man to hold the party in position in view of the campaign of 1872. The preliminary skirmishes for 1868 have swept out the radical Jacobins and their revolutionary schemes. They must now drop into the rear or join the guerillas. The vote of New York, in November, will only give a new impulse to these popular movements for Grant, so that, with the reassembling of Congress, the fact, we expect, will be recognized in both Houses—that the reign of the radical Jacobins is ended, that the reign of common sense is at hand, and that General Grant is the coming man.

Italy.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The obstacles thrown in the way of the revolutionary party in Italy seem to swell the volume and ultimately accelerate the momentum of the current. The Italian people are a sort of child-race among the nations, not only in their immaturity in all that pertains to Government, but in those causes out of which their immaturity arises, viz, their superstition, their love of ease and amusement, their lack of business capacity, masculine energy, persistence, and will. Hence Italian revolutions are a succession of happy or unhappy accidents. The resistance to be overcome is so slight as only to seem respectable when compared with the feebleness—in all but a leader—of the Party of Action. It is into the midst of such weak elements that Garibaldi is thrown as almost the only soul and energy and vitalizing power in the movement. Garibaldi at liberty is revolution. Garibaldi imprisoned is counter revolution. But the imprisoned Garibaldi is again at liberty, if his words are free. The proclamations of the prisoner are the decrees of the inchoate State that is still in the womb, but may be born tomorrow. As with his revolutions of Sicily and Naples, so it may be with this of Rome. To-day the new State is but a thought in one hero's breast To-morrow it is an emotion that trembles in the hearts of thousands. Then it is an enthusiasm—a riot—a triumph—and, at last, a State, the brightest gem in the diadem of Italy. It is difficult to believe that the Italian Government can be otherwise than secretly desirous of the success of the revolution. That, while it is a mere *émeute*, it should aim to keep up the appearance of preserving its treaty stipulations is natural. That it should arrest Garibaldi, and so keep him from launching himself on the uncertain tide of popular enthusiasm in the Papal States, without an organization or an army, was probably necessary to prevent his falling into the hands of the Pope's executioners. To suppose that Victor Emanuel has more regard for a treaty with his admitted enemies than for achieving the addition of Rome and the Papal States to his kingdom, is to suppose that he is destitute not only of common sense, but of ordinary selfishness. The unknown quantities in the problem are, will the people of Rome effect a formidable rising, so as to justify the avowal of the movement by Victor Emanuel? Will Napoleon recnact the *rôle* of protector of the Pope, as in 1849, and prevent the consummation of Rome's deliverance? Will Prussia intervene to prevent Napoleon's intervention?

The success of the Italian revolution would be so vast a step forward that the hearts of all the Protestant, and half the Catholic world, beat quicker at every symptom of hope for its hero. The friends of liberty in England have sent him words of cheer and comfort which will have their weight. For words in England are stronger than men in Italy. The Pope, who alone of all powers recognized the Confederacy, and Napoleon, author of the Mexican empire, are his only enemies. Is our Government giving its moral support to freedom in Italy or to despotism; to those who were with us in our struggle or against us; to Garibaldi, whose residence in our midst would have made him a citizen of our republic, if he could have ceased to be a citizen of the world; or to Napoleon, whose suppression of the republic in Italy, in 1849, was only equalled in perfidy by his attempted suppression of the republic in Mexico? Is it not time for the American people to speak?

The One Thing That Can't Possibly Be Done.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

There is a venerable gentleman who hails from "The Beeches," Ohio, and concocts a large quantity of sapience for the New York *Times*. His last effort is an attempt to account for the result of the late election in his State. Here is his first and principal reason why many thousands of Republicans (he says) were dissatisfied, and refused to go to the polls:—

"The State ticket and Legislature in some of the large counties were borne down by the question of negro suffrage, unwisely and unmercifully forced upon them, and put in the worst possible form. It was coupled with a disfranchisement of deserters, many of whom were entirely innocent, having left the army without regular discharges. How many there were, none can tell; but I think a great many. But, entirely aside from this, the people of Ohio will not vote for negro suffrage till they change their minds. The fact that it was, practically, of little or no importance, only showed that the party leaders wanted to force it upon them against their convictions. 'You can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make him drink,' says the proverb. Peter the Great undertook to shave the long hair of his soldiers, and could not do it. Party leaders cannot do as much as he could. It is perfect nonsense to talk about 'logical sequences' and the 'right of suffrage' to people who don't know what a logical sequence is, and care nothing about suffrage for others; besides, the doctrine itself is nonsense. A man who has not now a vote has no more right to vote than those who have. The single women of this county (numbering many thousands, taxed for their property) have no right to vote. In every precinct of Ohio, the State ticket lost votes (on account of the amendment) of Republicans who either did not vote at all, or virtually voted against the whole ticket. In one word, you cannot force men to vote against both their convictions and their prejudices. It is well that the attempt is made in a year when the lesson will be useful, and not do a great deal of mischief. I regard this lesson as the stepping-stone for success in 1868. The Republican party, if it wishes to retain power, must at once throw aside all the wild, revolutionary theories which ultra men, by working on the war fever, have endeavored to engraft on the policy of the country. In other words, the side issues, the moral and social questions, must be left where they belong, to the reason and conscience of the people. It is not the Christian idea to legislate men into anything. On the contrary, the appeal is from human tribunals to the higher tribunal of the conscience. The German must be allowed to drink his lager beer unmolested; the young men to chew tobacco; the negro to be educated (as he will be) to a high condition. In one word, a national party must be national, dealing only with the general policy. We lost one of the largest counties of Ohio for something about lager beer, and the city of Philadelphia was lost from the same cause. The Republican party must at once return to its proper business of providing national measures for the restoration and prosperity of the country."

Comments by the Tribune.

I. It is a blessed consolation that the universe is so governed that men are not at liberty to evince in their conduct all the baseness that lurks in their hearts. Were it otherwise, we apprehend that what the *Observer* stupidly miscalls a "side issue" would be given the go-by; the party managers ignoring all "moral and social questions," devoting all attention to the grand problem:—"How shall we retain our present offices, or be enabled to exchange them for better?" Thus, emancipation was a "side issue" till it pleased God to make it palpably indispensable to the salvation of the Union; negro soldiership was a "side issue" till it became impossible to fill the ranks of the national armies fast enough with whites alone. And now the Republican party *will* enfranchise the blacks or die in the effort, not mainly because three-fourths of its members ardently desire to do it, but because the more cunning minority, who would otherwise outmanage or betray the great majority, will soon discover that they cannot help themselves—that they have exactly Hobson's choice in the premises—"to be or not to be."

II. The Southern States *must* be restored to heir normal position in the Union. This is tnot only right but urgent. Every hour of needless delay is a national injury, and of course a damage to the Republican party. An attempt to postpone it on party grounds till after the next Presidential election will certainly injure and probably defeat the party that makes it.

III. And, since reconstruction cannot be postponed, the negro question cannot be dodged. The blacks of the South must be guaranteed the right of suffrage when their States are reconstructed, or they will never get it—never! All adverse talk of "side issues," "moral questions," "national measures," "general policy," etc. etc. is, in view of this fact, a simple defiance of common sense.

IV. For the Republicans are bound to go under (thank God!) if they don't enfranchise the blacks. Manhood suffrage is no "side issue" for them, but one of life and death. If the blacks are not enfranchised, Vallandigham could beat General Grant for President. If the Southern States were reconstructed on a white basis, he could and would carry all but one of the fifteen late slave States by overwhelming majorities, as the late elections in Maryland and Kentucky conclusively attest. The Democratic party, reinforced by the late Rebels, would rule us with a rod of iron from the hour that reconstruction without negro suffrage was consummated. We defy any one who can count twenty to shut his eyes to the fact that the fourteen Southern States (Tennessee standing out) will unanimously choose Democratic Electors of President, and send twenty-eight Democrats to the Senate, with nearly a hundred to the House, from the hour in which they are "rehabilitated" with their blacks under the feet of their whites.

V. Of course, *our* devotion to manhood, as contradistinguished from white, suffrage is not governed by the above considerations. We worked as heartily for it in 1846, when slavery ruled the land, and there was but the faintest hope of its ultimate overthrow, as we do now. We are simply showing why even the other sort of Republicans can't "go back" on the negro if they would. Unless they intend to make Blairs of themselves, by going over to the sham Democracy, they will have to face the music, no matter though they have no ear. Tony Lumpkin, urged by his mother to disappoint his friends who are expecting him at the tavern, naively answers, "Though I could easily consent to disappoint my friends, I can't afford to disappoint myself." And every professed Republican who turns against manhood suffrage should bespeak and secure beforehand a place in the Democratic caravan. There is no other going his way; and, if his policy wins, the other won't go at all much longer.

Presidential Candidates—Gen. Grant.

From the N. Y. World.

The current of Republican journalism at least, if not the drift of party sentiment, is, since the late elections, setting so strongly in favor of General Grant, that the leading radical organ attempts to breast it in a double-leaded leader, which sets out by turning pretensions like Grant's into ridicule, and winds up with predicting that if any man of his type of politics is elected, it will be by the Democrats. The *Tribune* thus advertises that, in addition to other causes of disintegration and embarrassment, the Republican party will be at loggerheads in the selection of its standard-bearer.

The party stands between the horns of this sharp dilemma: with a radical candidate on a negro suffrage platform they are certain to be whipped—while if the party makes a pretense of moderation and runs General Grant; the radicals will bring out a separate candidate.

It concerns General Grant more, perhaps, than it does anybody else, to form a correct judgment of the probabilities of his success if he should be made the candidate of the Republican party. The reasonable pride of character which befits a man in his position would naturally withhold him from running the gauntlet of an acrimonious political canvass, unless he supposed there was more than an even chance of his election. But whatever political syrens may sing in his ears, the chances, if he allows himself to be made the candidate of the Republicans, are ten to one against him. We do not say this from an overweening confidence in the fortunes of the Democratic party; it is an opinion founded upon irreconcilable differences among the Republicans, and the strong vantage-ground possessed by the radicals for running a third ticket. If they can get electoral votes enough to prevent either of the other candidates from receiving a majority, they are quite sure of electing the President; since, in that case, the House of Representatives, voting by States, make the choice, and the House on which this duty would devolve is already elected and intensely radical. General Grant, as the candidate of the more moderate Republicans, would prevent desertions to the Democrats, and thus, as the radicals hope, carry the election into the House, where their victory would be assured in advance.

If, therefore, General Grant consents to receive a Republican nomination, the very utmost his friends can accomplish is the prevention of a choice by the people, and the election of his radical competitor by the House of Representatives. The aggregate Republican vote will be greater if the party splits and runs two candidates, than it would be by attempting to concentrate its strength upon one; since the moderate candidate of the Conservatives would retain many Republican voters who would otherwise desert to the Democrats, while the radical candidate would draw out the full vote of the extremists. This is the most skilful game that could be played for defeating the Democratic party; but if General Grant lends himself to it, he will merely beat the bush for his radical rival to catch the bird.

The radicals, seeing that they hold a trump card in their strong ascendancy in the House, cannot very well be coerced into the support of Grant. To be beaten in the Republican National Convention would greatly improve their chances, which accounts for the boldness with which the *Tribune* flaunts the radical banner and shouts for an advance since the recent defeats. It is a calculated audacity. The *Tribune* itself does not pretend that the party can succeed by occupying its extreme ground. It artfully affects to undervalue success in comparison with a resolute adherence to principle; it bestows preposterous praise on the Ohio radicals for perilling the late election by their fidelity to the negro; it takes no pains to have it believed that a radical platform and candidate would lead to success.

The weak-kneed Republicans and expediency men will be confirmed by the protestations of the *Tribune* in their opinion of the necessity of more moderate courses, and the knowing radicals will secretly rejoice at the growing strength of Grant which they pretend to deprecate. They know well enough that with the Republican party united on a radical candidate the Democrats would easily win. They hope that a division will strengthen both wings; the Grant wing by preventing desertions, the radical wing by calling out voters who would otherwise stay at home in disgust. If the two wings together shall outnumber the Democrats, the radical object will be accomplished by carrying the election into the House, where they are safe.

Judging from present appearances, there is little doubt that General Grant can have the regular Republican nomination, if he will take it. It will be given against a noisy, simulated opposition meant for no other purpose than to lay the foundation for a radical bolt. We have mistaken the character of General Grant if he is not too shrewd and wary to be drawn into such a trap, and to allow himself to be made a stalking-horse to aid the election of a radical President. The ways of politicians are crooked and slippery, and it behooves him to be well on his guard.

President Johnson and the Tenure of Office Bill.

From the N. Y. World.

A statement was made in Washington on Tuesday, purporting to have been authorized by the President, that he was determined to disregard the Tenure of Office act and treat it as a nullity. Instead of communicating to the Senate, as that act requires, his reasons for suspending Secretary Stanton, and awaiting its action thereon before appointing a regular successor, he will merely send in a nomination to fill the vacancy precisely as if no such act had been passed. If the Senate should refuse to act on the nomination and attempt to reinstate Stanton, the President will forbid the delivery to him of the keys and papers of the office. Stanton, in that case, will apply to the Supreme Court for a *mandamus* to put him in possession. It will not be granted without argument, and the President expects that the Court will pronounce the Tenure of Office act unconstitutional, and thus restore to him the powers of removal and appointment which have been exercised by his predecessors since the beginning of the Government.

The Republicans will, of course, make this determination the topic of another great outcry against President Johnson, whom they will accuse of defiant disobedience to the laws of the land. But his course admits of the most solid justification. If the Tenure of Office act be really, as he deems it, repugnant to the Constitution, it is no law at all, and ought not to be obeyed. The President does not assume to decide this question for himself, but proposes to refer it for decision to the tribunal ordained for interpreting the laws and judging of their consistency with the Constitution. If the Supreme Court, after full argument, should decide to issue the *mandamus*, the President will obey it.

Nothing could be more absurd than to dispute the right of the President to bring laws which he believes unconstitutional to a judicial test. It is a right possessed by every citizen. This right, which all aggrieved citizens possess, of refusing obedience to unconstitutional laws, is the indispensable means of maintaining the supremacy of the Constitution, and keeping the legislative branch of the Government within its prescribed bounds. The courts can take no cognizance of such questions until they are brought before them by regular suits, which none but aggrieved parties have any motive to bring. The meanest citizen equally with the highest officer has a right to resist any law which he considers unconstitutional, provided he resists by legal methods; provided he resists not to make himself the final judge in his own cause, but to bring it before a competent tribunal.

The question raised by Mr. Johnson was ably argued on constitutional grounds in the first Congress, and brought to a legislative decision which was respected for nearly seventy years. Leading Republicans like Madison, and leading Federalists like Fisher Ames, concurred in the opinion that the President possesses the power of removal by the Constitution. The authority of the first Congress is of at least as much weight on such a question as that of the thirty-ninth; the former having consisted of framers of the Constitution and their contemporaries, and the latter of heated, intemperate partisans. The deliberate decision of the first Congress, after full debate, and the uniform usage of the Government, create a presumption against the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office act strong enough to amply justify the President in referring the question to the judiciary.

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