SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

HDIFORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS EFOR GUMBEST TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

A Warning to Congress and to Party Managers.

From the N. Y. Times. An Ohio correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, discussing the lesson of the late elections, adduces the shortcomings of Congress, as well as the blunders of local managers, as the causes of disaster.

In Ohio, as in California, and now again in this State, the local organizations appear to have displayed a remarkable indifference to the moral sense of the Republican party. The correspondent of our radical contemporary charges that in Ohio, in many instances, the worst men were nominated for office-"Govarnment plunderers and political outcasts'from whose support the best elements of the party naturally recoiled. In the writer's own county, a quartermaster who had been convicted and dismissed the service by courtmartial was awarded a conspicuous position on the ticket, and in other counties the character of the nominees is alleged to have been vile.

Another cause of alienation has been the proscription of the soldiers in the organization of the county tickets; while the Demoerats adroitly acceded them honorable positions. To these local circumstances the Tra bune's correspondent attributes the defection of thousands of Republicans, who refused to be participators in the degradation of their party. Will not our New York managers profit by the lesson while time remains to correct the blunders which in some districts have been committed? They may rest assured that here, as in Ohio, a large class of Republican voters will refuse to support the nomination of candidates whose antecedents render them unworthy of confidence. Party alle giance is not strong enough in these days to carry through corrupt and dishonest nominees; and any attempt to test the question will enure to the benefit of the Democrats.

But the correspondence of our Chicago con temporary does not limit the moral of the Ohio election to local considerations. These were sufficient, no doubt, to render intelligible many of the changes in the composition of the State Legislature and the filling of local offices but they represent only imperfectly the influences that have operated to the prejudice of the Republican party. Any lesson upon the subject would be incomplete that failed to touch the discontent which has been occasioned by the refusal of Congress to satisfy the demands of the country on other questions than reconstruction. Here is the first count in the indictment to which the leading radical journal of the Northwest gives circulation:-

"A groundwork for serious dissatisfaction among the most sincere adherents of the Republican party, has been the rapacity of its office-holders and the indifference of the National Legislature to the immediate ills from which the nation suffered. It has been a subject of universal complaint that while the trade of the country is well nigh at a stand still, the laborer abroad in search of employment, taxes, laborer abroad in search of employment, taxes, and the cost of living enormously high, and the profits of labor and merchandising upprecedentedly small, that body has been possessed with a mania for disposing of the spublic moneys by continued appropriations; that it has arbitrarily increased its salaries and perquisites; that in the course of three sessions since the cessation of hostilities it has provided no method of retrenchment, no lopping off of useless and devouring offices, no economizing in the collection of the reventes, no checking the defalcations and whisky frauds, and the thousand instances of official perfidy by which the Federal Treasury is being drained."

These are complaints to which the popular heart of the country most earnestly responds. Outside of the circle of party managers and office-holders, the feeling is universal that Congress has addressed itself too exclusively to the strictly political aspect of reconstruction, and has consequently overlooked the urgent practical wants which have followed the suppression of the Rebellion. The necessity of retrenchment has not been recognized. The evils and injustice of a crude and vexations system of taxation have received very limited attention. The dangers incident to an inflated and inconvertible currency have been met with nothing like adequate precaution. On each of these points Congress is chargeable with more than negative faults. Its sins had been fewer were they only sins of omission. In truth, however, it has been lavish instead of thrifty in its expenditures. Although it has effected some reduction of internal taxation, it has doctored the tariff for the benefit of special interests, and almost always for the worse. And though it sustained the very moderate scheme of contraction which Mr. McCulloch has partially carried out, it produced an impression which the speculators and gold gamblers have turned to account. Judged according to any intelligent standard of statesmanship, it must be admitted that the last Congress signally failed to realize the wants of the country, and the opportunities for affording relief which existed side by side with the question of Southern reconstruction. A similar consciousness of the weakness

which the inefficiency of Congress has entailed upon the Republican party may be traced, we think, in the speech of Senator Morgan, as Chairman of the ratification meeting held last week in this city. He does not, indeed, arraign Congress after the manner of the writer we have quoted, nor does he rebuke the wretched taste and worse judgment which are visible in certain of the local nominations. But he clearly indicates the necessity of legislating more earnestly for the relief of the struggling industry of the country, and the peril of longer neglecting its material requirements. revision of our system of taxation and the reduction of its burdens—the inauguration of an era of retrenchment-and the judicious management of the currency, are matters which Senator Morgan points out as tests by which the capacity of Congress will properly be in a large degree determined.

These demands are in nowise inimical to the

policy of Congress on the reconstruction question, or the measures which the differences with the President may yet necessitate. But they are a protest against the further neglect of material concerns, and the continued sacrifice of great practical questions on the altar of an insensate partisanship. Let the reconstruction of the South be completed, by all means, and with the least possible delay. But let not the performance of this task be pleaded as an excuse for inattention to the industrial, commercial, and financial necessities of the republic.

The Southern Elections.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The States of Alabama and Louisiana have already held elections under the Reconstruction acts of Congress; the rest are about to follow. A charge of tactics on the part of the self-styled "Conservatives" deserve consideration.

The acts of Congress require, first, a careful registration of all persons who are legal voters in the respective States; next, an election

but, unless a majority of all the voters regis-tered vote at this election, the whole move-ment is invalidated, and the Convention must

At the outset, the "conservatives" (ex-

Rebels) were inclined to "accept the situation" in good faith, and to unite with their heartily oyal fellow-citizens in reorganizing their respective States and in choosing officers to govern them. Even so bitterly Copperheal a sheet as the World advised them to do this, not as intrinsically desirable, but as the most judicious course practicable. Some of the leading Southrons, like Governor Brown, of Georgia, Wade Hampton, General Longstreet, and General Jeff. Thompson, took this course. The majority, however, inclined to a sullen, dogged, passive resistance. They very generally registered, but declined to vote; hoping thus to nullify the movement for a Convention and protract indefinitely the "military despotism' which they represent as so intolerable. This maneuvre failed. In spite of yellow fever and concerted "conservative" efforts to keep voters from the polls, both Alabama and Louisiana have cast a decided majority of their registered votes, and thus insured the holding of conventions. Virginia and North Carolina are about to follow; but the results of recent elections have impelled the change of tactics already noted. The "conservatives" in each of these States are making desperate efforts to carry a majority of delegates in their respective conventions; and, as each State has a decided majority of whites registered as legal voters, and as the Republicans have been much divided, they cherish strong and reasonable hopes of success. The conservatives will vote "No Convention," but they will not abstain from voting as their brethren in Alabama and Louisiana did; and it is quite probable that Virginia will poll a heavier aggregate next Tuesday than she has ever yet done. A like result is quite possible in North Carolina. And if nine-tenths of the whites shall prove to be conservative, they may carry the convention, or, failing in this, they may vote it down and prolong indefinitely the military rule.

Conservatism means simply a denial of the right of suffrage to any but whites. Such is held to be the purport of recent elections at the North; and Virginia proposes to follow the fashion set by Ohio. The blacks are not seeking to disfranchise ex-Rebels; the ex-Rebels are seeking to disfrauchise the blacks. We ardently hope that the attempt may be signally defeated.

South Carolina and Mississippi have each a clear majority of colored men on their registries; and it puzzles us to see how the minority can hope to disfranchise the majority. We shall be somewhat astonished if sensible "conservatives" shall unite in the effort. It can have no other effect than to embitter the relations of the two races. There should have been no thought of white or black in politics; but if a large majority of the whites in any State see fit to make the disfranchisement and political suppression of the blacks the cornerstone of their edifice, they absolutely compel every black to stand against them. Thus the Memphis Appeal, edited by Albert Pike, a paroled prisoner of the United States, born in New England, sets forth his creed as follows:-"A government of white men for white men,

and no political miscegenation.
"Loyalty to the Union of the States; fidelity to the Constitution in its true intent and meaning; ob dience to and maintenance of all laws. State and national, constitutionally enacted.

"Restoration of disfranchised citizens to all rights and privileges of which they have been dessized; no prosecutions of disqualifications for political opinions; for the past, oblivion of offenses; for the present and future, Union, "Perpetual assurance to all freemen lof the African race of all the civil rights of freemen." peace, law, and order.

-What sort of civil rights the African race are likely to enjoy under the unchecked rule of such men as Pike, they were shown at the taking of Fort Pillow, and again at the Memphis butchery of the following winter. If the blacks are allowed even to give testimony against whites who assault, maim, and rol them, it will be because such whites as Pike no longer rule the country.

The Appeal thus responds to our restate ment of universal amnesty with impartial suf-

frage as the true basis of reconstruction:-"You cannot 'close up the work of reconstruction on any such basis. You cannot bribe the people of the South with universal amnesty to accept negroes as their political equals. You own people in the North, even in Onio, who not accept them as such; and the true men the South are not sunken quite so low as to accept as their equals those who are deemed upfli to be the equals of the men of Onio. Your bribe of universal amnesty is not worth enough. You cannot buy men's souls with it, nor their honor or self-respect. Those whom you can purchase will not prove worth the buying."

-Our readers know that we have steadfastly iisclaimed any idea of bribing, or coaxing, or bargaining in any way with such inveterate Rebels as Pike. We suggested the bases of reconstruction which seemed to us statesmanlike, generous and beneficent. If those who made war on the Union for slavery's sake are not willing to stand henceforth on a footing of perfect political equality with those who vanquished and compelled them to surrender, we must forego the hope of having the aid of the former in the work of reconstruction, on a basis of amnesty and liberty. We are consoled by the reflection that, as the Union was upheld against their best efforts, it may not be impossible to reconstruct it without their cooperation.

- Elections under the Reconstruction as will take place as follows:—	t
Virginia October Georgia October 29, 30 Ficrida November 14, 15, South Carolina November 19, North Carolina November 19,	31
Mississippl	

The Significance of the Vote on Negro Suffrage in Ohio,

From the N. Y. Herald.

The Republican State of Ohio, the hotbed o Western radicalism, the home of Chief Justice Chase, who is the nigger-radical candidate for the Presidency, has emphatically refused to give the negroes the suffrage. No amount of ingenuity on the part of the partisau press or radical orators can explain away the significance of this fact. There is a clear majority of sixty to a hundred thousand votes against giving the suffrage to negroes in the State. The returns are not all reported, but the Republicans concede a majority of sixty-five thouand, while the Democrats claim near a hundred thousand. Take it at seventy or eighty thousand, which is probably near the mark or even what the Republicans admit, sixty-five thousand, it is a surprising majority, and undeniable evidence that the negro-suffrage policy of the Republican party is utterly

scouted by the people.

But to understand how remarkably emphatic this vote of Ohio is, we must consider the manner in which the question was put, and the status of the negro in that State. It was mixed up with other questions-with party whereat those legal voters shall determine I questions and the election of State officers. It

that a Convention shall or shall not be held to reorganize the State. Delegates to said Convention are usually chosen at this election; but, unless a majority of all the voters registered vote at this election, the whole move-tered vote at this election, the whole moveone question and another. Mr. Chase went home to vote for negrounffrage, and to give an example to the Republican voters. Other radioal leaders were equally as earnest in their efforts to carry the State on this issue. But the people did discriminate in a very remark able manner, for a vast number who voted for the party ticket roted at the same time against negro suffrage.

Taking the Republican majority in the elections last year and the majority new against negro suffrage, there is a change of at least a hundred thousand Republican votes, and probably a change of a hundred and thirty thousand. Nor was there any apathy or indiffer-ence on the question, for the vote of the State was larger than ever before. The people turned out, as they never did before, purposely to express their disapprobation of negro suffrage, just as Mr. Chase went home expressly to vote for it. Never was the policy of party eaders in and out of Congress so signally denounced as this has been by the mass of the party itself. But this is more surprising still when we look at the status and insignificant number of the negroes in Ohio. Civil rights are not denied to them there, now is there any disposition to refuse them all the protection afforded by the laws to the whites. Giving them the privilege of voting would have had little or no effect upon the political issues in the State, because they are comparatively few in number. There was no fear of negro supremacy or a negro balance of power in Ohio as in the South. The white vote would always be overwhelming there. What, then, is the meaning of such an emphatic refusal to give the negroes suffrage! It means that the superior white race-the Anglo-American and all the other branches of the European race which constitute the body of American citizens-will not degrade the country and Government by admitting an inferior race to equality with themselves. That, and that alone, is the meaning of the vote in

In California the people refused to give the Mongolian race (the Chinese) the privilege of voting, from the same repugnance to putting an interior race on an equality with themselves. Yet the Mongolian is far superior to the negro. Is it surprising, then, that the American people should be disgusted with the efforts to make the negroes—the lowest race of mankind-their equals? The consciousness of superiority and the sentiments and pride springing from it have determined unequivecally the relative position of these races to each other. But the negro question has assumed just now the greatest proportions in another point of view. It is not merely whether a few negroes scattered throughout the populous States of the North shall be placed on an equality with the whites, where they must always remain comparatively harmless as a political element, but it is the effort of the radicals to make them a power in the republic through their votes in the Southern States that gives the greatest importance to the question. They form a large portion of the population of the South, and in

ome States the largest. Under the operation of the reconstruction acts of Congress, which disfranchise a great many whites, they actually hold the political power of that vast and valuable section of our country. But that is not all. Our political system is such that they would probably hold the balance of power in the republic. The President and members of Congress—enough to give a balance of power—may be elected by the negro vote of the South. The President, probably, would owe his election to that whenever parties were pretty equally divided. The organs of the radicals unblushingly confess they are now aiming at this object. They have the hardihood to avow this infamous purpose. This great republic to be under negro government! What a spectacle to contemplate! Ignorance and brutality to rule thirty millions of white American citizens! We must recollect that it is the balance of power that governs here, though it may be secured only by a few thousand votes. The Southern States in the hands of the negroes, as they will be if the reconstruction acts of Congress be carried out, will surely give these benighted people of the lowest race that

What, then, is to prevent them, incapable as they are, from reaching the highest offices? And would not the politicians pander to the prejudices and demands of these people for the sake of party and the offices of Government? A war of races, a ruined South, a vast military establishment, and, perhaps, a consolidated despotism over the whole country, would follow. We should sink into the condition of the South and Central American republics, or a worse one. Such is the alarming prospect which the in amous legislation of a radical Congress has brought before us. And it is this, together with an inherent repugnance to negro equality, that has caused the revulsion of public opinion in Ohio. Since the significant vote in that State, we are not without hope that the evils of negro supremacy and a negro balance of power in the republic may be averted. We may expect the same result throughout the North as in Ohio whenever the issue comes, and reckless as Congress may be, it will hardly venture to defy public opinion when expressed so emphatically.

Reconstruction.

From the N. Y. World. "Instead of advising compliance with the law, the Worl's vehemently arges the Southern whites to stand aloof from the work of reconstruction that they may embarrass and, if pos-sible, defeat it. The hope is held out that by delaying reconstruction, readmission unencumbered by guarantees may be obtained through the successes of the Northern Democracy. One concession, and one only, is recommended, and that relates exclusively to a constitutional provision for insuring an equality of civil rights in the South. With this exception, the most rational and the most able of Democratic ournals now scouls the notion of reconstruc-tion. It will listen to no talk of terms. I spuris every proposition for securing to the loyalty of the South the direction of Southern affairs. It will be content with nothing less than the unconditional restoration of the South—its colored people disfranchised, its Rebel lenders occupying the seats of Senators and Representatives, its theory of State rights intact and operative, and its machinery of local government worked in the identical interest which precipitated the conflict with national which precipitated the conflict with national authority. Plainly stated, the design of the Democracy is to destroy the safeguards which the war has given to the Union, and to use whatever advantages may be required in the interest of rebeldom."—Times.

We regret that our contemporary chooses to handle a great subject in so loose a way. We have no fondness for the argumentum ad hominem, or we might easily show that the string of assertions here made against the World would be nearly as pertinent against the author of the Philadelphia address. But we dislike a mode of reasoning which rests on the accessories of a question and does not go to its substance. We do not wish to tease an opponent, but to elucidate the subject, and we will try to be candid, lest wounded self-esteem should prove an imper-

vious shield to error.

We of course understand, for we were among the first to state, the advantages possessed by the Republican party in their large majorities in Congress, and the long terms of the Senators. To pass a law requires the concurrence of the three branches of the lawmaking power, or if the President withholds his assent, a two-thirds majority of the other two branches. But to prevent the repeal of a law, a bare majority of either House, suffices. It hence follows that at least four years must elapse before the Reconstruction acts can be repealed, even though the Democrats should win every election during that period, if the Republican party uses its power to the

But no man of sense, be he Democrat or depublican, supposes that the Senate would be thus stiff after a general revolution in pubic opinion. When it becomes clearly evident that the country repudiates the reconstruction policy of the Republicans, the Senate will see that resistance would only postpone what it cannot prevent, and that they would irretrievably ruin their party by standing out against the settled determination of the le. The Republicans virtually concede this in their electioneering appeals. They keep vociferating with wearisome repetition that the success of the Democratic party would break down the Reconstruction acts, and restore the Rebels to power. This is an acknowledgment that their long lease of the Senate would avail them little against a powerful adverse public opinion. If the elections yet to be held are carried by the Democratic party, It is certain that the reconstruction policy will not succeed.

The law may not be forthwith repealed, but the Southern whites will stand sullenly aloof, like a horse led to the water and refusing to drink. It will then be for Congress to decide whether it will proceed to organize and uphold pure negro governments. The certain consequence of persistence would be to drive the whole party out of the lower House in the Forty-first Congress. As soon as the Democrats have a majority of the House of Representatives, there will be no difficulty in cutting the sinews of the Reconstruction acts, although we may be unable to repeal them. The House would assent to no appropriations for maintaining a coercive military tyranny in the South; the House would impeach no officer for treating the Reconstruction acts as a nullity, and the Senate cannot try and condemn till the House has first impeached. It is easy to see, therefore, how the Reconstruction acts may be made a dead letter after the 4th of March, 1869, even though the Republican Senate should prove obstinate. We trust that we have made it sufficiently evident that the Democratic party, by its great success in the elections, is not winning a barren victory.

We come now to a more immediate point. If the Democrats carry New York and other States, as we expect, the country will demand the settlement of the Reconstruction question without further delay. Seeing that the radical scheme cannot succeed, the people will be impatient of persistence in it. There will arise a moral necessity for an immediate settlement on a more liberal basis. We trust that such a settlement will be reached on the basis of a compromise in which the Republican party will yield something, President Johnson something, the South something, the Democratic party something. Each party will have advantages which the others cannot fail to recognize; which is a state of things favorable to mutual concessions and a liberal adjustment of differences. The strong point of the Republicans will be their large present majorities in Congress; the strong point of the Democrats their certainty of defeating the radical policy; the strong point of the South the ability of its white inhabitants to render the Reconstruction scheme contemptible by standing aloof and surrendering the control

of it to the negroes. Both the South and the Democratic party would be willing to make some concessions to have the question settled now, instead of two or four years hence. The Republicans had better make concessions than to stand out and lose all. A settlement thus reached would have this great advantage:-that, being established by the mutual consent of all parties, it would bind the honor of all, and be secure from subsequent disturbance. Whatever is deemed essential could at once be put into the Constitution by the prompt ratification of all the States; and neither party would be a future hot-bed of sedition, as it might under the soreness and humiliation of a complete and insolent triumph by its adversary. In proposing as the ground of settlement an amendment securing perfect equality of civil rights, we did not intend to assume authority that does not belong to us, and offer an ultinatum, but only to express an opinion which we had no doubt the Democratic party would

readily assent to. If the judgment we have now expressed as to the probable effect of a continuance of Democratic successes in the elections be tole rably sound, the consequences depicted by the Times should be regarded as mere electioneering clap-trap.

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