SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

MOTTORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS PPON CERRENT TOPICS-COMPILED RVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TRINGRAPH.

Our Next President—Shall it be Chase, Grant, Sherman, Horatto Seymour, or Vallandigham?

From the N. Y. Oltions. We see Mr. Greeley is advocating in the Tribune, with his customary force and courage, that the radical party, in selecting its Presidential candidate, shall choose a man to represent its principles and aspirations, instead of leeking only to "expediency" or "availability"-that this or the other man occupies a political situation so uncertain as to be able to secure many votes outside of party lines; and on this doctrine he urges that Judge Chase, of the Supreme Court, as the most essential representative of radical ideas, shall be made the nominee of that party in the great struggle of next year for national ascendancy. We heartily endorse Mr. Greeley's position, and would like to see it accepted also in the selec-tion to be made of our Democratic nominee.

"Expediency candidates" are never good for much-never bringing a thousand votes to any party standard; and, even if they be elected, "mighty mean critters" when power-of no use to friends and of no detriment to enemies. Their neutral and uncommitted position is practically an attempt to obtain success on false pretenses. Nothing is decided; no expression of the national or party will can be obtained by running an 'expediency nominee." In grave times, such as the present, when the existence or non-existence of nearly a dozen States is in issueeach party should first agree upon a platform representing its best judgment and convictions; after which, it should look around for the man best calculated to represent that platform, or who, if possible, had most largely contributed to framing its original ideas. Judged from this point of view, there can be no doubt that Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, is entitled to the next radical nomination for the office of President.

In like manner, we think the loyal Democratic party-er "War Democracy," as it was christened during the recent struggle-should either take up General Grant as the clearest exponent of its devotion to "the Union at any cost," or Lieutenant-General Sherman, than whom no officer brought out of the late war a more brilliant or substantial record. He did not win by brute force, but by strategy, and his successes were gained by immense and rapid movements, under which the enemy found himself beaten without being given an opportunity to fight. These remarks are not made in any spirit of disparaging General Grant, the difficulties of whose situation—opposed to the choicest armies and ablest General of the South, and in a country offering, with a little engineering skill (of which General Lee had more than enough), immense capabilities for defense—seemed to call for, indeed to make imperative, a totally different line of action from the grand swinging and devastative movements of General Sherman.

These are our alternatives for a military candidate, to represent the loyal Democracy. But should it be resolved in the great council of our party that the tendency to a Military Dictatorship needs rather to be repressed than promoted, why then let us resolve to put forward, as the ablest, purest, most unselfish, and one of the most actively loyal laborers for his country in her hour of need, ex-Governor Seymour, of New York-a name that would more distinctively represent the Democratic party and its principles, and would certainly call forth more honest and hearty enthusiasm than could be evoked by any other name whatever that could be placed at the head of our ticket. We know Seymour was once called "disloyal," a "vile Copperhead," and so forth, but that was in a period of excitement, when any one who could not or would not swallow the worst ultraisms and tyrannies of radical despotism and corruption, had only to be called a "Copperhead," and so feverish was the public mind that his instantaneous incarceration in Fort Lafayette would have been acquiesced in by five-sixths of the whole com-

But we happen to have personal knowledge that, while Governor Seymour was being most loudly and fiercely denounced in radical nals as an "abettor of the enemies of his country," both President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton were writing him warm letters of thanks, which shall be forthcoming in due season, expressing their deep and grateful acknowledgments for his active, efficient, and always well-advised efforts in pushing forward, by every means within his power as Governor of New York, the war for the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution of the United States. Governor Seymour then favored the draft, but opposed its machinery in New York as partisan, corrupt, and malicious-and for this the howl against him was loudest. But was he right or wrong ?- answer, Senator Roscoe Conklin! Let the Republican Congress answer, which, after a ful investigation, caused Major-General James B. Fry to moved from his office of Provost Marshal-General-not alleging that anything in Fry's personal motives had been corrupt; but distinetly affirming that the system under which the draft had been executed in New York was one of vastly organized fraud, tyranny, and partisanship-a stench in the nostrils of men,

and a cause for questioning the justice of

Heaven that had permitted such atrovities to

be perpetrated.

The last and perhaps angriest, because the falsest and foulest outery against Seymour, was when he protested against the seizure and incarceration of Colonel North and other Democratic agents, duly appointed and employed to collect the votes of any soldiers of the State of New York then serving in the Army of the Potomac, or in the vicinity of Washington. But what was the result? monstrous hus and cry of "fraud" was raised against these agents of our State; monstrous stories to the injury of the Democratic party were telegraphed by the Government, then in control of all the "wires" of the countrytelegraphic and military, financial, official, and politicak but when the need was over, and the Presidential election an accomplished fact, then the Government, with all its ingenuity and vast resources for suborning perjury, could not so much as trump up any charge on which Colonel North and his fellow-agents could be brought to trial ! That Seymour was thoroughly and zealously loyal during the entire war we are satisfied, and have reason to be satisfied. That he occasionally desponded and saw no hope for success, as things were managed, is most true; but which of the most loyal among us can say-even the loyalest shoddy contractor-that there never were mo ments during the struggle in which we all did "despair of the Republic?"

As to the "Copperheads," and straightout secession sympathizers of the North—the villains who should and would have been hung by public acclaim, if their labors had not been so useful to the radical party in breeding dis-

gust and dread of the loyal Democracy—why let these scoundrels, also, hold a national con-vention and put forward their distinctive candidates—men representing their principles; and let them try by a vote, of how many followers their contemptible but clamorous crew was composed-a crew only possessing the slightest consequence through the efforts of their Republican allies. They can take for their nominees Vallandigham, Voorhees, Thomas H. Seymour, of Connecticut, Chauncey Burr, Fernando Wood and his brother, Jeremiah Black, John Rodgers, of New Jersey, and perhaps some five hundred others-after which their limits of choice will be exhausted: for we believe they never had much more than five hundred and ten members in their entire party, though it suited the 'dittle game' of the then Republican press to make it appear that the persons above named were true presentative men" for the whole of our loyal Democratic masses. Above all things, gentlemen, let us have true representative platforms, with true representative men to stand on them, in the next Presidential contest!

The Western Democracy and the Debt.

From the N. Y. Times.

Among the causes which contributed to the Democratic success in Ohio must undoubtedly be included the agitation of the greenback question, and the favor with which Mr. Pendleton's views are regarded by a large portion of the Western people. The fact is not an agreeable one, but no good can result from its oncealment.

In the West, more keenly than anywhere else, the questions of taxation and currency are being discussed. There especially impatience of taxation manifests itself; and there the characteristic boldness of thought and expression finds scope in the examination of matters which, in the more reserved and cautious East, are handled tenderly, if touched at all. We have the radical testimony of the St. Louis Democrat that the dissatisfaction in the West "is mainly caused by the neglect of the financial interests of the country." the same authority we learn that "the artful appeal of Ohio Democrats has had some effect -the said appeal being that which Mr. Pendleton originated. The not less radical Tribune, of Chicago, concedes the spread of the feeling in its locality. "There is no disguising the fact," it says, "that there is a growing feeling among the masses of the people in favor of the proposed substitution of greenbacks for bank notes." Nor is the disposition likely to be checked by Mr. Jay Cooke's ponderous epistle. The people have little faith in an oracle that pronounced a national debt a national blessing; and we fear that other arguments than his will be needed to prevent the spread of unsound and most dangerous views on the subject of currency and finance.

The Democrats of Minnesota and Wisconsin do not attempt to conceal the course of their sympathies. Mr. Pendleton has thus far been the great gun of the Minnesota campaign, and the leading Democratic journal of the State has taken its stand on the ground occupied by that politician in common with General Butler. In Wisconsin the mischievous heresy has been officially indorsed. The Convention which nominated the present candidates adopted a resolution affirming the inviolability of the national debt-not, however, without evident signs of a strong opposition. But the Democratic State Committee, with a more correct conception of local feeling, have sent forth an address, in which they ask: "If depreciated paper was good enough to be received for the bonds, * * is not the lawful money of the nation good enough for the creditors of the Government?" The destruction of the national banks, and the substitution of Government paper for their circulation, are other points in the same document. Both in Wis-consin and Minnesota, then, violation of the national faith is a cardinal point of the Demo-

We do not forget that Mr. Pendleton's opinions have been emphatically repudiated by the World, or that the good faith of the Government has few more steadfast advocates than that journal. Nor are we unmindful that in the Albany Convention Governor Seymour and Mr. Mayor Hoffman spoke out man fully on the same side. But the World, with all its ability, does not control, or on many subjects represent, the Democratic press; and neither Governor Seymour nor Mr. Hoffman can compare in personal popularity and influence with Mr. Pendleton, whom Western Democracy already proclaims its candidate for the Presidency. It is indeed notorious that even in the Albany Convention a powerful element was at work in support of repudiation, and that the passages which fell most flat from Governor Seymour's lips were those in support of the public credit.

These circumstances are too significant to be ignored by those who would estimate truly the issues involved in the campaign. The triumph of the Democrats would involve more than complication and disturbance on the reconstruction question. It would cast discredit upon the national faith, alarm the business and capital of the country, and open the door for the Pendleton school of inflationists and repudiators. They form the vigorous, outspoken, and ambitious portion of the Demo

To Genuine Conservatives. From the N. Y. Tribune.

Four millions of our countrymen, lately slaves, are now free-that is a positive fact. You may dislike it, loathe it, execrate it-but you none the less know it to be a fact.

Congress, in reconstructing the States lately in revolt, has determined that these blacks, unless they have voluntarily aided the Rebellion, shall vote, and they are voting. This is another important fact. Hate it as you may, you still know it to be a fact.

This Congress remains in power for nearly wo years longer, and the Republican majority in the Senate cannot be subverted within the next four years. Though every election should go against us meantime, the Senate will remain Republican. But it is perfectly certain that the majority will be strongly reinforced from the soon-to-be reconstructed States And right well do you know that this majority will not vote to destroy itself by disfranchising the Southern blacks.

What, then, do you mean by conservatism Do you mean to keep this whole country in turmoil and contention throughout the next four years, in the desperate hope that you may thereafter be able to disfranchise the four millions of Southern blacks, and put them under the feet of their late Rebel masters? If that is your game, what sort of crops, of

trade, of payments, can you expect from the

South meantime? What hope can you cherish that the country will ever be pacified? It is one thing to deny the right of suffrage to a downtrodden race; it is quite another to deprive them of it after they have gained and exercised it. We dely the wit of man to tell how the blacks of South Carolina, Mississipp and Florida, after they shall have voted and chosen State officers and members of Congress, are to be disfranchised, except by usurpation and revolutionary violence. shown you that they will not disfranchise

Conservatives! practical men! devotees of | peace and prosperity! we conjure you to pause and reflect! The antidote to social ausrohy is impartial liberty !

The Trial of Davis.

From the N. Y. Times. It seems probable that Jefferson Davis will actually be tried for treason; and as the time draws near it is impossible not to feel some misgivings as to the results and effect of that proceeding. It is very easy to say, as the whole country has been saying for the last two years, that treason is the highest of crimes, and ought to be punished; but one instinctively feels, after all, that this little argument, conclusive as it seems, does not dispose of the whole case.

Davis is not to be tried simply as an individual. His own punishment for his own crime is not the sole object, or the main object, sought to be accomplished. It is the Rebellion that is to be put on trial in his person. It is the principle on which the Rebellion rested-the States that entered into itthe great community involved in its guilt, which are to be arraigned before the judicial tribunals of the nation; and the object of that arraignment is to procure a solemn decision on the case which is to settle the law for all time to come, and leave no room hereafter for the claim that any State has a right to secede. But do we intend to admit, by resorting to such a tribunal for a decision, that there is any doubt on this point now? If a trial is wanted, it must be wanted to decide something which is doubtful. It cannot be to affirm something which is decided already. If Davis is put upon his trial, that very act assumes that his guilt is still open to doubt-that the question is undecided; nay, on the assumption that a trial is required, he is, in the presumption of the law, innocent, until the trial is ended and his guilt is proved.

Do we mean by this trial what the trial itself thus of necessity implies? Do we presume-do we admit, for a moment, that Davis is innocent? Do we not regard it as little less than treason to doubt his guilt? If Davis has not been guilty of treason-if secession was a right-what has been the history of this nation for the last six years but the most awful and tremendous revelry of crime the sun ever shone upon? If he is tried, he may be acquitted. Unless the trial becomes itself a greater crime than the alleged offense-unless what pretends to be a solemn appeal to absolute and supreme abstract justice is turned into a paltry and contemptible trick—we are bound to admit that this man may go forth from the bar relieved of all stain of guilt, carrying the sanction of the judicial tribunals of the nation for the whole tremendous trausaction of which he was the recognized and responsible head. This nation certainly does not consciously intend to pave the way for such a result. We do not admit that a shadow of doubt rests on the question of Davis' guilt. We do not admit that the right or wrong of secession is open to argumen, tor that it awaits a decision at the hands of any tribunal on the

face of the earth. And the reason is, because the whole question has been decided already-decided by the highest of all earthly tribunals, and beyond all possibility of reversal or appeal. Nations know no higher law than the law of force—no higher tribunal than the field of battle. Constitutions and laws, senates and courts, have value and force only as means of avoiding that final arbitrament, and only while they succeed in substituting other modes of judgment for its stern decrees. But when war is called in to settle disputes, it holds no divided court, It takes jurisdiction of the whole case. It allow its decisions to be called in es not question, nor are its judgments open to re-viewal and reversal. Davis and the Rebellion appealed to the sword to decide their contest with the nation; and the answer to that appeal will stand as the verdict in the case, as the law of the land, no matter what courts, or States, or Congresses may say to the contrary until arms, in another appeal to force, may reverse it. It is not possible that a trial should add in a civil court feather's weight to the dignity or the solemnity of the decision that has been already reached. The danger is that it will detract from it: it must do that if it does anything at all. To submit a question over which four years of war have been waged, for which two million men have been under arms, and half a million have laid down their lives, which has imposed upon the nation burdens of debt which will affect the wealth and welfare of hundreds of millions yet unborn, and which has changed the political, industrial, and social institutions of a continent and made its mark, deep and indelible, on the history of the human race-to submit such a question to the solemn judgment of a jury of twelve men, to be drawn without distinction of race or color, not one of whom may have ever seen a law book or a book of any sort, who may be presided over by Judge Underwood, and whose verdict is to reverse this whole current of our national history, if it has any weight or any meaning whatever-is a proceeding too broadly farcical to be regarded with entire complacency. We think it is to be deeply regretted that our Government has not been able to devise some means of saving

us from it. The forthcoming trial is very likely to do us damage and discredit. We see no way in which it can possibly de us good. If Davis should be convicted, he will not be punished no one believes for a moment that he will be either executed or imprisoned. His conviction would not deepen the impression of the guilt of the Rebellion on the public mind in the least degree; indeed, the fact that its guilt is allowed to be solemnly called in question will infallibly weaken the public sense of its enormity, and cause it to be regarded as a subect on which opinions may justly differ. If he should be acquitted, as he may be, the consequences, especially on public sentiment in the Southern States, would be still more injurious. And considering the character and calibre of the presiding District Judge, the mode of constituting the jury, and the prevailing temper of the parties who have conthe whole proceeding, there is reason to fear that steps may be taken to procure a conviction which will reflect more lasting disgrace and inflict deeper injury on our whole political system than even an acquittal would

The matter has become so complicated by the long delays and irresolute action already had, that its solution now is a matter of no small difficulty. But we believe the country would feel relieved if the whole proceeding could be dismissed. The Rebellion has been tried and condemned; and there is neither necessity for a new trial nor possibility of any greater punishment than it has already re-

Five Hundred Miles of Civilization. From the N. Y. Tribune.

From the base of the mountain range which forms the backbone of the continent comes the word that five hundred miles of the Union Pacific Railroad have been successfully constructed. Thirty-one miles more, now nearly inished, will carry the line to the summit

which is the highest elevation of the route, from which point the head-light of the loco-motive will shine over towards the Pacific, perhaps before the anow flies. This accomplishment of half a thousand miles in distance and the completion of the first grand division of the enterprise-from the Missouri to the base of the Rocky Mountains-forms a fitting point from which to review the work accomplished, and note the importance of the great under

This can best be done by glancing at the condition of the region through which the road passes, as it was before the beginning of the work, two years ago. Through the five hundred miles which intervened between the Missouri and the nearest mining districts, all the machinery and supplies for the miners had to be hauled by teams-a process so slow and expensive that it could only be undertaken by mining companies who were confident of a sufficient return for the outlay. Individual enterprise on the part of the great mass of miners was so blocked by the freight charges of \$500 per ton for machinery, that a vast number of promising mines, which would otherwise have added largely to the aggregate production, were forced to remain unopened. And yet, spite of these enormous charges, no less than 27,000 teams, with freight and passengers, left two points only on the Missouri in a single season. The public lands through all this region were comparatively worth-less, through the difficulties and daugers of communication with "the States" and the hostility of the Indians. The Government's only tenants were the Indian and the buffalo. But, besides its loss of revenue from these lands, the Government incurred enormous actual expense in its military operations, upon the Plains. The expedition to Utah cost a prodigious sum, while for Indian campaigus, it was estimated that the annual cost of each regiment of cavalry was counted by millions. In addition to these extraordinary expenditures, there was the great cost of transporting materials for maintaining the military posts throughout the Territories. Considering these facts, and the urgent need (as especially made manifest during the late war) of more speedy communication with the Pacific coast, Congress wisely made liberal grants of credit and land to insure the rapid construction of

With this encouragement, the Companies to whom was given the construction of the through line went vigorously to work, making large personal advances, and giving every proof of perfect confidence in their success. A contract involving over sixty millions of dollars was made by the Union Pacific Company, under which responsible parties were to build 914 miles west from Omaha, for \$68,058 per mile, including all necessary buildings, repair shops, and other appurtenances, and supply rolling stock to the amount of \$5,000 .-Under this contract five hundred miles have been completed, some of the distance under very special difficulties. The Indians have looked with suspicion upon this novel penetration of their hunting and fighting grounds. The mystery of the iron horse was too great for the In-dian's comprehension, but he shrewdly divined that the locomotive was the herald of an army of pale-faces, and its whistle the knell of his supremacy. The energy of the contracting parties has, however, overcome all obstacles, the most palpable result thus far being the fact that a passenger can now pursue an uninterrupted railway journey from the Atlantic at New York to the Rocky Mountains, 500 miles west of Omaha. The financial accounts of the road to this point show a remarkable fact. No one has doubted that when the whole grand line to the Pacific shall be finished, in 1870 (as the Companies promise), it will be very highly profitable, but the actual net earnings of the way business, during the past season, are officially reported to be more than sufficient to pay the interest

The building of this railroad is a work of public necessity. The Government has already gained from it more than it has paid for it. An immense tract of land in the valley of the river Platte has been brought into market, and made desirable for the emigrant. Upon this territory new towns are springing up, which will become manufacturing communities, adding to the productive wealth of the country, and helping to pay the public debt. Coal mines have been discovered in the Black Hills, which, in that region of scarce fuel, will be hardly less valuable than the deposits of the precious metals. Every acre of land improved or sold by the company increases the demand for the Government's lands alongside, and every additional ton of gold or silver mined because of the increased facilities offered by the railroad puts money into the national treasury. The saving to the Government in freights, and the increase in its revenues, will confirm the opinion that this is not only the most onduring but the most profitable of all the internal improvements which have received Congressional aid. In short, the advances of the Government bonds is but a loan of the public credit, which costs the Government nothing, but pays it handsome dividends.

The road must be finished as rapidly as possible. The Pacific coast has room and work for ten millions of people, instead of the half million who now inhabit a world by themselves. The \$100,000,000 yearly produced in the mining regions can and should be doubled, and all along the line of this world's thoroughfare should be such industrial exterprises as will promote the prosperity of the nation and of the several States, and constitute the best evidences of our national greatness.

The Movement in Italy, and the Position of Victor Emanuel. From the N. Y. Herald.

The movement in Italy for the liberation of Rome and the union of the Papal territory with the kingdom advances with such rapid strides, that the ink which records one striking event is hardly dry before news of others is flashed through the Atlantic cable. The last received is highly interesting in several points of view. General Garibaldi was marching on Rome, and was in sight of the city. amount of his force is not stated, but it was divided into two columns, and the Papal troops were retreating before the victorious insurgents. The whole of Italy seems to be in a state of fermentation. The ardor and determination of the Italian patriots appear irresistible, so that if the fate of Rome were to rest on the Italians alone, there would be little doubt of the result. But we learn at the same time that the French fleet had salled from Toulon for Civita Vecchia. The mission of this fleet, doubtless, is to interfere in the affairs of Italy, to defend the temporal power of the Pope, and to make war on the Gari-It remains to be seen how far the Italian patriots may be able to resist the formidable intervention of France. That power thrown into the scale on the side of the Pope makes the contest very doubtful at present. The news of approaching events, therefore, will be anxiously looked for throughout the civilized world, and particularly in the United

But what position does Victor Emanuel occupy at this critical time? Evidently he is

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much embarrassed. In opposing the popular movement, or by not going with it and con-trolling it, and thus yielding to the policy and dictation of the French Government, he makes himself the vassal of Napoleon. He puts not only Rome but also Italy at the feet of France, and he virtually dethrones himself. Though he is a brave soldier, he shows a want of moral courage and sagacity in this great orisis. He talks about his obligations, under the convention with France, not to disturb the Pope or annex the Papal territory. He forgets that the voice of a whole nation-of a nation of twenty-six millions of people-is superior to all conventions, particularly when forced upon an unwilling people by the selfish diplomacy a foreign power. Great popular movements cannot be bound by such conventions. Nor are governments bound by them when in the way of their policy or interests. Napoleon will not be bound by this one with Victor Emanuel. By ordering his fleet to Italy, he shows how little he respects either his treaty obligations or the sentiments of an independent nation and an ally. Where Napoleon had one reason for intervening in the affairs of Italy and Rome, Victor Emanuel had many and powerful ones to resist the intervention to the last extremity. He has humiliated Italy, and, in doing so, runs the greatest risk of losing the affection and allegiance of the Italian

people.

This view of Victor Emanuel's position is predicated upon the presumption that he is really opposed to the movement of the Italian We might have thought his opposition feigned and his real wish covered up, for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of Napoleon and the ultramontane party, had he not permitted intervention against the Italians to go so far; but when he declines to take possession of Rome, and stands still while another French expedition sails for that city, we must conclude he has abandoned the cause of Italian unity out of fear and at the dictation of the French. If he had been wise, and had possessed moral courage enough when the movement assumed the grand proportions it has, he would have en-Rome before the French could have started to that city, and then have proclaimed France and the world he could have explained the necessity for taking such a step, could have shown it was the only way to settle a troublesome question and preserve the peace of Italy and Europe, could have appealed to the sympathy of mankind, and then could have entered into negotiations with the French and other Governments on the basis of what he had done. Such a course, probably, would have prevented the intervention of Napoleon. There might have been some sharp diplomatic talk, but it is not likely any French fleet or French soldiers would have been sent to Rome. At all events the Italians would have rallied with remarkable unanimity to support their brave King. He would have become the most popular monarch in Europe. It is not likely that Napoleon would have made war on the King to drive him out of Rome and to maintain the temporal power of the Pope; but if even he should have attempted it, twenty-six millions of brave and ardent Italians, with the sympa thy of the civilized world to back them, would have been a match on their own soil for France, powerful as she is.

opportunity of making himself great and all Italy united. Perhaps he has been unwisely playing a game in behalf of the dynasties and against the democratic tendencies of the people. He may have dreaded this popular movement more than the threats of Napo leon or military power of France. ther monarchs may have advised him to stem the progress of democratic ideas. But, whatever may have been the cause of his incomprehensible conduct, he has, we are persuaded made a great mistake. His unpopularity and trouble have just begun, as we see in the difficulty about forming a ministry. The popular general, Cialdini, was not willing to enter the ministry, for his heart is with the Italians and their cause. He is not disposed to favor the King's French policy, and, probably, may be looking to the future, when he may lead the Italian patriots in a war for Rome and Italian independence. Victor Emanuel has humiliated Italy and placed himself in an unpopular and most difficult position. He did Italy some service in times gone by, but he has done, proba bly, all he can do. Young Italy now need another chief and leader. The best thing he can do, therefore, is to abdicate in favor of one of his sons, Humbertor Amedee. These young men have seen service in the field, are brave and full of fire, and better represent the vigor patriotism, and enthusiasm of modern Italy luless he should do this or totally abando his timid pro-French policy, both he and his dynasty may be swept away ere long by the

But Victor Emanuel seems to have lost the

The Virginia Election-Triumph of the Negroes. From the N. Y. World.

The election in the most important of the Southern States, and the one where the advantages were greatest for defeating the radicals, has resulted in a majority of sixteen thousand or more in favor of a Cenvention, and the delegates chosen at the same time consist of thirty conservatives and sixty radicals, eigh-

teen of the latter being negroes. Cousidering the fulness of the negro vote, and the unani-mity with which it was cast for a Convention and for radical members of it, we doubt whether the general result could have been different if the conservatives had been all of

have been kept down to a slender margin. Of the registered voters the excess of whites was less than 14,000. We have only to suppose half this number radicals, to neutralize the conservative vote. The voting strength of the radicals is doubtless much greater, so that, with the consolidated negro vote, they would have carried the Convention, however perfect might have been the unity among the conservative

We think that the Richmond Enquirer, which stiffly advised inaction, evinced more sagacity than the Richmond Whig, which counselled all the registered whites to vote. There was no possibility of beating the radicals if the full negro vote was polled; and the most effective mode of opposition would have been total abstention. The Convention cannot, in any just sense, be considered as a deliberative body. It must act under the coercive dictation of Congress; and unless it wishes its work rejected (a case in which it would be idle for it to assemble), it must reach a foregone conclusion. Its only choice will be as to the phraseology in which it will couch the Congressional requirement to make the negro inhabitants of the State equal to the white. The wording being of little consequence, and the substance dictated beforehand, there was no good reason why conservatives should vote, unless in the hope of defeating the Convention. It would have been wiser to surrender the whole business to the negro party, whose extravagance, when acting without any check, might lead them into blunders which would recoil to their disadvantage.

But inaction stands upon reasons which will not hold good when the work of the Convention comes to be submitted for ratification. The registered conservatives of Virginia will be inexcusable if they do not turn out in full strength to vote down the new constitution. Very likely they will not succeed; certainly they will not unless the Convention falls into blunders that disgust a part of the white radicals. Still it is important, in reference to the public opinion of the North, that the majority by which the new constitution is adopted shall be pitifully small; and the Virginia conservatives can undoubtedly make it so. It will then only be necessary to subtract the vote against the constitution from the whole number of registered whites to find how many whites favored ratification. A comparison of the white votes for with the white votes against, will show how overwhelmingly it would have been repudiated if submitted only to those fairly entitled to vote upon it. The whites who stay away from the polls in so important a crisis as the ratification will be considered as indifferent, and the moral effect of the vote will be impaired or lost if the whites who vote aye shall bear a considerable proportion to the whites who vote no.

The protest of Mr. Gilmer against the validity of the election in Richmond strikes us, at this distance, as amounting to nothing beyond an expression of indignant feeling. Gilmer's law points may be well taken, but they will have no weight with the tribunal to which he addresses them. General Schoffeld is accountable only to Congress; and if he has exceeded his authority by continuing the election one day and part of a night beyond the time when by law it should have closed, Congress will sanction the extension. The supplementary act passed at the extra session made it the duty of the district commanders to construe the law "liberally," with a view to fulfil its objects, and everybody knows that its paramount object was to secure Republican majori-

ties in the Southern States. The extension of the time so as to get the whole negro vote in, will never be regarded by Congress as impairing the validity of the election. Mr. Gilmer's protest will therefore accomplish nothing beyond calling public attention to the points he argues. We apprehend that nothing is to be gained by fighting the reconstruction scheme on mere points of detail. It is of very subordinate consequence whether the polls at an election remain open two days or three, or whether the thirty days' notice required to be given includes the whole three. Such points do not touch the substance of the controversy. Unless universal negro voting and partial white disfranchisement can be successfully resisted, it signifies little how the details of the elections are managed.

This election in Virginia foreshadows the future politics of the State and of the South under radical ascendancy. The most potent and influential man in Virginia politics at present is the notorious Hunnicutt, a violent demagogue of the Parson Brownlow pattern. All the Southern States will be surrendered into the hands of vulgar, rabid dictators of the same stamp, if the negro experiment succeeds. Hunnicutt is opposed to every liberal measure of State policy, because such measures would make inroads into the dominion of ignorance where alone men like him can thrive. He opposes white immigration into the State, cause the addition of a few thousand white citizens would turn the scale against the negroes and remand Hunnicutt to insignificance and obscurity. The value of the negro element in our politics may be estimated by the kind of men the negroes honor with their confidence. In proportion as voters are ignorant and debased they will surrender them-selves passively to the guidance of leaders; and the lowness of their level may be measured by the vileness of the men they consent to be led by. The meon-calf Caliban offered to worship the drunken Stephano as a god, and asked to lick his shoes. And the Virginia negroes, many of whom forgot at the polls the names by which they were regisone mind, although the radical majority might terered, regard Hunnicutt as their statesman.