

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

Threatened Schism in the Democratic Ranks.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

The fact that the opposition to the Republicans is not in any proper sense one party becomes more prominent and irrefragable every day. Great efforts are making to reconcile the conflicting elements, so that the discord may not be ruinous to the Convention of Saturday next; but the prospect is certainly dim. The differences between the extreme factions that are rapidly taking form within the Democratic organization are too wide to be comprehended under a single platform, however general, and too important to be consistently represented by any candidate, however obscure.

The men with whom policy and the desire to win are stronger than the traditional passions of old party warfare, want to bury the past and take a new start, with a view to living questions. Confess openly what everybody knows, they say; that government by the people in all the States is a fact, and take up the cry of State rights in a practical form, adapted to the present condition of the South as well as the North.

But those who in 1860 led the party, and in 1861 led the Rebellion, are everywhere in the reconstructed States coming to the surface again; and are bent on setting up the old oligarchy which the war destroyed. General Buckner, in Kentucky, and Edmund Rhett, in South Carolina, supported by almost every man of former prominent position, and from Mason and Dixon's line to the Gulf, and by all that is left of the Vallandigham band of brothers in the North, demand that the central idea of the campaign shall be a white man's government. They even threaten that the Convention shall be repudiated by the rank and file, which they profess to control, unless it shall adopt the Dred Scott decision as its platform. And the latest manifesto of the La Crosse Democrat, which is unquestionably the most characteristic organ of what may be called the "ring and rod" Democrats throughout the country, looks as if this threat may mean something.

The fight is so complicated with financial issues that the result is doubtful. If the political question stood alone, the moderate men would doubtless succeed in carrying general resolutions which mean nothing or anything concerning negro suffrage. But East and West are at war on the greenback question. Now the Southern extreme faction are trying to win by courting the alliance of the Western repudiators. Denounce the negroes bitterly, they cry, and we will join you for universal greenbacks. On the other hand, those of the party who care something for the national good faith are generally the same men who object to fighting again in a political campaign over the questions of the war. Their case looks hopeless now. The platform seems most likely to be dictated by the friends of Mr. Pendleton, whoever the candidate may be.

That is to say, the Democratic doctrine are to be anarchy and repudiation. Anarchy—for this is the meaning of the proposition to treat as unconstitutional all that has been done by Congress in governing and reorganizing the Southern States for three years past. Repudiation—for no reader of the Evening Post doubts that this will be the speedy and inevitable result of making irredeemable paper a legal tender for the public debt.

What will the thinking men of the party do? What will the Democratic press of the Eastern States do? What course will be taken by such papers as the World, which have repeatedly and earnestly advocated the two fundamental principles of public policy at this time, the acceptance of the suppression of the Rebellion, and the maintenance of the national honor? Finding, as in the result now most likely they must find, that on the really important and practical issues of the day the Republican party stands just where they stand and the Democratic party stands in direct opposition to them, what can they do but support General Grant? Unless, indeed, they follow the precedent set by themselves in 1848, and again by the new ruling faction in 1860, and secede to support, say Chase and Adams upon a platform of their own.

Congressional Extravagance and Corruption.

From the Washington National Intelligencer.

When the record of the acts of the present Congress comes to be shown, it will be found to have surpassed any conception of plain honest men in wasteful extravagance, in fostering startling frauds, and promoting corrupt schemes of special legislation for the benefit of a few favored individuals at the public expense. While making loud pretensions of economy in small things, it has been assisted in lavishing enormous appropriations upon simple peasant projects, and in giving subsidies and endowments with princely generosity to various schemes of private and individual speculation. As yet, since the beginning of the Fortieth Congress, not one single measure has been perfected for the public benefit. All of its acts have been devoted to partisan or special legislation. While professing great concern for the interests of the working classes of the people, it has imposed upon the labor of the country enormously increased burdens for the benefit of the capitalists and speculators. While refusing the poor the pittance of twenty per cent. increase of pay to the department employes, it has nearly doubled the pay of its own members, and the salaries of its own particular servants. While, for the sake of seeming to be economical, it cuts down the regular and indispensable appropriations, so as to render unavoidable hereafter a tremendous deficiency bill in every department of the Government, it is considering hundreds of millions in aid of private speculations, in the way of subsidies and land grants, and special privileges, whereby a few favorites are enabled to realize almost fabulous fortunes at the expense of the Government and the tax-burthened people.

It used to be that the manipulation of such schemes of private profit was confined to the lobby, and that they were warily brought forward, and at long intervals. Now it appears that these operations upon special Congressional legislation are multiplying themselves by hundreds, and it is said that the quantum business of the lobby has been transferred to the floors of the two Houses.

The number of railroad and steamship enterprises of this character, demanding enormous subsidies in Government bonds and land grants, at a moment when the life of the nation itself is in imminent peril, and when the people are absolutely staggering under the fearful load of debt, is incredible. Among these there are enumerated over twenty railroads, and providing for extraordinary subsidies and bonds and five or six steamship bills conferring unprecedented privileges and extravagant bonuses. One of the latter has already passed the House of Representatives, giving to a hypothetical New York company, that has not a dollar of capital paid up, nor a single

stick aloft, an enormous bonus, to be paid to the exclusive monopoly of the transportation of all our foreign mails. This immense project of private speculation, so unjust to all our existing steamship lines, and so wildly extravagant in imposing additional burdens of public debt upon the masses of the people, is, we believe, still pending in the Senate, awaiting a favorable opportunity to be pressed through that body. This scheme of public plunder has never been approached in extravagance and exclusiveness since the expedition and wiping out by a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress of the great Collins subsidy for similar purposes. It is due to the people that their attention should be called to these transactions in Congress, and that their outrageous character should be mercilessly exposed.

Mr. Longfellow in England.

From the N. Y. World.

It must have been very gratifying to the Poet Laureate of England to learn from the London Telegraph, (the most widely circulated daily journal of the British metropolis), that the poem of "Enoch Arden," which he has for some time enjoyed the credit of composing, was really written by our own American poet, Mr. Longfellow, now LL. D., of Cambridge, England.

If an American newspaper had announced that Mr. Greeley in his address to Mr. Dickens at the Press Dinner, in New York, had felicitated the illustrious guest upon those admirable works of his, "The Pickwick Papers," "The Scarlet Letter," and "David Copperfield," how very much amused our British brethren would have been by the performance! And here comes a leading London journal with this amazing information:—"In a new work entitled Latin sentences, the publicator recited the claims of the distinguished visitor to the privilege of an honorary degree. The names of 'Hiawatha' and 'Enoch Arden' and 'Enoch Arden' were mentioned amid the sonorous periods of the Latin oration."

If the Telegraph's correspondent really heard the name of "Enoch Arden" on this auspicious occasion, it certainly cannot have sounded more "strangely" to him "amid the sonorous periods of the Latin oration," than it will to all the rest of the world "amid" his own effusion. Literary fame is commonly believed to be the most genuine and enduring form of that potent delusion, the "bubble reputation." But if it be the soldier's fate, dying for his country on the field of glory, as Byron cynically tells us that it is, to have his name "inscribed in the gazette," how much pleasanter can it be for living poets to find that those who travel a hundred miles to record their triumphs have the most utterly indefinite notions of them and of their works?

Reconstruction and Restoration of the Democratic Party—Voice of New York.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The approaching Democratic Convention will be the most important general council of the party since that of Charleston, in 1860, when the national organization of that day on the slavery question was broken up and scattered to the winds. That Convention was one of Democratic disruption and dissolution; this is appointed for the task of Democratic reconstruction and restoration. In 1860 the party, having fallen behind the progressive ideas of the age, was thrown aside and went down; in 1868, after eight long years of penance in sackcloth and ashes, of fasting, humiliation and prayer, in rising to its feet again, it has a fair prospect, on the living issues of the day, of regaining the White House and another lease of power. A brief glance behind us will enable us to understand the battle before us. We know nothing of what is to come, and in all human affairs we can only provide for the future from the teachings of the past.

There was but one political party, we may say, although many factions existed in the country, under Washington's administration. The old Republican party, which had assumed an opposition party under the elder Adams, came into power in 1800 with Jefferson. It was the tree upon which the later Democratic party was engrained under General Jackson. The Virginia State rights resolutions of '98 and '99 were the groundwork of the old Republican party, but its organization was largely due to the leading Jeffersonian politicians of New York. In 1824 the old Federal party having been entirely wiped out, the dividing lines between it and the Republican party also disappeared, and so the people at that day were described as "all Republicans and all Federalists." The consequences were, first, a Presidential scrub race between Jackson, J. Q. Adams, Crawford, and Clay; second, a failure to elect by the people; and, third, the election of Adams by the House of Representatives by a coalition with Clay. Against this coalition of what John Randolph styled "the Puritan and the Blackleg" the Democratic party under Jackson was organized, as the lineal successor of the old republican party against the elder Adams. In 1828, Jackson's first election, New York gave him her vote by only some five thousand majority; but from that day for twenty years the organization and the policy of the Democratic party and its Presidential nominations were mainly controlled by Martin Van Buren and his associates of the Albany Regency, speaking for the Empire State.

We come now to a very important epoch—the Presidential election of 1848. In that contest (Martin Van Buren, against his pretensions to a second term, having been for the second time overruled in the regular Democratic convention by the Southern oligarchy, because they disliked him on the slavery question) there was a regular split of the New York Democracy. Van Buren having resolved to be trifled with no longer, boldly took the field as an independent candidate. He was nominated by the famous Buffalo Free Soil Convention, of which the present Chief Justice Chase was the ruling spirit, and the result was the defeat of Cass, the regular Democratic nominee, and the election of Taylor. This was in 1848, and upon this very Van Buren-Chase free soil platform, and with the extension of slavery—Seward became the great apostle of the Republican party, organized six years later, and upon this identical platform Abraham Lincoln was first elected in 1860.

Here the remarkable fact appears that Salmon P. Chase, of all living men, is entitled to the distinction of the founder of the Republican party in providing the platform and in opening the way for its advancement to the possession of the Government. But the main thing to be remembered is this, that the breaking up of the old Southern slaveholding oligarchy and of the Democratic party as it was begun with Van Buren, the right hand man of Jackson, and with the life of the Jacksonian democracy of New York. The vote of New York in 1848 was:—

For Lewis Cass, regular Democrat.....114,318
For Martin Van Buren, free soil Dem.....120,510
Total Democratic and Free Soil vote.....234,828
For Zachary Taylor, Whig.....218,003
Majority against Taylor.....16,225
But Taylor's plurality in the electoral vote of New York and elected him. In 1844 the boot was on the other leg; for Henry Clay was then defeated by the diversion of some fifteen thousand New York Whig Abolitionists over to Birney, when, if they had voted the Clay ticket, they would have given

Clay New York by ten thousand majority and made him President.

In 1857, on Clay's great compromise measure on the slavery question, the New York and national Democracy were set right side up, as it was supposed, in the election of poor Pierce. Unfortunately, however, poor Pierce, under the influence of Jeff. Davis, Mason and Seward, and the other leaders of the Southern oligarchy, forgot his pledges of neutrality, and became an active slavery propagandist in the repeal of the Missouri compromise. The disruption and dissolution of the Democratic party began from that hour, and it began in New York. The crime of that act is written in all the horrors of the late Southern rebellion, and the blunder is recorded in every Democratic defeat from that day to this. But the elections of 1867 brought some gleams of Democratic daylight. New York, indeed, with her fifty thousand Democratic majority, came up with a blaze of sunshine. In behalf of this majority her leading Democratic statesman and politicians, and the rank and file of the party act for the nomination of Mr. Chase. Twenty years ago, in New York, and in the Van Buren free soil movement, as we have shown, he laid the foundations of the present Republican party. That work is done, and to-day, on the new constitutional foundation of universal liberty and civil equality, Mr. Chase is free, and he is needed to reconstruct the Democratic party. On the basis of the new Constitutional amendment, which may be regarded a fixed fact, he can restore the Democracy to power. On any other tack, and with any other candidate, they are gone.

Our past elections show that New York is a progressive State and a power in the land. Her vote secured is a good basis to build upon—her vote lost is the loss of the battle to the Democracy. If they would secure it from the start Chase is their man, and the recognition of the anti-slavery deluge and its changes is their platform.

How will the Soldiers Vote?

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Throughout the war for the Union, the party which received the vote of every opponent of that war—every one who deemed it a war of invasion and aggression on the part of the North—stoutly claimed the rank and file of our volunteer "Boys in Blue," as recruited from its good and devoted to its principles. A majority of the officers, it asserted, might be upholders of the "Lincoln despotism," but the men without shoulder-straps were Democrats, as their votes would prove.

"Then," we suggested "let us unite in so altering our laws, and our Constitutions, too, where that shall be necessary, as to enable every citizen who, during war, shall be necessarily absent from home, whether in camp or hospital, as a soldier of the Union, to vote as though he were at home."

Not one single Democratic Legislature closed with this proposition. New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, chose Democratic Legislatures in 1862; so their soldiers were not allowed to vote for President in 1864. Nearly every Republican State, with Kentucky and Maryland, then ruled by earnest Unionists, enabled their soldiers to vote in the field. General McClellan was the Democratic nominee for President. He long commanded the largest of our armies, and was for a time General-in-Chief; he stood in the front of his soldiers, and was kind and popular with them. If he could not secure their votes, no other man of his party could.

In this State, the soldiers' votes were so cast that no one could say how they voted; in most States, it was otherwise. Here is the aggregate vote of the soldiers, in every State from which we have returns:—

Table with 2 columns: State and Votes. Includes Maine, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Total.

Such being the recorded facts, we submit that the pretense of getting up a Convention of Union soldiers to oppose the election of Grant and Colfax surpasses all recognized bounds of political imposture. Not that there are any good soldiers who dislike and oppose him—we know there are such; but they are scarce as white blackbirds. The bulk of the soldier vote against Grant will be cast by Confederates, not Union, soldiers—by the men whom he defeated, captured, and paroled, and who have personal reasons for preferring such antagonists as Buell, Franklin, Fitzjohn Porter, and McClellan.

If Robert E. Lee could be induced to unite in the anti-Grant call and preside over the Convention when assembled, he would give it respectability and force. A Convention of Union soldiers to oppose General Grant is a broad joke for the season. It was to hold it in this bountiful jumping city, where all sorts of meetings can be got up to order if the proper appliances are used; but the honorably discharged Union volunteers are almost solid for Grant, as the returns of next November will prove. A Convention in 1787 of Revolutionary soldiers to oppose the election of General Washington to the Presidency, or of defenders of New Orleans in 1825 to defeat the election of Old Hickory, would not have been more preposterous than the attempt in 1868 to muster an army of Union soldiers in opposition to the election of General Grant.

Secretary McCulloch.

From the N. Y. World.

Will this gentleman relinquish his place at the head of the Treasury Department? Under his own voluntary offer, made some time since, to place his resignation in the hands of the President whenever the administration could thereby be strengthened, and the known wish of Mr. Johnson to receive it now, it does not, indeed, appear how Mr. McCulloch can continue to hold the financial portfolio honorably to himself any longer. Considering the length of time which has elapsed since he became positively cognizant of the President's desire to have the post change hands for pressing reasons referring to the public weal, it is not easy to understand his present delay in transmitting his resignation; or his persistent assertions that it is ready whenever the President is ready for its reception. He claims that his relations with Mr. Johnson are cordial and harmonious, while the latter has indicated to him, in the most unmistakable manner, that his presence in the Cabinet is a bar to the consummation of plans that he holds in contemplation.

That this officer can be in any measure ignorant of the precise views held by the President in regard to the matter can scarcely be

possible during the occurrences which have transpired during a fortnight past, that were conveyed straight to his ears by those who directly acting in his interest at the time.

Yet it is difficult to set aside the belief that there is a misunderstanding somewhere, and that having been misled heretofore as to the President's real wishes he will, now that he knows them correctly, incur no further delay in relieving his official superior from the embarrassment attending continuance in his official household. The conviction that he will do so is all the more strong from his frequent and warm professions to add the administration with all the means in his possession, his distinguished wishes for the success of the President's policy, and his openly expressed indignation at the late attempt of a Cabinet officer to remain in office in opposition to the wishes of the Chief Executive. Though he has given the country much cause to doubt his ability for the post he holds, we know of nothing which brings question of his honor as a man; and we are therefore unwilling at present to believe that his past professions were totally sincere, and that he intends to adopt the tactics of the chameleon's feet, and follow the footsteps of that unprincipled trickster to an ignominious ejection from a post which it now lies in his power to vacate with honor to his sense of delicacy of feeling, however he may be blamed for maladministration of his affairs.

The Modus Operandi.

From the N. Y. Times.

The injunction against counting chickens before they are hatched does not deter the opponents of reconstruction from discussing the means of its overthrow. They consider it well to ensure that it incombustible on them to determine how the fruits of victory may be most effectually secured. The World remonstrates in vain. In vain it contends that when the process of reconstruction shall be completed, and the States reinvested with representation in Congress, the power of the Supreme Court to interfere will be at an end. Again and again it appeals to the decision in the Dorr case, and as a clincher, in reply to Mr. G. T. Curtis, reproduces the following passage from Chief Justice Taney's opinion:—"Under this article of the Constitution it rests with Congress to decide what Government is established one in a State. For as the United States guarantee to each State a republican form of Government, Congress must necessarily decide what government is established in the State before it can determine whether it is established or not. And when the Senators and Representatives of a State are admitted to the Congress of the Union, the authority of the government under which they are appointed, such members as come to Congress, is recognized by the proper constitutional authority. And its decision is binding upon every other department of the Government, and could not be questioned in a judicial tribunal."

To any rational man this dictum of Taney would be conclusive against the expectation of help from the Supreme Court. But the Southerners who propose to dictate the Democratic platform, and the Northerners who are willing to meet and aid help them, are not rational. They take counsel of their passions, not their intelligence, and agree that in some manner, by some means, the work of Congress shall be undone. Through what agencies, and how, they never and strength, say the identical fire-eaters who eight years ago broke up the Democratic party in Charleston. The war has wrought no change in them. They are the same self-opinionated, arrogant, reckless advocates of Southern supremacy who then demanded the surrender and subservience of the North. Thus, commenting on an article of the Times, one of the editors of the Charleston Mercury, over his own signature, threatens negro disfranchisement by sheer force.

"Very few of the gentlemen have strategy forgotten the calibre of the Southern men they met in the late war! Is it men like these, that are going to stand up and do and die for the Union? No, they are not. They are negro slaves! To be dominated over by black barbarians! To be legislated out of their property by ignorant and unscrupulous men! To be armed negro militia! To negro public officers and jurors, and judges, and all the nameless horrors of mongrelization and miscegenation! No, no, no! It will be said, how can you as well be realized now, as at any future time, that the people of the South do not intend to renege on their obligations? You will have to quadruple freemen for a hundred years to come, to hold down with the gibbet and the bayonet, before that people will pass under the rule of a more rational and more humane government. This, however, is mere vaporing. It does not solve the problem, but on the contrary, darkens its complications. Mr. John Forsyth, in his statement of the question and his answer:—"How can the white men of the South get control of their State Governments without dividing the negro vote? We answer, by ignoring it as null and void, and as a sum of villainies as you think it to be. Stick to your doctrine of Federal non-intervention; let us know that you will not, as the New York Times says you will, send an army to suppress your doctrine of Federal non-intervention; let us know that you will not turn the scale in the contest of the white man with black scalawags by the Federal sword. Keep your hands off, give us non-interference, and we shall not trouble you to destroy the radical majority in the Senate, nor to violate, but only to hold sacred the rights of the people. But if you will not do this, we will adjust this matter on a white man's basis of lawful political power, and we will restore our abolished State Governments, and yet will make no compromise with the negro. As a revolution, tyrant, and the sword have overthrown our white governments, we will, by a bloodless revolution, and by the force of white blood and white energy, restate them, and send to your Congress the true and lawful representatives of these States. The process might be entirely legal, and we shall not trouble you with the scale in the contest of the white man with black scalawags by the Federal sword. Keep your hands off, give us non-interference, and we shall not trouble you to destroy the radical majority in the Senate, nor to violate, but only to hold sacred the rights of the people. But if you will not do this, we will adjust this matter on a white man's basis of lawful political power, and we will restore our abolished State Governments, and yet will make no compromise with the negro. 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