## SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIORS OF THE LIADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED RVERY BAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Lost Cause Regained.

From the N. Y. Independent. The Democratic party is once again under its old leaders. People who now vote its ticket must stand under the banner of Semmes, Hampton, Toombs, Vance, and Vallandigham. The figure-head is Seymour, but the helmsman is Jefferson Davis.

The World has been shoved aside from its position of leadership. That journal has not sufficient audacity of opinion or courage of statement to please the temper of the fire-eating Southerners, who now, as of old, are nppermost and controlling. The World either refrains from publishing the speeches of its Southern masters, or else, if it alludes to them at all, it so ices their fire as to incur complaint of ill-treatment from their authors. Thus the Danville Register, of Kentucky, murmurs that the World misrepresents Wade Hampton.

"Hampton," says the Register, "demands that the people of the South should all vote, whether recognized by Congress as reconstructed through the farce now going on, or not; and that he demanded further that, if by these States so voting Seymour and Biair shall receive a majoration of the whill be installed rity of the white votes, they shall be installed in power 'in spite of all the bayonets that shall be brought against them.' "

The World dares not utter such sentiments in New York, for fear of losing the State next

Governor Vance, of North Carolina, said at "What the Confederacy fought for would be won by the election of Seymour and Biair."

The World has not the pluck to repeat these words, lest it should push respectable Democrats into the Republican party. Governor Wise, in his latest speech at Rich-

mond, indignantly denounced the first resolution of the Democratic platform which characterizes secession as dead, and insisted that "secession was more alive than ever." The World lacks the nerve to say as brave a thing as that.

The Democratic journals of Louisville mention that, at the ratification meeting in that city, "portraits of Jeff. Davis, Lee, and Stonewall Jackson were suspended over the platform, and afterward carried in a torchlight procession; and that the Stars and Stripes were nowhere to be seen." The World is too much of a time-server to recommend such proceedings in New York.

Semmes said in Mobile: "I drew my sword against the old flag-the old flag which no longer represented these principles; it was not the flag of 1776 against which I drew my sword, but the flag which had become a 'flaunt'ng lie,' so called by prominent politicians of the North. But now, in spite of the efforts of those politicians, who endeavored to strangle the old Democratic party, by erecting in its stead a new conservative party—a sort of conglomerated party—which was to comprise politicians of every shade of opinion, the grand old Democratic party has risen from the long slumber in which it has indulged, and now gives signs of new life and vitality; and l have come here to-night from the country to ratify and rejoice with you in the nomination of Seymour and Blair."

The World is of too thin a blood to maintain that the flag which conquered the Rebellion was not the ancient and time honored flag of the country.

Benjamin H. Hill, at Atlanta, proposed a public burning of the reconstruction acts, indulging himself in the following strain:-

When liberty shall return, when the law shall be again respected, and good men shall be again our rulers, we must gather all the jour-nals, and constitutions, and enactments of nals, and constitutions, and enactments of every character, of the conventions and assemblies thus forced upon us by force, and fraud, and usurpation, and catching a fire from heaven, burn them up forever! And right here, my countrymen, I want you to understand that I am a candidate but for one office on earth. (Several voices: 'Name it, and you shall have it.') When the glorious day shall come, and the free women, and the free men, and the proud youth of Georgia shall gather together to fire the miserable, hideous record of infamy, let the office be mine to kindle the infamy, let the office be mine to kindle the flames. (Tremendous cheers, lasting several minutes.)"

The World knows that, if it were to print half a dozen editorials in this vein, it might as well give up New York State without a struggle.

Here then is one of the striking signs of the times. The Democratic leaders are going forward so fast that the World cannot keep pace with them; the Democratic policy is becoming so revolutionary that the World trembles at committing itself to it; and the Democratic orators are so flery that the World cannot afford to print their speeches. What is the consequence? The World pouts, sucks its thumb, and goes sullenly to the foot of the class; while Brick Pomeroy marches to the head of the Democratic press of the country.

Gallantly have the Rebels captured the Democratic party. The South, not the North, animated the Tammany Convention. The South, not the North, dictated the one essential feature of the platform. The author of its chief plank was none other than Wade Hamp-

\*When the resolution offered by the Senator from Maryland, which declared that the rights of suffrage belonged to the political powers of a State, were being considered, I begged to add a few simple words. They agreed; and I took the resolutions, which you will find embodied in the platform, and added to them, 'and we declare that the reconstruction acts of Congress are unconstitutional, revolutionary and void.' (Cheers) That was my plank in the platform, I wanted nothing else; for when the great Democratic party had pledged themselves to that, when they had declared that these acts were 'inconstitutional, revolutionary and void,' I ton. He says:-'unconstitutional, revolutionary and void,' was willing to wait in patience until that par would be triumphant, and apply the remedy in their own good time."

When one of the most notorious Rebels of the South-one of the hottest bloods of South Carolina-can come to Tammany Hall, and with his own pen write nullification upon the laws of the United States; when a butcher like General Forrest can rise, and, amid great applause, name the most available of fillibusters to be the Democratic nominee for Vice-President; when the World is compelled to scrape its unwilling strings in a secondfiddling to Brick Pomeroy; when the La Crosse Democrat is imported into New York city to be the visible and satanic head of the National Democratic press-when all this can be successfully and brilliantly accomplished, it is lamentably true that "the Lost Cause is regained," and that "what the Confederacy "the Lost Cause is fought for would be won by the election of

Seymour and Blair." It has become as plain as a pikestaff that the war Demecrats of three or four years ago have no longer any control over the Democratic party; that Northern Democratic journalsexcept of the Brick Pomeroy school-no longer influence the policy of a party whose leaders now reside altogether in the Rebel States; and that the Democracy of the whole country are now under the active management of Jefferson Davis' favorite lieutenants.

Accordingly, the Seymour party is a worse enemy to the country in 1868 than it was in For then it existed only in the North, and was controlled by Northern Copperheads but now it exists throughout the country, and is controlled by Southern Rebels. Its uniform is Confederate gray, its spirit is treason, and

its purpose is revolution. Down with its Black Flag! The Real Question.

From the N. Y. Tribune. "This is the real and only question," says Frank Blair. "It is idle to talk of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith, and the public credit. We must have a President who will execute the will of the people by trampling into dust the usurpations of Congress known as the Reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the Convention upon this issue, but it is one which embraces everything else.'

Frank was entirely right-this is the real and only question; this does embrace everything else. Shall the Constitutional Amendment, now solemnly incorporated in the foundation of all our law, remain? For this amendment is the Congressional plan of reconstruction. The subsequent measures were adopted in order to secure the success of the amendment; and now that the amendment has become a part of the Constitution, and is so proclaimed by the Secretary of State, the military bills are of no further effect; they pass out of existence. Military rule at the South, in all the States which have adopted the amendment, is at an end. It was never intended to be more than temporary, and its aim having been accomplished, it ceased.

The real issue now before the people, that which they must decide at the next Presidential election, is-shall the fourteenth amendment stand as a part of the fundamental law of the land? Let us see what this means.

The first section of the amendment fixes the status of the negro, a matter which is as necessary for the enforcement of the legal rights of the white man as of the black. Under the Dred Scott decision, the Constitution was held to confer no rights of citizenship upon negroes; and, so far as individuals are concerned, the judicial power of the United States extends only to cases affecting citizens or foreigners. A negro, therefore, could be a party to no suit brought in a United States court. If a colored man committed a tort, held property unjustly, or infringed on the rights of a citizen in another State, he could not be sued nor made amenable to United States law. It is as important, therefore, to whites as to blacks that the first section of the amendment should be

The second section secures the right of white men, North and South, to equal representa-Before the war, representation was apportioned according to the whole number of free persons, with the addition of three-fifths of "all others"-the "others" being slaves. The Representatives, however, were all white; so that every whtie man living in a slave State had three-fifths of a vote more than any citizen in a free State. When slavery was abolished these three-lifths existed no longer; and the entire black population, still not voting, was added to that, according to which representation was to be apportioned. The white population was thus allowed to represent not only itself, but the four millions of blacks; thus really gaining by the crime of treason. A man at the South, fresh Rebellion, had what amounted from to double the vote of a loyal man the North. The second section of the amendment simply provides that representation shall be equalized; that only those who vote shall be represented, and leaves it for each State to say who shall vote. It secures that the vote of a man in the Rebel States shall be worth no more than the vote of a citizen in one of the loval States. Not a very harsh punishment, that, to inflict en those who had carried on the bloodiest Rebellion in history-that they should have no more rights than their victors in the Government which they had striven to overturn. Yet this is what the Seymour Democracy and their Rebel allies fight hardest against. They cannot consent to place the Rebels on a political level with the loyal men of the

North. The Rebels claim, and the Seymour Democrats claim, that they want a white man's government; they, who want to base a government on black representation. The second section of the Fourteenth Amendment provides the nearest approach to a white man's government that this country has ever seen. It provides that black men who do not vote shall not be represented. The Rebels and their Northern allies claim that the blacks shall be represented, but that Rebels shall represent them, and, more than that, vote for them. That is the kind of white man's government the Democracy is clamoring for-one in which, by virtue of a non-voting population, the whites of the South shall have twice the political power of the whites of the North. That is what Frank Blair calls the "real and only question." Loyal men, are you willing to give this power to traitors-to Wade Hampton, and Forrest, and their allies?

The third section secures the punishment of the officials who violated their oaths to this Government; it punishes treason in the only legal way now possible. For when a whole community shares with its leaders in crime, it is idle to talk of punishing those leaders by a trial by jury. The jury in such a population share the guilt of those whom they try, and the experience of the last three and a half years has shown that no jury can be found in any Southern State to convict a man of treason on account of acts done in the late Rebellion. The jury violate their oaths as readily as the leaders whom they are to try. But this section makes the punishment of treason part of the fundamental law of the land, and vindicates the offended majesty of the Government by inserting in its very Constitution the inability of the greatest criminals to hold office under that Government. Again, a slight punishment, where other nations would have taken life and property. But these men inso-lently maintain that they must not be excluded from a preminent share in the very Government against which they rebelled. They will not only not be governed by us, who subdued them, but they must govern us, and accomplish in peace what they failed to do in war.

The fourth section secures the payment of the national debt and of the national jobligations to wounded soldiers, as well as to the families of those who laid down their lives for our salvation; and it forever provides against the assumption by the nation of any debt incurred in the attempt to destroy its own existence. This, too, forsooth, is too harsh a penalty to impose on beaten Rebels; they cannot endure that the country they detest should pay its debt to the soldiers whom they maimed? that it should fulfit the obligations which they compelled it to assume. They declare that the Government shall either forfeit its own honor or assume the debt undertaken to destroy its own existence; nay, reward with pensions the men who fought against the nation's life. The nation that consents to this deserves not to exist. Yet this is what the Rebels and the Seymour Democrats claim. This is one of the "large and comprehensive results" which Frank Blair speaks of as "embraced in the "issue" on which he "wishes to stand." But more than this: the fourth section provides against payment for the emancipation of slaves. One would suppose that the nation had already paid dearly enough in the blood and treasure expended during the war, without refunding to the traitors who fought us the pecuniary value of the friends whom we set free. Yet this provision was rejected in every Southern State.

The entire amendment was rejected wherever the Seymour Democrats or their Rebel friends

were in power; and even in States where it had once been accepted and they afterwards obtained a temporary ascendancy, they instantly revoked the acceptance. To-day, if they had the power, they would revoke it in the Legislature of every State in the Union, throwing us back exactly where we were before the close of the war. For the Seymour men stand now exactly where they stood in 1864; the two conventions were animated by the same spirit; they would have compro mised then on exactly the same terms which they stickle for to-day. The nation rejected these terms then, in the midst of the struggle, and while the result was uncertain and seemed far off. Will it accept them now that the

struggle is over and victory achieved ? Blair says "Yes," and tells how he will "trample into dust" the Constitutional amendment. He admits that by the accession of twenty loyal Senators and fifty loyal Congressmen from the reconstructed States "a Democratic President, even if elected, will be power-less by law;" but Seymour is "to declare the Reconstruction acts null and void;" "to disperse the State Governments;" and allow the Rebels to "organize their own government and elect their own Senators and Representatives." He is "to compel the army to undo its work," "when it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit." Doubtless, the Rebels would like "to compel the army to undo its work," from Belmont to Appomattox. The real and only question is, whether the Union people of the land are also willing. In November we shall see.

Revolutionary Future with the Democrats -Seymour's Denial.

From the N. Y. Herald. Mr. Seymour has accepted the Democratic nomination again by a formal letter. His letter was scarcely necessary, as he accepted the nomination personally before; but it may be that as he declined it a great many times he intends to accept an equal number. An unnecessary letter would be a foolish thing from almost any other candidate; but Gover-nor Seymour is one of the few who may be safely trusted with pens and paper, for his thoughts are so attenuated, so vague, dim, and impalpable by the time they are written down, that acres of them would not furnish a sentence that could be used with effect either for or against him. If Seymour's letter faithfully presents the operations of his brain, that must be the least positive and effective organ that was ever encased in the cranium of a man of respectable position.

There is but one point in his letter that touches an important fact of the present canvass. Mr. Seymour has evidently seen the harm that the Southern fire-eaters have done to the Democracy. He has felt that their revolutionary declarations were alarming the people, and, in view of this, frightened for the cause, he ventures some sentences intended to reassure us. And what is the reassurance he gives? He only tells us that revolution cannot follow a Democratic victory, merely because the Democracy cannot get all the power of the nation into their hands at one election. "The election of a Democratic Executive and a majority of Democratic members to the House of Representatives would not give to that party organization the power to make sudden or violent changes." is to be no revolution, therefore, because the Senate stands in the way. Not that Wade Hampton, Toombs, and the rest are wrong in reviving the old anti-war style of Southern harangue; not that the Democratic lead ers North and South do not pant to tear up and destroy the whole present or-ganization and retrace the steps we have taken towards peace; but merely that the Democrats can at most elect only a President and House of Representatives, and with these can do so little barm that the people need not them. This is the best reason the distinguished gentleman has to give in favor of his party. This looks very much as if the Democratic trainers, frightened at the way Northern sentiment takes recen. Democratic speeches, had put Seymour to correct all that by some smooth sentences in his letter, expecting confidently that he could erase from the public mind all the impression made by the Southern fire-eaters. But this is the most blundering correction we ever saw.

From the candidate's own utterance, therefore, we are assured that the limit to the democratic disposition to make "sudden and violent changes" will be the power that party possesses. We know what that limit is; for we have lamentable experience that a party possessing two branches of the Government will not be stayed in its extravagance by the opposition to the third branch. The Democrats, if the case arise, will find a way to do without the Senate, as the Republicans found a way to practically thrust the President The people, therefore, must not rely upon the Senate in venturing to trust the Democrats for a change. They mean nothing ess than an absolute change of everything that a party can lay hands on, and a change conceived in the most violent and anti-national spirit; and the lame denial of their candidate strengthens the evidence of this. Bad enough these past years with the radical faction, we should fare infinitely worse in the hands of the Democratic faction, and our only chance is the election of Grant, and the hope that he will put down all the factions and give a grand assertion of the law.

General Grant's Capacity as a Soldier.

From the N. Y. World. The communication on this subject which we publish is from a source which, if we were at liberty to state it, would command universal attention. It is from an officer of name and standing, who served with distinction throughout the war; an officer who led important corps in nearly all the great battles lought in the East; who served under Grant during the last memorable year of the war; who was high enough in the military counsels to be cognizant of all the plans (such as they were) of the Commander, and who writes not only with a full knowledge of the facts, but with the judgment, experience, and authority requisite in a military critic. Readers of this communication will at once perceive that it is from a man of ability, and when they have proceeded to the end, they will find that the clearness of his statements have made upon them an impression which is likely to be permanent. A scientific soldier, if he be not a pedant in his profession, is the most intelligent expositor of military movements for a non-military reader. Civi lians who have a connoisseurship in such matters are too fond of displaying their acquaintance with military language, and too apt to give undue prominence to the mere husks and accessories of the movements they describe. But a soldier, who has a clear perception of the hinges on which military events turn, easily strips a subject of unimportant surroundings, and conveys a distinct view of its main outlines. Such a writer is the author of the communication to which we invite at-

Of what importance, it may be asked, is it to the voters of the United States whether General Grant is a consummate soldier or not? Very little, we confess, if the voters have no other object than to choose a capable Presi-We do not expect another war; and if we did General Grant would be more certain to conduct it if he retained his present office

than if elected President. General Grant has been nominated for the Presidency for no other reason than his reputation as a soldier. Blot out his military career, and the idea of making him President would be ridiculous. As military talents are not needed in that office, Grant is to be elected, if at all, as a mark of gratitude for his soldiership. A just estimate of his services is therefore proper as s means of determining whether he has not already been sufficiently rewarded.

The propriety of such an estimate may be

defended on other grounds. There is no ne-

cessary incompatibility between great military and great civil capacity. A mind which is great and original in war, might carry the same force of conception, the same inventive-ness and fertility into civil affairs. But when it is proved of a soldier that his intellect is narrow and barren in his own profession, there is no reason to expect that it will be comprehensive and fruitful in any other. The clear and able production to which we call attention demonstrates that when Grant was at his ripest—that is, in his campaign against Richmond—he had no military foresight and was destitute of any consistent plan. When, before he crossed the Rapidan, General Meade advised him to manœuvre for position, he said he never managuvred for position, but sought to fight the enemy wherever he could find him. The consequence was, the foolish, needless, wholesale squander ing of life in the Virginia Wilderness. After that, Meade found that Grant was very willing to manouvre for position. After crossing the Rapidan, the first thing he did was to march his army to the very place where Lee would most wish to have it, and where he dealt upon it terrible slaughter with small loss to himself. Giving Lee that great advantage testified a total lack of foresight, and a criminal con-tempt for the whole science of war. If the two armies had been at all equal, Grant would never have recovered from that staggering blow. He sent his famous telegram saying that he would fight it out on that line if it took all summer, and then changed his line the very next day. That whole cam-paign was of a piece with its beginning; it was a campaign in which abundance of men made up for poverty of resources in the General. Lee bailed him for a whole year, and evacuated Richmond at last only because Sherman was advancing upon his rear with ability to out off his slender supplies. Our correspond ent shows that Sherman's march formed no part of the original plan of campaign against Richmond. That march was never thought of until after the capture of Atlanta. That it was no part of the plan of the campaign is not only proved by this decisive but also by Grant's expectation, when he crossed the Rapidan, that he would make a short campaign. His vaunt that he would fight it out on that line if it took all summer testifies against him. It proves he did not expect his campaign to extend far into the summer. But it consumed the whole summer, the whole autump, the whole winter, and nearly the whole of the ensuing spring. Lee could have held him at bay as much longer, and twice as much longer, had it not been for Sherman's approach from the South; a thing manifestly not in contemplation when the campaign was planned. President Lincoln became first impatient, then discouraged. He went in person to attend the Hampton Roads conference with the Rebels, and offered them more liberal terms than either party afterwards thought it prudent to acknowledge.

Grant began that campaign without any plan at all, other than to overpower the Rebels by superior numbers and wear them out by incessant attacks. When they at last checkmated him and brought him to a stand, so that he could no longer pursue even this rude and brainless strategy, his army lay six months in inglerious impotence, until the vigor and Sherman enabled Grant to pass the deserted forts-a feat which required no generalship. The waste of life in that planless, blundering campaign was more than enormous-it was bewildering, appalling, tre-

mendous! A soldier so destitute of ideas and so incapable of foresight in his own profession, could not be expected to be very prolific or farseeing as a statesman. We accordingly find that he is as dumb as an oyster, having as little to impart to his countrymen in this great crisis and conjuncture, as if the contents of his skull and of his abdomen had changed places. He is the first man ever nominated for the Presidency who avowed that he had no policy. The supremacy of ideas, the power of political principles, the statesman-like forecast which adapts present measures to future exigencies, the moral and political forces which carry a nation forward towards a calculable destiny-these are things which make no figure in the mind of General Grant; they enter not into the substance of his thoughts. Is such a man fit for President in times like these which are upon us?

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