THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1868.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

SDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS TFON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Senator Morton and the Greenback Theory. From the N. Y. Times.

Senator Morton, of Indiana, has been making a speech at Indianapolis in which he denounced the proposition to pay the United States bonds in greenbacks as utterly dishonest and disgraceful. Nothing could afford better illustration than this fact of the atter discredit into which that once formidable doctrine has fallen. Though a man of very great ability, Senator Morton has always shown a morbid eagerness to keep on thoroughly good terms with the public senti-ment of his own State and section, even at ment of the sacrifice of his own personal convictions. In 1865, after the close of the war, he approved of the President's policy of restoration and made a very elaborate and effective speech in its support. But when it was seen that this policy did not meet with the approval of the people, he made an equally able and conclu-sive argument against it, and has ever since been among the most earnest and eloquent of its opponents.

So, at the outset, he leaned very decidedly to the Pendletonian theory of paying a por-tion of the national debt in currency, and, although he has been somewhat reticent and guarded in his discussion of the subject, his speeches have more than once given very distinct intimations that he should give this doctrine his support. But now he is reported to have denounced it as a "fraud and swindle," and to have declared that, if carried into effect, it would "involve the whole country in financial ruin and overwhelm our people in disgrace." This may be cited against the Senator by his enemies as an evidence of his inconsistency, but it is none the less an evidence of his good sense.

The change that has come over the entire West in regard to this financial question is among the very remarkable incidents of the canvass, and proves conspicuously the advan-tages of full and free discussion. Throughout the earlier stages of the canvass the opinion seemed well-nigh universal throughout the West that the debt might and should be paid in greenbacks. It was a Western doctrine, and seemed especially adapted to the interests and sentiments of the Western people. They were supposed to hold very few of the bonds, and to be especially concerned in avoiding the payment of them or in reducing the amount necessary to redeem them. While not quite ready for open and wholesale repudiation, therefore, it was assumed that they would gladly embrace a policy which promised to get rid of forty per cent. of their sum total by paying them off in depreciated paper instead of coin. And so for a time they did. The Democrats openly and exultingly embraced the scheme. Not one of their prominent men had any doubt or hesitation about it, and very many Republicans gave it a timid and halting indersement.

But the Republican Convention at Chicago boldly branded it as a disgraceful fraud, and from that time forward it has been subjected to a very thorough and merciless examination. Its intrinsic character, its effect upon our financial credit and upon the currency, all its relations to the public honor and the public good, have been discussed and exposed. And the result has been a complete revulsion in public feeling. Even in the Western States it is now almost universally discarded and denonnced. No fear is now felt anywhere that it will strengthen the party that supports it; and those who have hitherto given it any degree of deference or support are now among the boldest and most vehement of its assailants. Nothing can show better the advantage of

that, of itself, will cause a peaceful revo Intion in the South, and will turn the minds of the whole people to seeking the ways of peace instead of agitating a new war.

With the political and moral power of the Government restored by the election of a Republican President and a Republican Congress, and with a rational recognition of it by the Southern people, the Government will be in a position to be magnanimous. It will have no personal or sectional revenges to wreak. The great people who conquered the Rebellion were always magnanimous. The dispensation of hanging traitors, which Johnson suspiciously bellowed during all the first month atter his disastrous succession to power, never had any hold on the feelings of the great body of the Northern people. They desire only such conditions of settlement as will guarantee the national peace and the security of all the Southern inhabitants in their persons and property. They desire only that which they bewill best secure the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the Southern people. The happy auguries of a Republican triumph in this election promise this peace to the country. Through no other way is there any promise of tranquillity.

Vaux's Views.

From the N. Y. Tribune

The Hon. Richard Vaux, of Philadelphia, couldn't come here on the 5th instant to address "the Democrats and conservatives," but he did the next best thing, for he wrote a letter in which he cross-examined the country in general, and "the Hon. Douglas Taylor" in particular, with the utmost force and solemnity. Each of Mr. Vaux's sentences begins after this fashion:-"I would ask the honest conservative;" "Let me ask civilian and soldier;" "I would ask the poor white laborer;" "I would ask the reflective men:" and so the Hon. Richard goes on asking, and never answering, which leads us to suppose that he is of a curious disposition, and must be marked with an interrogation point upon some part of his person. This letter was written on the 30th ultimo, has been for some days in print, and thus far nobody has taken the trouble to respond to Mr. Vaux's momentous and formidable queries. As he is a distinguished public character, it is painful to mark him plaintively calling for information and not getting it. Nor is the Hon. Mr. Richard always exactly fair in his queries; e. g., he would 'like to ask why'' a negro should be made ''au elector because he is black ?" To which we might respond by asking why "the Hon. Richard Vaux should be made an elector because he is white ?" In the second place, Mr. Vaux knows as well as we do that no person has "been made an elector because he is black," or blue, or green, or yellow. In the third place, Mr. Vaux's particular friends of the Blair and Seymour persuasion of the South are moving heaven and earth, and we may perhaps add the other place, to secure the black vote for their candidates. Mr. Blair, in his Cincinnati speech, spoke of these black voters as "ignorant, besotted, semi-barbaous;" but that is not the way in which they are spoken to or spoken of by Blair's Southern champions. Why, here is that newly-fledged Massachusetts Democrat, Master John Quincy Adams, Junior, who has just turned up at Goldsborough, N. C. What says the telegram ? Why, that he "was met at the depot by the citizens of both races, en masse," including Mr. Blair's "ignorant, besotted, semi-barbarous" blacks; and the young gentleman addressed them all, without distinction of color, and "expressed his surprise and pleasure at finding that no animosity existed between the whites and the blacks." Mr. Adams, Jr., has first-rate aristocratic blood in his veins, which should make him a first-rate Democrat; he is quite as well born as the Hon. Richard Vaux, and he doesn't go about wanting to know why a negro should be made an elector "because he is black." He doesn' pick out "the poor white laborer, the white mechanic, or artisan" (as Mr. Vaux does) for special sympathy and consolation. Young as John Junior is, he knows too much for that; and if he should be guilty of any such political folly, both his grandfathers on the paternal side would come out from the basement of the Quincy Meeting-House, where they are buried, and haunt him. We think that Mr. Vaux's next "Let me ask" deserves to be quoted entire: -"Let me ask civilian and soldier if the E mancipation Proclamation, as 'a milliary neces-sity,' was not declared only to enable the loyal andy, was not declated only to embode the loyal radicals to 'stay at home,' and get negroes, thus 'made better citizens because they were black,' to fill upithe quotas of the loyal States, and save the necks of the while negroes who were establishing loyal leagues at home, where they could comfortably epjoy themselves dur-ing the fighting at the front?" -This is not only a free country, but a Yankee country, in which Mr. Vaux has a right to ask all the questions which may hap-pen to come into his head; but, in doing so, he has no right to insinuate falsehoods. It seems to be almost impossible for "a Democrat" to speak of our soldiers without uttering a sneer or a calumny, although he must know that by doing so he damages his party much more than he helps it. The Emancipa-tion Proclamation was not "declared" to enable the loyal radicals "to stay at home," and if it had been it would have signally failed in its purpose, for the loyal radicals did not stay at home. Only the other day the Hon. Richard Vaux, if he had put on his spectacles, might have seen marching the streets of Philadelphia quite a number of "loyal radicals," who did not "stay at home comfortably to enjoy themselves during the lighting at the front." The strongest demonstration in favor of "staying at home" which we remember to have occurred during the war was made by the particular friends of Mr. Horatio Seymour, in this city, when they mobbed the draft-offices and committed sundry other outrages and crimes, including an occasional murder; when they were not to be appeased without a promise from Mr. Seymour that the draft should be stopped if he could effect it, and when they behaved generally in an "ignorant, besotted and semi-barbarous" manner. These rampant creatures were "citizens" then and are "citizens" now; but Mr. Vaux has not the slightest objection to their voting, and to their voting for Seymour, and to their voting three or four times for Seymour on the same day! It is no matter how "ignorant, besotted, and semi-barbarous" a voter may be if he is only white, and proves his "conservatism" by "d-g the niggers." Then he becomes a model citizen after Mr. Vaux's own heart, no matter how severely he may have "staid at home," or however "comfortably he may have enjoyed himself during the fighting at the front." The Hon. Richard Vanx is himself in favor The Hon. Richard vanx is himself in favor of "peace" of a particular kind. It must, to please his remarkably fastidious taste, be "a peace without swords, bonds, greenbacks, taxes, bayonets, negroes, despotism, usurpa-tion, and repudiation." Nothing less than this will satisfy Mr. Vaux, and a very pretty kind of peace we admit that it would be. We had something like it before Mr. Vaux's Southern friends inaugurated the Rebellion; we may have something like it again when the same excitable gentry will be self-denying enough to give up the luxury of lynching, and the bad habit which they have of referring little misunderstandings to the judicial decision of the mob. Until then we fear that there will

bayonets" which distract the mind of the pacific abhorrent alike to justice, religion, and and non-resistant Vanx. Peace without the predents of enlightened civilization from and non-resistant Vanx. Peace without "bonds or greenbacks" is not quite so certain, innamuch as Mr. Vaux also provides in his programme for "a pence without repudiation." Peace "without negroes" is, however, the most mysterious of all this Philadelphia gentleman's varieties. Can it be possible that he intends to advocate a general slaughter of the colored race? of "the ignorant, besotted, semibarbarous" people, so many of whom, we are assured, intend to vote for the immaculate Blair and the virtuous Seymour? Oh, this would never do, Mr. Vaux, until after the election. Then, if we must have a massacre, in the interests of peace, we nominate the Hon. Richard Vaux as Chief Executioner.

The Reconstructed States under Martial Law.

From the N. Y. World.

In putting Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida under martial law, as per order of October 9, General Meade says "he will not permit the peace to be broken, and that he will not be restrained in the conscientious discharge of his duty by technicalities of law made when the present anomalous condition of affairs was neither anticipated nor provided for."

Now, we would like to ask who made this army officer conservator of the peace in these five States ? We thought they were reconstructed. Congress certainly so declared on the 25th of June last, and has not only so declared but admitted certain fellows as United States Senators and Representatives therefrom. Where, then, does General Meade get his authority to proclaim martial law within them just upon the eve of the Presidential election? By what right does he set himself up to keep the peace, and thereby usurp the main functions of these governments, if indeed they are anything more than the rags and shreds of a civil organization? They were organized, in the express words of the Reconstruction acts, to insure "adequate protection to life or property," and if they cannot do this, and must call in an army officer to do it for them, then they and he alike are shams and usurpers. The plea of necessity will not avail. If these governments were what they ought to be, and what it was loudly vaunted they would be, there would be no such necessity. The very making of the plea is their own condemnation, since the plea is that they cannot do the very thing they were avowedly created to do.

Furthermore, General Meade, in thus proclaiming martial law in these five reconstructed States, says he "will not be restrained in the conscientious discharge of his duty by technicalities of law." Who is to judge what is a conscientious discharge of duty, and who is to decide what is a technicality of law? Obviously, nobody but General Meade himself, so that, after all this tremendous turmoil and outlay and heart-burning, the electoral rights of five great States are to be meted out and measured by the conscience of an old soldier, and the intimate acquaintance with the technicalities of the law of a man of the sword from his youth up. And this is reconstruction; this the restoration of the Union; this the tardy and mildewed fruit of a long course of stupid and malevolent legislation. This is the best that the radical Congress can do-to make war for near two years upon a desolate people, with the army and bureau and treasury at its back, with the President overridden, with the Supreme Court gagged, with every single iota of the material and political power of this great country in its absolute grasp, and yet, in the two years' wrestle, to be so desperately worsted by helplessness itself as to be forced to cry in the army and provide for the surrounding of the polls with troops ! Was there ever such a shame as this ? There ha been governments more absolutely cruel, t was there ever an administration so bruta incompetent as this? It is not now a quest what is to be done with these reconstruct governments, or how they are to be done aw. with or maintained. They are already do away. Martial law is in their place. There w be a roar and a yell, of course, to the contrar and plentiful declarations that General Mea only means to keep the peace. Bah ! Wh has he to do with keeping the peace if the governments are what reconstruction d clared they would be, and the Chicago pla form declares they are ? They were to legal; they were to protect life and preserve property. Why don't they do it ? Where the worth of the hundred millions and ov that have been robbed from us to galvani them into life ? Why does General Mead review his army at Atlanta one day-his i fantry and his cavalry and his artillery-an the next day declare he will not be restrained by any technicalities of law ? It is a deliberate attempt, under advid from Washington, to bayonet those State into the Electoral College for Grant. It has been seen that the negro-vote reliance h failed, that the carpet-bag reliance has failed and the purpose now is to do it with co steel Consider, gentlemen, before you that; consider.

the foundation of society. What success would have ennobled, failure may pronounce rebellion, but it bears with it its own punishment in the blood and treasure spent in vain, in general impoverishment and aniversal bankruptcy, in blasted hopes and fruitless expectations. This is no field for the exercise of punishment by a victorious, a magnanimous people!! The South stands in this civil strife with

hands tied, unable to give voice or ballot, dependent upon the magnanimity or cupidity of the North-for it is a question whether the desire to do justice to the South predominates over the feelings of personal interest embo died in the national thought and action. With all its glories in the past, its prospects for the future resting upon the cast of the die, and with an anxiety more than mortal, it appeals to the better genius of liberty to propitiate the result.

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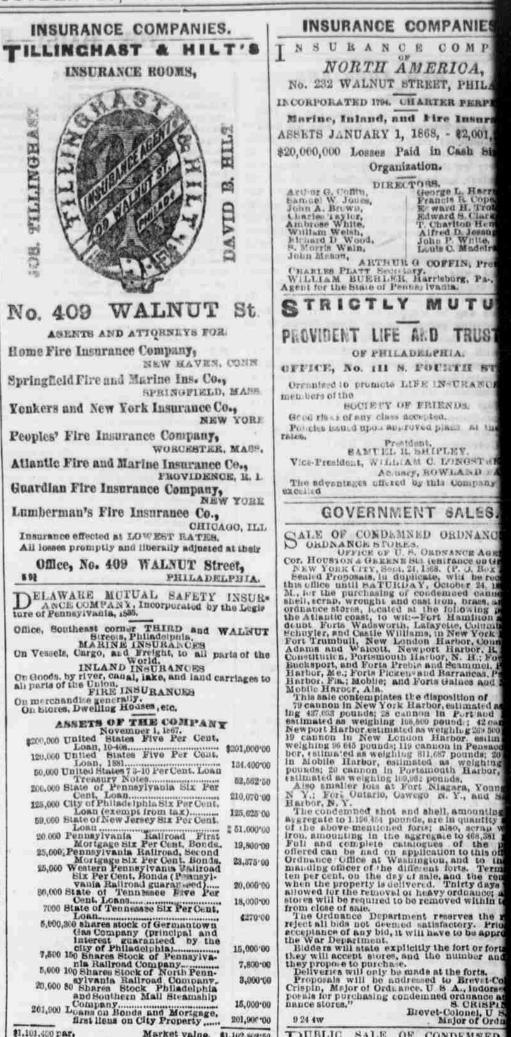
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Douglas the Younger.

From the Nashville Union and American. It is a fact, instances to the contrary being only the exceptions to the rule, that great men rarely bequeath their intellectual parts to their offspring. There is a young gentleman making radical speeches in North Carolina who is a son of Stephen A. Douglas. Iu a recent effort he attempted to be pathetically eloquent over his father's death-scene, quoting the statesman's last scarce articulate words enjoining his children to obey the Constitution and the laws of the land.

If this youngster thinks ha is obeying his father's injunction and the Constitution in supporting radicalism, he ought to be out for the simples and made to change his name. North Carolina, clothed in her tatterdemalion rags of "reconstruction," and degraded under negro rule, is a fitter place for such a speech than anywhere in the vicinity of his father's tomb. The bones of the dead statesman would stir beneath the marble shaft that marks their resting-place at such a monstrous perversion of his principles. His life was spent in denouncing radicalism as the destroyer of the Constitution. He fought the vile thing in its inception and through all the stages of its growth. Had he lived to see it mature and flower forth as it does to day, dropping a worse than Upas poison on every guarantee of repub-lican liberty, and blighting the nation's pros-perity, his would have been the giant arm to have laid the axe to its root. Under the commanding influence he exerted in the great Northwest, however, its career would have been checked before it reached its present dangerous extent. The country has sadly suffered for one just such man as Douglas in the Northern section. He could have arrested the progress of the overthrow of the Constitution commenced early in the civil war. To doubt that he would have done so, would be to doubt the sincerity of his public life, and grossly asperse his great fame won in upholding the principles of Democracy. He would have stood to-day with Pendleton and Pugh, of Ohio, his disciples. This young Douglas, in monthing his last words to carpet-bag audiences in support of the crimes and follies of radicalism, does violence to his father's memory, and proves that brains are not transmissible by inheritance.

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the free public discussion of public questions, or better vindicate the reliability of an enlightened public judgment, than this fact.

Why Have We Not Peace? From the Cincinnati Gazette.

Immediately after the surrender of the Confederate armies there was the fairest promise of a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of all the issues of the war. The Southern leaders generally acknowledged that they had staked their political condition on war, and had lost, and were therefore justly subject to such terms of political settlement as the outraged Government might impose; and they were then disposed to be grateful for such terms as would leave them in possession of life and property, and under the protection of equal laws. A few of the more malignant, who had determined that they could not submit to such terms as justice demanded, and that under no conditions would they consent to live under the United States Government, resolved to emigrate, and some of them tried it. and at last came back broken in spirit. As a gauge for measuring the change that has taken place, we have the fact that one of the most recalcitrant of these was a leader in the Tammany Convention, dictated the most important and the worst declaration in the platform, and was one of the Confederate officers who made the Convention nominate Frank Blair upon his new rebellion manifesto.

But this fair promise of peace was destroyed by the unfaithfulness of the Acting President. It divided the Government while all the conditions of peace were yet to be settled, and thus disabled its political power and utterly destroyed its moral force. The Southern leaders quickly saw that Johnson, wielding the vast executive power, which had been greatly magnified by the war, was hostile to the Congress which represented the power of the people who had conquered them. They fancied that through this division they could recover political domination by becoming partisans of Johnson. At this opportunity the Rebel spirit revived. The tone of submission and of gratitude for the magnanimity of the national Government was changed to a tone of arrogance, dictation, and recrimination.

Mr. Johnson instigated this Rebel revival to the utmost by his intemperate declarations of the atmost by his intemperate declarations of hostility against Congress, and by arraigning the Northern people as "traitors at the other end of the line," who must now be put down in their turn. And as in the ripening of the secession conspiracy the aid and encourage-ment that embeddence is traited by ment that emboldened it to strike the blow were given by the Northarn Democratic leaders, so in this revival of the spirit of the lost cause the Democratic party indorsed with great alacrity Johnson's treacherous policy, and again deluded the Southern people to their rain by the promise of a political reaction which would restore the Confederate Democracy to power, and place the Southern leaders in their former situation of dictators of the party and the Government.

This is the reason why we have not peace, and why the happy promise of domestic tran-quillity was changed to fierce agitation, sectional hostility, enmity between neighbors, domestic violence, murder, massacre, and threats of a new war; and this is the reason why the issue of this election is the issue between the establishment of government or the renewal of anarchy and war. The election will give us a united Government. Thus it will strike at the root the disease which destroyed the opportunity for establishing peace. This unity of the polltical power of the Government will give it a moral influence | be an occasional use for those "swords and

The Situation.

From the Savannah (Ga.) Republican. The election which occurs one months hen attaches to it more interest, and in its resul will prove pregnant of more good or evil the country at large, than any similar eve since the foundation of the Government. the South and its afflicted, down-trodden peop it is the harbinger of perfect peace, security, a prosperity, or the Jack-'o lantern which sha fure them to still deeper misery and more utta national degradation. Like the unjustly a cused who stands before the prejudiced jud and jury packed by his enemies, denied th privilege or opportunity of speaking in h own behalf, the South stands to-day arraigne before the national tribunal, and the verdi of guilty or not guilty is the voice of the pe ple as it proclaims their will in the Novemb election. This may appear a monstrous pr position. But what are the facts ? What the policy which for four long years has been systematically adopted and enforced again the South ? Is it security for the future ? it indemnity for the past which dictates th disfranchisement of intelligence and the elev tion and enfranchisement of ignorance, pa sion, and vice ? Is it the fear of another i bellion in the South that has actuated th dominant party at the North in arming an banding four millions of blacks against th whites, and antagonizing them with even interest which should exist between them an their former masters ? No same man in th South desires to repeat the experiment of th past, nor is there a man in the whole Nort who is not fully convinced of this fact.

There is but one solution to this mysterio enigma of oppressive legislation, unjust prescription, humilitating ultimatum, which has for the past four years embodied the polic pursued towards the South-it is but th national expression of the national idea political punishment for political crime. D the world ever behold such a spectacle as th -a whole nation arraigned for crime and a indged deserving of national punishment? The humanity of all Christendom should cry out against it. We scorn the orime as we protest against the right to inflict punishment, and we appeal to the better judgment, the honor and the humanity of the country to sustain no longer that party and that policy,

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