### SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

# Mr. Seward's Speech.

From the N. Y. Times. The regret we expressed that Mr. Seward had not spoken at an earlier stage of the political canvass is increased now that he has spoken. His address is one that demands study and reflection in order to have its proper weight. It discusses the political condition of the country in the tone and temper of a philosophic states man-not at all that of a zealous partisan. Mr. Seward does not exhort his fellow-citizens to vote for either Grant or Seymour; but he leads them into a train of thought, and sets before them principles and sentiments, which will lead them to judge for themselves to which of the two contenting parties may most wisely be intrusted the task of giving the nation peace.

Mr. Seward says that from the moment the war closed the paramount necessity of the country has been the restoration of the Union, by the renewed presence of representatives from the Rebel States in Congress and the inauguration in those States of loyal representative governments to "determine who, what party, and what interest shall enjoy the power and discharge the duties of government."

President Lincoln had a method of bringing about this result, which, upon his death, President Johnson sought to carry out. A sharp conflict arose between the President and Congress upon this subject. Mr. Seward says he will not enter into the merits of that controversy, but he is now "inclined to think that it was unreasonable to expect the passions and ambitions of thirty-three free States and thirty millions of free people, so recently and terribly convulsed by civil war, to subside in so short a period as four years." But measures have been adopted under which governments have been organized in the Rebel States, and the people of those States are again represented in Congress.

Mr. Seward says that these governments, if found to be faulty, can and will be properly amended by the people of those States. He says he shall favor all such amendments, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. "I shall not," he says—

"I shall not, therefore, take the sword into my hand, nor put it into the hand of any other per-son, to effect a reform by force in those States which I am sure will be effected much sooner and much more permanently through the exercise of persussion and reason. As little do I shink it my duty to use the sword to undo and remove what has already been done in those Biates (applause), whether it was necessarily done, or unnecessarily or unwisely done. As I thought, the situation which existed in 1865 bught to be accepted by a reasonable, patriotic, and humsne administration, so do I think now the situation which exists in 1868, after the best efforts which have been made to secure a better, ought to be accepted."

In considering to which of the two parties the task of completing the work of reconstruction may be best committed, Mr. Seward says he "cannot forget that the civil war has closed with two great political achievements—the one the saving of the integrity of the Union, the other the abolition of human slavery." Pergonally he has no fear of a reaction on either of these points; but a very large portion of the people do not share this confidence. They have apprehensions and fears lest attempts should be made to overthrow these decisions or deprive them of their full significance. Mr. Seward says, therefore, that

"The magistrates who are to preside, then, in the work of reconclitation hereafter ought, like those who have preceded in former stages of that work, to be drawn from and representing that class of citizens who maintained the Gov ernment in the prosecution of the civil war and in the abolition of slavery. (Great applause.) In no other hands could the work of reconciliaforent sort of magistrates would be profoundly and generally suspected of a willingness to be-tray the transcendent public interests which were gained and secured by the war."

This is sufficiently explicit, certainly, but Mr. Seward does not leave the matter thus.

He says that

"The Democratic party has not so conducted itself in its corporate and responsible action as to secure the entire confidence of a loyal and expanding people in its unconditional and un-compromising adherence to the Union, or in its acceptance and approval of the effective abolition af slavery."

While he sympathized with the efforts made by a portion of the Democratic party to lift that party up to a higher plane, and while he regretted the failure of those efforts, the success of which would have made the people of the whole country substantially unanimous in maintaining the results of the war, he says their failure must "keep them out of power for four years more." "To confide the re-sponsibilities of government," he says, "to that party in its present condition, would be to continue, perhaps increase, the lamentable political excitement which alone has delayed the complete restoration of the Union to the present time."

Mr. Seward then deems it important to the welfare of the nation that General Grant should be elected President. With him, as with thousands of others throughout the country, this opinion is not prompted by party zeal or interest-it is the conclusion of sound judgment seeking the best means of promoting Union, peace, and harmony throughout the country. The reasons he assigns for it are of the weightiest and most conclusive character. They will be read with profound interest, as explaining the necessities of a very critical period in our political history, long after the contest by which they were evoked shall have passed away.

# The National Debt.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Long after the questions of reconstruction and freedmen's bureaus have been consigned to oblivion, the national debt, with its responsibilities and burdens, will be the difficulty of politicians. President Johnson's letter to General Ewing on this subject contrasts the extravagance of the last four years with the economical administration of the seventy-two years preceding the Rebellion in such a way as to put it beyond doubt that a change must take place if the country is to be saved from bankruptcy. It seems almost incredible that the expenditure incurred within the short period since the Rebellion should represent a sum almost equal to that of the seventy-two vears preceding it. Surely no denuncia-tions can be more eloquent than the naked figures that thus demonstrate the malad ministration of the radicals. The purchase money of Russian America is no doubt a considerable item in our recent expenditure; but in the period previous to the Rebellion there are still heavier axpenses of an extraordinary character to be taken into consideration. Louisiana, Florida, and Califormia were purchased from France, Spain, and Mexico at a still heavier expense, and during that period a three years' war with Great Britain, another with Mexico of shorter duration, and numberless Indian wars, helped to swell the national expenditure. We can find no setoff in the period since the war comparable with these. Extravagance and corruption have been a heavier drain upon the country than the purchase of Russian America or the scanty pensions doled out to the widows and orphans of our soldiers. If the radicals saved | zen, so much so that in the case of one the

into very bad company.

Mexico, Cauada, and Cuba are still wanting to swell the greatness of our resources aud make all North America ours; but so long as such heavy burdens of taxation are imposed on the people, we cannot expect that they will drop willingly into our arms. In the midst of peace our expenditure is upon a war footing. What would it be if some unforeseen circumstance involved us in a European war? Either bankruptey or defeat, nuless retreuchment be carried out with the most unsparing severity and a disinterested patriotism that looks more to the common good than to the interests of

Our financial mismanagement has indeed brought the country to a crisis scarcely less dangerous than when the first shot fired at Fort Sumter inaugurated the civil war. Then the vaciliating policy of the Democratic leaders compelled the people to support a radical government, and were the exclusion of the Democrats from office the only result we should say, "Served them right." But with radical power came radical plunder; and the amount of treasure thus robbed from the people has burdened us with a national debt which cannot be repudiated without disgrace, and which, if we hope ever to liquidate, we must at once set about putting the Government expenses on a peace basis, and detecting and punishing corruption wherever it may be

Indiana for Seymour.

From the N. Y. World. Frauds, like chickens, always come home to roost. The official returns from Indiana fully substantiate all the charges that have been made of fraud on the part of the radicals to prevent the election of Thomas A. Hendricks as Governor of the State. Subjoined are the returns of the vote for Governor:-

Baker (Rep.)..... Hendricks (Dem.).... 

Baker's majority..... The aggregate vote of the State for Repregentatives in Congress tells quite a different story, to wit:-Total Democratic vote..... Total Radical vote.....

Democratic majority .... 432 Whence this discrepency? A simple investigation will show. Comparing the two total votes, it is ascertained that the total vote for Governor exceeded that for Congressmen,

FOR GOVERNOR. Democratic .... FOR CONGRESSMEN, 170,878

Democratic .... ..170,446-341,324 That these 865 persons, who voted for Gov-

ernor and refrained from voting for Congressmen were not Democrats is evident from the fact that the Democrrtic vote for the latter exceeded by 264 that for Governor. They were radicals, as is proved by the fact that in thirty counties which gave a majority for Baker (Republican), the radical strength fell off on the vote for Representatives in Congress, the total decrease being 946 votes. That these were cast by men imported from Illinois and Michigan, and perhaps from other States, does not admit of a doubt. Not that these were the only illegal votes polled by the radicals, but that they were a portion of them is sustained by irrefragible testimony. The moral of all this is:-

I. That Thomas A. Hendricks received a majority of the legal votes cast in Indiana on the 13th of October.

II. That Conrad Baker, the radical candidate, was not legally elected, and, if allowed to take his seat on the 1st of January, will dishonor himself, his State, his party, and the country.

III. That the Democrats are in a clear maority in Indiana, as is shown by the aggregate vote of each party for Representatives in Congress; and

IV. That the electoral vote of the State can be secured for Seymour and Blair if the Democrats will poll their full vote, and prevent their opponents from polling fraudulent ones.

#### Revolutionary Disfranchisement of Naturalized Citizen.

From the Washington National Intelligencer. During the late election in Penusylvania, thousands of votes of naturalized citizens were rejected by the Republican judges, although their papers were in the customary form, authenticated by a court of competent jurisdiction. The only reason for this rejection was that these persons were about to vote the Democratic ticket. But the fact was that the inspectors of election undertook to go behind the seal [of a competent court. By this outrage, and by the colonization frauds, Pennsylvania was carried for the Republicans by some 9,000

majority. in New York even a grander fraud was contemplated, the number of naturalizations being, we believe, much larger. The radical press came out boldly and announced what they meant to do. The inspectors were to reject the applicants for registration who bore naturalization papers, or to make such delays that they would not be able to get their names on the list of registration. The gross injustice and illegality of this proceeding were so apparent that Judge Henry E. Davies, a Republican Judge of the Court of Appeals of New York, has written a letter declaring that a regular certificate of naturalization, under the seal of the court, is "conclusive evidence of the facts therein stated, and also conclusive evidence that all the preliminaries required by law to establish a right to naturalization have been complied with." In support of this proposition, Judge Davies cites various authorities. The effect of this opinion is to demonstrate

the utter lawlessness of the contemplated proceedings of this faction, and the revolutionary character of what they have done in Pennsyl-

Mr. Champlain, Attorney-General of the State of New York, gives an opinion which is in substance the same as that of Judge Davies, and even stronger. It is needless to quote it. By the light of these authorities, and the decision of that eminent and pure jurist,

Judge Sharswood, of Pennsylvania, we discover this party, both in Pennsylvania and New York, to be a party of revolution and usurpation, defying the law, and carrying elections by violence and fraud. The question then is, not whether they or the Democratic party meditate a revolution hereafter, but whether the people will submit to a revolu tion already in progress by ruffians in broad

cloth. Another aspect of this outrage challenges attention. These impediments, utterly illegal, are all thrown in the way of white men of the North. At the same this party throws open the ballst to every negro at the South! It does not ask whether they are paupers or not, whether or not they are of "good moral character," or have any intelligence or experience to qualify them for the ballot. In the estimation of this faction the negro is a much superior being to the German or Irish citi-

the Union, they have materially checked the | Constitution must be violated to give the | prosperity of the country. "Your money or | suffrage, and in the other the law trampled on your life" was the unpleasant alternative put to deny it. Both objects are dear enough to to the republic, which, between the Confede- it to justify revolution by this party now so rates and the radicals, seems to have fallen auxious for 'peace.' Every naturalized citizen into very bad company.

The Republican Party After the Election From the N. Y. Nation.

As we go to press, the reports which reach us from all quarters indicate that, although Mr. Dana's chances of election in the Essex district are by no means desperate, General Butler will very likely be successful and the Fifth Massachusetts district unfortunate. What we shall say in the present article is founded on the assumption of that probability, and it the assumption is incorrect, falls to the ground. Assuming, therefore, that General Butler succeeds in defeating Mr. Dana, what effect will the result have, not upon the mambers of the Butlerite sect of moralists, but upon the Republican party-upon the party which, for the past eight years, has held the reins of government-upon the party which has defeated the South and reconstructed the Union ?

With the election of Grant and Colfax, the conflict about slavery, negro suffrage, and reconstruction must come to an end. For this election assures us that there shall be no reenslavement, that in the States still disorganized the forces of the United States shall be used to the extent of the power of the Executive in protecting citizens at the South, whether black or white, in the exercise of all their rights, political as well as civil, and that the reconstruction acts shall be considered valid by all departments of the Government. More than this, as we have frequently pointed out, cannot be done. Military government of the South for the next twenty years-which, were it only possible, would be by far the best means of fostering the growth of peace there, accompanied as it would be by instruction for the negro and poor white, and affording, as it would, protection to Northern emigrants-is unfortunately totally impossible. Unfortunately all parties are with rare unanimity agreed that the Southern States must, for the future, be left to themselves.

A limit is already set to the Freedmen's Bureau, both by act of Congress and by common consent; and the minor theoretical topics of disagreement between the two parties-as. for instance, the criminality of treason and the question whether the Southern States at the end of the war were in or out of the Union -cannot very well any longer form substantial ground for difference. In other words, the chief points of dispute between Republicans and Democrats will be settled; the war which began forty years ago with the publication of the Liberator will have been ended in the complete triumph of the Liberator's cause. The Democrats will have been beaten, and the victorious hosts of the Republicans will be looking about them, uncertain in what fields

to display their activity.

The Republicans will then find themselves composed of several small parties, different in aims, different in origin, different in destiny. We do not propose to enumerate them all, but some of them are these: - In the first place, the old abolitionists, a party resting its claims to existence solely on the vigor of its conscience; in the second place, what may be called the later school of abolitionists, who began life by believing slavery to be not the most crying evil in America, but who were persuaded sooner or later into admitting that it was; in the third place, the majority of the party, who joined it to put down the Rebellion with the simple feeling of patriotism; in the fourth place, the new negro voters, a body about which almost nothing is known, except that it is a docile body; and, in the fifth place, individual men of ability and distinguished unscrupulousness, who left their old party at the last moment to take sides with the stronger forces, and who are willing to do the same thing again. The fifth class is represented

by, if not composed of, General Butler.

The aim of the first class is the reign of "truth," a vague and unsatisfactory aim, because each one of them has his own notions of the proper definition of the word. The aim of the second class is simply good government and the application of the laws of reasoning and the deductions of experience to affairs of state. The third is quite as vague in its views as the first, and quite as much under the influence of its feelings. The object of the fourth is simply to be led to do what will make a tolerable life possible; while the fifth merely desires personal aggrandizement. Four of these classes were united by the war in the pursuit of a common enemy; the termination of the war and reconstruction leave them without any welldefined plan of action. One of them has just been called into existence. Meanwhile, it is necessary to observe that, though four of the classes are divided at hap-hazard into bondholders and non-bondholders, the limits of no one of them coincide with the limits of the bondholding and non-bondholding classes. The negroes, for example, are practically entirely non-bondholding. On the other hand the Democrats also find their occupation gone for slavery is abolished and the South is reconstructed. They are demoralized utterly.

Now, one of the two great parties being in a thoroughly disorganized state, and the other being undecided as to its future policy, a question of vital importance arises as to the payment of the debt. It is generally assumed that this question is settled by the announcement by the Democrats of their intention to pay the debt in greenbacks and to tax the bonds, and by the Republican declaration at Chicago that the debt is to be paid in good faith and that repudiation is a national crime. But although we are disposed to agree to the proposition that this might have been so had not the question of electing General Batler been made so prominent and interesting a one, by the refusal of a very large and respectable body of Republicans to support a man pledged to violate the honor of the country, it seems to us more probable that if General Butler is elected the five-twenty question will assume new and alarming proportions. And our reasons are these:—The eyes of intelligent men all over the country are at this moment turned upon the Fifth Massachusetts district as one in which a test case is trying, in which the question how much stretching the Chicago platform will stand is being determined. It must not be forgotten that Butler himself has taken that platform as his, and has, in a letter to the Tribune, already long since stated his intention to pay the debt according to "good conscience," a phrase which does not differ essentially from "good faith" but which he interprets in his own peculiar fashion. Again, General Butler is, according to all received authorities, the great (Republican) apostle of the greenback plan.

"Tout he who has shau't keep; And he shall get who can." It was General Butler who received it from Pendleton, and who improved and prefaced it. It is known as Butler's policy, and the question is whether Butler can, in the teeth of an active opposition, solely through the advantage which a regular nomination gives him, make the "payment of the debt in good faith" mean "payment of the debt in depreciated currency.'

Only two or three State conventions have had the boldness yet to advocate in set terms the payment of the debt in gold and silver coin. Massachusetts has done so; but a vast

majority of the States have made platforms which are only verbose amplifications of the maxim that "honesty is the best policy." The great question is, What do you mean by "good faith," and what do you mean by "re-pudiation?"—and the fact is that the Republican conventions have not generally dared to say what they do mean. Individual Republicans, like Secretary Stanton, have no objection to say what they think. But neither has General Butler. The conduct of Senator Morton shows his prevailing unsteadiness upon this and kindred points. Six months ago he said he was "in favor of one currency for all," and used other expressions from which the public derived the impression that be thought the 5-20s should be paid in greenbacks, and that the currency should be paper. He has recently said that by "one currency" he meant "gold and silver," and that as for the payment of the 5.20s in greenbacks— "Why, gentlemen, breathes there a man with soul so deal," etc. etc. And what will be say six months hence? There never was a time when it was so curiously easy to misunderstand the plainest English words, and to misconceive wholly the political objects of the statesmen. In the ordinary affairs of life, people generally know when other people mean gold and when they mean paper-or iron pyrites, as Mr. Atkinson would say-but in the present position of public affairs, the only thing one can find out, at least from conventions, which are the constituted organs of party expression, the organs of speech, the very tongues of their constituents, is that the love of "honesty," and "good faith," and "honor," and "equity," and "national integrity," and hatred of "baseness," "repudiation," and, let us say, of all other forms of crime, has reached a development that, in any nation so young as this, must be regarded as highly gratifying, of course, but perhaps too precocious. When a great party, by its authorized agents, finds itself able to say nothing about the most important question which will sgitate the country for the next generation but this, that it hates "vice," we cannot believe that there is any real union, any settled determination as to the particular form of "vice" which is necessary to attack, Now, has the Republican party irrevocably made up its mind that the 5-20 bonds are to be paid in "gold and silver coin;" Has the Republican party irrevocably made up its mind that the bonds are not to be taxed? Twenty Republicans voted to adopt the report of the committee to which this subject was referred, and this was after the making of the Chicago platform and that manly denunciation of the criminality of such proceedings, of which we hear so much. We believe that in the incoherent mass which will compose the Republican party after the election of Grant, a number of men, sufficiently large to exercise important influence, will be found ready to pay the debt in greenbacks, if only they can find a leader who calls himself Republicau. If General Butler goes back to Congress, these men will reason in this way: The convention did not declare in favor of "gold and silver coin," except in a few cases; and in Massachusetts, where the strengest kind of resolutions were passed, they care so little in reality about it, that the chief repudiater of them ail, the man who gave repudiation all its energy and living force, is sent back here, after a most active canvass-after a canvass which had its origin in the determination of the best men in the district that the fivetwenty question should be made a plain one, and which was headed by one of the ablest men in the country. It is evident that the real power for the next two years is in Mr. Butler's hands to a most dangerous extent. The next Congress will contain more Democrats than the last, and they will vote solidly for repudiation in any form, as they did to tax the bonds in July.

We have discussed the question only as it

bears upon the 5-20s; but there are a thous other ways of bringing about what General Butler has so long advocated and apparently advocates now. For example, a sudden cry may be raised that we are ever-taxed, that the corrupt native and the selfish foreign bondholder are forcing us to tax ourselves for their benefit, and ruining the country. Under this plea we might "pass" the semi-annual interest once or twice. Railroads managed by the smaller Butlers do such things with their dividends; why not governments? And surely no one, however inclined he is to suppose that the five-twenty question is really settled, will say that all other schemes of repudiation have been so thoroughly discussed as to preclude the possibility of a swindle. Let us repeat that the Republican party has no settled policy for the years to come after the election of Grant; that both parties are in a loose, disorganized state; that at such mements unscrupulous men have a double power; and that if General Butler goes back to Congress, the party which sends him there will find itself split by the question of the debt into two factions which may never reunite. Harper's Weekly said the other day that if the Republican party threw moral principle overboard, the party and the country are doomed. We do not agree as to the country, but we feel very sure about the

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