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SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OFINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UFON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

What May be Expected from Grant's Administration.

From the N. Y. Nation.

One of the unfortunate but inevitable accompaniments of a canvass, or in fact of all government by popular agitation, is that a measure cannot be carried without exciting extravagant expectations as to its result. It is impossible, for instance, in the present or any probable condition of the human faculties, to elect a President by a party vote without leading the majority to look for a much greater Improvement in the condition of the country as the reward of their exertions than is in the nature of things possible. Consequently, few Presidents ever pass through one term withont greatly disappointing their supporters. Of course there would be some disappointment, even if an archangel were put in the chair, for it would not be in the power of an archangel to reward everybody who took an active part in the canvass, according to the applicant's own estimate of his deserts. But there is also sure to be a good deal of disappointment for which the hack politician is not responsible. No man can have ten or fifteen sulogistic "lives" written of him, or have several hundred orators and newspapers devote themselves for half a year to extolling bim, and making light of his defects, without suffering from the cold criticisms of later and calmer days. Moreover, there is no man out of office, and who has never held office, who can ever have his fitness for office weighed accurately, even by the acutest observer. The number of those in every State of whom it may be said, with slight modification, what Tacitus said of Galba, that they enjoy a reputation for statesmanship the continuance of which depends on their never being called en to govern, is necessarily very great. Moreover, we have had a good many Presidents whose elevation was not even due to an untested reputation for administrative capacity, but simply to accident or intrigue.

The very best and ablest man must, therefore, owing to causes which have their root in human nature itself, expect to see the lustre of his name considerably dimmed by the time his first term of office has closed. We have little doubt this will prove true of Grant as of others, though none of his predecessors since Washington has gone through, under the eyes of the nation, before assuming office, such a severe trial of all his qualities, mental as well moral, as he has. His enemies have tried in vain to represent him as a mere soldier, and to warn people against him, for reasons that would apply to St. Arnaud or Pelissier and Windischgratz; and the reason they have failed is, that the man who succeeds at the head of an American volunteer army can never be a mere soldier. A mere soldier could not and cannot command such an organization, because it is not and cannot be made the perfect military machine which is all set in motion by touching a single spring, as the Austrian or French army is. Even when in its best state for military purposes, it retains very largely its civil character, and has to be managed and manceuvred with a very large amount of that civil prudence, that power of persuasion, respect for prejudices and peculiarities, and skill in judging of individual character, which go to make a statesman's An American general who maintains good relations with the Federal Government, good relations with the Governors of the States, retains the confidence and respect of the troops and the good opinion of the public during arduous and difficult campaigns, such have been, has passe ordeal such as no foreign general is ever called upon to encounter, and must possess many of the highest qualities of a civil ruler. Within a few days Grant will, we believe, be elected. [He has been, since the Nation man wrote this .- Ep. Evs. TEL] While therefore, perfectly aware that the triumph of the Republican party and the installation of Grant in the White House will not bring or even materially hasten the millennium, we believe there are certain things of the highest value which a man who is neither sanguine nor excited may, after due allowance has been made for the froth of the campaign, count on as all but certain to result from it. It will, in the first place, we will not say put an end to crimes and outrages at the South, but it will greatly diminish their number-so far diminish it as to produce what will be-for the Southa condition of peace and security; and this not wholly, or even in great part, by the application of force, for Grant will not have at his disposal the means of policing the South. Bat he will have the means of ending the flagrant disorders, partly by the supply of aid to the civil authorities in bad cases, and partly through the effect on the Southern imagination of the fact that the malcontents have neither sympathy nor support to look for at Washington. It must be remembered that order is not preserved in any community-not even in conquered communities-by the direct nse of force. A reasonable apprehension of punishment, and a tolerably clear apprehension of the uselessness of resistance, is all that the most turbulent community needs to reduce it to something like tranquillity. Even in the worst districts of the South, the great bulk of the people desire a quiet life, and it only needs the belief that the state of things now established is not to be changed by assassination or arson, and that attempts to change it in this way will be repressed with the strong hand, to produce as close a semblance of order even in Texas as is possible in the existing moral condition of the population. The election of Grant will, in fact, be the approval by the country, after four years' deliberation, of the plan of reconstruction adopted by Congress. The most sanguine or flighty Southern politician will hardly continue to hope for the reversal of such a judgment as this. In the next place, although we do not flatter ourselves that Grant's election will completely remove all danger to the public credit, it will give all the weight and influence of the Government, and of a formal expression of public opinion, to that portion of the Republican party which advecates the honest payment of the public debt. It will not silence the Butlerites; it may not prevent a split of the Republican party on this very question, and the return of its chief knaves and a large body of its more recent recruits to their old places in the Democratic ranks. But it will places in the Democratic ranks. But it will certainly cow, and may silence, the repudiators until the finances have been reduced to order, and something like a settled policy adopted with regard to revenue and taxation. That this is the general ex-pectation both at home and abroad is shown in the rise in the value of greenbacks and Garcement bonds since the resent State Government bonds since the recent State elections. That is to say, the merest prospect of Grant's triumph has carried us nearly a fifth of the way towards specie payments without any cost to the country. His election will carry us still further, and then an economical management of the Treasury, and the suppression of war-horses in the Honse and Senate, will, it is to be hoped, speedily do the rest.

only lately that the necessity of this has become fully apparent to the public. While population was small, society simple, and the

work of government comparatively light, the evils of the existing system were not very striking. Since the war they have assumed proportions which it is no exaggeration to call awful, for they positively threaten the exist-ence of the Government. From Presidents taken from the ranks of the regular politicians, bred under the influence of party usages and traditions, it was useless to expect any assistance in the work of reform. Even to Mr. Lincoln, honest and well-meaning as he was, the present plan of appointing public servants wore the appearance of a portion of the natural order of the universe, and there was something pathetic as well as painful in watching him devoting the first three precious months of his first term of office-when the enemy was literally at the gates, and the Government apparently in the throes of dissolution-to the distribution of "the spoils" in such manner as to "satisfy the claims of localities" and reward the various hack politicians of all degrees who had taken part in the canvass.

Now, Grant is not a regular politician. will be the first President the country has had for many a long day on whom old party doctrines, as to "spoils" and "claims," will have no influence. He has been bred in a very different and a very much better school -a school in which honor and merit are still words that mean something, and that stand for forces in human affairs. He has shown, too, in his administration of the army, that he knows a good man when he sees him, and that as soon as he sees him he clasps him to him with hooks of steel. He is by education and temperament the foe of jobbers, intriguers, and blatterers, and will undoubtedly apply to the civil service, in so far as he can, the rules of selection and promotion by aid of which he has given such splendid illustration to American military annals. We may therefore look for, at his hands, in the first place-if he gets a fair amount of support from the Senate-the formation of a cabinet in which knowledge and ability will count for a great deal, and the "claims of localities" and party usages for very little. We should not be surprised, for instance, and should be very much pleased—though we know nothing whatever about the probabilities—to see him put Mr. Summer in the State Department and Mr. Wells in the Treasury. In the next place, the attempts to reform the whole civil service in which Mr. Jenckes and Mr. Patterson are engaged, and which will be renewed when Congress meets, will undoubtedly receive from him an amount of hearty support such as no regular politician would give them. He, like all military and naval officers, will, when brought into actual contact with the diplomatic, revenue, and postal service, be sickened by the spectacle of disorder and corruption which they offer, and will do what he can to make them what the army and navy are-a credit to the country instead of a shame and scandal.

The English Elections.

From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser. The English Parliament will be dissolved in a few days, and the elections will immediately take place. The result is looked forward to with great interest, on account of the probable influence of the new Reform bill upon the election of members. It is estimated that a million new voters will be enfranchised under the new act. This amounts to very nearly one-half the present electoral vote in England, and so large an addition might naturally be expected to result in a much more liberal and democratic House of Commons than has been known since the time of Cromwell. But the Tory fears upon this subject are not likely to be realized. Several years must elapse before the English people can realize the full benefits of the extension of the franchise. The influence of the aristocratic and wealthy classes is so great that the complexion of the new House of Commons will scarcely underge any change. There may be a few less Tories and a few more liberals, but the democratic popular element will scarcely be represented at all. One reason for this arises from the fact that the House of Commons is essentially composed of rich men. Every member pays his own expenses, there are no salaries, and social prestige or exclusiveness will continue to keep poor radical reformers out of the House until the American plan of

Though last, not least, Grant's election will afford the best chance that has ever been offered of a reform in the civil service. It is uch as white men forgat to perpetuate?"

Two hundred thousand disfrauchised in Virginia? General Schofield's report, dated December 13, 1867, shows that in the entire State only 16,343 failed to register from any cause, and of these not more than 12,000 are actually disfranchised under the Reconstruction acts.

Seventy thousand disfranchised in Texas? That is the Democratic fiction. The simple truth being that in the whole State less than 4000 are disfrauchised. Competent authorities fix the number at 3000, basing their estimate on a comparison of the number registered now with the number of voters in 1860. We allow a wider margin and call it 4000.

Ninety thousand disfranchised in Mississippi? So the *Express* says. The total number registered there is 139,690, of whom about 60,000 are whites. In 1860 the total number of voters was 69,000. It is safe to assume that the new white voters fall short of the voters killed during the war, and in that case the aggregate disfranchised cannot exceed 9000.

Again, 90,000 in Missouri? Mere guesswork, evidently. The St. Louis Democrat, in the fulness of local knowledge, states the number at between 20,000 and 25,000.

"More than half a million whites denied the right to vote," exclaims our Democratic instructor, referring to the aggregate result in all the Southern States. A careful examination of the registration returns in the ten States to which the Reconstruction acts apply, and a comparison of these returns with the number of white voters in 1860, brings us to the conclusion that at no time did the disfranchisement enacted by Congress affect more than 70,000 men, of whom probably 25,000 are to be found in the three States not yet restored to the Union. A total of 70,000, distributed over ten States, does not tally with the sweeping allegations invented by the De-

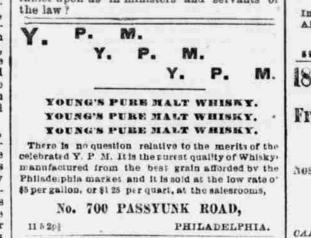
mocrats for partisan purposes. Moreover, the Reconstruction acts entail no permanent disfranchisement. Not a solitary citizen, white or black, is deprived of a vote, by Congressional action, in any of the reconstructed States. The question of suffrage reverts to the States so soon as they comply with the requirements of law, and the comparatively trifling disfranchisement ordered by Congress ends.

How, then, have the reconstructed States dealt with the question of disfranchisement? The Democratic accusation implies a continuance of the disability imposed by Congress down to the present time. As a matter of fact, however, the charge is untrue. Not only have the restored States not adopted a proscriptive policy, but with two exceptions they have pursued a most liberal course. Louisiana and Arkansas alone uphold a system of disfranchisement-the latter State in a modified form. Alabama, which at first enacted disabilities, subsequently abolished them, and disfranchisement no longer exists there. In North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, every citizen is a voter. We believe that the whole sum of disfranchizement in the restored States does not cover more than ten or twelve thousand votes, and these are divided between Lonisiana and Arkansas. Everywhere else all the whites vote freely.

With disfranchisement in West Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri, Congress and reconstruction are in no manner connected. The wisdom of continuing a policy which had its origin in the exigencies of the Rebellion may well be doubted; but that is a matter to be decided by the States themselves. Congress is no more responsible for the imposition of the disability or the failure to abolish it, than for the more sweeping disfranchisement which is kept up by the Democrats in Maryland and Kept up by the Denotate in Maryland, why Kentucky. If it is proper in Maryland, why not in Missouri? If right in Kentucky, why not also in Tennessee? Color is certainly not

community. Two of these Commissioners in particular, Manierre and Acton by name, both of whom are utterly unknown to the people of New York in any other capacity than that of political adventurers, threw off all pretense of decency and propriety in their efforts to accomplish their netarious purpose. We do not believe there is a single respectable citizen of this city, no matter how intense may be his sympathy with the radical party in its national policy, who can have read the report given in the Tribune of the conduct of Manierre and Acton at the Police Commissioners' office on Monday evening without shame and indignation. Acton in particular was so violent in his desire to see the bayonet brought out into our streets on election day, and so insolent in his accusations of fraud against his own colleagues who declined to go along with him in his fary, that he compelled the Mayor of the city, who was present, to say that "he was afraid if Commissioner Acton displayed as much excitement on Tuesday as he did on Monday, he would not only run a risk of losing his own life, but would also cause the loss of many others." Not even this rebuke could, however, prevent Acton and his confede rates from confirming their Superfu-tendent, the notorious Kennedy, in his determination to provoke a public riot if possible by ordering his policemen to make an illegal disposition of persons arrested by them. With these men the Governor of the State also acted. Governor Fenton ostentationsly came down from Albany, and, after closeting him-self with a committee of leading radical partisans, gave it forth publicly that he was in consultation with the "Major-General commanding the First Division of New York militia," and that he would spend the day of the election at the police headquarters, in readiness to proclaim martial law. In the face of all these proceedings, as to the nature aud tendency of which no same man can entertain a question, what was the attitude of the people of this great city ? Neither did fear demoralize nor fever mad

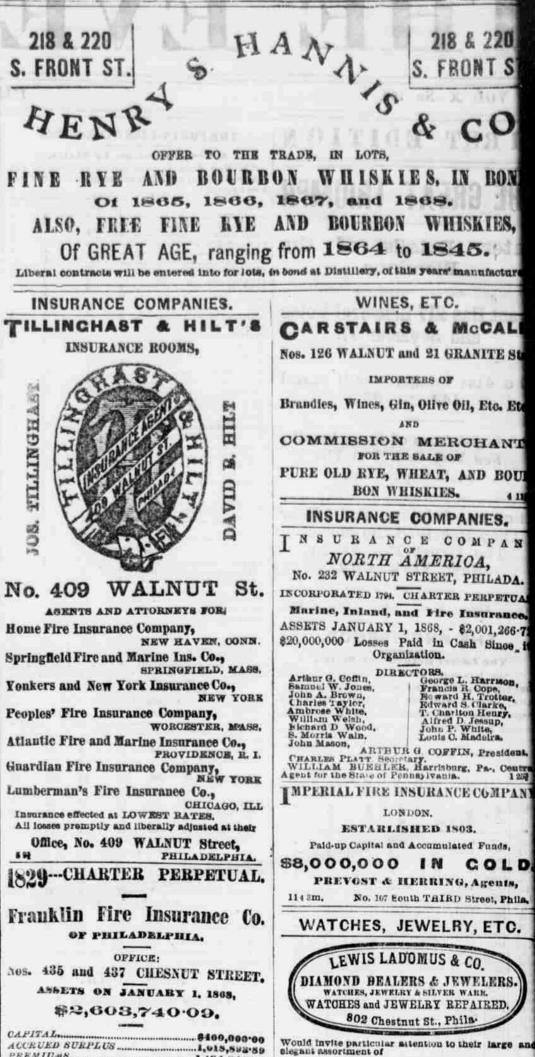
den them. The day passed off as all who know the resoluce and intelligent fidelity of the people of this great capital to the fundamental principles of free government knew that it would pass off. New York preserved her composure, uttered her will, and did her duty. Once again, as so often in the past, this magnificent stronghold of true Democracy and of popular rights put her enemies and slanderers conspicuously to shame. Once more, as often in the past, she approved herself the champion and the hope of sound American principles. But in doing this, did she not also hold up clearly before Heaven for a warning and a sign the moral guilt and the public peril involved in the committal of great public trusts to the Mexicanizing votaries of fraud and violence whom the radicals infifet upon us in ministers and servants of the law ?



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paying legislators shall have been adopted. The chief issue in the English canvass seems to turn upon the Irish Church question. The great rival orators and statesmen, Disraeli and Gladstone, have joined issue upon this subject. Mr. Disraeli heads the opposition of Reform, and opposes the establishment of the Irish Church by pressing into his service the old worn-out cry of "No Popery !" It remains to be seen how much this will help him. The Prime Minister is shrewd and far-seeing, and he probably does not greatly overrate the immense amount of bitter sectarian hate that can be excited in England upon any question involving danger to the Established Church. He takes the ground that the disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church, with its enormous revenues and privileges, will be followed by a crusade against the Established Church in England. He is probably correct in this, as it is scarcely in the nature of things that the progressive English people can long continue to tolerate the absurdity of a State religion of any kind.

But there are in England alone about twenty thousand Episcopal clergymen, and of these nineteen-twentieths will be Mr. Disraeli's most active supporters. They are all men of education; many of them possess wealth and high social distinction, and can influence many persons; and they constitute an immense recruiting body for the clever Prime Minister. They will pound the "drum ecclesiastic" against Gladstone and Irish Church Reform at a furious rate, and will be certain to exercise no unimportant influence upon the issue of the election.

That Mr. Disraeli will succeed in gathering a majority in the new House of Commons is possible rather than probable. It is no more probable that the English people could vote to perpetuate the abuses of the Irish Church system than that the Northern people could vote to restore slavery in the South. But prejudice and sectarian bitterness go a long way in many countries besides our own, and the Prime Minister may succeed in procuring a kind of half-and-half Reform Parliament, that will neutralize any real reform, and only consent at last to concede just enough of instice to break the force of the charges of Messra. Gladstone and Bright, and thus keep himself and his friends in power a few years longer.

The Outery About Disfranchisement. From the N. Y. Times.

The falsehoods of the Democratic press on the subject of disfranchisement attain their climax in the Express, which tells its readers that

"Thirty thousand white men are disfran-chised in Western Virginia, two hundred thousand in Virginia, seventy thousand in Texas, nhety thousand is Mississippi, eighty thousand in Tennessee, ninesy thousand in Missouri, and large numbers in the other Southern States. This was done by theradicals. More than half a million whites denied the

a greater crime than rebellion.

The Mexicanizing Radicals.

From the N. Y. World.

Now that the election is over, and that New York has neither been burned nor sacked nor its citizens put to the sword, we desire to impress upon the public mind a just and abiding sense of the behavior of those persons who, being in authority among the radicals, sought to use that authority for the purpose of Mexicanizing the politics of this metropolis. The word is not a complimentary word to 'our sister republic,'' but it is exactly expressive, and we shall make no apologies for using it, therefore, to Juarez or Ortega or Portirio Diaz, or anybody else who may happen just now to be in power in the halls of the Montezumas. None of our own politicians, not even Charles Summer or Horace Greeley, has the trick of noble phrases more at his fingers' ends than the Mexican leaders. God and Liberty do duty in their speeches as Humanity and Equality (with large capitals) do in the Tritune. But, like our own radical politicians, the Mexican leaders recognize only two levers for moving the popular action-the lever of passion and the lever of fear. Of course, the natural result in Mexico is that every political contest rapidly degenerates into an armed conflict. What has resulted from the long habits of Mexican politicians in Mexico is threatened by the growing habit of radical leaders in this country. During the whole canvass which ended with Tuesday's election the radical journals appealed to the passions of the people. They urged the election of Grant on the ground that the victorious North ought to impress its victory upon the defeated South. They blew steadily upon the embers of sectional hatred. They scattered broadcast through the land the most atrocious misrepresentations of Democratic principles and the vilest libels upon Democratic leaders. Their columns were filled with a noise of trumpets and of drums. They circulated pictures meant to inflame the lust of vengeance in the popular heart, to keep alive the bitterest memories of the civil war, to madden the ignorant negroes into a fury of race against the whites. Their visible and concentrated purpose was to heat the popular mind up to a point at which reason and argument should be caught up and consumed, like the sibylline oracles, in the whirl and flame o the furnace.

The journals having done their work thus up to the eve of the election, the local leaders and manipulators then took in hand the level of fear.

The persons whom radicalism has charged with the duty of protecting the public peace and the interests of order were foremost here The Marshal of the United States for this dis trict, an official whose sole lawful business i is to act as the minister of the judicial author ity of the Federal courts in this district came conspicuously before the people as the came conspicuously before the people as the agent of a plot for importing the Federal power by terrorism into the local affairs of New York city. In contempt not only of the prin-ciples of free government but of his own official oath and clear duty, this person busied himself publicly in attempting to create a general panio as to intended riots of election day, and to throw discredit on th

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