## SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

RECIPROCITY WITH HAWAII.

From the N. Y. Tribune. We are informed that the American planters and merchants of the Sandwich Islands, who are a large majority of the foreign population, desire annexation to the United States, and are ready to accept the burdens along with the privileges of such union; but they cannot just now realize this wish, because they are living under a constitutional king, the independence of whose Government is gnaranteed by great powers; therefore they propose and urge the next thing-a steppingstone to annexation-reciprocity. They want to sell to us free of duty all their sugars and other products, and buy of us all their imports, so that we and they shall trade together like people of one land. This will Americanize the islands, and a thorough Americanization of the islands will secure our interests in the Pacific, so that we need not be in haste about the question of annexation. England is not backward to Anglicize where her people get a foothold; and it is asserted by well-informed American residents of the islands that, if we do not now take steps to Americanize them, England will Auglicize them. She has sent there a bishop and an influential clergy; and an Australian line of steamships is to touch at Honolulu, that will accommodate sugars to reach a distant market and bring back Australian emigrants. In view of these statements, and if it be, as asserted, that we shall gain more in internal revenue than we shall lose on imports by this measure of reciprocity, the subject is deserving of the most careful consideration on the part of the American Senate.

CLOSING UP THE WORK. From the N. Y. Tribun

Congress has wisely devolved on the President the duty of providing for elections in the three States not yet reconstructed; and we are sure the work will be seasonably and fitly attended to. Let the crowd of office-seekers at Washington be allowed a few days more for final dispersion, and we shall then see proclamations addressed to the people of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, appointing a day of election in each, and prescribing the manner of voting on their pending constitutions respectively. No doubt, it will be rendered practicable in each to vote for reconstruction and against disfranchisement, so that thousands will vote to return to self-government and representation in Congress who would refuse to do so if they were obliged therein to vote for the disfranchisement even of their friends and neighbors.

We see with regret, though without surprise, that many of the Northern journals which justified and applauded the fatal plunge backwards taken by Georgia last summer in the expulsion of the colored members from her Legislature, are now trying to "fire the Southern heart," and impel it to vote down the new constitutions, thus protracting indefinitely that anomalous military rule which they affect so much to deplore. Because Congress has prescribed a ratification of the XVth amendment, and reserved the right to review the action of the States about to vote, they would have those States reject their respective constitutions, and thus remand themselves into military provinces.

This is precisely of a piece with that suicidal action which did so much to justify distrust and severity on the part of Congress. Republicans cannot be expected to forget that the blacks (and even the yellows) were expelled from the Georgia Legislature, after they had served therein without objection for months, by the votes of men themselves expressly disqualified by their own prominent participation in the Rebellion-men who owed their own seats to the forbearance of the very men they thus ostracized. Nor can it be so forgotten that the States of Georgia and Louisiana were made to vote against General Grant last November by terrorizing a majority of the blacks into voting against their own enfranchisement or not voting at all. In thirty or forty counties, containing at least fifty thousand colored voters, who had already exercised the right of suffrage in unanimous affirmance of their own right to be regarded and treated as men and citizens, hardly a dozen votes per county were cast for Grant and Colfax, and the returns were made to show a prepunderance of a hundred to one for Seymour and Blair, when every one knew that a majority of the voters desired the defeat of those candidates. If Democrats have so soon forgotten this monstrous wrong, perpetrated through Rebel conspiracy and persecu-tion, they surely cannot expect that Republicans have done so. We could wish that Congress had been less exacting and suspicious in its new terms of reconstruction; yet we cannot deny that those terms were abundantly justified by the action of the Rebel Democracy, even so lately as 1868. We hope to hear that every lover of peace

at the South now takes his stand firmly and openly in favor of bringing each of the ont-lying States forthwith back into their old laces in the Union. Hitherto thousands have held off because they hoped that the Presidential election of 1868 would result in a Demoeratic pro-Rebel triumph; but that hope is now dead. To stand out now, in fond expectancy of a different result in 1872, were absurd and suicidal. Let us have each State back in her place next winter, and all pre-scriptions and disfranchisements must vanish like the dews of summer. Every one will soon vote; and the Government of each State, and its representation in Congress, must very soon be such as the will of a majority of her people shall choose to have it. Nothing is to be gained, while every good result will be impeded, by voting now to keep three States in-definitely under pupilage. Reconstruction is the door which opens into every possibility of melioration and improvement; let it not be sullenly closed by those to whom it affords the only access to self-government and the full recovery of their forfeited rights.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CUBAN

QUESTION. From the N. Y. Herald.

We are informed by news from Washington that the Secretary of State has awakened from his Rip Van Winkle sleep of conservatism on the Cuban question, and that he really contemplates vindicating the national honor in the case of Spanish outrages on the American flag and American citizens. It is said he will go so far even as to demand prompt reparation and apology from Spain for these outrages, "if the reports about them be true." So far it is all very well, and considering the character of Mr. Fish and the hesitating conduct of the administration, the American people may say "the smallest favors are thankfully received." But why this "if?" Is it not notorious that Spanish authorities have committed outrages on our citizens and flag on the high seas and even in the waters of a friendly power? The facts are palpable enough and the cause sufficient to order the American fleet to make reprisals. We suppose Spain will apologize or do anything else to prevent our Government from helping, directly or indirectly, the

But would it not be more consistent with our national honor and the highest policy to first strike a blow by way of retaliation, and hear the apology of Spain afterwards, if r pain should be disposed to apologize? There is, as was said, ample cause for such a course in the outrages perpetrated. Besides, no better op-portunity could be desired to carry out American policy and the wishes of the American people with regard to Cuba and Cuban independence. Place England, France, or any other great power in the position of the United States, and see how soon a blow would be struck that would settle at once and forever Spanish insults, diplomatic palaver, the rule of Spain in Cuba, and the independence of the Cubans. To paraphrase Shakespeare's language, there is a tide in the affairs of nations which, if taken at the flood, leads on to national fortune. In the case of Cuba the tide is now at the flood. Let our Government comprehend this, and seize the opportunity.

Timid old fogies who cannot see beyond their noses may foolishly talk about our obligations to Spain as a friendly power, and characterize any decided intervention of the United States as filibustering. But such an argument would be puerile, narrow-minded, and show a want of comprehension of the principles that govern great nations. To preserve and perpetuate the principles or system upon which a nation is founded, to surround a nation with all the bulwarks of national existence, and to promote its interests, expansion, and grandeur by every attainable meaus, are the objects pursued by all governments, and consitute their highest ambition. The term filibustering cannot be applied to a great nation. Nor are the friendly relations between countries permitted to interfere with questions of high policy and important national interests. No great power is deterred by such considerations. We need not go far back to history to

show this fact. Why did Prussia seize and incorporate the German States? Why does Russia push her conquests in Asia and Europe? Why does England subjugate India and every other part of the world she can lay her hands on? Why did France incorporate Savoy, and why does she plot to reach the boundary of the Khine? Why was Poland conquered and divided by the surrounding great powers? Why, in fact, do all nations act in the same way? The answer is in every one's mind. The object with all is self-preservation, the perpetuation of their forms of government, and national expansion, interests, and grandeur. This being so with the monarchical governments of Europe, how much more ought the United States, for the promotion of liberty and in the interests of civilization and humanity, to extend the blessings of republican institutions over the American continent? To neglect any opportunity of doing this-and to neglect it in the case of Cuba now-would be the height of stupidity. Had we such a statesman as Bismark or Napoleon at the helm of affairs, the insults of Spain, her atrocities in Cuba and her rule in America would soon be ended.

It was said Mr. Fish expressed fear of the consequences of a bold policy on the part of the United States with regard to Cuba. We blush to think any American could be found so weak, timid, short-sighted, and unpatriotic. Fear of whom? Of Spain? Why, if she were silly enough to think of going to war with the United States she has not the means; and if she had she would produce just about as much effect upon this country as the augry waves of a little lake upon the everlasting rocks. Fear of whom? Of England or France? There need not be the least apprehension of them. They know too well the power of the United States. They would not be so crazy as to interfere; they have enough to attend to in Europe, and will never venture on any Quixotic policy on this side the Atlantic again. We question if they would make a protest even in favor of Spain, and if they should it would be an empty one. Besides, these great commercial nations are learning the fact that the more the United States expands and grows the more will the commerce of the world be promoted and the greater will be their trade.

What we want, then, is a broad and bold policy, with a view to the independence of Cuba. Our Secretary of State does very well so far in vindicating the honor of the American flag and in promising to protect American citizens. But that is not enough; that is not going far enough. We are not sure that he has the courage and wisdom to stick even to this position, and we cannot be at the trouble of driving him up to it always. He is not the man for the State Department at this crisis, when we have the Cuban question and the Alabama claims to settle. He is altogether too timid, too much of an old fogy, and has not the least comprehension of the policy and destiny of this mighty republic. Mr. Sumner is the man for the time and occasion. His statesmanlike speech on the Alabama claims shows this, and we doubt not that he would be equally national, bold, and com-prehensive with regard to Cuba. By the way, it has been said that these Alabama claims are a stumbling-block to the administration in acting upon the Cuban case. We do not see why. The hasty recognition of the belligerent rights of the Rebel States, an integral portion of this republic, by England, and the recognition of such rights, or the independence of Cuba, a distant dependency of Spain and our near neighbor, after more than six months of constant success by the Cubans, are not at all parallel cases, to say nothing of the well-established policy of the United States, under the Monroe doctrine, which was long ago announced to the whole world, and which now finds a proper application to Cuba Let us have a statesman in the State Department who will take such broad views and carry out the sentiments and destiny of the republic; and we think Mr. Sumner is the

PARTY RESPONSIBILITY.

From the N. Y. Times. In face of their protestations of economy, the Assembly has just voted to buy a short canal somewhere in Chemung county, and to pay a half million of dollars for it, while everybody concedes that it is not worth five cents. It was zealously supported by that veteran reformer and model legislator, Father Truman, and was opposed, among others, by Mr. Husted, of Westchester, who, according to the Tribune reporter, "fought it bitterly." The same authority adds:-

"The latter gentleman remarked that whenever a the latter gentleman remarked that whenever a big job voting money out of the Treasury came up, the Democrats solidly voted for it, and then threw the responsibility on the Republican majority by saying that if the latter wanted to stop this kind of staling they have the votes to do it. Not a day passes that the truth of this assertion is not proved."

Not a day passes, the writer might have added, that the truth of both assertions is not proved. The Democrats are perfectly right in proved. The Democrats are perfectly right in what they say. Naturally enough for them, they want to do all the stealing possible; and quite as naturally, they want to shirk the responsibility. And curiously enough, they have no difficulty in doing it. They have no trouble in getting enough Republicans to vote with them to carry their measures. In the Senate the votes of Humphrey, Williams, Mattoon, and Van Petten are always to be had for toon, and Van Petten are always to be had for any venal project, no matter how fiagrant and shameless, and the same sort of Republicans are always obtainable also in the Assembly. Yet it is perfectly true that the Republicans have a majority in both houses, and "have the votes" to stop this sort of stealing, if they

as a party measure. All these Republicans who make it a rale to vote with the Democrats for the most nefarious schemes, when their votes are paid for, do not lose standing in their party by it; they are just as "good Republicans" as ever—go to the party cau-cuses without objection, make loud and unchallenged protests of devotion to the welfare of the party, and denounce with great vehemence every man who has doubts on negro suffrage, or hesitates to alter the Constitution whenever the interests of the party seem to require it. They stand high in the party, are counted always as among its most "reliable" men, and are influential in branding as false to principle everybody who finds fault with them for disgracing and degrading the party which tolerates and screens them.

As long as such men are allowed to belong to the Republican party, to share its honors and its power, and to overrule its action, the party must be content to bear the responsibility of their conduct. When it will drive them from its ranks, with the disgrace they have earned, it may then complain of the Democrats for using Republicans to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. But not till then.

THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA.

From the N. Y. World. The large number of Cubans who are arriving in this city, and the zeal and activity with which they are attempting to propagate sentiments favorable to Cuban independence, keep alive and enhance the interest which our people spontaneously feel in the pending struggle. These Cubans express dissatisfaction at what they consider the apathetic course of our Government, and great impatience at every expression in a public journal un-favorable to the immediate recognition of Cuban independence. Americans can easily pardon this eagerness on the part of foreigners, who know little of the history and traditions of our Government and its customary manner of proceeding in similar cases. Our people have always taken the liveliest interest in every struggle for independence or for free institutions in any part of the world; but our Government, on every such occasion, has deemed it its duty to stand cautiously aloof and avoid committing itself by any premature steps. Everybody recollects the great blaze of enthusiasm which broke out among ns when Kossuth visited this country as th representative of Hungarian independence. But although he was wonderfully eloquent himself, and caused a great gush and outpouring of eloquence from our popular speakers, the wild enthusiasm of the numerous meetings they addressed did not move our Government to yield to Kossuth's importunities. After raising what "material aid" he could by private contributions, he stole out of the country in disguise and disgust. While our people have always given their sympathy, our Government has never given its aid, to revolutionary movements in their early stages.

It would be instructive to examine, in this view, the public documents and state papers which have most powerfully electrified the country by the boldness of their tone towards foreign governments. The ablest and most remarkable of the class is undoubtedly Mr. Webster's celebrated reply to the Chevalier Hulseman. We will quote from that powerful and stirring letter some passages indicating its general spirit, and at the same time showing how steadily and firmly our Government has always discharged its duties of neutrality while asserting the right of our people to manifest their approving interest in revolutionary movements abroad: -

"The Government and people of the United States," said Mr. Webster, "like other intelligent governments and communities, take a lively interest in the move-ments and events of this remarkable age, in whatever part of the world they may be exhibited. But the interest taken by the United States in those events has not proceeded from any disposition to depart from that neutrality towards foreign powers which is among the deepest principles and most cherished traditions of the political history of the Union. It has been the necessary effect of the unexampled character of the events themselves, which could not fall to arrest the attention of the contem-porary world; as they will doubtless fill a memorable page in history. But the undersigned goes further, and freely admits that, in proportion as these extra-traordinary events appeared to have their origin in those great ideas of responsible and popular govern-ments on which the American constitutions them-selves are wholly founded, they could not but command the warm sympathy of the people of this country." "They could not, if they so desired, suppress either the thoughts or the nopes which arise in men's minds, in other countries, from contemplating this successful example of free government." "Nevertheless the United states have abstained at all times from acts of inter ference with the political changes of Europe. They cannot, however, fail to cherish a lively interest in the fortune of nations struggling for institutions like their own. But this sympathy, so far from being necessarily a hostile feeling towards any of the parties to these great national struggles, is quite consistent with amicable relations with them all."

"But when the United States behold the people of foreign countries without any such histories." foreign countries, without any such interference spontaneously moving towards the adoption of insti itions like their own, it surely cannot be expected of them to remain wholly indifferent spectators,

We have preferred to present the American dostrine and practice by quotations from this celebrated letter, rather than by cold citations from our neutrality laws and the proclamations issued by our Presidents, because such documents show nothing but a nak-d recognition of neutral obligations, while the Hulseman letter sets forth also the glowing popular feeling and intense sympathetic favor which render the duties of the Government in such cases so difficult. It was the manly and spirited assertion by Mr. Webster of the right of our people to indulge in these natural feel-ings which caused that letter to be applauded beyond any document of the kind that was ever printed. The point on which we wish to fix the attention of readers, and especially of those who are impatient that our Government does not promptly recognize Cuba, is that, in the most glowing and eloquent vindication of their full right of sympathy, the boldness and national pride of the writer could not overlesp the barriers of international law, but was compelled to recognize the duty of strict neutrality on the part of our Government.

The duties of neutrality do not preclude us from recognizing the independence of Cuba, when it is achieved, or even as soon as our Government shall be satisfied that Spain will never succeed in subduing the revolution. Most assuredly, we are under no obligation to wait until Spain herself relinquishes her claim to sovereignty. We recognized all the South American republics while Spain still claimed them as colonies; and we violated no nentral obligation in doing so. In like manner, we recognized the independence of Texas white Mexico still asserted her claim; and we, of course, shall not wait for the consent of Spain before we welcome Cuba into the family of nations, if, by her own bravery and persistence, she shall make it evident that the mother country will not finally subdue her. But until the Cubans shall give us solid grounds of satisfaction on this point, it is our clear duty to stand apart and watch the progress of the struggle, giving our sympathies as freely as we choose but refusing to commit our Gay. we choose, but refusing to commit our Gov-ernment to an embryo independence which may turn out to be abortive. The door will doubtless be kept open for recognition if the progress of events shall justify it.

But even assured independence and our re-cognition of it would not release us from the duties of neutrality. In the event of success, Cuba, an independent nation, would be at war with Spain, another independent nation, both

wanted to. The inference is irresistible that they den't want to. Honesty is not one of the principles of the party—is never insisted on President to prevent our citizens from fitting President to prevent our citizens from fitting out expeditions to aid either side. Our recognition would aid Cuba, only as an expression of our deliberate judgment that she had be come strong enough to maintain her independence by her own resources. Such a judg-ment will be the mere acknowledgment of a fact, and the fact must exist before it can be recognized.

The folly of Spain may, however, make us a party to this struggle. If Spain commits outrages upon our citizens, our Government will be compelled to resent and punish them. Next to the immediate reception of their minister, the thing which the Cubans have most set their hearts upon is the intervention of our Government to punish injuries to our citizens. Their hopes on this score are not without some foundation. It is well known that Secretary Fish, when he saw the late decree of the Captain-General of Cuba, informed the Spanish Minister that any attempt to apply such doctrines to American citizens would lead to grave complications -a diplomatic form of threat which the Spanish Minister cou'd be at no loss to understand. Forthwith a fleet was ordered to the Gulf to protect our people from the rude hand of Spanish passion. In one seuse, this prompt preventive action of Mr. Fish is adverse to the hopes of the Cubans; for if the spirited action of our Government should teach the Captain-General some sense and discretion, it may prevent that war between the United States and Spain which the Cubans so eagerly wish as assuring their independence. But if Spain disregards the warning—if she outrages our people, and refuses immediate reparation their wrongs must be speedily avenged.

It will be seen, therefore, that very important events are suspended on the discretion of a government which has thus far shown no discretion. A month or even a week may precipitate matters into such a condition as may suddenly snap the last remaining tie be-tween Spain and the New World—a world which was discovered under her auspices, and of which she formerly possessed the greater part. In circumstances so critical and interesting, nothing can be clearer than the duty of our Government to bear itself with such prudence and continence that if we are forced into a quarrel with Spain-which, once begun, will make the whole world resound with its consequences—we may stand vindicated by a just and enlightened public opiniou.

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