SPIRIT OF THE PRESS

Editorial Opinions of the Lending Journals
Upon Carrent Topics Compiled Every
Day for the Evening Telegraph.

PENNSYLVANIA-OHIO. Five or six States hold elections on Tues-

day, October 12; but the deepest interest centres upon Pennsylvania and Ohio, Gen. Geary, the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania, who served his country acceptably in the war for the Union, is a candidate for reelection, opposed by Asa Packer, a Copperhead Congressman of "the times that tried men's souls; General Hays, the Republican Governor of Ohio, is in like manner opposed by George H. Pendleton, who was in Con-gress from 1861 to 1865, and there stead-fastly resisted as unconstitutional and aggressive every effort to oppose force to force in defense of the Union. If Mr. Pendleton is right, then the overthrow of the Confederacy was wrong, and we ought forthwith to with draw the authority and flag of the Union from the South and pay her for the damage wrong fully, wantonly inflicted on her. To vote George H. Pendleton into the office of Governor is to vote that the loyal sons of Ohio who for love of the Union poured out their blood like water at Pittsburg Landing, at Stone River, around Vicksburg, at Chickamauga, and in Sherman's bloody Atlanta campaign, died as the fool dieth, inflicting injury and outrage on a heroic and longsuffering people.

We do not believe Pendleton can be elected: we should have no doubt on the subject if the Republicans of Ohio had been wisely counseled and nobly led by their politicians. But some of these have been plowing with the greenback heifer and taking the anti-tariff sophistry which their fathers would have spurned; and all this is grist to the Copperhead mill. The voter who is convinced. no matter by whose arguments, that the bonds given for money borrowed to save the Union with a perfect understanding on both sides that they would be paid at maturity in coin-borrowed on the faith of assurances from the head of the Federal Treasury that they certainly should be so paid-may nevertheless be paid off in greenbacks fabricated in reams for the purpose, and payable at no definite time or place-will vote for the author of that gigantic swindle, and not his paltry and cowardly followers. They will know that he means it, and that the Republican who tries to steal his thunder is a time-serving hypocrite, who professes rascality because he supposes it the fashion. The voter who really means to pay the debt in greenbacks, and to cut down the tariff so that it can't be paid in anything else, is very unlikely to stand by the party which sends Schenck and Garfield to Congress, and mourns the exclusion from the national councils, by a minority vote, of faithful and fearless Ben

In Ohio, the Democratic politicians hope to make votes by opposing protection, and are outspoken free traders; in Pennsylvania, they know that protection is overwhelmingly strong, and so say nothing about it. Yet the defeat of Geary will be shouted over from Maine to Texas, no matter how unjustly, as a triumph of free trade over protection, and will give a powerful impetus to the anti-tariff hurrah in Congress. Every free-trader in the State is for Packer, and his election will powerfully tend to quench half the furnace-fires of the Keystone State. Whenever the Democratic party get the upper hand in Congress, protection is doomed, and a hundred Packers cannot save it if they would.

The Republicans of neither State can make anything by seeking to evade the great issues which divide the country. The Republicans of California might have been beaten anyhow: they sealed their doom when they tried to pronounce the Democratic shibboleth with regard to the Chinese. When the Republican party ceases to be the champion of equal rights, regardless of race or color, its grave will be dug. It can give no reason why its life should be prolonged one hour after it ceases to stand up for "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." Who-ever contends that a quarter of the adult male citizens living in a country or district ought to make all the laws, levy all the taxes, and hold all the offices, because the rest are nothing but "niggers," black or yellow, is a sham Democrat and ought to own it. To call himself a Republican while he thinks and feels like a Democrat, is to do all the harm possible to the party he has already resolved

to betray. We believe Ohio will sustain and ratify the fifteenth amendment, and thus secure its triumph. If she fails, we shall blame the timidity and treachery of a few leading politicians, not the great body of her voting Research publicans, whose hearts are true and loyal. The trimmers who failed us in 1867 sent Thurman to the Senate instead of Ben Wade. They can now fill up the measure of their treachery by electing Pendleton over Hays. But they who contribute to that result, whether by voting or staying at home, mean to bury the Republican party and roll a great stone above its remains. They did so in 1867, when they sent Thurman to the Senate: yet General Grant carried the State next year by over fifty thousand majority. If treachery could kill it, it would have been dead long

We appeal to Republicans in principle whether in Pennsylvania or Ohio, to do their very utmost in the canvass now near its close. Men and brethren! though no President or delegation to Congress is now to be chosen, the principle of equal human rights was never more clearly at stake than in your present canvass. The Rebellion makes its last stand in defense of inequality, of prejudice, of government by caste. You can beat it if you will put forth such exertions as the importance of the stake requires. Speak to your neighbors; strengthen the feeble knees; arouse the laggard; inspirit the faint-hearted; and enable us, on the morrow of your elec-tion, to congratulate your country that the long struggle is ended—that our institutions rest evermore on the broad, firm basis of the universal and immutable rights of man!

THE CUBAN QUESTION-FRANCE, ENG-LAND, AND SPAIN,

From the N. Y. Herald. What means this meeting of the waters? Prim, with the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, has been hanging about the Tuile-ries for weeks. He has had the honor of interviews with the Emperor. Meanwhile Lord Clarendon, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has appeared upon the scene. A late cable despatch has it that both Prim and Clarendon have had an audience, at different periods, of the Emperor. It is at the same time announced that Baron Beust, the Austro-Hungarian Chancellor, is hourly expected in Paris. What does it all mean? cannot be that they have met to consult about the Ecumenical Council, for that is already all visit had something to do with the question | -into States. Here are eleven suggestions

of the Spanish throne. This, however, would of change, all with the sole object of fosternot be his main object; it certainly could not ing partisan power.

be the object of Lord Clarendon, and with From the manipulated votes of West Virthe disposal of the Spanish throne Baron

Beust is not likely to have anything to say. We have no choice, but conclude that the state of Cuba, taken in connection with the attitude of the Government of the United States, has brought these diplomats together. What Spain should do in the circumstances is a question which Spain cannot very well decide for herself. In the difficulty, the Spanish Government sends Prim to consult Napoleon. The presumption is that Lord Clarendon has been quietly invited over, and that the matter has been discussed among them, now in one point of view, and then in another; intervention one day and non-interference the next. We do not much wonder thatt Cubas hould now command the attention of both England and France. It is believed in Europe that the Cuban trouble would have been dead long ago but for the openly expressed sympathy of the American people with the insurgents. This belief has grown into an alarm since the presentation of the note of the Government of the United States by Minister Sickles. Napoleon bears us a grudge becaose of our treatment of him in the Mexican question, Great Britain is indignant at our presumption and jealous of our growing power and our annexation tactics. It will not at all surprise us if, as the result of these deliberations, France and England should agree to do what they can to thwart our policy and thus seek to hold Cubain bondage. It is not so long since a similar alliance was entered into for the same purpose. If the telegraphic report which we printed on Monday to the effect that Napoleon had sent instructions to his Minister at Washington commanding him to inform our Government that it was "the desire of France that Cuba should be retained by Spain"-if this report have any foundation in fact, all doubt as to the attitude of the three powers is at an end. France is opposed to our policy; so is England; so probably is Austria. Spain has, in all like-lihood, been plainly told that all moral help was vain unless she could make an end of the insurrection on the island. Hence the increased number of ships and the multiplied forces which the Spanish government is sending out. The policy recommended clearly is that if Spain can suppress the insurrection she will have the moral assistance of the Western powers as against any annexation policy on the part of the United States. This is the situation. Spain is to stamp out the rebellion if she can. Cubans are to be murdered wholesale. The island is to be desolated. If its fair fields should be converted into a shambles, no matter; the island will still belong to Spain, and the re-establishment of authority will deprive the United States Government of

a pretext for annexation. In such circumstances what will our Government do? What should it do? Its course is clear. It has no choice if it would act the part of brave men and prove true to the cause of humanity. It is a fundamental principle of our Constitution that no government should be forced upon an unwilling people. Our history from its commencement has been an expanded illustration of this principle. Our sympathies have ever been on the side of suffering and oppressed peoples, no matter in what part of the world they may have been. We have ever been foremost in succoring the distressed, although we have ever been duly respectful to the principles of international law. Cuba has claims upon us. She is one of our nearest neighbors, We respect her people and we love her land. Our duty, we have said, is plain. The Cubans must not be trampled down because they love liberty. Our first sin was that we loved liberty, but our first victory was that we justified our offense. Cuba is now in our position. We are bound to help her. The Cubans wish one of two thingsindependence or annexatioa. Our Government, by its own experience and by the claims of justice, must help the Cubans to the one or the other. With General Grant as President, we must not allow any European power to dictate to us a course of foreign policy. Surely we can, if need be, fight our way. The best English papers say we can. Let us, then, be true to ourselves. Cuba must not be crushed. If she cannot win her independence, we are willing to say she ought to have it. If she cannot have her independence, we ought to be willing to say we will do all things to secure annexation. One or the other, General Grant; think of it. We are a great people. Europe says so. Let us prove it.

THE MANIPULATION OF STATES.

From the N. Y. World.

It was one of the charges against the Lincoln administration that it created bogus States. At that day the rascality was cloaked up under the senseless bosh of loilty, great heart of the nation, Father Abraham, and all the rest of the war-twaddle; but the shrewd sense of the Democratic party detected and denounced the real purpose of the move. This was to lug in enough rotten-borough Senators to overslaugh the legitimate consti tuencies of the Union. Despite the Democratic warning, the cheat throve, and from the day of its inception to the present time it is interesting to trace its progress. West Virginia, Nebraska, and Nevada being lugged in by the ears, Tennessee and Missouri were handcuffed into loilty, and then came the grand assault on the ten Southern States, the end whereof is not yet. So far, then, we have no less than fifteen bogus States, three being bogus outright and the balance genuine, with their several identities dormant under counterfeit externals. In this way the matter rested at the Presidential election swindle of ast year, the manipulated States bearing a jolly chorus to the loil song. The election revealing that radicalism, while temporarily successful, needed a further instalment of fraud to insure its retention of power, it is not surprising that ever since November last there should have been a constant suggestion of further tampering with States. To take the instances up in geographical order, there is first that squeak by some of the holiest of the saints, who, dreading the inevitable po-litical decadence of New England, hinted the propriety of erecting a new State out of the western counties of Massachusetts. Next was the proposition to sever this. great city of New York into a sepa-rate State, to be called Manhattan; then that Pennsylvania be cut up by the Allegheny ridge into Pennsylvania and West Pennsyl vania, a la the West Virginia trick: then to sever peninsular Michigan from the main-land, so as to have the new State Ontonagon; then to cut up Tennessee into East Tennessee, and Tennessee; then to divide Texas into East Texas, Texas, Middle Texas, and Montezuma; and now to cut off some western Arkansas counties, clap them on to the Indian territory, and so make another State, for which no name Paris. What does it all mean? It lations of States proper, there next comes that they have met to consult about enical Council, for that is already all It is not impossible that Prim's Colorado, Montana, Dakota, and New Mexico something to do with the

ginia, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas—brief as has been their space of power—the country has suffered so much that it is time once more to raise the Democratic protest and warning against bogus States. Most of these we have mentioned will certainly revert to conservatism, it is true, at no distant period, but it is not enough to cure evil. We should prevent it; and the best prevention is one that qught now to be agitated in order to receive attention in that Federal Convention we are destined to have a restriction, to wit, in the Federal Constitution against the admission of new States save on a two-thirds vote of both houses, as borne on the roll. Such was the beneficent rule proposed and carried, but, unfortunately, afterwards stricken out, in the convention framing the Federal Constitution in 1787. Such, also, was the second of those amendments to that Constitution proposed by the far-famed Hartford Convention, and such the rule of admission prescribed by the late Confederate Constitution. A rule thus originally inserted in the Constitution, afterwards approved by the two most opposite schools of politics ever known in this country, and now endorsed by our own experience, is greatly needed.

THE STATE OF THE CUBAN NEGO-TIATIONS.

From the N. Y. Sun. We learn from Washington that General Sickles has recently—on Wednesday last, we believe it was-telegraphed from Madrid the latest proposition in relation to Cuba which the Government of Prim and Serrano had communicated to him to be transmitted to Mr. Secretary Fish. The Spanish rulers substantially, though not in explicit terms, accept the United States Government as the mediator between Spain and the revolutionary authorities of Cuba, and propose to settle the revolution upon the following basis:-

I. The revolted Cubans to lay down their arms.
II. The Spanish Government to disarm and disband the volunteers, leaving Spanish regulars as the only troops in the island.
III. A universal amnesty to be proclaimed, all extles to have the right to return, political prisoners to be set free, confiscated estates to be restored to their former owners, and all persons deprived of any civil rights for political reasons to be invested with them once more.

IV. An election to be held in Cuba for deputies to

Spanish Cortes. The Spanish Executive Government to pledge itself to support in the Cortes whatever settlement of the Cuban question the deputies from Cuba may desire. If they want independence, the Government will favor that; if they should deside in favor of a separate administration, with a Governor appointed by Spain, a Legislature chosen in Cuba, and a responsible Ministry—the system now practised in the British colonies—the Government will bind itself to

use its whole influence in the Cortes in favor of adopting that system. We are not informed what reply Mr. Fish has made to this project: but we do not think we can err in saying that be has decisively refused it, It is quite as objectionable and as foreign to his policy in Cuban affairs as a former proposal from Madrid, which he immediately rejected. In the first place, the Cubans will never lay down their arms on such conditions. To do so would be to give up without any tangible consideration tha great advantages which at such sacrifices of life and property they have gained. It is true they would get an amnesty and the return of their confiscated estates, but these they will soon obtain by force of arms if they continue fighting. It is also true that Prim and Serrano promise to support their demands in the Cortes; but if the Cortes should be against them, this will amount to nothing, and they will have to do it all over again. Of course Mr. Fish will not think of bans to assent to any such disadvantageous terms. He will rather at once direct General Sickles to reply that the proposal is declined, and that the only basis for negotiation is the proposition that Spain shall recognize the independence of Cuba; that slavery shall be abolished: that a mixed commission shall be appointed to determine the value of the pubproperty in the island, which, however, shall not exceed \$100,000,000, and for which Cuba shall pay; and that the United States shall guarantee the fulfilment of the contract by both parties. Such was his answer to a former Spanish memorandum, and such, we presume, will be his answer now.

It is remarkable that while the leading journals of Spain very ably advocate the ces-sion of Cuba either to the United States or to the Cubans, and while the public opinion of all Europe urges such a settlement of the controversy, the men who govern Spain should continue to treat the question in a mode so unsatisfactory and absurd. They must understand that it is for the interest of the Spanish people to get rid of Cuba on the best possible terms; and yet they dally around the subject as though they dared not deal with it in earnest. They ought to remember that the period of time in which they can hope to part with Cuba for a price is daily growing less, and that while negotiation to that end is yet practicable, it will soon be as much out of the question for Spain to sell Cuba as to sell Venezuela or Peru.

FORTHCOMING CHANGES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS.

From the Pall Mall Gazette. Whatsoever may be the issue of the present reforms in France, they must greatly contribute to change the course of European politics, and the farther they are carried the greater will be their influence. Whether the immediate results of such a change will be for better or for worse is another question; but the change must take place, and we should

be prepared for it. The reasons for expecting such a change are various, and the most important of them quite obvious. While England was the only European country with a parliamentary form of government and with a free press, all the important political questions of the continent for fifty years were practically decided by the intervention or non-intervention of this country. And the chances of this intervention or non-intervention could always be calculated with considerable safety. various European cabinets, receiving our newspapers together with our official des-patches, were perfectly able to appreciate not only the policies of the Government but the temper and opinion of the country. So great, indeed, were the chances of successful calculation in this way, that the only instance of a mistake since the time of the Vienna Congress is that of the Emperor Nicholas when he resolved upon his last war: unfortunately he did not care, as he said, "for what those patent and water-proof bulldogs are declaiming; he knew well that his friends Bright and Cobden would bring them to reason But the political perspicacity of the late Russian Emperor was peculiar; and with the single exception he presents to us, no European sovereign can be accused of mistaking the position and the spirit of England. Indeed, several of their undertakinga have been chiefly founded upon our too openly proclaimed system of non-intervention: of which the last Polish and Prussian affairs are capital instances. This system, like every France would probably say to England,

political system, consistently and therefore oo exclusively carried out, has its advantages as well as its disadvantages; and since England has already enjoyed the former, it is probable that she will soon be called upon to pay the natural penalty; but the sum of our disadvantages will greatly depend upon our own capacity to understand what the new time promised for France means to other European nations, and to our own in parti-

The treaties of 1815, notwithstanding al he natural weakness of the principles in volved in them, had one incontestable merit that of establishing a certain basis for the political relations of different countries. These treaties have given us a practical illustration of the proverb, "Bad rule better than no rule;" for they kept Europe at peace for more than thirty years, and proclaimed the princi-ple of European equilibrium in critical cases even long after this equilibrium had been disturbed, and the basis of the treaties weak ened-by the events in Poland and France in 1830, and by the general conflict between peoples and governments in 1848. And if during this period continental governments often showed an inclination to violate the balance of power, England had the strongest interest in preventing such violations by others, and no good reason for attempting them itself. And thus it was that England became the arbiter and regulator of European polities, a position which was naturally strengthened by the part the country played in the coalition. Such was the part we then had to play; and while it was a very advantage. tageous one to us, it was beneficial to other European nations, with the least offense to their pride and the least embarrassment to their designs. It was beneficial because there can be no doubt we prevented many conflicts; it was comparatively inoffensive because, as we have already explained, England always gave fair opportunities of calculating beforehand the course she was likely to take. This noble and advantageous position is no

longer ours. We have now a new part to play in Europe. The treaties of 1815 are dead: not by decree of the Emperor Napoleon indeed, as he himself more or less imagines. but of natural causes. All the pompous declarations of the French Emperor about their decease are merely proclamations of a fait ac-compli. The first great blow was inflicted on them by the events of 1848; the second blow was afterwards inflicted in Italy; Poland, Schleswig-Holstein, and Sadowa finished them in such a way as to make post-mortem exami-nation idle. Whether it is for good or harm that the old foundation stone of European policy is shattered, to what degree we ourselves are answerable for the ills that may fellow its destruction, we may consider on some future occasion; all that we wish to say now is that there is no longer any kind of stamped political weighing-machine in Europe. The balance of power has fallen to pieces under the hand that held The ponderative role, so to speak, which England so long enjoyed is made impracticable in future by one change alone out of many. As long as the great European powers were at a certain geographical distance, and had no very large standing armies, there was always time for a due consideration of circumstances, as well as for interference, diplomatical or military. But now, with large agglomerations of territory, with the frontiers of great European States almost touching each other, with colossal armies, with swiftly destructive guns, and with railways running in all directions, it is easy for European powers to declare war, to destroy whole armies between them, and alto-

gether to change their respective positions, before England could take any resolution in the matter or any practical step Next we have to consider the change of the governmental system in France. From the proceedings of the old French Parliaments in questions of war and peace, no conclusions applicable to the present time can be drawn. In the first place, all international questions seemed to be pretty well fixed and settled then, which is not the case now. In the second place, the French people being quite untrained for participation in a parliamentary form of government, the form continued but a form; power still remaining in the hands of the Crown, supported first by the aristocracy, afterwards by the bourgeoisie, both of them becoming so wearied and impoverished by the Revolution and the wars of Napoleon as to get sick of foreign politics. Again, the Bourbons as well as the Orleans family were too much indebted to Europe, and too much daunted by permanent conspiracies in France itself, to attempt any bold enterprise abroad, even had occasion offered. All this is changed now. The country has recovered its strength; the bourgeoisie as well as the aristocracy are swamped in universal suffrage; the number of pending political questions—the Roman question, the Eastern question, the German question-are more than considerable; and the people of France, although not much improved in its political education, is unquestionably more advanced and more interested in foreign affairs. And we can hardly overrate this peculiarity of the French nation, that every time its people has come to power one of its first steps has been to interpose in European affairs. Poland, Italy, Spain have long had a firm hold upon popular sympathies in France; and a cry for war in favor of the first of these countries was loud after the July as well as after the February revolutions. It is hardly to be expected, therefore, that the forthcoming changes in the Government of France are in favor of peace. And it is still more doubtful whether a people like the French, if it resolves on war for any purpose or any idea, will pay much attention to any diplomatic representations about the balance of power. And there are many difficulties which invite war. Not to speak of the Polish, the Slavonian, and kindred questions, are the Roman, the Eastern, and the German questions settled? Are likely to be settled without conflict? has England no care or interest their settlement? Unquestionably And she has. But these questions are not of the

kind which diplomacy settles in a few despatches and speeches. They are not governmental questions, but national questions, and some of them are religious too. Now it is well known that in the settlement of national and religious questions ministers have seldom any decisive power. Generally speaking, questions such as these go finally into the hands of the people for solution, and continental peoples do not much regard the connctions of courts, the relationship of sovereigns, or even pecuniary obligations and necessities. But suppose parliamentary government successfully and comfortably established in France, and the French people content to claim nothing beyond their present borders—solemnly pledged to give up all idea of reconquering its 'natural limits." That will not mean resignation of all interference in European affairs; it might not be maintained if, for estance, Bismark crossed the Main, as, to

judge by some reports, he seems inclined to

do should the new French regime prove favor-

able for such an undertaking. In such a case

Please stand aside. When you had the power alone, you did nothing. You not only abstained from interference with the ruin of Poland and the aggrandizement of Prussia, but you practically sanctioned all this by preventing our interference. We are no longer under the dictatorship you approved so much we have a Parliament like your own; and we aspire to play the part which you have abandoned. Our form of government being changed, and presenting all the guarantees of honest procedure, you have no right to mistrust us when we say we claim nothing for ourselves; and you should remember that, being more infimately bound up with continental affairs, we have obviously a greater right to take up your abandoned role.

What answer should be given to such an address we shall not discuss to-day. But it is worth observing that the time approaches when England will be forced either to take a larger and more active part in European affairs, or to declare out of them altogether. .

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