SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon Carrent Topics—Compiled Every Day for the Evenlog Telegraph.

FRAUD IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

From the N. Y. Times.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., called attention, in his paper read before the Social Science Association on Wednesday last, to a danger which a large number of our thinking men perceive, but which, as it is not a constant but an intermittent danger, presenting itself only at intervals of four years, it will probably be difficult to get the country at large to fix its attention on, much less provide against. It was brought into notice, not first, but for the first time prominently, by the way in which the Demograts carried this State for Seymour and Hoffman at the last Presidential election; and the exposure of the frands which they perpetrated on that occa-sion was mainly valuable as an indication, not of Democratic depravity-we knew all about that before-but of the evils attendant on the present mode of electing the President.

Nobody needs to be told how the present system of choosing the Electoral College by the popular vote, and leaving the college to choose the President afterward, has degenerated into a sorry farce. The Electoral College has now nothing whatever to do with the choice of the President, beyond carrying the result of the popular vote to the State capital to be counted and recorded. The people in reality choose the President directly, and simply use the electors, provided for by the Constitution, as messengers. But here comes the mischief of the thing. The vote in each State simply goes to elect the electors, one for each Senator and Representative sent to the State by Congress; and these electors always represent simply the State majority. If the Democrats poll one thousand more votes than the Republicans at any Presidential election in this State, it does not give them simply little over half the State vote for the President-it gives them the whole of it. The minority disappears from view, and has no further part or lot in the election; it does not go to help the vote of either candidate in any other State, as it would if the President were elected by the direct vote of the whole people. The contest in each State at the Presidential election therefore decides which of the two great parties shall cast the whole State If one side of them wins in this State by one vote, it obtains thirtythree votes in the Electoral College; and thirty-three votes are a great deal. They may, or a much smaller number might, any day, turn the scale. It will thus be seen at a glance that the temptation to fraud is enormous, and we all know that the facilities for frauds are enormous, and increase in all the large cities. The Democratic managers may, at any Presidential election in which the contest is close, win the day by simply doing enough personating, and repeating, and forging, and ballot-stuffing here to carry this State or Pennsylvania over. They might in this way neutralize the whole honest vote of Ohio, or Minnesota, or California; the fact that they had done so might be notorious, but for offenses of this sort there is absolutely no constitutional remedy. Ohio or Minnesota or California thus cheated out of the legitimate result of her majority would have nowhere to go for redress. Even if there were a tribunal competent to hear such a plaint, party passions would run far too high to render it possible for it to decide it. There would be but one alternative open fighting or submission, and as men do not lightly enter on civil war, the victims of the fraud would probably-may we not say will probably?-for some time, at least, sit down nnder it patiently. The Democrats know this. and we have little doubt will govern themselves accordingly. If it should ever appear, and it may appear any day, that the vote of New York or Pennsylvania is all that is needed to put the Democratic candidate in the White House, we may feel sure, judging from what happened last year, that it will be secured for him to a certainty. Supposing it to be done, and supposing the whole country to know it. what should we do? This is a good question for people to ask themselves, and the time to ask it and get the answer ready is now, in the midst of peace and quietness, and not after it comes up and presses for instant

Suppose, on the other hand, that the President were elected, as many people would like to have him, by the direct popular vote, and the victory be thus awarded to the candidate obtaining a majority of the total vote of the Union. Suppose the contest should be, as it may be at any time, very close, and the majority claimed were not over ten thousand votes; and suppose that we had positive proof that this majority had been obtained by the forcible driving away of the weaker party from the polls in such States as Texas, or Arkansas, or Georgia-what should we do about it? Should we quietly install this product of ruffianism in the White House, and go on as if nothing had happened, thus tempting the perpetrators into a repetition of it every four years ever after? Does not the mere asking of such a question suggest a difficulty of the most awful kind to every thinking man?

How, then, are we to conjure away this shape of dread which now hangs constantly before our eyes? There is only one way, as Mr. Adams pointed out on Wednesday, and that is by breaking up each State of the Union into equal electoral districts, but so small that frauds perpetrated in any one spot would only affect at best a small number of votes. At present, each State constitutes for the purposes of the Presidential election a district in itself of enormous size, which can be lost or won by a single throw. Mr. Lawrence, of Ohio, as a result of his examination of the New York election frauds. introduced into the House last session an amendment to the Constitution which provides that each State shall be divided into the districts, each containing as nearly as possible the same amount of population. In this way, when the Ring began to cheat, instead of being able to carry the whole State by cheating in three or four wards of this city, they would, at most, only gain one or two Presidential votes by it: while to secure the whole vate of the State they would have to cheat in thirty-three different places. Whatever defects this plan may have, it is safe to say a better one could not be hit upon, and we trust Mr. Lawrence, or some one else, will not let it rest when Congress meets. There is time, slow a process as amending the Constitution is, to push through an amendment of this kind before the next Presidential election, and nobody can doubt who examines the political horizon at all keenly, that in 1872 we may need such an amendment badly.

into importance, both et home drowning. There appears to be no doubt about the cause of the conflagration. Some about the cause of the conflagration. Some at the Cabinet has been recon- deck passangers were playing cards, and the

slight consequence to any one else. Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have all got plenty of places. There is a premier and ministers and secretaries as usual, and with all the old familiar names. Canada is not very productive in the matter of statesmen. Earl Granville, Colonial Secretary, has forwarded a despatch from Downing street, London, to the Canadians. The Earl wants the colonists to look to the northwest, and confederate British Columbia with the territory of the Dominion. The despatch of Earl Granville would be of conse-quence for the consideration of the United States Government, were it not for the facts that the people of British Columbia do not wish to be confederated; that the Canadians do not possess the official talent requisite to insure such a consummation, and that the position assumed many years since by the late Lieutenant-General Scott on the subject of the San Juan Island possession and the navigation of the Haro channel will always render such a movement objectionable to the American people living under our flag. Earl Granville looks to the establishment of a "British line of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans," and the founding of what he terms a "San Francisco of British North America," of which, perhaps, in our anticipation. Prince Arthur may become the king, and that at a day not very far distant. This matter requires a very serious and early attention on

this side the line. By the Atlantic cable we learn that a most estimable lady philanthropist is about to set sail from England with a ship load of female emigrants for Canada. Here is just the casual fortunate point of neutralization of Earl Granville's North American diplomacy: for President Grant has merely to give the wink to some of the gallant Irish veterans in New York and "off they go" to Canada, annex the whole territory, marry every one of the emigrants, and bring the whole lot, politically and with his "arm around her waist," after the fashion of Rory O'More, into the Union before his lordship has had time to receive the executive reply of Premier McDonald, unless he transmits it by the cable, and even on "that line" an Irishman running for a wife may be too quick and full of electricity for him. Canada is in danger again.

LOG-CABIN JOURNALISM. From the N. Y. World.

When American journalism was very young and very verdant, or, as the laureate puts it. "In such a time as goes before the leaf, When all the wood stands in a mist of green And nothing perfect,"

political newspapers had an absurd notion that elections were materially affected by their spasmodic utterances on the two or three days which preceded the actual voting. Instead of devoting themselves to steady and sound arguments all the year round addressed to the political reason of their readers, they prepared to kindle, so far as a lavish use of superlative adjectives and large type could do it, their political passions. That was the time when they chose to precipitate upon the community the most outrageous slanders which scurrility could collect or malice invent against the candidates of the other party. The nomenclature of zoology and of entomology was raked to find epithets suitable to the champions of the other side, while the martyrology and the lives of the saints furnished but faint shadows of the glories of one's own. Typography soared into ornithology to express jubilation over victory or to add a sting to defeat. Voters were assured that the fate of their country and mankind was to be deday or two before, what spells, what conjurations, and what mighty magic editors in-"Vote for Stiggins." "Beware of voked ! "Another Lie Nailed." Roorbacks. Podsnap a Pickpocket?" "How About that Two Dollars?" "Rally! Rally!" "Freemen, to the Polls." Such were the taking titles which the journalists of that era prefixed to their discourse of reason.

But, when men of more sense and higher culture began to enter the business of journalism, it came to be seen how utterly futile as well as how offensive such a style of controversy was. It was seen that the votes of men were influenced, not by howls and hurrahs uttered upon the eve of an election, but by their own reflections upon facts and arguments submitted to them fairly and dispassionately. Most journals have conducted themselves accordingly, and, but for one exception in the press, the voters of New York would only recall the hortatory shricks we have been describing as a dim memory of

their boyhood. That exception, of course, is the Tribune, The political revivalist who conducts it is still true to the traditions of his youth, and persists in regarding his readers as a pack of imbeciles. As when the uncertain bees wander homeless in the air: the maid-servant issuing from the kitchen soothes their souls and invites them to repose with wild demoniac dances and frantic percussion of the trite tinpan. Not otherwise does Horace Greelev toss his hoary locks and pound his clattering Tribune when the lax radical hesitates to rush to the poll. Without prejudice to the normal inventiveness of the Tribune, it is safe to say that just before every election, and particularly just now, it outdoes even its usual self in the recklessness of its statements, the gross absurdity of its aspersions, and the chaotic riot of its rhetoric.

Part of this is perhaps due to the fact that the thus howling Hovace is himself a candidate for office. Having accepted a nomination for a comparatively small office just after declining the shadow of a nomination for a larger one, and begging everybody not to think of nominating him for anything, it is natural that the ridiculous figure he would cut in case of defeat should force itself upon the blunt perceptions of a Greeley and madden him. But a man whom the prospect of defeat excites to such absurd demonstrations has no right to enter a contest. And the loathsome spectacle which the Tribune at the present time exhibits to mankind is an excellent reason, if any more reasons were needed, why journalists should not be office-seekers. No editor who contemplates the attitude of Horace Greeley but will pray to be forever delivered from a like one.

THE STEAMBOAT CALAMITY ON THE

MISSISSIPPI. From the N. Y. Hevald. The Mississippi river has added another to the innumerable horrors of which from time to time it has been the terrible scene. The late disaster-the burning of the steamer Stonewall on Thursday-was perhaps the most tatal in results, as well as the most horrible in its details, which has been recorded for many a ORTHWEST FRONTIER. day. Out of two hundred and fifty people on board that unfortunate boat only about thirtyboard that unfortunate boat only about thirtyeight are positively known to be saved: The

structed after a slight ministerial crisis, a | candle communicated with the hay which | education and art schools and cultivation matter of very great interest to the provin- formed a large part of the cargo, and in an cial politicians and placemen, but in reality of incredibly short space of time the whole boat was in flames, and the terrified passengers were rushing for safety into the turbid stream to escape death in one shape only to meet it in another but less cruef one. Any chances of escape by the ordinary means of boats and life-preservers there were none, for there was but one small boat on board, and, as far as

we know, there were no life-preservors at all. With the recklessness which prevails on the Mississippi steamboats, the most reckless mode of travel of all the loose and dangerous systems for which this country is proverbial, the safety of human life was the last thing thought of. When we consider that the steamboat was only two hundred yards from the shore, and was beached in six feet of water at the time when the direct scenes of the tragedy occurred, we can readily imagine how the presence of any appliances for safety might have mitigated the extent of the calamity. But there were none. Travel on the Mississippi is the same to-day that it was twenty years ago-a trap for the unfortunate traveller, for whom the chances of life and death are dependent upon a rough, ill-disciplined crowd of deck hands and a corps of indifferent officers without one drop of the milk of human kindness in their composition.

Italian Industry.

From the London Spectator. It is hard for the Englishman who traverses the Italy of to-day, and observes her people with unprejudiced eyes, to doubt that she must at no distant period regain much of her ancient riches. The elements of wealth are there in much abundance. We do not speak of her soil, although that of France is beside it but an ungenerous one, for some of the richest soils in the world belong to poverty-stricken races, and the owners of Australasia never accumulated a month's supply of food. Nor do we speak of what are called "natural resources," the mines and quarries and fruits and cereals in which Italy is so rich, for countries like India and Peru, which contain all the world contains, have often been filled with populations poor to hunger, and the lavishness of nature too often seems to paralyze the energy of man. We speak of a source of wealth which we have often heard mentioned by shrewd Italians, and have recently watched closely for ourselves, the rare industrial faculty of the Italian people, a faculty which, once put forth, must result in great accumulations. The prejudice of Englishmen as to the laziness of Italians is a prejudice merely, though it is one not very hard to understand. The aristocracy was till lately indolent in the extreme, and the well-to-do middle-class is so still. Cut off by their foreign oppressors from all careers, except those connected with the Church or the public service, driven from commerce by ridiculous tariffs, habituated to economy, and full of that sense of enjoyment in existence which is felt to content only by the men of the South, by them only when nature is visibly gracious-Arabs, Bengalees, and Peruvians, for example, are at heart melancholy people-the Italians with a little took to sauntering, to intrigue, and to halfhumorous, half-satirical gossip, led lives without purpose or interest, and found in the absence of cares compensation for their neglect of duties. For the most part, the well-to-do lead those lives still, though a new crave for wealth, and indeed a new necessity for it, is gradually driving them out of their easy groove. Then the shop life of which the foreigner sees so much was, and in a less degree is, an apparently indolent one, Italians, like Turks, and, indeed, all Asiatics except eided by the choice of the pound-master of | the Chinese, "keeping shop" mainly with Podunk. On the day of election, and for a their heads, leaving work, as we regard it, to subordinates, and doing most even of their book-work after hours or in the early morning. Finally, the restrictions placed upon enterprise were so severe that it languished or died-in Naples, for example, during two generations there was but one investment for capital, State bonds, which rose, consequently, to 120-and work was almost unprocurable, or, when procurable, was paid for at rates which made industry seem a waste of time. It was pleasanter to lounge, or beg, or work sharply an hour a day, and very nearly as profitable; and the Italian, who has no instinctive impatience of doing nothing, and whose eyes, wherever he turns, are satisfied with beauty, accepted the fate which seemed to him at once unavoidable and endurable. He was aided by a temperance which is a wonder and almost a ridicule to men of the more exacting North, and which, if we read Roman stories right, must at some time have been forced on him by necessity. With food cheaper than it is anywhere in Europe-a Florentine, for example, can be well fed on fourpence a day-no Tuscan ever eats quite enough for health, and with wine almost for the asking, no Italian out of one or two occupations ever necessity drinks. There was no for labor, and no reward for it, and the Italian is not an Englishman or a Chinese, to work for work's sake. Even then, however, agricultural labor went on, and the cultivator contrived, by marvellous industry, to extract a crop so good that he could pay half to the owner yet leave himself a sufficient subsistence, terraced the hills, and-first cause of his beautiful climate-incessantly replanted the plains. In Italy alone the small culture has not swept away the trees, for the trees produce the rent.

Work came at last with the revival of enerprise, remunerative work, work with wages, and the Italian, after his siesta of centuries, ook to it with his old activity and his old power of making the brain aid the hand. Everywhere the loungers without money disappeared. Milan, Florence, Ancona, Leghorn, Genoa are as busy as Northern capitals; and Naples, the city of the Lazzaroni, is a hive of workmen, who, though they still sleep in the heat, work on tirelessly from five till noon and from two till five at their occupations, and then again at home far into the night, work with a will and an energy equal to that of any ordinary artisans, though inferior, no doubt, to that of English navvies. Strange to say, too, the great curse of all Southern people-want of fidelity to their work-is little felt in Italy. The men take a pride, as of artists, in their labor, need little superintendence, and, as a rule, always do the very best, it not the very utmost, they can, and their best is very good. As builders they are unap-proachable, by the testimony even of English engineers, while they display, wherever they get the chance, the faculties wanting to English workmen of all trades, innate taste and capacity for invention. M. Hausymann has had to import Italian workmen for his opera house, and wherever anything beyond in-dustry is needed, wherever the workmen are required to be originators, they are at once forthcoming. Given a trade like the silver-swith's, or the pearl-caster's, or any one demanding either an artist's eye or a special slight-of-hand, and six weeks instruction suffices to secure men whose touch is in its way as perfect as that of a great sculptor. The result we hope to attain by technicals

generally has been attained in Italy without effort. Duties can there be entrusted to laborers which in England could be assigned only to the cultivated. In Venice, Salviati's foremen are men of genius. In Florence, men who cannot read are moulding the stone ornamentation for palaces. In Leghorn and Ancona, the shipyards are full of men in blouses who could plan a ship as well as the engineers who employ them. Common carpenters turn out Wilmington and Reading Railroad, wood carvings which make English connoisseurs stare, at prices which might make philanthropists wince. The workmen in this trade display a positive genius for furniture which will yet make it an important frade, were only foreign carriage more speedy and less expensive. In every branch of manufacture in which something is required beyond organization and machine-like industry, PAYABLE APRIL AND OCTOBER, FREE OF English capitalists may find in Italy an endless supply of labor such as they can discover nowhere else. A factory for shirtings would not pay, but a factory for the costliest velvets, the finest china, the most elaborate decorations, the most delicate instruments, would. The slightest cultivation would make Italian workmen the first in the world, as they were in the middle ages, and the cultivation is at hand. In the cities a passion for instruction has broken out, and in North and Central Italy the communes are meeting the demand most nobly, the single want being an adequate supply of teachers. In some towns the adults are thronging to night schools, as in Venice, where even the gondoliers are learning to read; and Florence, where unskilled laborers, cabmen, masons assistants, and the like give two hours of their rest to learn to read and write, and record the calculations which even in the unlettered days they could always make. It needs but time and quiet to make education as universal in Italian cities as in Prussia; to make it a shame to be ignorant, a shame under which the children already wince, and there will be quiet. There is a new life among the people, and with it a new habit of

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