SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals upon Current Topics-Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE FALL CAMPAIGN.

From the N. Y. Times. "The work of the Republican party is not finished," said Mr. Conkling at Saratoga, 'nor is there any other party able or willing to finish it." Truer words were never spoken. There is a large unfinished work before us, and the antecedents and aspirations of the Republican party indicate its special fitness for the task. It has done so much, and done it so well, that it should not shrink from the responsibilities now before it. "We were never more earnest Republicans than now. the Senator remarked on the same occasion. That is good news too. But if the earnestness which animates the leaders assembled at Saratoga is to be imparted to the rank and file, and to be sustained until November-as

it must be if victory is to be then achievedwe apprehend that there must be some intelligible and specific exposition of the work which lies before the party. Generalization is well enough in its way, but a strong and clearly defined purpose is essential to enthusiasm. The absence of any sign of such a purpose is the weak point in Mr. Conkling's speech. The same defect is apparent in the otherwise admirable sketch of recent Republican

has contributed to the Independent. As a vindication of the present Congress, the statement of Mr. Colfax is almost complete. We cannot accept his estimate of the tariff changes which were appended to the Tax bill, and are too conscious of the blunders committed by the ultra-protectionists in other respects, to concur in an unqualified eulogy of the fiscal and financial sagacity of the ruling majority. In the main, however, the claim to popular confidence which Mr. Colfax sets up in behalf of the party is eminently just. It has completed recontruction, has perfected essential constitutional constitutional perfected guarantees, has insisted upon retrenchment, has largely reduced taxation, and has provided for the more equitable distribution of banking facilities. It shares with the administration the credit inseparable from the more efficient collection of revenue, and from a reduction of the expenses in every branch of the Government. The gain accruing to the party from these sources Mr. Colfax has not overstated. Very wisely, moreover, he couples a reference to the great reduction of the debt with the expression of a hope that Mr. Boutwell will push his costly policy "not so rapidly" in the future. That hope the country echoes, not without substantial cause.

Nor can it be said that Mr. Colfax underrates the strength of the Democracy. If he has erred at all upon this point, it is in dwarfing the flerce intestine conflict now being waged by opposing sections of the Demo-cratic party. He is fully warranted, how-ever, in the opinion that "the Democratic leaders enter upon the contest just opening with more confidently expressed hopes of victory than for many years past." Their confidence is not without a certain degree Their instification. The fact that it exists. and that it will impart vigor to their efforts in the canvass, suggests a moral which only Republican optimists will overlook. For if, as Mr. Colfax declares, "thorough unity," "an energy worthy of their plants," "and a zeal akin to that which has ples," "are "an energy worthy of their princigiven them so many brilliant victories," are the conditions to be complied with Ly Republicans if they would make success sure, it is plain that something must be found to inspire energy and zeal in the party and its managers. So far, it must be confessed. those to whom the party looks for inspiration have very imperfectly performed the functions of leadership. Our Brooklyn contemporary, the Union, proclaims no more than the truth when it declares that if the Republican party is to win its autumn battle, "it must be more aroused to the perils of the situation than it appears to be to-day; its rank and file must take a greater interest in its hoped-for success than they show to-day; its appeal to the people must be more spirit-stirring than it is today." These are not the most pleasant words that might be spoken, but their obvious truthfulness renders it necessary that they should be heard. Glorification and compliments will not insure victory.

It is idle to suppose that a non-committal attitude will be of much avail in a close, hard-fought contest. Facts go further than fine words; well-defined propositions will be of more avail than grandiloquent references to the war and reconstruction. One ugly fact confronts us at the outset. The "thorough unity" which Mr. Colfax admits to be indispensable does not exist. Republicans in Congress are at variance with the administration upon a subject which at this moment vitally affects the national interests. The President suggested a measure that would have partially restored the American carrying trade, with profits incident to the European war, but his suggestion was overruled by the Republican members, who, in other matters, have done the work of monopolists. For the odium and the loss inseparable from this action, the whole party are held responsible. Here, then, is a subject in regard to which continued silence is impossible. The party throughout the country must pass judgment one way or the other; it must sustain the President against the monopolists, or the monopolists against the President. A similar issue-substituting the people for the President-is presented in connection with tariff reform; and they are blind leaders of the blind who imagine that it can be averted. The growing tendency to sectionalism, notably exemplified in the non-action on the Reapportionment bill, is another mat-ter that should receive attention. The greed of Eastern Representatives has inflicted injustice on the West; and the selfishness which thus introduces discontent where Republican principles are the strongest, cannot be too summarily rebuked.

We adduce these examples to show how much there is about which Republican orators may usefully talk, and how various are the questions which enter into the fall campaign. It may not be desirable, or possible, to embody in a platform every subject that engages public attention; but Republican leaders, who would establish their title to leadership, will not shrink from the free discussion of topics which directly touch the interests and feelings of the people. Mr. Colfax may deem it discreet not to meddle with the "new issues," but here they are, challenging attention and awakening sympa-thies which prudent party managers will not attempt to repress. The Democratic party has resisted new issues and has been again and again defeated in consequence. The Republican party owes its glory and greatness

to its courage, integrity, and aptitude in grappling with great questions as they arose. As the party of progress, it will not be content to enter into battle under a leadership which ignores living questions, or which stands aloof from problems whose difficulty is as nothing compared with their importance. DEMOCRATICATTACKS ON THE CENSUS.

The Sunday Mercury misrepresents our

From the N. Y. Tribune.

comments upon the vote for Hoffman, as compared with the census. The Mercury's trick is in suppressing the fact that aliens and colored persons not taxed are not counted as representative population. The entire population of New York city in 1865 was 726,386, of which there were 151,838 aliens and 8899 colored persons not taxed. This leaves the number upon which representation is based 565,649-in round numbers, 566,000. The vote of the city when Hoffman was elected was 156,000. This shows that the

vote was at the rate of one in 3 60, or 360 votes for each 1000 of representative population. Now, the whole number of males in the city above twenty years of age was 187,582. The aliens were about 27 per cent., or 40,000 within the ages named. Take out the males between twenty and twenty-one years, who number about 6000, and we find that 141,600 males of representative population cast 156,000 votes. In the great struggle of 1864 the ratio of votes cast to the number of voters was about 90 per cent. Apply that to 1868, and the city vote, based on the whole number of males of proper age, as set down in the census of 1865, should have been 127,440. Where did the extra 28,000 votes come from? The Mercury can ascertain by overhauling the books of naturalization record, if any such record exists. achievements which Vice-President Colfax The census of 1865 gave us in all 129,000 voters; the increase since then has been very light, and it is as clear as noonday that no such number of voters ever lived in this city

> Oneida county is contrasted with New York in the Mercury's article, and accused of giving a large radical majority in 1868. We hardly concede 1300 to be a large majority; but that is of no consequence. Oneida is charged with giving too large a vote as compared with New York city. We assumed that in this city about one voter to seven persons, aliens included, would be a proper rate. That would give a vote of about 110,000. The first time the vote reached over 100,000 was in 1864, when it was nearly 110,000-just the number demanded by legitimate proportion. Now New York has 21 per cent. of nonrepresentative population; Oneida county has less than six per cent. The number of men of voting age in Oneida was 27,900. Her representative population was 95,713; her vote was 23,850, or one in four. In the great vote for Governor that county bore the proportion of one in four and a half, or on representative population one in four. New York city, however, made out about one in three and a half. That there were from thirty to forty thousand false votes cast in this city by the Democratic leaders and their tools in 1868 is a fact as plain as daylight. The census is proof of it; hence the groans of the wounded. It is a part of the clamor about the law of Congress concerning naturalization and false voting.

as the swindling aggregate of November, 1868.

Indeed, nothing intended to secure honest voting was ever proposed that did not meet the determined opposition of the Democratic party. They opposed the Registry law of 1840, and finally repealed it. They opposed the late Registry law, and repealed so much of it as relates to the rural counties; in this city, they found that it could be made a powerful assistance in false voting, and so the city was allowed to remain under the law. They opposed the act removing booths from the polls and prohibiting voting in rumshops, and also the closing of liquorshops on election days. They opposed the glass ballot-boxes. They opposed the act of Congress regulating the time for choosing Presidential electors, because when all the States vote on one day the transportation of Baltimore Blood Tubs and Philadelphia Killers to carry New York or Connecticut is impracticable. The party always did, and always will, oppose any and every regulation or law that brings the people down to square, honest voting. The Sunday Mercury wants the public to believe that the city has a resident population of 1,200,000. It has but little more than two-thirds as many.

THE PROMISED PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY.

From the N. Y. World. Immediately after the Cabinet meeting on Friday, General Grant caused to be announced that he will prepare a proclamation of neutrality, to be issued on his return from St. Louis, about the 20th of the present month. We are glad to approve of any wise act of the administration. It is not perhaps always necessary that the President should make a formal proclamation on the outbreak of a foreign war. Such a proclamation makes no change in our relations to the belligerents, nor has the President any authority to change them; but whenever public feeling runs in favor of one of the parties to a war, it is proper that our citizens should be reminded of their neutral obligations and warned against the consequences of aiding either belligerent.

The necessity for the forthcoming proclamation grows out of the fact that indiscreet Republican politicians, like Senators Schurz and Conkling, and the Republican Committee of this city, and Republican journals, like the Tribune and Evening Post, are attempting to commit one of our great political parties to a championship of the Prussian side. This is blind party strategy, as it always is for a political party in this country to attempt to strengthen itself by violating the spirit of our neutral obligations. The President has no choice but to keep the Government neutral; and when popular demonstrations in his own party compel him to issue a proclamation, his administration is weak-ened by a public and unseemly collision with his own supporters. If General Grant's political foes were permitted to shape the action of the Republican party with a view to increase his unpopularity, they could order nothing more effectual than to excite a fervent pro-Prussian zeal which he is obliged to repress. Mr. Conkling and the Tribune are raising waves which must beat against the neutral policy of the administra-

his own party.

The well-wishers of the administration might learn a useful lesson from the Cuban controversy. General Grant's personal sympathies were early enlisted for the Cubans. But, after examination and advice, he concluded that he was bound to enforce the neutrality laws. All the popular zeal for the Cuban cause thereupon became an active op-position to the President; the bitterest and most persistent attacks upon him having pro-ceeded from the partisans of the insurrection. The Republican abettors of Prussia will, in like manner, weaken the administration in proportion to their success in enlisting popular leeling. All their attempts of this kind are assaults on that policy of strict neutrality

which General Grant will be compelled to |

Democrats affect no tenderness for General Grant; but they are unwilling to see him humiliated when he maintains the honor and dignity of the country. They will support him in a policy of honest, impartial neutrality, because such a policy is not his, but the longsettled pelicy of the Government, from which he cannot deviate if he would. We have a treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia; we have also a treaty of amity and commerce with France; and both of these treaties remain in full force. Our peaceful relations with neither nation can be sundered by the President, but only by Congress. And so long as we are at peace, the neutrality laws, which were passed before General Grant was born, leave him no other liberty than to maintain neutrality with a proclamation or to maintain it without one.

Neutrality in foreign wars being the settled policy of our Government, and the clear duty of every administration, no political party can ever gain anything by espousing the cause of a foreign belligerent; and least of all the party that is responsible for the Government. When the current of popular feeling runs in favor of one side, an opposition party might indeed be tempted to turn the current against the administration; but it is sheer fatuity for its professed supporters to stir up a feeling which renders neutrality difficult. This is the folly which so many Republican politicians are now perpetrating, and which compels General Grant to announce a proclamation which will bring him into antagonism with his party. If Democrats had attempted to make party capital out of the pardonable sympathies of our German citizens, their course would be intelligible, though not wise. Opposition to General Grant is their party cue; but an indiscriminating opposition is too apt to recoil to be of any real service. We could not attack General Grant for maintaining neutrality without attacking principles on which our Government has been conducted from the beginning by all our wisest statesman. And as the Government must necessarily be neutral, no party can do it any damage by attacking it when it is so strongly entrenched behind a long line of honored precedents from which no administration has ever deviated.

Even if any other course were open to our Government than honest neutrality, it would still be idle and childish to carry this question into our party politics. This war will probably be ended before General Grant's term expires; or if not, its character will have so changed that no opinions we can now form will be adapted to the state of facts in the Presidential election of 1872. If it were permissible to take sides, neither political party can tell now on which side it would wish to stand when the war has made further progress. The Emperor of France may die or be dethroned, and the war be continued by a French republic, to which a sister republic could wish no ill; or Great Britain may become the ally of Prussia, in which case we might seize the opportunity to force a settlement of the Alabama claims; or half a dozen other contingencies may arise which would render a previous committal embarrassing. No wise politician can wish his party to evince any leaning to either side in the present state of the contest, even if it were a proper subject of party action. But the policy of neutrality is so safe for all parties, so simple, so accordant with duty and unipublishes his proclamation we hope it may receive the undivided support of the country, if it shall be found to disclose no covert leaning to either belligerent.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL ON OUR EUROPEAN MAIL ARRANGEMENTS. From the N. Y. Herald.

Postmaster-General Creswell expresses his apprehension that the mails of the United States to Europe may be seriously interrupted. Almost the only reliance we have now for carrying the mails with anything like regularity is in the Cunard and Inman lines of steamships, and, as Mr. Creswell remarks, we do not know the moment these may fail us. Should England get into the war, as is not at all improbable, this country would be left in a bad situation about the mail service. In fact, it is not impossible that the war may spread so far that no European line of steamers will be able to traverse the Atlantic safely. But in any case this great country ought to have a mail line of its own, and not to be left dependent upon Europe for that service. But the Postmaster-General complains that he finds great difficulty in making arrangements with American steamship owners. He says he is most willing and anxious to enter into a contract with Americans, but they ask impossible things of the administration. We regret to learn this is so. Our steamship owners should show some liberality and patriotism in the matter and should not demand impossible terms. The Government, on the other hand, ought to be as liberal as possible. If the Government and the steamship owners will meet upon this principle of mutual accommodation and patriotism, some arrangement may yet be made. It is important, as Mr. Creswell says, that some American line competent to do the

business should be started and encouraged. Congress has neglected this, as it has the suspension or repeal of the registry and navigation laws, and other things which were of the greatest importance in the existing emergency growing out of the war in Europe. It has been suggested that our naval vessels be employed for carrying the mails; but if even this were desirable or practicable the Postmaster-General has no authority to act, and cannot have without the sanction of Congress. Here, then, is an additional reason why Congress should be reassembled as soon as possible. The country is likely to suffer in many ways and to lose many precious advantages in the present crisis for want of Congressional action. The probable derangement of the mail service is not the least of the evils that call for prompt measures. If the members of Congress had not the sense or patriotism enough to remain over a day or two longer when the President asked them to do so in view of the extraordinary state of things that had arisen through the war, they ought to be called back to their duty, and the President should not hesitate to call an extra

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