SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

WHAT TO DO WITH THE SOUTH.

From Every Saturday. From the careful review we endeavored to make last week of what are succinctly and fairly enough called the Ku-klux outrages of the South, we think there will be no difficulty in inferring their true character, so far as any common character is discernible in them. In a word, they are the natural sequel of the War of the Rebellion, with its immense social and political changes—as natural in their way as those disturbances we are now witnessing in Paris, or those milder ones which we know must exist in Alsace and Lorraine. Nothing could have prevented them, except the preservation of the exact condition of the South before the war, and that was impossible. The Rebellion was not like heat lightning, which flashes across the sky without premonition or result. If, as one of its pioneers declared, it took thirty years to bring it about, we cannot expect it to wholly subside in six years or ten. Given, therefore, the almost entire white population of one section of the country, not only de-feated in their "great expectations" of setting up a pro-slavery government, but compelled to encounter the emancipation of four millions of chattels, and their endowment with all the rights of citizenship, the whites themselves in the mean while being subject to the always trying rule for Americans "taxation without representation"-and we have the very conditions precedent of a disturbed state of society. Especially is this true when we consider the virulence of race antipathies, the domineering characteristics festered by slavery among the late masters, and the indiscretions and occasional abuse of their privileges committed by the new black

citizens of the South, abetted by their white

allies, the carpet-baggers, so-called. On the

whole we do not think that the future histo-

rian of this era will be at all surprised at the

Southern disorders which he will have to set

down for the years 1870-71, while possibly

his surprise may rather be at their limited

The main question, then, is not as to the quality, but as to the quantity of the disturbance complained of, for that determines the character of the remedies to be used. In the first place, do we have before us the beginnings of another rebellion or anything in the nature of war? because if we do, the Government ought to lose no time in drawing, in one form or another, upon the armory of the war powers of the Constitution. We have shown in our previous article that the disorderly events or "outrages" at the South are scattered, occurring mostly in remote and thinly settled districts; that there is no evidence of their having increased during the last year; that they indicate no political combination, and that they are not formidable, unless there is some common ulterior purpose working through them. That there is among any of the Southern leaders, acute enough to be dangerous, any thought of war against the Federal Government, cannot be possible. There is more wisdom on this subject at the South now than there was in 1861. With Lee dead and Longstreet a Republican office-holder, with the government of the Union manner by Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, and stronger than it ever was at the most triumphant hour of the late war, it would surely be absurd, if not cruel, to charge the South with the design of renewing the Rebellion in these times. It follows, therefore, that the Government also may put up its sword. The exigency is not warlike. Deplorable and extraordinary as it is, serious as it may be, it requires the exercise only of constitutional and legislative powers. It is to be remembered that the Government itself has voluntarily closed the war period, even while these outrages were going on, by restoring all the Southern States to their legal relations with the Union. This was an assurance and a pledge that henceforth nothing but peaceful measures were to be employed. such measures as might be of permanent and general applicability. Let that programme be followed out. The Government is strong enough to be just, if not generous. So far as the Ku-klux demonstrations are aimed against impartial suffrage or equal rights, there is to be no compromise with them. The faith of the nation is pledged to the maintenance of all the rights of citizenship granted to the freedmen, and there must be no failure in this respect. The fourteenth amendment appears to have somewhat widened the powers of the Federal Government to discharge this duty, and we should be glad to see some measure similar to Mr. Shellabarger's bill, divested of its clearly objectionable features, adopted by Congress for that purpose. It should not stretch the authority of the Federal Government a hair beyond its constitutional limits, or trench in the least upon the clear rights of the States. for that, as we have shown, is not required by the facts of the case, and would establish a precedent prolific in abuse and full of

Attending this measure, or standing by itself as the best, if not the sufficient remedy for existing evils, should be an act of general amnesty. To this, too, the Government is pledged as the natural, logical, and necessary consummation of lits reconstruction policy, Manifestly it is to come some time-why not now? The withholding it thus far has aggravated every evil of the situation. The disabilities-rightly at first-imposed upon the Rebels have come to be, with the avowed return of peace, not only a badge of disgrace, a constant source of irritation, festering and poisoning even where it is not breaking out in Ku-kluxism, but a denial of obvious justice to those who pay the taxes of the South and own the greater part of the property, and are as deeply concerned as any in its interest, but are yet denied any share in the control of legislation. This is a wrong which drives the best element of the once rebellious South into the attitude of alliance with the Ku-klux miscreants. It is time that the Goverment withdrew the pressure. It cannot recall the carpet-baggers nor elevate their character, but it can give every citizen the full muniments of legal right and self-defense. It can never allow the negro to be deprived of his ballot, but it can put his old master on the same level with him. It cannot correct the evident abuses of the Southern State Governments, but it can let all the Southern people, like all the Northern, order their own local government as they please. It cannot discriminate between the political parties of the country, but it can enable the loyally disposed Democrats of the South to exert a most salutary influence upon the mischievous elements of their own party.

But it may be urged that it is not safe to It was the most stupendous mistake that I try, who maintained the Government during

make this concession. Then the Government ought not to have closed the war period, and returned to the conditions of peace involving this. If, however, the question of safety were really in doubt, it would still be by all means advisable in the Government to clear its skirts of wrong, to throw the whole responsibility on its assailants, and to make the issue clear to every right-minded man in the countryespecially when, as we have already said, it is master of the situation. But it is on the very ground of safety, as well as of justice, that amnesty commends itself. If the Republican party cannot look at the matter in this light, it might at least consult its own interests in reference to it. As it is now, that party makes the twofold mistake of reinforcing its antagonists with a good grievance and of enabling them to act covertly. If there is to be any alliance between disloyalty and Democracy, the Republicans, in order to show the scope and character of the alliance before the whole country, could well afford, in a party point of view, to let even Jefferson Davis return to the United States Senate. But no patriotic Republican would thank us for seriously arguing the question of amnesty on that low plane; it is essentially a national and moral question.

"SHPLIT UP OLD VAN PRONK."

From the N. Y. Tribune. Everybody knows the story of good Mrs. Dietrich Van Pronk. She was a worthy Dutch wife, and very fond of Dietrich. When he died, she thought herself inconsolable, and in her despairing loneliness hit upon the expedient of having a statue of Van Pronk carved in wood. This she kept in the guest chamber, visited it often, and tried to feel that her house was still not without a head. But before long there came to see the Widow Van Pronk a handsome young shoemaker of the neighborhood. He came often; be came every day; it was plain what the young shoemaker intended. When this had gone on for two weeks, one morning the widow of Dietrich was told by her servants that the kindling wood was all gone. "Ach! ach!" says she, "may be it ish vell enough now to shplit up old Van Pronk vat ish up stairs!" History kindly forbears to pursue the narrative further. We are not told whether the shoemaker turned out a good husband or not, nor even whether he married Mrs. Van Pronk at all. If he chanced to come in at the mement when the bits of poor Dietrich were piled up in the chimney-place to light the fire, he might well have hesitated about slipping into his shoes. But the interest of the story and its moral begin and leave off together, at the point of the widow's haste to make way with all visible sign and token of Van Pronk.

We have been reminded of this story again and again in the course of the last few weeks, by the reckless, hasty tone of comment and suggestion all over the land in regard to the Republican party. We are told that it is dead; that it must be buried, and the sooner the better; undertakers, with and without references, flock to the front; administrators are ready to take charge of the effects; the business, if carried on, must be carried on under a new name; and it is doubtful even then if it will thrive, etc., etc., etc., until we are heartsick of the inconstancy, shallowness, impatience, and folly of our own kinspeople.

There was never a political party in this country which had so inherent a hold on the country-was so purely and it may be said organically indigenous to it as the Republican party. There was never a political party in this country which had a name so inherently representative of its name, its principles, its quality. Swarming bustlers and greedy selfseekers may do their worst and their utmost: there will always be in this country a Republican party—that is, a party that believes in not only a republic, but our republic! -a party that believes in a democratic republic, and not an aristocratic one, like those which died on the Mediterranean shores, or like that which under a false name struggles for life to-day in Queen Victoria's little island!a party that believes in a democratic republic which is a nation, and not a confederation!

This central principle makes as eternal and unchangeable link, as eternal and unchangeable barrier, as the mountain ranges which bind the solid earth of our continent. And it is disheartening and exasperating to see petty issues, petty alienations, rising into such prominence, forced into such antagonism as to hinder the working and imperil the success of the great body of faithful, earnest men who have at heart the welfare of such a republic. If the Republican party ceases to bear that name on its banners, it will have to make a worse one, for there is none so good; if it allows itself to be diverted from main aims, bullied, or caressed, er cheated into mistakes, it will simply double or treble its ultimate burden-double or treble its years of hard service. But its worst enemies are, as is always the case in life, "of its own household," and to such we good-naturedly, but earnestly, we have not married the shoemaker yet; it is to be hoped we shan't; don't be in such a hurry to Shplit up Van Pronk!" He would still be found an uncommonly lively sort of corpse.

THE SOUTHERN IMPRACTICABLES. From the N. Y. Werld.

There was a man in our town. And he was wondrous wise; He jumped into a bramble-bush And scratched out both his eyes. But when he saw his eyes were out, With all his might and main He jumped into another bush And scratched them in again."

This marvellous recipe for restoring the lost organs of vision, which excited the wonder of infancy in that dawn of the faculties when nursery rhymes were choice literature, seems to have been adopted as a model of political wisdom by a few fossil politicians and journals of the South. The "bramblebush" which seems so picturesque to the wondering inexperience of budding patriots who had just exchanged long-clothes for pantalettes, prefigured Northern public senti-ment, into which the South "jumped" in 1860-61, and "scratched out both its eyes." And now, ten years later, it is proposed to jump into the same bramble-bush and scratch the lost eyes in again!

It is the nearly universal opinion here in the North, that the Southern leaders made a mistake in jumping into the bramble-bush and getting the precious orbs "scratched out." If they had not chosen to split the Democratic party in twain in the Charleston Convention in 1860, nothing could have been easier than to prevent the first election of Mr. Lincoln. Whether Mr. Douglas was a patriot and a statesman is a question which we will not discuss. We suppose it will not be disputed that he was ambitious; that he had set his heart upon the Presidency; or that he was a competent judge of the drift of public sentiment in the Northern States. He knew that neither he, nor anybody, could be elected on an extreme Southern platform. What did the South gain by rejecting him? Why, they insured the elec-tion of Lincoln; and the practical result of their tactics was to bring into power an avowed enemy instead of a judicious friend.

out both its eyes. In pursuance of the same blunder, the South relinquished all its advantages after Lincoln was elected. If the Southern members of Congress had not retired there would have been a majority in both kouses against the Black Republican President. War could not have been waged against the South, because it required an act of Congress to raise and equip armies. President Lincoln could not have appointed even his own Cabinet without the consent of a Democratic Senate. Every foreign minister, every custom-house officer, every marshal, every postmaster, must have been a man whom a Democratic Senate approved. Lincoln would have been utterly powerless, and the Republican victory in the Presidential election a barren triumph, if the Southern members of Congress had not insanely withdrawn, and left a Republican majority in both houses. Slavery would have steed to this day, if they had not jumped into the bran ble-bush and scratched out their eyes.

The war was a consequence of their stupendous folly and blindness. Instead of gaining their assumed right to carry slavery into the Territories, they caused its abolition in the States, where nobody, at the outset, disputed their right to maintain and perpetuate it. It was the most egregious miscalculation ever made by sane men. The result was the impoverishment and prostration of the South, the abolition of slavery, the subversion of State rights, military despotism, and negro suffrage. And why? Simply because the South would not admit that Northern Democrats were competent judges of Northern public sentiment. Mr. Douglas understood the North, and if the South had not foolishly assumed to be better judges of Northern sentiment than he was, it night have saved all it forfeited by scorning his advice.

A few Southern ultraists who 'learn nothing and forget nothing" fancy that they can scratch their eyes in again by leaping into the same bramble-bush in which they scratched them out. We cannot pretend to be very profound oculists, but we do not believe that lost eyes can be replaced by any such process. We have outgrown the simple faith of the nursery. In the progress of intelligence there arrives a period when it behooves men to "put away childish things;" and of all childishness none is more supremely silly than the expectation that the hands can be turned back on the dial of events. Why will a few deluded Southerners persist in maintaining that we of the North are not better judges than they can possibly be of the drift and tendency of Northern public sentiment? In 1860, Breckinridge against Douglas was a simple mistake; it was not insanity. But in 1871, it is the height of midsummer madness for a fewSouthern ultraists to pretend that they know the public mind of the North better than the Northern Democrats. They are urging us to repeat the same disastrous blunder which was committed in 1860; and we tell them, in all sincerity, that they cannot scratch their eyes in again by jumping into the same bramble bush. We ask them to look at New York, the strongest of all the Democratic States. The Southern press receives our New York Democratic papers as exchanges; and if they have examined them with attention during the last month they have found that they all, without exception, earnestly deprecate the revival of dead issues, and emphatically endorse the position of Governor Hoffman, Nobody in New York believes that New York could be kept Democratic on their platform, and if New York cannot be retained with such a platform, how can other Northern States be gained? Surely, the South cannot expect to elect a President without Northern assistance.

We are impelled to make these frank statements by an article in the Montgomery Mail, the Southern journal to which General Blair addressed his recent letter, and which replies with some warmth to our remarks on that spirited production. We are not displeased to find that the Montgomery Mail admits the force of our logic, and is quite of our opinion that it would be futile and ridiculous to direct the Democratic batteries against the new amendments to the Constitution if the party does not mean to disturb negro suffrage. We copy the closing paragraph of its article:-

We certainly agree with the World that opposition to the fifteenth amendment, so far as the South is concerned, would amount to but little if the Democratic party has made up its mind to accept negro suffrage. The known opposition to that heresy on the part of the Northern Democracy was the strongest ligament that bound the South to that organization, and we feel it to be our duty to warn the leaders of that party everywhere against the danger they will incur by cutting that ligament in

General Blair stated explicitly in his letter that he thought negro suffrage should have a fair trial, and that no attempt should be made to abolish it unless experience should demonstrate its incompatibility with civil order. The Montgomery Mail is quite correct in thinking that the Democratic party would be illogical in making war upon the new amendments and at the same time accepting the things for which those amendments provide. It evinces perfect clearness and precision of thought when it agrees with us that the pivot of this controversy is negro suffrage. If the Democratic party do not intend to make that a leading issue in the next Presidential election, it would merely fight a shadow in opposing the fifteenth amendment. General Blair really dismisses the whole controversy respecting the amendments by abandoning opposition to negro suffrage as an issue in the next Presidential election. It is precisely on the acceptance of negro suffrage that the question hangs; and we must concede that the Montgomery Mail is more logical and consistent than General Blair, Every Southern journal which thus clearly distinguishes between the husk of this controversy and the kernel renders valuable assistance in bringing the question to a focus. Blink it and shirk it as you may, confuse it as you will by cloudy irrelevance, the real point is whether the Democratic party will attempt to abolish negro suffrage in the Presidential campaign of 1872. When the question is thus nakedly put, not even General Blair, with all his intrepidity, cares to face it. He is too correct a judge of public opinion to entertain any hope that the Democratic party could win on that issue.

Now, if we don't intend to jump into that bramble-bush, let us squarely say so, and get the full advantage of the disavowal. At all events, the question must narrow itself down to this point, and instead of "beating about the bush" let us discuss it on its real basis. If the party has made up its mind to fling this Jonah into the sea, let us overboard with him at once, and then consult as to how we will afterwards navigate the ship.

THE POLITICAL PROSPECT.

From Harper's Weekly (edited by Geo. Wm. Curtis). If the election in New Hampshire showed some apathy upon the part of those who usually support the Republican party, the election in Connecticut shows as distinctly that the indifference is checked. And the reason is evident. The people of this coun-

Southern politicians ever made. The South | the war, have not forgotten their work, and | The Northern leaders have no policy to rejumped into the bramble-bush, and scratched | do not mean to relinquish its results. They | place that of slavery, while the only positive cherish no vindictive feeling, but they are not fools. While their own party leaders sometimes displease them, so that they show their disapproval by letting an election go by default, the moment the enemy reveals his spirit and purpose, they spring to their feet. In 1865-66 Andrew Johnson was apparently seriously demoralizing the Republican party. But the massacres in New Orleans and Memphis distinctly revealed the character of the opposition, and the consequence of Democratic success; and from that moment the Republican dominance was substantially assured.

There has been a corresponding situation within the last few months. There is, indeed, fortunately, no Andrew Johnson; but there have been difficulties and divergences of many kinds, and jealousies and embittered feelings, until there seemed to be serious disorder among Republicans. There were doubts and questions and gloomy anticipations, and the New Hampshire election occurring in the midst of them all was hailed by the Democratic party as the sign of a fatal breach, or the rising of a "tidal wave." We ventured to say of it, however, that it might prove to be an advantage, by leading Republicans to a better mutual understanding. And that this will be its result we have now no doubt. For the same general restlessness and uncertainty which lost that election to the friends of the Union and good government, quickened the spirit of the Southern Democracy, which has naturally always been the controlling element of the Democratic party, and within a month the country has had a prophetic vision of the inevitable results of renewed Democratic ascendency.

It has seen in the Southern States men and women, whose offense is their color, or their fidelity to the Union and to the Government, harried and murdered. This disorder, occasioned by Democrats and levelled at Republicans, has swelled to the proportions of insurrection, so that Congress and the country could not be deaf to the cries of citizens outraged and slain that others might be kept from the polls, and Democratic majorities assured by a reign of terror. In the midst of these events the country has also seen Jefferson Davis suddenly conspicuous, and in a public speech declaring that the lost cause might yet be won. Mr. Linton Stephens, brother of Alexander H. Stephens, and a respected Democratic leader in his section, demands at Augusta the overthrow of all the reconstruction acts, and 'a readjustment of our institutions upon renewed constitutions." Leading Democratic newspapers in the Southern States loudly echo and applaud the demand, and accept the New Hampsbire election as a sign that the work of the war may be undone. The most representative of these papers remind their readers that the last National Democratic Convention declared the reconstruction acts "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void," and claim that they are not less so now; and that they

must, of course, be the issue in 1872.

While thus the country sees that the de claration of the Democratic party in the Southern States is for overthrowing the great settlements of the war, it perceives also that the Tammany Ring, supreme in the Demo-cratic party of New York, and aiming to grasp the National Government, confirms the monstrous fraud of the Erie bill, which strikes at the most vital right of the control of property; repeals the Registry law, to make in the city of New York assumes powers so imperially absolute that the better men even of its own party protest.

Meanwhile the Democratic declaration that the reconstruction acts are unconstitutional. revolutionary, and void remains. No State convention has withdrawn assent to such a statement; no authoritative leader of the Democratic party has yet announced his entire acquiescence in reconstruction. The World, indeed, quotes Mr. Fernando Wood! But Mr. Wood's declarations carry no weight, and inspire no respect. It quotes Mr. John Quincy Adams. But Mr. Adams sneeringly says of the party which he has lately joined, that it must begin by being Democratic-that is to say, it must discard all its policy and all its leaders. The Mobile Register is a much sounder and more generally accepted authority in the Democratic party than Mr. Adams, and the Register insists that reconstruction is the issue. Nor can the World be accepted as an authority in its party. It opposed repudia-tion in 1868, but repudiation was put into the Democratic platform. It favored Mr. Chase, but Mr. Seymour was nominated. It advised the abandonment of General Blair, and it was heartily cursed by its party. It opposed the Erie bill, and its Governor signed it, and its party has adopted it. It declared war against the ring, and the ring silenced it. The World has advocated the policy which its party has steadily rejected; and the deprecatory tone of its article upon General Blair's position, and its confession that "the Southern Democracy" is seriously divided upon the substantial issue for 1872, reveal its consciousness that the issue is a foregone conclusion.

Nor will any one who observes closely doubt it. If the Democratic party had carried Connecticut, as it did New Hampshire. it could not long have concealed that its national policy is reaction. Its convention would have been more absolutely mastered by the Southern Democracy than it was in 1868. The Democratic success would have been interpreted as a repudiation of the Republican settlement of the war. The facts, therefore, apon which good citizens must de-cide their action in 1872 are already evident. The Democratic party is the organization of all the elements of reaction, disorder, discontent, and revolution. The same spirit which compelled even its first convention after the war to deneunce reconstruction, and to declare stealthily for repudiation, and which now ravages loyal sections with the Ku-klux, and demands an active reconsideration of all that has been accomplished, would certainly refuse to pay the pensions of loyal soldiers, or would demand an equal payment of Rebel claims. The prospect of Democratic success is one of endless confusion, alarm, and anarchy. The passions of slavery and of the war are smouldering, not extinguished fires. Whatever criticisms may be made of certain details of Republican administration, its general suc cess, the profound confidence that it is both honest and economical, and that the government of the Union is safer in the hands of its proved friends than it possibly can be in those of all its enemies of every kind, are more than enough to commend that administration to the heartiest support of all good citizens. The vague talk of certain Democrats about

"dead issues" need deceive no one. The very issues that are described as dead by the feeble Northern wing of that party are vehe mently declared to be the most vital of all by the controlling Southern element. In-deed, the force of the Democratic party has always been with its Southern wing, not only because of the greater general ability of its Southern leaders, but because the great policy of the party was a Southern interest.

place that of slavery, while the only positive movement in the party at this moment is that which is pressed by General Blair and the Southern leaders, the effort to overthrow reconstruction. Let the Democratic party begin by being Democratic, sneers Mr. John Quincy Adams, who clearly sees that the party he has joined is the party of privilege, of class, of a section, and not the party of liberty, Union, and the people.

It is because we believe the situation is sud-

denly clear to the honest and loyal people of the United States that we also believe they will now fall into line and move unitedly forward to victory. They have perfect faith in the honesty of the administration, and they know that dissenters have now expressed their differences and dissatisfactions. They will not, indeed, hesitate yet to do so; but every man who comprehends the disasters to follow Democratic control of the Government will insist that Republican criticisms of our own party shall be friendly, and not helpful to the common enemy; for it is only by friendly criticism that the party policy is made truly wise. To all that we have done and are doing let us add a general amnesty, that the intelligent classes who are disfranchised may have an interest in the preservation of order. A little sagacity assures our triamph. And it is not party prejudice—it is the perception of an obvious situation and a simple calculation of probabilities which assure every thoughtful man that the continued ascendency of the Republican party is indispensable to the peace and consequent prosperity of the country.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

NORTHERN LIBERTIES AND PENN TOWNSHIP RAILROAD CO., Office No. 227 S. FOURTH Street.

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The Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of this Company, and an Election for Officers to serve for the ensuing year, will be held at the Office of the Company, on MONDAY, the 1st day of May next, at 11% o'clock A. M.

ALBERT FOSTER,
41117t

Secretary.

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