

SPRIT OF THE PRESS. Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals upon Current Topics—Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

THE GREAT PARTY OF THE FUTURE. From the N. Y. Herald.

We are on the verge of another change in the issues and elements of our political parties. The late elections indicate it. The great revolution which commenced with the active agitations of the slavery question forty years ago was completed in the fifteenth amendment. Throughout the Union the negro, who was a slave or an outlaw, is a citizen and a voter. The million of Union bayonets which effected this change put down at the same time the pernicious fallacy of State sovereignty. The old Government, in going, and a new Government, resting upon the basis of universal liberty and equal rights, takes its place. The outside Democratic party has ceased at last to fight it, and the battle is ended. The inside and the outside party are adrift upon a sea of speculations, and the question is, how will they come out?

We are looking to General Grant for a new departure. Surely he cannot expect to stand still when the progress of modern events is at the rate of forty miles an hour. Ten years ago a Northern man found the Ohio river or the Alleghanna without his vouchers as a friend of slavery, or that "he is sound on the goose," ran the risk at every village or cross-road grocery of a coat of tar and feathers and a ride on a rail. From this landmark of negro slavery to the oration of an African Senator from the seat of Jeff Davis we have gone through the work of a revolution which honest Abe Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress in 1862, proposed to accomplish as far as the abolition of slavery, by the year 1900.

This work of a century, then, of the old stage coach epoch, has in the age of steam and telegraph communications, been done in ten years. In the change of our Government from slavery to liberty, and from the caste of kink and color to the common platform of civil and political equality. Nor in the work of progress are we alone. Within four years Austria has advanced from the cloisters and cobwebs of the Middle Ages to the front rank of modern reforms; and Prussia, in the great German Confederation, has gained the position of arbiter of Europe, which France, under the debancheries of the second empire, has lost. Within a few months the Pope and the city of Rome have been relieved of his temporal power, and the Eternal City, as the capital of "Young Italy," promises to eclipse its splendors under Augustus. By the tremendous forces of steam and lightning in harness, a free press and free thought, all the world is advancing to liberty, equal rights, and popular institutions. In fact, since Joshua commanded the "sun to stand still upon Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Ajalon," and "the sun stood still in the midst of heaven and hasted not to go down about a whole day," there has been no suspension in the movements of our solar system, and none in the efforts of mankind to better their condition. To these efforts, however, modern inventions and appliances have given a momentum never dreamed of even so late as fifty years ago; so that all nations feel the pressure, all are moved by it, and the United States more powerfully than any other.

Does General Grant, then, in the very front of this universal forward movement of the nineteenth century, expect to stand still? Does he think he can rest upon his laurels? Glorious as is the work he has achieved, does he think the American people suppose their work is finished with the Union they have restored, and the peace, liberty, and prosperity they have won? No. Does he, then, suppose that retrenchment of expenses, reduction of taxes, and the payment of the national debt will suffice for the campaign of 1872? He seems to think so. Here, then, we must buttonhole him for a moment, while we talk to him from the experience of an old political campaigner. You have, General, the Presidential succession at your command, and the great party of the new dispensation and of the future. The elements of both our great parties, as they stand, are only divided by side issues, small-potato politicians and the spoils. The floating materials from both these parties are increasing, and the Republican party wants some new idea for another forward march. So far it has been the aggressive party in great ideas, and it must still be aggressive, or it will be displaced. Your conservative party may do as a temporary makeshift, but in a great battle against a progressive idea it is always a failure.

The old Federal party, developed under John Adams, was a conservative party; and we need not repeat its short career against the aggressive radical Republican party of Jefferson. This Jeffersonian Republican party having finished its appointed mission, and having no new ideas to fight for, was broken up and dispersed in 1824. Thus John Quincy Adams became President; but what did his excellent administration avail him against General Jackson and his cotton bag victory of New Orleans? Those cotton bags, however, were pretty well used up in 1828, and Jackson's second election was mainly due to his war against "Nick Biddle of the National Bank monster." Van Buren came in under the wing of Jackson, but, owing to the financial revolution of 1837, he went out in the next election in a popular whirlwind, to the songs of the hard cider and log cabin candidate, and to the choruses of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

Tyler, with his bank vetoes, an aggressive policy, so crippled the old Whig party that in 1840 Polk, a small politician, on the progressive platform of "Texas and Oregon," was too much for the great Henry Clay, personally the most popular man of his time in the United States. In 1848, on the military glory of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey and Buena Vista, "Old Rough and Ready"—General Taylor—out on General Cass, the Democratic candidate; but in 1852, on the grand idea of sectional peace on the slavery question, through Henry Clay's compromise measure of 1850, Pierce, an ardent soldier and a haphazard nomination, not only defeated General Scott, the conqueror of Mexico, but utterly demolished the old Whig party.

Here opens the new chapter of our second Republican party. Pierce, led by the Southern "secesh" oligarchy, in violating the compact upon which he was elected, reopened with a tenfold increased heat the slavery agitation, brought this Republican Anti-slavery party into the foreground, and step by step, since it came into power in 1860, it has advanced from victory to victory, the great aggressive and progressive party of the day, from the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law to the proclamation of the fifteenth amendment. Its work achieved is a revolution in the government as great as that of France from the old Bourbon monarchy to the republic of

"liberty, equality, and fraternity." This powerful party, from the bloodiest civil war in human history, has restored peace and the Union without the usual aftermath of the events "blasted negro" holds the plantation of Jeff. Davis, even Davis himself may freely play the lion of "the lost cause" from Maine to Texas.

But here, Mr. President, with this great revolution completed, here is the opening for a new departure. Do you expect to hold your ground on the merits of a careful and prudent administration? John Quincy Adams could not do it. To stand still is not in the nature of the American people, and it is a policy opposed to the universal spirit of the age. You want General Grant for your party, some new legends, "Let us have peace" is good; but we have peace. We want something that will bring like a tramp through the land. We want Cuba and all that group of the West Indies; we want Mexico; we want Central America and a ship canal across some one of those isthmus passages for a short cut from New York to Shanghai; we want the line of the great St. Lawrence to the sea as an outlet for the rapidly accumulating, heavy products of the mighty Northwest, and we want an American settlement, do you hear, of those Alaska claims. These things are written in the book of "manifest destiny." The book is in your hands, Mr. President, with any or all these splendid prizes at your option. You may take your choice; but in failing to choose you will disappoint the expectations of the country, and even Fenton may run you a scrub-race for the succession.

A SUBJECT FOR GENERAL SHERMAN AND FOR CONGRESS. From the N. Y. Sun.

We sincerely hope that one of the first subjects taken up by Congress at its approaching session will be an inquiry into the condition and treatment of the enlisted men of our little army, and the manner in which recruiting for it is conducted. That something is radically wrong somewhere is but too apparent from the frightful number of desertions occurring throughout the army; and though it has been said that in his forthcoming annual report General Sherman will confine himself to a simple statement of facts, without making any suggestions, we trust he will at least give such emphasis to this matter as will secure for it the attention it deserves.

Soldiers, as a class, are disinclined to make complaints. The good men silently bear with their grievances, while those less gifted with patience or the spirit of subordination simply desert as the readiest way of finding relief. These desertions take place at stations so widely separated as to forbid the idea of local causes of dissatisfaction. Regiments undergoing the discomforts of a campaign suffer by desertion scarcely more than those quartered within easy reach of the pleasures of a city.

We have before us the official lists of deserters as published by the Eastern Superintendent in this city, between July 10 and October 20 of the present year—a period of about three months—in which over five hundred deserters are advertised. But this is not the whole number by many hundreds of those who, grown tired or disgusted, have deserted the service. Out of the forty regiments of cavalry, artillery, and infantry in the army, but fifteen regiments appear to have made reports at all during this time; and even from these regiments the reports are but partial, not comprising the whole command, except in two instances; for out of the 136 companies of these fifteen regiments, but 54 have furnished reports. Five regiments of the fifteen have only one company for each reporting deserter. It cannot be said that the want of reports from other organizations argues no deserters from them; for we find the whole ten companies in the 6th Infantry and eight of the ten in the 5th Infantry making these reports; and it will not be supposed for a moment that the officers in those regiments are harsher in their treatment, or that the service performed by the men is more severe than in other commands. The fact is, the rendering of these reports to the Superintendent is not compulsory, and most organizations make none at all. It is but fair to suppose that, were all the captains compelled to make these reports to the Superintendent, it would be found that the number of deserters about the same.

Taking these official lists as data, and averaging for all the organizations, without counting the ordnance, engineers, or West Point detachments, we find the aggregate of desertions from the army to be nearly four thousand for the year ending Oct. 20, 1870! Such a state of affairs is worse than creditable; it demands the closest scrutiny and the sharpest measures of reform. Indeed, as matters now stand, it is seriously a question whether it would not, as an economical and military measure, be beneficial to the Government if the present system of recruiting were abandoned altogether, and that of hiring men as soldiers, with the expiration of their term of service dependent on their own will and that of their employers—always with three months' notice to quit—substituted in its place.

We have the best paid, best fed, and most comfortably clad army in the world; so that the causes of this wide-spread demoralization lie outside the material wants of the men. If the War Department cannot grasp the difficulty, by all means let Congress do it, and make army service what it should be, an employment to be sought after by honest, temperate, and patriotic young men, only too glad to give five of their youthful years to the service of their country in exchange for a military education, and an assured and honorable standing in the community.

THE PRETEXT OF "PROTECTION." From the N. Y. World.

We supposed that we had made our position clear enough in the matter of tariffs when we condemned custom-houses to partition upon abstract grounds, and assented to their retention in a very much mitigated form for reasons of revenue. But the Tribune requires to have it made still plainer, and demurs, in the interests of free trade, to our proposition to compound its felony for the sake of saving some of the stolen goods. Here is what it says:— "Why do you give the grinding, grasping monopolists any advantage whatever? You say, 'We want revenue.' Certainly, but why not raise it equitably, by a tax of 5 per cent on all iron consumed in the country, 10 per cent where more, instead of 20 per cent on such as is imported and nothing at all on that produced by the grinding machinery of this country? It is not the foreign-made iron paid for with the products of American labor that is not a tax on imported iron (according to your assumptions) but the American cotton, tobacco, pork, lard, cheese, wheat, etc., that are sent abroad to pay for that iron? Why, then, do you tax that iron 20 per cent, and home-made iron nothing at all?"

Perhaps the course the Tribune suggested would be the best thing for us if we would take it. But we cannot, for this reason. The tax it suggests cannot be collected without an

inquisition into industry, which would extend the unjust, wasteful, and dishonest system already prevalent in the collection of the internal revenue into fields now free from it. The Tribune may wish more speedily for a scheme which has already made many converts and countless perjurers. We are free to say we don't. Shylock found it impracticable to get his pound of flesh without some effusion of blood. And we should certainly lose more, both in money, which is the life-blood of commerce, and in official and private honesty, which is the life-blood of the State, than we should make in taxes. Wherefore we propose to derive revenue, for its own sake, merely from foreign imports, in such a manner as shall yield the most good and inflict the least harm instead of continuing the present system, whereby a minimum of money goes into the treasury and a maximum of money comes out of the pockets of the people.

And now, let us examine the consistency of the Tribune. In the same issue which accuses the World of recreancy to the principle of free trade, the Tribune thus asserts its own fidelity to the principle of protection:—"Not let the Republicans frankly, promptly say, 'We will maintain protection in home industry; we are proud of it, and will stand or fall with the work of our hands, and they will rally to their standard thousands who have hitherto gone with the stream.'" "What! are you really proud of telling lies? Look here! The average duty on salt is 108 per cent, in bulk and 80 per cent, in bags. You say you have maintained protection to home industry. How is it that we imported during the fiscal year ending June, 1870, 749,916,464 pounds of salt from foreign countries, amounting to \$1,443,958. Are not your friends in Onondaga injured to that amount? How can you say the virtuous, suffering, and industrious salt boilers of Syracuse are protected in their home industry when you did not protect them enough to keep the paper salt of Liverpool, Turk's Island, and Sicily away?"

Here is railroad iron, the duty on which is 70 cents per 100 pounds, or 55 per cent, in average. The largest manufacturers of the home-made rails are the most eminent adherents to the cause of protection. How, then, can you say you have protected this branch of home industry when you allowed to be imported during the fiscal year of 1870, 626,685,610 pounds, costing abroad \$1,397,735? How is this for protection to industry? But the work in hand, as we show, is not home protection, for that is impossible unless you prohibit importation entirely. The work now is trying to gratify by nothing less than home robbery—impudent robbery of the many to enrich the few. Here is some proof—The salt consumed in this country was last year about 25,000,000 bags, of 100 pounds each. Of this we imported 7,500,000 bags, and paid upon it about \$1,500,000 into the Federal Treasury. We consumed 17,500,000 bags of home-made salt, and paid upon it about \$4,000,000 to the treasuries of the few dozen salt manufacturers of this country. This holds good more or less with every other dutiable thing, and the Tribune acknowledges it when it says in its facetious query:—

"See that your tariff bill imposes a duty of 20 per cent on the rate of the rate may be on foreign-made iron, while you assess no tax at all on home-made iron. Now, if the duty on foreign iron enhances the price of the product, the home-made iron, and if we import half a million tons, we make at home two million tons, it seems to me that (according to your logic) you propose to take \$1,500,000 out of the pockets of the American consumers of iron, and give our iron-makers \$4,000,000 of it, putting only \$1,500,000 into the Treasury." Now the robbery tariff is not a pure and simple protective tariff, for we prove that it does not protect, but it is a tariff to put up the sliding scale of the robbery, as the tariff we propose is a tariff to put it down. Thus by charging 108 per cent duty on salt, the importer steals the people of \$1,000,000 for the benefit of the salt people. If the duty were reduced to 50 per cent, it would only rob them of \$2,000,000 and if reduced to 10 per cent, it would only swindle them out of a paltry \$400,000.

The sliding scale on pig iron was \$9 during 1870, and the robbery of the people for the benefit of the pig-iron makers, who made, as the Tribune says, 2,000,000 tons, was \$18,000,000 gold, or \$20,000,000 currency.

We once more say we wish to reduce this sliding scale robbery to its lowest possible limits, and, as we emphatically said, we cannot entirely extirpate the evil at once, but we do intend to mitigate it with the view of extricating it in the end. Now let the Tribune tell us if the tariff now in existence manages or means to protect home industry, why its party maintains a duty of 108 per cent on salt, which allows nearly a third of the salt consumed to come in from abroad?

THE ELECTIONS. From the N. Y. Evening Post.

Everybody knows—for we read it almost daily in journals like the Philadelphia Press, the Washington Chronicle, and the New York Tribune—everybody knows, therefore, that the administration of General Grant is thoroughly pleasing to the country; the revenue is collected; that is to say, the taxes are ground out of the people, and the debt is reduced with great regularity; and this, we are constantly assured, satisfies every wish of the people. But to a thoughtful Republican it must seem a puzzling thing, that while the people are thus delighted with the course of the administration, they vote against it wherever it shows a particularly strong desire for support. In Missouri General Grant interfered in the canvass in the most vigorous way, in favor of McClurg, who ran as an "open and defiant protectionist" and the administration candidate; and as a result Missouri, which gave Grant in 1868 nearly 29,000 majority, now casts 41,000 against the administration candidate.

In New York, Hoffman, with the Government patronage in his favor, and notorious frauds at the election, got but 27,000 majority two years ago; but this fall, with every effort of the administration against him, with all the offices specially arranged and manipulated to secure a Republican victory, and with the most honest election New York has seen for years, Hoffman gets 32,000 majority.

In like manner in special Congressional districts where the administration has set up a candidate, he has often been beaten. E. D. Webster, in Brooklyn, ran as the acknowledged administration candidate; ran, too, in a district which was believed the Republicans could carry; had the support of the Tribune; and was very badly beaten. In Syracuse, Dennis McCarthy, supported by the Tribune, the Washington Chronicle, and the other special administration journals, could not even secure a renomination; and in spite of his jugglery with the Democrats, was badly beaten in the election. There are other similar cases.

Now, there is in all this matter worthy of the consideration of those who desire the continued supremacy of the Republican party. Why is it that the Southern States, where administration influence is very potent, have yet so unexpectedly turned against the

Republicans? Why is it that in States like New York and Missouri, in Congressional districts like those we have mentioned, the administration candidates are beaten? It would seem that the people are not so well satisfied as the politicians whose business it is to flatter the President has asserted. The people want something more done than the administration is doing. To collect the revenue and pay off the debt is no doubt creditable. Compared with what Andrew Johnson did, it seemed a year ago an immense achievement. We were drowning, and here came General Grant and held our chin up over the water's edge—and for a while we were very grateful, and did not much mind the grinders he kept at our noses. But to have always the water up to our noses, to have always the grindstone of taxation at our noses, is not satisfactory, no matter what the President's flatterers say. Gratitude, in this as in other cases, is a lively sense of favors to come; and the people have made up their minds—ungrateful as it may look—that they must have something more.

They want the taxes lowered, they want the tax system rearranged, they want to see industry reviving, they are disgusted at General Grant's subservience to notorious hack politicians, monopolists, and political traders of all kinds, they feel jealousy his interference in elections at the dictation of these persons, and with disgust his support of men notoriously unfit for public trusts. They were promised a reform of the civil service, and they see the President dismissing from his Cabinet the very men who were friendly to that reform; they elected General Grant because he was independent of the politicians, and welcomed his accession to the Presidency because of his public assurances that he would not suffer the politicians to rule; and they are bitterly disappointed in seeing him openly complying with the demands of the very class of political traders and managers who have been the bane of the Republican party, and whose predominance makes its greatest danger.

The Republican party is necessarily the party of equal rights, of honest and economical government, and of reform. While it carries out, in all the departments of government, the ideas upon which it was founded, it will retain the confidence and favor of the people. But if it is to be made the party of monopoly, of privilege and favoritism; if its predominance is to be used to strengthen and perpetuate old abuses, to defend and shield monopolies, the people will avert their faces and let it fall, in spite of its glorious record.

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THE PENNSYLVANIA FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY. INCORPORATED 1825—Charter Perpetual. No. 510 WALNUT Street, opposite Independence Square. This Company, favorably known to the community for over forty years, continues to insure against loss or damage by fire on Public or Private Buildings, either permanently or for a limited time. Also on Furniture, Stocks of Goods, and Merchandise generally, on liberal terms. Their Capital, together with a large Surplus Fund, is invested in the most careful manner, which enables them to offer to the insured an unqualified security in the case of loss. DIRECTORS: Charles Richardson, Robert Pearce, William H. Shaw, John Essner, Jr., William M. Seyfert, Edward R. Orms, John F. Smith, Charles Stokes, Nathan Hillier, John W. Evenden, George A. West, Mordcaid Durby. CHARLES RICHARDSON, President. WILLIAM H. SHAW, Vice-President. WILLIAM L. BLANCHARD, Secretary.

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INCORPORATED 1825. OFFICE OF THE DELAWARE MUTUAL SAFETY INSURANCE CO. PHILADELPHIA, November 9, 1870. The following statement of the affairs of the Company is published in conformity with a provision of its Charter: PREMIUMS RECEIVED from November 1, 1869, to October 31, 1870:— On Marine and Inland Risks, \$799,419'36. On Fire Risks, 154,891'20. Premiums on Policies not marked off November 1, 1869, 602,499'32. \$1,556,709'98. PREMIUMS MARKED OFF as