

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

A NEW DEMOCRATIC GRIEVANCE.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The Democratic element in the State of South Carolina has a new and strange cause of complaint. Taxes are imposed without adequate representation. In South Carolina, as in many other States, the voting outnumbers the taxable population. In this instance, it is a result of the acts of the complainants themselves. The wealthy people of South Carolina embraced, almost as a unit, the cause of the Rebellion. Having been Rebels, they were deprived of citizenship. To most of them, however, political privileges have been restored. Previous to the Rebellion, all power was in the hands of the class now complaining. The enfranchisement of the negro has for a time transferred political control from the master to his former chattel. This is the chief grievance. Taxation without representation is a catch-word to conceal the real purpose of the movement, which is to deprive the negro, as far as may be possible, of the right of suffrage, and augment the strength of the Democratic party.

In the General Assembly of South Carolina the negroes outnumber the whites, and a large majority of the whites represent negro constituencies. Property, though represented, is in so small a minority as to be without influence. Property desires to regain its old position and influence, but those who are interested in this result do not come out openly and say how it is to be brought about. The idea of a purely property representation is opposed to the fundamental principles of the Government. The cause of the Rebellion, it was a cause of constant complaint on the part of the North that the slave, for all other purposes a chattel, was counted a man in the apportionment of Representatives in Congress. Not possessing slaves now, the ex-Rebel of South Carolina wishes to have his lands and houses, his flocks and herds, represented. How should the basis of representation be established? Should the property-owner be allowed votes for three-fifths of his wealth? Then General Kerabaw, or some other ex-insurgent, having elected himself by his own votes, would represent a constituency of plantation horses, mules, cows, hens, and chickens.

Preposterous as the idea of property representation is, it is of value as betraying the designs of the Democracy of the South. A quarrel is fastened on the Republican party. One grievance is no sooner satisfied than another takes its place. Governor Scott, willing to make every sacrifice for peace sake, and perhaps wishing to test the sincerity of the Democratic overtures, yielded to every suggestion of the delegation of eighteen, of which the ex-Rebel General Kerabaw was the head. Near the end of the conference, the Governor was informed that the concessions made were not sufficient—that lost power must be restored to the wealthy classes of South Carolina. This demand simply means that control of the legislation of the State should be given into the hands of Democrats who are willing to serve the "lost cause." In South Carolina, however, the negro votes in the majority, and it is unlikely that this majority will abridge its right of suffrage. If found may, perhaps, bring down the vengeance of the Ku-Klux; new outrages will be committed, having as an excuse the infringement of the negro on the rights of the whites. The Democracy, to be consistent, must defend their brethren of South Carolina, and thus help to build up an aristocracy, while claiming to be the friend of the laboring classes.

CHURCH QUARRELS.

From the N. Y. Tribune. Our Philadelphia neighbors are just now treated to a savory dish of scandal from one of the Episcopal churches, by way of flavor to their Lenten meals of heresy and water. The rector of St. Clement's has been accused not only of unseemly eulogies, posturings, and genuflections, but of holding arduous confessions, and praying for the dead. The Bishop accused. The rector responded. The vestry came in like a Greek chorus with wrathful refrain; letters multiplied as though Wilkins Micawber had the matter in hand. The secular press have taken it up and devote eight or ten columns to the elucidation of knotty points of doctrine. The letters have grown into pamphlets full of hard words, if not hard logic, and the whole Quaker City stands still to see how the fight will end between the two men of God pitted against each other in what they call "this holy Lenten season."

Our English exchanges bring accounts of a like quarrel, though on a larger scale, in the same Church. Establishment and dissent are convulsed. The question of the burial of dissenters. Shall a Methodist be permitted to force his unhandsome corpse among churchmen, or lie apart? Shall he, if he will thrust himself into the inhospitable grave, be allowed to hear his own hymns chanted over the sod above him, or be put to rest by the instituted gown and book against his will? For more than a year this squabble between the living Church and dead outsiders has gone on, with no hope of settlement. It is hard to understand why the public are treated more frequently to these virulent, ill-bred brawls by this Church than any other, when we remember that she represents, both in her ministry and laity, an exceptional degree of intelligence, culture, and social savoir faire. The long habit of power in England may have made her quarrelsome when the power is slipping from her, as it there begins to do. A monarch about to be dethroned may be forgiven if he is testy with regard to the respect paid him, even by unbarred dead men. But the Episcopal Church in this country has no such excuse. Her ministers, especially in the Evangelical branch, are, as a rule, a body of educated, God-fearing, God-serving, ill-paid men; familiarity with the simple chaste sublimity of their religious service should serve to educate them not only as Christians, but gentlemen. They should have the common-sense and tact to perceive that their rubric and liturgy, however dear to themselves, are matters of total indifference to the world outside, until, indeed, they make them matters of ridicule by forcing them into irreparable notice by their unseemly squabbles.

Such a quarrel as that in Philadelphia misrepresents and disgraces the cause of Christ against the will of every earnest Christian in the Episcopal Church. Bishops and rectors are but men, and liable to differ on points of candles and genuflections, as other men do on Tweed or San Domingo. If the amiable and sincere pastor of St. Clement's chooses to receive confessions and pray for his dead friends, and his equally amiable and sincere vestry choose to disapprove of it, why should they drag their unsavory virulence and ill

temper before the world? The rector has certainly no way of proving to the readers of the daily papers whether his absolution was efficacious to the living or his prayers to the dead. The malice, anger, and ill-speaking are not Christianly, the secular world knows already, without his proving. They are clear-sighted enough to feel that church forms, discipline, and doctrines are but the outside garb of religion, and every battle such as this about them, with its indecorous vehemence and fury, but serves to create doubt whether the sectarian bodies possess the true idea of religion or not. We would earnestly suggest to all the churches, Protestant and Catholic, that their disputes and bickerings are quite as vulgar and distasteful in the public eye as those of individuals, and that, if such things must be, they keep them in future carefully out of notice. When they come voluntarily before the world, let it be solely on their Master's errand to teach men to deal justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God.

SENATOR SUMNER'S GREAT SPEECH.

From the N. Y. World. The throng of eager listeners who filled every seat and every inch of standing room in the Senate chamber attests the futility of General Grant's persecution of the distinguished Senator of Massachusetts. Long before the commencement of his speech, the ladies' gallery bloomed with new bonnets and more interesting faces; the diplomatic gallery was equally full and splendid; even the reporters' gallery had a sprinkling of ladies; the gentlemen's gallery was crowded to suffocation; members of the House were wedged in among Senators on the floor; the cloak-room was occupied; and multitudes hung about the doors and lobby, like swarming bees upon a hive. The proscribed orator had shown how vain and abortive is the executive attempt to silence and crush him.

The speech, which he published in full, is remarkable for the perspicuity of its statements, the decorum of its language, and the redundant sufficiency of its proofs. It has, no doubt, like most of Mr. Sumner's elaborate efforts, the fault of prolixity, which detracts considerably from its oratorical merits. Mr. Sumner's habits of research are an impediment to his eloquence. Instead of the rapidity, compression, and fervor which belong to the very highest order of public speaking, he encumbers himself with a mass of raw materials which he exhibits in their crude state without working them up into a finished fabric. His ample quotations from recent documents could not have been spared or abridged, as they are the proofs which support his indictment; but his diffuse repetitions of their substance were needless, their bearing and effect being too obvious to miss. Sumner's exposition is calculated to excite, resorting to belligerent intervention, nothing new, might have been spared. A clear statement of the principle they are brought forward to prove would have been sufficient, as nobody whose opinion deserves any respect was likely to dispute the doctrine. Abridgment and condensation would have improved the speech as a work of art, and have made it more effective as an appeal to the popular judgment.

It is, however, in its main positions, convincing and unanswerable, showing even more skill in the selection of topics than in their treatment. With a reticence and discretion which reflect credit on the soundness of his judgment, Mr. Sumner forbears to discuss the question whether the acquisition of Santo Domingo is in itself desirable, although he does not conceal his opinion that it is not. He strikes directly at the vulnerable points of General Grant's negotiations, and makes out so clear and strong a case as to preclude the possibility of any effective reply. He convicts the administration of flagrant, scandalous violations of public duty, establishing his accusations by the written testimony of its own agents and the authentic orders of the Navy Department.

Nothing could be more opportune than his selection of the time for the delivery of this crushing speech. The Santo Domingo Commission will return to Washington just when Mr. Sumner's scathing exposure is being read. His sensation and their report will sail in the wake of a speech which must break and nullify its influence. Their glowing account of the fertility and resources of the island will be regarded as an impertinence by a public which is palpitating with indignation at the machinery of menace and intimidation set in motion by General Grant. It will be like a description of the surpassing beauty of a set of diamonds which a thief has undertaken to steal. They might be desirable ornaments if honestly obtained; but so soon of the intended theft precludes any interest in the question of their value. It is more important that the national honor should be maintained, and the Constitution upheld, than that we should acquire half of an island in the Caribbean Sea about which the country never cared a straw until General Grant forced it upon public attention.

Mr. Sumner shows that, since the inception of this scheme, the President has kept the greater part of our effective vessels of war stationed in the waters and hovering about the shores of Santo Domingo, as a means of influencing the negotiations. The object of this system of menace and terror is to uphold the usurper Baez, who is plotting to sell his country, and to maintain him in power against the wishes of the Dominican people. The evidence advanced by Mr. Sumner on this chief head of accusation is conclusive and irresistible. The unprincipled usurper Baez has been kept in power for the last eighteen months by the intimidating presence of the United States navy in Dominican waters, and the open threats of our naval officers. The bare fact that a dozen of our most heavily armed vessels have been stationed in Dominican waters is, of itself, even without any explanatory documents, damning evidence of unjustifiable coercion. Why should the best part of the American navy be concentrated around that island? We have hardly any commerce in its ports; we have no merchant vessels there to be protected; we have no interest in the affairs of the island, beyond the factitious interest of annexation. A great naval force has been kept there for the sole purpose of intimidation. Baez, whose history Mr. Sumner sketches, and whose character he portrays with truthful coloring and scornful eloquence, was the only ruler through whom annexation was possible; and the navy of the United States has been prostituted to maintain him in power against the detestation of the Dominican people. What right had President Grant to use the navy for such a purpose? None whatever; and his intimidating interference with the domestic affairs of a foreign people is as gross a violation of the Constitution as it is of international law. Our naval officers, acting under preeminent instructions from Washington, have not scrupled to practise the most open intimidation; both against the people of Santo Domingo and against the Government of the neighboring republic of Hayti. For the last eighteen months there has been no freedom of action

in either end of the island. The Haytian President has been insolently bullied by Rear-Admiral Poor, and threatened with vengeance if any of his vessels should be found in Dominican waters, or if his Government should attempt to thwart the acquisition of the other end of the island by the United States. This unrighteous and unseemly display of insolence, arrogance, and force is a national disgrace, and it is not only deplored by Mr. Sumner in strong and vivid colors, but, what is more to the purpose, it is proved by an accumulation of evidence which defies all contradiction. One of the chief witnesses is Babcock himself, the little incompetent fool, and tool of General Grant, who negotiated the rejected treaty. Another important witness is Mr. Hatch, a respectable American citizen who was kept in prison by Baez on false charges lest his truthful exposures should defeat the project of annexation. Other authentic proofs consist of the scandalous orders issued by the Navy Department to officers in the West Indies. Unless Mr. Sumner has forged the documents from which he quotes (which nobody will believe), the evidence against General Grant is absolutely overwhelming. He has usurped powers which belong only to Congress. He has violated the most important, and sacred principles of international law. Whatever may be the value of Santo Domingo, its acquisition by such methods would revolt the national sense of justice and be an indelible stain on the national honor.

DISRUPTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

From the N. Y. Herald. The able speech of Mr. Sumner in the Senate on the Santo Domingo question may not be exactly the last nail in the coffin of General Grant's administration and the radical party, but it will go far to seal the fate of one, both. Baez has been marked with as much ability or carrying more important political consequences in its train. Though a long one, it is terse, argumentative, statesmanlike, and confined to the subject embraced in the resolution submitted by the Senator. He did not discuss the general question of annexation or others bearing upon the merits of that, and only makes a few incidental remarks to show that he is not favorable to the scheme, but he attacks the administration in the severest manner for usurpation of power and unlawful employment of the forces of the United States in a foreign country and to uphold a foreign usurper. He proves by incontrovertible evidence—and that taken mostly from the official acts and records of the Government—that the President has, in the language of the resolution, without excuse or apology for interference, resorted to belligerent intervention and acts of war on the coasts of the island of Santo Domingo after the failure of the Dominican treaty in the Senate, and that this was unauthorized violence, utterly without support in law or reason, and proceeded directly from that kingly prerogative which is disowned by the Constitution of the United States. In fact, Mr. Sumner makes out a case for impeachment of a much more serious nature than that worked up against President Johnson. There need be no fear that General Grant will be impeached, however, except in a political sense, and no one desires to see him brought to trial in any other way; for his errors, grave as they may have been, arise from his ignorance of public affairs, his military incapacity, and the mischievous influences around him, more than from a lack of patriotism or desire to be a usurper.

The evidence adduced by Mr. Sumner corroborates what our correspondent with the Santo Domingo Commission stated as to the usurpation, tyranny, and precarious condition of the Baez Government and the armed intervention of the United States to keep Baez in power. Indeed, it is doubtful if the commissioners will venture to deny this, favorable as may be their report for annexation, and as much as they may desire to help General Grant out of this Santo Domingo dilemma. Mr. Sumner may have used stronger arguments against annexation, though he could hardly have made more forcible ones against the conduct of the administration, had he not been trammelled by his negro sympathies. No American unbiassed by radical negroism and blessed with common sense could desire the incorporation into our political and social life of such a debased and semi-barbarous population as that of Santo Domingo. The annexation of that island, or the Dominican portion of it, could not, for many reasons, be of any advantage to the United States. It would lead, in all probability, to a "dance of blood," to use Mr. Sumner's graphic expression, and to a great cost. The native people could not be brought to cultivate the soil to much profit, the whites of our own race could not till the earth under a burning tropical sun, the immigration of colored races would hardly be practicable, and if practically whether of Chinese or others, they would not be a desirable element in our social and political life. No; Santo Domingo would be an utter failure in our hands, and the American people would become so disgusted with the experiment that they would turn their faces against any tropical acquisition, however valuable, for a long time to come. Yet we have a destiny to fulfil to the southward of our present limits. But let us begin with the countries on our border or that lie near to us—with Mexico, that is so rich, or with Cuba, which has a vast population, large commerce, great cities, railroads, telegraphs and all the elements of civilization. Let us not commence at a distance and on the outer verge of the Antilles to take in a wilderness and a race of negroes that are fast going back to barbarism. The scheme of annexing Santo Domingo is visionary and impolitic every way, and must be unpopular with the people of the United States. General Grant has made a serious mistake in this matter, and one that is doing much to break up the Republican party.

We have been disposed to sustain General Grant on account of the services he rendered the country in the war, and believing he was honest, having hope at the same time that with experience he would show some capacity for statesmanship; but he has failed, and we see little else but blunders both in our domestic and foreign affairs. Public sentiment in every direction, and even in New England, the stronghold of radical Republicanism, is turning against him. At the very time the tide of public opinion was thus turning, as clearly shown by the elections, the President quarrelled and attempted to whip into his members with Mr. Sumner, the foremost man in the Senate, and one of the oldest and most efficient men that built up the party which put him in the White House. We see the immediate result, though we have not yet seen all the consequences of this mistake. Then look at the wretched failure of the administration policy towards the South. The people of that section showed such a ready disposition to repair the damages of the war, and to make the best of the astounding social, political, and industrial revolution they had

passed through, that within a year or two they raised again hundreds of millions worth of surplus produce. Their peaceful industry and energy under such circumstances were astonishing and called forth the admiration of the world. But the administration kept its heavy hand still on this people, refused them amnesty or encouragement, and indirectly fomented disorder to serve a base political purpose. Whatever Ku-Klux crimes there may be in the South—and we have no doubt they are greatly exaggerated for political effect in the North—have resulted from the miserable and heartless policy of the administration and the radical party. If we look at the financial administration and measures of the Government we see nothing but blunders; no statesmanship, and every act directed to the one end of sustaining the New England policy of protection. The whole financial policy has been contracted, sectional, to favor the few and to burden the many. General Grant's administration through all its course is now weighed in the balance and is found wanting. Though the masses of our people are conservative and slow to move, they are fast coming to this conclusion.

If the Democrats be wise, they may profit by the failures and mistakes of the administration and the radicals. Never had a great party a finer opportunity. Let them ignore the old, dead issues of the past, accept without reserve the changes effected by the war and in the Constitution, advocate reduction of taxation to the lowest point, cut down the extravagant expenditures that remain as remnants of the war and give the country that grand position among the nations of the world that belongs to it, and there will be a fair prospect open for the next Presidency. The people anxiously look for a restoration of the good old times when they had an economical Government, when local institutions and liberty were respected, when military rule was never thought of or bays seen at the polls. The Democrats have been a powerful party, and governed well. The people seem disposed to try them again. The radicals never comprehended the true theory of our Government. Even the cohesive power of the public Treasury cannot hold them together any longer. The Democrats have the prize within their reach if they know how to use their opportunity.

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SEMI-MONTHLY LINE TO WILMINGTON, N. C.

The PI-NEER will sail for Wilmington on Saturday, April 8, at 11 A. M. Returning, will leave Wilmington on Sunday, April 10.

Connects with the Cape Fear River Steamboat Company, the Wilmington and Weldon and North Carolina Steamship Lines, the Wilmington and Manchester Railroad to all interior points.

Freights for Columbia, S. C., and Augusta, Ga., taken via Wilmington at as low rates as by any other route.

Insurance effected when requested by shippers. Bills of lading signed at Queen street wharf on or before the day of sailing.

WILLIAM L. JAMES, General Agent, No. 120 S. THIRD STREET.

LORILLARD STEAMSHIP COMPANY.

FOR NEW YORK, SAILING TUESDAYS, THURSDAYS, AND SATURDAYS AT NOON.

INSURANCE ONE-EIGHTH OF ONE PER CENT. No bill of lading or receipt signed for less than fifty cents, and no insurance effected for less than one dollar premium.

For further particulars and rates apply at Company's office, Pier 33 East river, New York, or to JOHN F. OIL, PIER 18 NORTH WHARVES.