THE OHIO CAMPAIGN.

Strength and Weakness of the Three Parties in the Buckeye State.

THE SOFT MONEY ISSUE.

Alleged Dangerous Democratic Dissensions and Discontent.

CLEVELAND, August 20, 1879.

To-day the campaign in Ohio opens with guns thundering everywhere. Although the gubernatorial candidates had been on the stump for weeks, it was agreed between the respective State committees that they would not call out other speakers until the 20th of August. So this evening in the big cities, Sherman, Carl Schurz, Father Taft, Thurman, Pendleton and other heavy oratorical cannon have broken forth in a salutatory boom. It is only in those parts where the farmers have not yet husbanded their crops that there is need for this awakening roar. The State generally is as wide awake as it has ever been at the beginning of a great decisive campaign for the Presidency.

Ohio is believed to have 700,000 voters. In 1876 she polled 660,000; in 1878, 585,000. So great is the interest now that leaders of every party anticipate a vote of 675,000, and perhaps more, on the approaching 9th of October. The canvass will be thorough, and it looks as though it would be lively enough to arouse unusual interest throughout the country. Though the election is to be the usual State election of the Governor and the Legislature it is universally felt that it will have a national influence even stronger than that which is commonly ascribed to the local struggle here in the fall preceding the national one.

The republican, the democratic and the greenback party, each has its State ticket in the field. Last year the greenback party cast 38,000 votes, and it was certainly the object of many democrats who urged and effected the nomination by their party of General Ewing for Governor, to propitiate the greenbackers by putting up a man so favorably inclined toward their financial doctrine. For instance, after the national party's convention was announced to be held at Columbus early in last June, the Democratic State Committee appointed their convention to meet at Columbus on the same day. It was hoped that a coalition might in some way be negotiated; but several causes conspired to prevent the nationals from consenting to it. The former democrats among the nationals said to their brethren of the Democratic Convention, "No; we like General Ewing well enough. He would do; but we can't trust his party." As for the republican nationals, of course there was no doing anything with them. This action of the Greenback Convention was a serious matter for the democrats at the outset, and it is generally conceded by democratic leaders that large accessions must be won over from the national party ranks in the progress of the campaign if a democratic victory is to be scored.

POSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Let us now glance, first, at the position in which the democratic cause is placed here at the beginning of the campaign. In some quarters it is asserted that General Ewing's nomination brought with it a train of inside jealousies and embarrassments. His financial notions are cursed; he himself is called a lunatic; his alleged personal debts and business troubles in connection with undeveloped coal lands in the Hocking Valley are mentioned as having influenced him in the course he took respecting the currency, in the wild hope that through its inflation the business interests of the country "might be given another whirl." Stable business interests are cited as opposed to Ewing's candidature; men say that democrats outside of Ohio must necessarily be anxious for his defeat, since his election would encourage the soft money democrats to insist on a soft money platform in the National Convention next year. An ingenious story has been circulated based on the theory that Mr. Thurman's interests are opposed to those of General Ewing. Thurman is ambitious to be President; he couldn't run on a soft money platform; Ewing's success would disconcert his plans and put him in the background in his own State; therefore Thurman will be lukewarm for Ewing. Again, Thurman's term as United States Senator will expire next year. He wants to be re-elected. It is to that end (and that he may prove his claim as a Presidential aspirant by carrying his own State) of paramount importance that a democratic Legislature should be elected. Therefore Mr. Thurman, though tepid for Ewing, will be red hot for the legislative ticket, and brave the splinters on a hundred stumps to further his selfish, invidious aim. This last canard involves John G. Thompson, Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives at Washington, Senator Thurman's "righthand man" in a conspiracy to tomahawk Ewing because the latter used his influence to displace Thompson from the chairmanship of the Democratic State Committee, which he had held for the last two years. Also Americus V. Rice, the democratic nominee for Lieutenant Governor, a hard money democrat prominently identified with one of the national banks, is represented as having greatly desired the nomination for Governor and as nettled because he was put in the second place. Moreover, the present democratic Governor, Bishop, a good-hearted old grocer from Cincinnati, and a deacon of the Campbellite Church, is credited with sadness and coolness toward Ewing on account of the Convention's neglect of his own claims; for it is said he had set his whole soul on a renomination. The Governor, whose caressing ways with old maids and little babies would have insured a second nomination if that part of the population could have been represented last June, has no doubt whatever that he could have been re-elected fairly. But I am told he shakes his head and scratches it whenever Ewing's chances are alluded to.

MR. TILDEN'S HAND.

Reports like these are always in order at the threshhold of a canvass, when it is the object on either side to create or magnify dissensions in the enemy's ranks. There are plenty of variations of the story about General Ewing's visit to Manhattan Beach, his interview in New York with Mr. Tilden and his subsequent meeting with Mr. Barnum, acting as Mr. Tilden's representative. The statement that Mr. Tilden wants General Ewing elected to "head off" Mr. Thurman in the race for the Presidency, continues to be believed by a numerous class habituated to ascribe its pigmy motives to larger minds.

HOPEFUL DEMOCRATS.

Democratic "stalwarts," who, like those on the other side, go for their party thick or thin, deride all such stories and disdain to doubt. Still the few prominent democrats with whom I have talked do not speak with anything like the confidence of the republicans. It must be remembered, though, that this is the very heart of the Western Reserve—the hitherto impregnable stronghold of the "Old Guard" of the republican party in Ohio. The strongest democratic view I have heard expressed runs about as follows:—

"The State is very closely divided. Majorities have ranged from a few hundreds to two or three thousand. The greenback vote, amounting last year to 38,000, is the important factor. There is reason to think that those who voted the greenback ticket then were largely democrats—that the republicans had returned to their allegiance. If it was so, and if this year we can win back more than half the 38,000 greenback votes of 1878 they will help us out of the woods. One reason why we hope to do this lies in the fact that the bolting greenbackers who held the second Convention at Toledo refused to make a nomination for Governor. That was taken to signify that they would cast their influence for General Ewing. The stories about State divisions in the party are absurd. The party in Ohio is so organized that even if men were disposed to interrupt harmony they would hesitate for fear of retribution. The fact is that the hopes of both the hard money and soft money men of the State are bound up together in the ticket. Even on this question the party cannot be fairly said to be divided. If it has two wings they are folded. We are solid—with a difference of opinion. When republicans say that resumption has paralyzed the financial questions we have insisted upon agitating they are mistaken. The pressure of the hard times is still felt by voters. Many are oppressed pecuniarily now as badly as ever. There are republican voters who feel this oppression just as democratic voters do, and they may turn into democratic voters before the end of the campaign. Yet the financial issue will take its place behind the question which was fought over in Congress, to be settled at the polls:—Shall the federal military and marshals control popular elections? This is the question upon which all democrats can and will unite. General Ewing has no need to fear desertions. That Thurman will flit away from him is a mere ghost story. Up here on the Western Reserve the democratic policy is to fight shy. The republicans have such a normal majority here that we don't care to stir them up to increase it to an abnormal one. Our pushing work must be done in other sections of the State. In short, General Ewing has a fair chance."

SOLID REPUBLICANS.

The republican view is less obscured by party problems. That party is not embarrassed by internal differences. It is united, compact, resolute; and it is openly backed or secretly sympathized with by the property interests of the State. The hard money leagues of Ohio consist of democrats and republicans banded together. Capital, held by whomsoever, does not naturally sympathize with the inflation doctrines urged upon the people by the democratic candidate for Governor and his allies. Fresh from the Congressional conflict, where they were upheld in their opposition to the democratic majority by the vetoes of President Hayes, the Ohio republicans hereabouts seem eager for the local fray. There can be no doubt that the firm action of the President and the support given him by his Cabinet did much to straighten the republican battle line all over the country. On the Western Reserve it is as rectilinear as that of a regiment on parade. The points on which the republicans are agreed are these:—

1. Opposition to the old doctrine of State rights, alleged to have been revived by the democrats in Congress.

2. The financial question—the republicans being for resumption and against currency inflation.

3. State affairs—republicans charging the recent democratic management with flagrant dishonesty, injustice and corruption, especially in connection with penal, reformatory and benevolent institutions.

In regard to the first point, Ohio republicans have their party from one end of the Union to the other to back them in their effort to indorse the President's hostlership, so to speak, in unsaddling the Appropriation bills at the extra session of Congress. There never was such a party godsend as that extra session. On the financial plank the republicans stand not only backed, as I have said, by the great property interest, but sustained by facts that appeal to the manufacturing, agricultural and working classes of the State. Ohio this year has a big grain crop; the dairy interest is the only one that suffers. Business has revived and is improving. Manufactures are in full blast. In Cleveland, for example, the furnaces and rolling mills are all running and you see no idle hands. The iron interest has made more progress during the last six weeks than it had made in the previous period since the panic. All this does much to stifle the cry of hard times and will be deftly credited by republican speakers to the party in power which has brought back specie payments. The State affairs plank is a sword that the democrats can perhaps sharpen on the other edge. The republicans, however, say they can use it as a deadly bludgeon in certain localities.

WILL THE GREENBACKERS SWELL THE REPUBLICAN VOTE?

The strength and composition of the greenback party assume a new and interesting aspect when looked at from the standpoint of the republicans. They profess to be able to win the election—as they won it last year—without the greenbackers at all. But they are confident that in the course of the campaign the greenbackers, or many of them, will resolve themselves into their original political elements, and they claim that most of the greenbackers in Ohio were originally republicans. This is a surprising claim, which, if well founded, amounts to a political revelation. A calculation which I have examined, based on personal and careful inquiry by one of the most distinguished and competent investigators in Ohio, appears to confirm it. The Western Reserve includes twelve counties—viz., Ashtabula, Trumbull, Mahoning, Lake, Geauga, Portage, Summit, Cuyahoga, Medina, Lorain, Erie and Huron. Of these Mahoning and Erie only are reckoned by republicans as doubtful. Erie county includes the city of Sandusky. Mahoning embraces iron works and coal mines, and the depression there had a tendency to breed greenbackers until now, when all the mills and furnaces are in operation and all the men are employed. The whole Western Reserve, which last year gave a republican majority of 20,000, is this year counted solid by the republicans, and expected to give a majority of 25,000. These republican counties, comprising the Western Reserve, gave 12,500 (or one-third) of the greenback vote last year, of which vote two-thirds were estimated as republican. The counties of Northwestern Ohio—Henry, Hancock, Lucas, Sandusky, Seneca, Williams, Defiance, Wood, Ottawa, Paulding, Van Wert and Allen counties—also republican, furnished another third of the greenback vote. The rest of the State furnished the last third. The sanguine republican opinion is that the greenback party is mainly made up of discontented republican soreheads, sympathizers and deluded followers, who may and will be gradually won back to their old allegiance. Unless the greenbackers of Maine should repeat on the 9th of September their astonishing success of 1878 it is thought by republicans and democrats alike that the greenback vote here this fall will not exceed ten thousand or twelve thousand. But the greenbackers themselves and their advocates have still a good deal to say about this. Colonel Donn Piatt is about to take the field for his relative, the greenback nominee, and time will tell whether the soft money men will maintain, lose or surrender a balance of power between the two big parties. There will be life in the greenback campaign—interest, instruction, eloquence, piety and logic, wherever goes the versatile journalist who once sat on the bench as the judicial brother of Senator Thurman, whom now he is to tackle and be tackled by. Any one who has ever seen the Senator and the correspondent in the mood for social chaff must yearn in his very bowels to see them meet in some back county for a political discussion, after every reporter venturing into the neighborhood shall have been securely coffined.

THE CONTEST OVER MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Senator Thurman's personal interest in the pending struggle will, as before intimated, naturally lead him to strive with his might for the success of the democratic legislative ticket. In this connection the vote of Hamilton county, where Cincinnati is situated, and which embraces the First and Second Congressional districts, will be as important as ever. Both these Congressional districts are close. In 1876 they were carried for Banning and Sayler with the aid of a lot of democratic repeaters under "Eph" Holland, some of whom were tried and sent to prison. In 1878 they were carried by republicans—Ben Butterworth and General Tom Young—the Federal Election laws having been enforced to insure the result. Last spring an exciting local contest was had, which ended in Cincinnati giving a republican German named Jacobs a large majority for mayor. This election, which seemed to cast Hamilton county into the hands of the republican party, renders it extremely important for the democrats to turn the scale there. Cincinnati and the county send a delegation to the State Legislature, which, if solid, might at any juncture turn the scale. It consists of two Senators and eight members (I am not sure that another member has not been added to the quota). Therefore what the politicians call a "terrific battle" will be fought in that county during the next six weeks. The present general expectation is that if the democrats get the Legislature Senator Thurman will be his own successor, and that if the republicans get it General Garfield will be elected in his place.

THE CURRENCY ISSUE.

So the campaign begins. General Ewing has made speeches already which show his dogged adherence to a financial policy regarded as questionable by the democratic party at large and openly denounced by some influential hard money democrats at home. The democratic president of the "Honest Money League" at Cleveland (this being one of numerous leagues of the same character now established in the large cities of the State) said in a recent address:—

The democratic party was from its organization until within the past five years the special champion of "hard money." It opposed the issue of "greenbacks" during the war; it demanded a return to specie payments at the close of the war, and continued to demand such return until after the passage of the Resumption act of 1875. Its leading men held the issue to be unconstitutional when it was made, and all the democratic members of the Supreme Court held the act under which greenbacks were issued to be unconstitutional and the policy to be dangerous when the "legal tender" case was finally decided.

The business of the country is unquestionably reviving under the influence of an unfluctuating standard of value and medium of payments brought back by the present parity between paper and coin. So long as that standard and medium are maintained no one fears to invest capital and embark in enterprise. But if we are to break down resumption millions of capital will be hoarded for safety by the timid and millions more will be withdrawn from productive industry to be used in the gambling speculations of the gold room, which will begin as soon as the margin between specie and paper is reopened by the depreciation sure to follow a new issue of government currency.

The doctrine that government should issue all the currency of the country is not true democratic doctrine. It was foisted on the party in this State in 1875, by political trimmers, who thought to take advantage of the temporary distress in the country and carry themselves into power at the cost of sacrificing both principle and consistency and proposing a new financial policy directly opposed to the entire record and all the traditions of the party.

If this course is persisted in it will result in a split in the national democratic party and its defeat next year. Thousands of democrats cannot be induced to support the party of their choice if it adopts a policy that they believe to be ruinous to the industries of the country. It is time to teach party managers to study not only what seems to be politically expedient, but what is right—the right is always expedient.

FOSTER ON THE STUMP.

Mr. Foster, the republican candidate for Governor, who has represented his district in Congress for three or four consecutive terms, is making a personal canvass of the entire State. He is a country merchant from Fostoria—a jovial, companionable, good-natured, persevering man, whom everybody likes, and whose personal popularity is in itself a power.

There is no telling about the Legislature: the democrats have as fair chances for that as the republicans. But the democratic State ticket has at present a tinge of indigo.

GENERAL GRANT DECLINES.

COMMENTS OF LEADING INDEPENDENT, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC JOURNALS—THE EX-PRESIDENT'S WISDOM COMMENDED.

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Mail—rep.]

General Grant's views on the question of renominating him for a third term are sensible. He is too wise, we believe, to permit himself to again be brought forward as a candidate for the high office which he never sought but twice held. He should be taken at his word and be let alone.

BELIEVES HE IS SINCERE.

[From the Wilkesbarre (Pa.) Record of the Times—rep.]

When General Grant declares, as he is represented having declared in Japan, that he did not desire another term in the Presidential chair, we believe he was sincere.

A LITTLE DOUBTFUL.

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot—dem.]

It may in the near future develop that the Grant declination is merely an expedient to revive the waning boom, and that the NEW YORK HERALD will be the unsuspecting medium of giving it gratuitous advertisement. Stranger things have happened.

ANXIOUS TO HAVE HIM RUN.

[From the Buffalo (N. Y.) Courier—dem.]

We do not believe that any of Mr. Grant's political friends will accept the reported remarks as a positive refusal on his part again to become a candidate for the Presidency. If they do not his opponents are not in a position to put such a construction upon his words.

TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Bulletin—dem.]

It is strange how little interest is manifested in the announcement of the NEW YORK HERALD that General Grant has determined not to be a candidate for the Presidency.

HIS POSITION DEFINED.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Journal—rep.]

The frankness and simplicity of these utterances are characteristics of General Grant, and there would appear to be no doubt that the conversation occurred substantially as reported, and that the position therein taken by General Grant is the one which he desires to occupy before the American people.

FULL OF GOOD SENSE.

[From the Lancaster (Pa) Examiner—rep.]

In a conversation with the Viceroy of Tientsin, reported by the HERALD's correspondent in a letter published in Saturday's HERALD, the Viceroy expressed the hope that the General would be re-elected for a third term to the Presidency. General Grant's reply is full of good sense and patriotic feeling.

AN EXPLICIT DISAVOWAL.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune—rep.]

General Grant's conversation with the Viceroy of Tientsin is interesting for a very explicit disavowal of any purpose to be a candidate for a third term.

ANOTHER EVIDENCE THAT HE DECLINES.

[From the Washington (D. C.) Republican—rep.]

If General Grant had been really intriguing for the Presidency as an unprincipled office-seeker, such as the democratic press describes him to be, he would not have made the declaration he did regarding the Chinese question. There was nothing of the designing politician in that declaration, for the man who uttered it knew that it would make him unpopular throughout our entire Pacific slope section. But there is very little use in discussing this question now that he is out of the race—that is, as far out as his own act of refusing a renomination can make him.

THE RIGHT KIND OF TALK.

[From the Wilmington (N. C.) Star—dem.]

We are glad to hear the General talk after this style. He has received more honors at home and abroad than were ever extended to any other American. Let him live in ease and retirement the remainder of his days. It would be a shameful commentary upon the people at large and upon our public men if Grant should be compelled to be a candidate. The plea of the "stalwarts" is that he alone is equal to the task of governing our country. A disgraceful and slanderous plea every way.

GONE WHERE THE WOODBINE TWINETH.

[From the Raleigh (N. C.) Observer—dem.]

The Grant "boom" is settled by the General himself. He is represented to have said that "I have held the office of President as long as it has ever been held by any man. There are others who have risen to great distinction at home and who have earned the honor, who are worthy, and to them it belongs, not to me. I have no claims to the office. It is a place distasteful to me, a place of hardship and responsibilities. When I was a younger man these hardships were severe and never agreeable. They would be worse now. No man who knows what the Presidency imposes would care to see a friend in the office. I have had my share of it—I have had all the honors that can be or should be given to any citizen, and there are many able and distinguished men who have earned the office. To one of them it should be given." And if these be his views we may consider that the Grant "boom" has "gone where the woodbine twineth."

GENERAL GRANT AS AN ARBITRATOR.

[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Commercial—rep.]

If General Grant, who does not desire a third term, should take upon himself the office of mutual friend between contending States, he would put an end to the traditional belief that after a man has served his country for a term or two in its highest office there is nothing for him to do but retire and become the representative of past honors and dignities, fossilizing in the ponderous respectability given him by the great office he once held. As the Viceroy of China remarked to him, General Grant is yet a comparatively young man. His travels abroad since his retirement from the Presidential chair have brought him in contact with the rulers, the princes and the statesmen of every civilized nation of the Old World, and made him acquainted with their political and social systems, their wants and ambitions. A third term could not add a grain to the measure of his fame. All that men hope to achieve officially in a military or civil career he has enjoyed. But there is abundant opportunity for him to give the later years of his life additional greatness by the influence he can exert upon the affairs of nations in the interests of universal peace.

POLITICS AT SARATOGA.

Statesmen Who Are Innocent of Schemes for Office.

THE CHURCH "BOOM."

Probable Withdrawal of Governor Robinson as a Candidate.

SOLDIERS TO THE FRONT.

SARATOGA, August 23, 1879.

There seems to be a general gathering in Saratoga just now of democratic representatives of all the New York factions. Among the representative men here are:—

John Kelly, solid, florid and firm, the acknowledged leader of those democrats who are known to be adverse to the claim on the Presidency and opposed to using the next State administration to advance the Claimant's interests. But Mr. Kelly is here merely for recreation, to enjoy with his family the sanitary benefits of the springs, and his visit has nothing whatever to do with politics.

Ex-Governor Hoffman, smooth, polished and polite, who went into training for the Presidency years ago under the old Tammany auspics, and who is a firm believer in the recuperative powers of an ex-Governor of the State of New York, who is not dead, but sleepeth. But ex-Governor Hoffman is here merely because Saratoga is the natural summer resort of Albanians, and his visit has nothing whatever to do with politics.

Congressman Clarkson N. Potter, diplomatic, plausible and discreet, whose established national reputation does not entirely preclude the thought that the Governorship of New York may prove a useful stepping stone to a position next to the highest on some future national ticket. But Mr. Potter—whose visit was a brief one, extending only over a single night, and who left to-day—was here simply as an important member of the Bar Association, and his visit has nothing whatever to do with politics.

William C. Kingsley, tall, taciturn and intelligent, who, although not the most prominent publicly, is the most influential privately, of all the Brooklyn democratic leaders. But Mr. Kingsley likes Saratoga, enjoys driving his fine horses on the roads surrounding the Springs, and his visit has nothing whatever to do with politics.

Thomas S. Kinsella, the proprietor and editor of one of the best daily papers in the United States outside New York city, and an influential democratic leader in Brooklyn. But Mr. Kinsella came here to rest after severe editorial labors, and his visit has nothing whatever to do with politics.

Senator Pierce, of Brooklyn, shrewd and noncommittal, who has managed through his political career to maintain friendly relations with the anti-Tammany democracy of Brooklyn, the Tammany democracy of New York, Judge Church, John Kelly, Samuel J. Tilden, Governor Robinson and the rest of mankind. But Mr. Pierce is at Saratoga under medical advice to try the springs, and his visit has nothing to do with politics.

Edward Kearney and Edward Gale, two New York democratic politicians of the Siamese twins order, who are very faithful to the fortunes of the present management of Tammany, and are usually found prominent in its campaign manœuvres. But Mr. Kearney and Mr. Gale are here because—well, probably, because their great leader is here, and their visit has nothing whatever to do with politics.

Attorney General Schoonmaker, who will no doubt be renominated to the position he now holds and which he is said to have filled very well, provided the old ticket is renominated, or at least the tail of the old ticket, and who may be thrown overboard with the rest if the present troubles end in a new deal all round. But Mr. Schoonmaker is here on the very important matter of the Connecticut boundary line, and his visit has no connection with politics.

Secretary of State Beach, who has been mentioned in connection with the nomination for Governor on the anti-Tilden side, and who will accept again the office he now holds and in which he is popular, provided the cards do not fall well for the gubernatorial trick. But Mr. Beach is also here to look after our boundary interests with the State of Connecticut, and his visit has no political object or significance.

WHAT IT ALL MEANS.

The above list might be indefinitely extended and made to include Senators, Assemblymen and aspirants to political leadership from all parts of the State. But *cui bono?* Pleasure or business alone calls them to this pleasant summer retreat, and as their visits have no connection whatever with political matters, of what good is it to go minutely over the list?

It is noteworthy, however, that when these gentlemen of pleasure or business are led into a political conversation their views peep out with tolerable distinctness, and, gathered into a group by which comparisons may be made, the result indicates that the democrats of New York may be divided into three distinct parties, namely:—

1. Anti Robinson men who boldly declare that they will not submit to the present Governor's renomination even though he should be the nominee of nine-tenths of the Syracuse Democratic Convention, but will bolt the ticket and elect the republicans if he should be placed at its head.

2. Robinson men who have "got their backs up" in consequence of the positive stand taken by the former class against the Governor, and who, in their vindictive spite against Tammany, clamor for Robinson and nothing but Robinson.

3. Democrats who are Robinson men, and who were disposed to favor his nomination, but who agree with the Western and Southern democrats that the loss of the State of New York this year must preclude all thought of a New York nominee for the Presidency next year, and who have become convinced that to place Governor Robinson's name now at the head of the ticket will be to insure the defeat of the democracy beyond a peradventure.

The meaning of all this is that Lucius Robinson's chances of being again the democratic candidate for Governor may be considered as at an end. Not that his friends may not have the majority of the Syracuse Convention, but that the cooler and wiser of them, having become entirely satisfied that, while he may be nominated he cannot be elected, will not be willing, for the sake of a barren triumph over rival politicians, to throw away the chances of the democracy in the far more important game for the Presidency next year. They recognize the fact that the bolt of Tammany and its connecting links throughout the State, while it might not in reality be able to turn any great number of votes from the regular democratic nominees fairly chosen, would have so depressing an effect on the entire party and render defeat so probable that the canvass would be over as soon as the nominations were made. For this reason they ask why they should gratify personal feeling at the expense of party success, and of what advantage or gratification would be their triumph in the State Convention when it was followed by defeat at the polls?

CHURCH VS. ROBINSON.

The policy of the anti-Robinson party is now beyond doubt settled upon. They find Mr. Beach not strong enough to defeat the present Governor. They cannot make the slightest step toward success with Dorsheimer, who is dead and buried politically beyond resurrection. They are debarred from using the magnetic name of Horatio Seymour. They will strive their utmost to induce people to believe that there is similar magnetism in the name of Sanford E. Church, and their plan is to press the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on the Convention as their nominee for Governor.

Some years ago Judge Church might have been a fair and available successor to Horatio Seymour, as a sensation in a democratic convention. He is a popular man, a square-toed democrat, and has made a good judge. But it must be remembered that the next Democratic Convention will be composed in a great measure—probably in a preponderating measure—of Tilden delegates. The friends of Mr. Robinson are also the friends of Mr. Tilden, and while they are, many of them—the Kings county democrats especially—the warm admirers of Governor Church, they do not and cannot overlook the self-evident fact that Judge Church's candidacy means, not the defeat of Robinson alone, but the political assassination—morally speaking—of Samuel J. Tilden. They are not stupid enough to suppose that Mr. Tilden and his friends in the State would support Judge Church. The bolt would, in the event of the Judge's nomination, come from the Tilden faction, just as in the event of Robinson's nomination it would come from the Tammany faction. The fair Robinson democrats who are personally friendly to Judge Church ask why they should give up Robinson to save the State of New York to the democracy and take Church, who would just as certainly lose the State by the detection of the stalwart Tildenites. Mr. Tilden, they insist, would be better off to lose the State with Judge Church than to win it with him as the candidate. He would reason that the loss of the State was due to Tammany's success in defeating Robinson, and that he (Tilden) would be able to redeem it in 1880. But if Church should be elected Governor of New York he would carry the New York delegates to the Democratic National Convention over Tilden's head, and would thus kill Tilden's nomination next year; and while he might not be himself the Presidential candidate, he would, with New York's large vote, doubtless decide the nomination, and secure for himself a Cabinet position, and for his adherents in this State the control of the federal offices.

THE CHURCH MOVEMENT.

The Church movement is, however, formidable, having in its support Governor Hoffman, with all the Albany clique, Jarvis Lord, Mr. Purcell and the important old canal influences, A. P. Laning and the anti-Tilden element in the western part of the State, the Belden and Dennison interests in Syracuse, and so on through the State, as well as Mr. Kelly and his Tammany cohorts. It is even hinted here that Mr. Potter may himself be found on the side of Judge Church and willing to run on the same ticket with him as Lieutenant Governor. But as it is highly probable that Mr. Potter may be Mr. Tilden's candidate for Governor in case of Governor Robinson's withdrawal, this story is scarcely probable.

THE MAJOR GENERAL POLICY.

How will this muddle end? In what direction can a break in the dark clouds promising brighter weather be discerned?

The HERALD, whose sensible conclusions as to the insanity of nominating Robinson in the face of a split in the party, no matter whether warranted or unwarranted, and whose disclosure of the secret conference of prominent Western and Southern democrats with Mr. Tilden, have really put the present Governor out of the field, has pointed out to the democrats a way out of their troubles.

Democrats went to the war and distinguished themselves there, as well as republicans. The Southerners, who are friendly with the democratic party, have been accused of giving political offices to their soldiers. The democrats may well follow this example and take a soldier as their candidate for Governor. In this direction appears one significant fact. The Brooklyn delegation is large and will no doubt wield an important influence in the Syracuse Convention. As between Tilden and anti-Tilden, Robinson and anti-Robinson, they may and probably will hold the balance of power. They desire the success of the party before anything else, and while entirely true to Governor Robinson, may favor his withdrawal in view of the importance of harmony.

Brooklyn has in Major General Slocum one soldier who has been named as a possible candidate for Governor by the HERALD.

A CABINET SECRET.

[From the Baltimore Sun.]

WASHINGTON, August 21, 1879.

A few days before Secretary Schurz left for Ohio a prominent man in politics, a warm admirer of Grant for a third term and a personal friend of the Secretary, had occasion to visit him. After they had talked on business for some time the Secretary was asked what he thought of the political outlook from the republican point of view. Schurz replied very frankly and very fully, giving his feelings, hopes and fears. He said that he felt that he was what was known as a stalwart republican in everything except probably in his choice of the man who should be the next republican candidate for the Presidency. He would have to oppose Grant, should he be nominated. Should the nominee be Blaine, while he would probably not oppose him, he never could support him. His choice was Sherman; not that he believed Sherman the best man for the republicans to nominate, but he was just now the most available man for those republicans who, for instance, would rather vote for a democrat like Bayard than a republican like Grant. While in the Senate with Sherman he did not particularly admire that gentleman, because Sherman was strongly pro-Grant in all their contests in that body, but since they have been together in the Cabinet he has had an opportunity to study him, and he believes him entitled to have aspirations for the Presidency. When the administration first began its career he was shy of Sherman for the reason that he looked upon him as an extreme radical and as a representative of Grantism. When he and Evarts made it the ultimatum of their remaining in the Cabinet that Packard in Louisiana and Chamberlain in South Carolina should be allowed to go by the Board, and that military interference in the local affairs of the Southern States should cease, he (Schurz) expected to encounter a bitter hostility from Sherman in the Cabinet meetings, but to his astonishment he found that Sherman agreed with him fully. This gave a majority of the Cabinet over to the peace and conciliation policy, and made it an easy matter to bring over Messrs. Devens, Thompson and McCrary, so as to have the administration act with unanimity. After the downfall of Packard and Chamberlain, Sherman continued as the strong supporter of all of the President's conservative measures. He never once flinched, and when he followed up the Packard and Chamberlain business with his fight against Conkling and the New York Custom House ring, Secretary Schurz says he concluded that here was the man for the republican emergency—the emergency being the killing off of the Grant "boom." He immediately urged on Sherman the importance of his entering the field against Grant, otherwise that gentleman would have a walk over for the nomination, particularly as Blaine, Conkling and the other standing candidates showed a disposition to step aside for Grant. Sherman consented and immediately wrote the Haskin letter, announcing his intention of being a candidate. Since then Schurz says he has been working for Sherman in every way possible for him to do so. He does not know that Sherman will succeed, but he feels that he has at least gained his object, which is the defeating of Grant.

INDEPENDENT JOURNALISM.

[From the New Orleans Times, August 20.]

The growth and development of the free press and the extension of the power and influence of independent journalism are notable incidents in the evolution of modern society.

The free press is an organism which has been evolved through the progress of liberty and civilization, and through the institution of free government by the people. It is an intellectual and moral organism, collecting, from the masses, the varied rays of thought and feeling, converting them into the white light of public opinion. And so while a newspaper disseminates the news and furnishes a critical history of the doings of the day, it is also the mouth piece through which the people of a free State, who make and unmake governments, express their wishes and sometimes their commands. The press, in modern times, occupies somewhat the same position that the stage did in Athens; that the tribunes did in Rome.

But journals may be and are as varied in their tone, in their standing and in their power as individual leaders of the people vary in their intelligence, integrity and influence. So long as a man is the mere tool and servant of others he cannot have much personal weight. The great men in the world who have led humanity forward in the paths of freedom, science and philosophy, have been those who could not be trammelled, who rose superior to their surroundings, who were independent of dictation. And just so the public journals which to-day wield the greatest influence, which most truly express enlightened public opinion, are the independent journals. They are untrammelled by government power, they are not subservient to the wishes of politicians, they are free from party dictation; they are above and beyond individuals and parties and government, as are the people—the sovereign rulers of the land. The independent journal is, we think, one of the later and higher developments of journalism. For a long time, the press, in so far as it was anything more than a mere news letter or gazette, was entirely subsidiary to the established government and to other institutions. But as free representative governments were substituted for the authoritative form, as the voice of the people came to be heard the press grew to be more than a medium of news. It grew to be, as we have said, the organ for the expression of the wishes and the will of the masses. Yet independent journalism was not at first reached. For a long time newspapers, though freed from governmental and sacerdotal dictation and control, were still the mere organs of political parties and of partisan leaders, or else of some religious organization or of some special scientific or philosophical school. It is only within recent years that the conception of public journals, independent of all extraneous control, has been realized.

THE LIVERPOOL ORPHAN ASYLUM.

NEW YORK, August 23, 1879.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

I am pleased to see "Asterisk's" letter so ably answered, so far as that part relating to that "noble charity," the Sailors' Orphan Asylum, is concerned. It is apparent to all ocean travellers that "Asterisk" must have been on his initial trip when he discovered his "mare's nest," else he would have been aware that the practice of collecting money by concerts on ocean steamers is not invariably devoted to his so-called "Liverpool charity." Last year those poor unfortunate yellow fever sufferers in the South were thought of many, many times, and liberal amounts subscribed—£37 at one concert at which I happened to be present. This must be the irrepressible but ever present man with whom all ocean travellers are, alas! too familiar—the man who talks much and gives little; for, did his heart beat truly to generous impulse he would never allow such narrow minded thoughts to enter his head when offering his mite in a worthy cause.

ALBERT.

THE FREE BATHS.

Superintendent McCartney has made the following report of the number of persons patronizing the seven free baths during the past week:—

	Males.	*Females.*
Gouverneur street, East River....	18,575	13,198
Fifth street, East River..........	17,378	9,417
Thirty-seventh street, East River.	17,516	12,300
114th street, East River........	6,106	3,556
Thirty-fifth street, North River....	15,850	11,940
Bethune street, North River......	13,000	6,675
Battery..........................	23,685	12,810
Totals..........................	112,110	69,896

Total number of bathers, 182,006.

CONGRESSIONAL RULES.

WHAT THE COMMITTEE ON THE REVISION OF THE RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAVE RESOLVED UPON—WHY THE CHANGES WERE UNDERTAKEN.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., August 23, 1879.

The Committee on the Revision of Congressional Rules closed proceedings finally at the Elberon to-day and the following is a synopsis of the result of their work. The idea that there was necessity for the revision was founded on the belief that the Speaker had the largest possible discretion in matters of legislation; for, instead of being last he was really first, so far as appropriation bills were concerned. He appoints committees on appropriations and committees on conference on appropriation bills. That is the theory on which this committee proceeded, and the old machinery, which evidently was framed to retard and delay business, has all been wiped out, and the committee has proposed a system of calendars which will enable the House to dispose of the work prepared and reported by committees without filibustering as to the right of way of committee work. As for instance, there has always been antagonism between the committees on Appropriations and Ways and Means and the other committees of the House, and frequently combinations have been formed preventing action not only on general appropriation, but also on tariff and revenue bills, as was notably the case in the Forty-fifth Congress on Wood's Tariff bill. The committee have endeavored to harmonize these differences by providing that there shall be a morning hour for reports of committees, no report to be acted on save by unanimous consent, all reports to go to calendars whose titles are to be decided when this Committee on Revision shall reassemble on the 10th of November next. The action of the Committee on Revision thus far has been unanimous, the only differences being as to the power of the House to compel members to vote. During the last session the republicans in both branches of Congress filibustered, by refusing to vote, and, though a rule of the House provides that every member who shall be in the House when his name is called shall vote, it was found impossible to execute the same. This was very clearly stated by Speaker Blaine on the Force bill in the second session of the Forty-third Congress, the filibustering being led by Speaker Randall, that though you might lead a horse to the water you cannot make him drink. This subject was quite vigorously pressed by Mr. Blackburn, of Kentucky, in the discussions on revisions of the rules, but was laid over until the adjourned meeting of the committee.

SPEAKERS ON THE FLOOR.

In the deliberations next came the question of restriction of debate, and it was almost unanimously agreed that the recognition of members entitled to the floor was within the exclusive discretion and control of the Speaker, but that the latter practice restricted a member to one hour, except in the case where he acted as the mouthpiece of a committee in reporting a bill, when he was entitled to close the debate. The rules defining the duties of the committees, many of which are vague and scattered, are now concentrated and classified under one rule by the Committee on Rules, the specific duties of each committee being more clearly defined and avoiding questions of jurisdiction between committees. Fifty-three rules defining the duties of committees have been condensed into one short rule. Then, too, the machinery as to House officers has been greatly modified, and only one question growing out of that remains to be fought over next November when the committee meets, and that is as to the effect of the present 147th rule, which provides that "these rules shall be the rules of the House of Representatives of the present and succeeding Congresses unless otherwise ordered." This question presents itself in the preliminary organization of the House, the strict constructionists, or State rights people, holding to the doctrine that no House could in the least degree or respect adopt rules binding its successor. These are the principal features of the report. From a reliable source the following conditions were stated as the reasons that induced the present revision:—

WHY THE REVISION WAS UNDERTAKEN.

Rule 166 of the House—the rule which was adopted prior to the year 1800, and when there was only one third of the present representation in Congress—was based on a theory which pervaded all through the earlier rules of generalization of all the business. For example, no bill could have an existence in the House except it was reported by a committee or on motion of a colleague. According to the old practice, governed by rule 155, no member had even a right to introduce a bill at all. This practice continued until 1820, when the House took the first new departure. Up to that time all business had been done by select committees. There were only two standing committees—that of the Ways and Means and that of Elections. In 1820, my informant, a member of Congress sojourning here, related how a committee on roll bills was appointed, then a committee on commerce, a committee on public lands and next the Judiciary Committee was organized by the Thirteenth Congress, of which Henry Clay was Speaker. In 1838, when James K. Polk was Speaker of what was known as the Whig Congress, the House adopted what was known as the whig theory, and of which this resolution is the spirit:—"All the States shall be called for bills on leave and resolutions every Monday during each session of Congress, and if necessary to secure this object on said days all resolutions which shall give rise to debate shall lie over for discussion under the rules of the House, and the whole of said days shall be devoted to bills on leave and resolutions until all the States and Territories are called through." Here was the point, continued my informant, when the States and their unity and importance, so to speak, were recognized; and it was under that call that the slavery agitation commenced and worked, so far as the slave States were concerned, unfortunately, for it was so that the calls for resolutions and bills were presented on the same day.

THE CHANGE IN 1842.

It then followed in 1842, when John Hoyt, of Kentucky, was Speaker, in the Twenty-seventh Congress, that they suspended the calls for States on resolutions and established the present rule, which provides that "members having petitions or memorials on any question might file them in what was known as the petition attached to the Clerk's desk for reference to appropriation committees, and also providing that such petition and memorials should be subject to the control and direction of the Speaker; and if any petition or memorial be so handed in which, in the judgment of the Speaker, is excluded by the rules, the same shall be returned to the member from whom it was received." Now, sir, said the member of Congress, right under that rule the greenbackers filed their bills, inflation and others, under the suggestion of Alexander H. Stephens, chairman of the Committee on Rules, and that gave rise to the terrible filibustering which occurred thereafter on those three memorable Mondays. This rule was adopted to shut off John Q. Adams on the slave question in the District of Columbia. It was utilized for the first time in twenty-five years in this Congress to indirectly present to committees of the House what was forbidden by the rules of the House. The old rules, you see, recognized the fact that but little legislation was necessary and that it should be general, not special, and the records of earlier Congresses will be searched in vain to find the amount of special legislation which the short session of the last exhibited. The Committee on Rules felt the necessity of reviving this cumbrous machinery to start with. A revision was entered upon and nearly completed by that committee, of which Messrs. Blaine, Milton Sayler, ex-Speaker Banks and General Garfield were members, but it has been left to the present committee, which has just adjourned here to reassemble in Washington on the 10th of November, to do it. They will do it, no doubt, and prevent as outlined above the abuses referred to. I have given you as fair an outline as I can of what has actually been done thus far by the committee.

NOT TO BE TRIFLED WITH.

THE DANGEROUS PROCLIVITIES OF SIGNOR DE FLORA—WHY HE SHOT GIOVANNI CURIO.

Antonio Maltempo, living in First avenue, near 109th street, in the locality known as "Battle Row," has, it is asserted, a pretty wife, and this fact reaching the ears of Vincenzio De Flora, who left his estates in Italy several months ago in order to live in Harlem, he scraped acquaintance with the lady. Maltempo failed to appreciate his neighbor's admiration, and after a while sent him a challenge. De Flora contemptuously crushed the message in the palm of his hand, and, it is said, continued his attentions all the same. Then Maltempo consulted with his bosom friend, Giovanni Curio, and the latter advised him to make friends with the festive De Flora, as De Flora was said to be of a fiery temperament. Maltempo gave his consent, and several nights ago the two friends left Harlem and proceeded in the direction of De Flora's store in Mott street. On the way they met the one they were looking for, and extended their hands. To their astonishment he declined to reciprocate the proffered civility, and, as is alleged, drew a revolver, shot Curio in the breast, the ball piercing the ribs and passing out at the side, and then discharged the weapon three times in succession at Maltempo, but none of the shots took effect. Then De Flora fled while Maltempo, procuring assistance, had his wounded friend transferred to the Ninety-ninth street hospital. De Flora kept out of the way and avoided arrest until Saturday night, when Officer Jerome T. Grant captured him in the lower part of the city. He was arraigned yesterday in the Harlem Police Court, and, after a lengthy examination, committed for trial at the Court of General Sessions. A friend of the prisoner offered to go his security, but Justice Wheeler refused to take bail. Charles Donighi, a nephew of De Flora, testified in Court yesterday that he was confined to his bed three months owing to a pistol wound inflicted by his uncle (the prisoner), and it was also asserted that De Flora is now under $1,000 bail to answer for a felonious assault upon Michael Philips, but for some reason the District Attorney has never called the case for trial.