SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

Political Prospects.

From the N. Y. Nation. The losses which the Republican party has sustained in every election that has occurred during this year, amounting to positive defeats in Connecticut, California, and Pennsylvania, and a loss equivalent to defeat in Ohio, make it necessary to survey the whole field, and consider dispassionately what political course the country is likely to take, what probability there is of the restoration of the Democrats to power, and what effect such an event may

have upon the country.

The actual losses of the Republicans are a Governor in each of the States of Connectiont and California, seven members of the House of Representatives, and two United States Senators. The diminution of the Republican majority in the States which have thus far voted, as compared with last year, is in round numbers 107,000, viz.:-16,000 in Maine, 1500 in New Hampshire; 2700 in Vermont, 1000 in Rhode Island, 1500 in Connecticut, 19,000 in Pennsylvania, 40,000 in Ohio, 10,000 in Iowa, and 15,000 in California. There is every reason to suppose that the States which hold elections in November will increase this figure to 200,000, or about one-half of the entire Republican majority in the Northern States.

The result of the election in New York may easily be foreseen. The Democratic majorities in New York and Brooklyn will be reduced nearly 10,000 by the light vote, but the Republican majorities in the interior (amounting last year to 70,000) will be reduced by 30,000 or 40,000. In each of the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, and St. Lawrence there will be a Republican loss of some 2000 votes, in each of a dozen strong Republican counties, such as Alleghany, Cayuga, Chautauqua, Onondaga, etc., there will be a loss of 1000 votes or more, and a smaller loss in almost every other county. This leaves the Democratic ticket a majority in the State of from 7000 to 15,000, which, unless some unexpected change occurs before the election, it is tolerably certain to

These unfavorable results, however, are by no means conclusive indications of the prospect for 1868. The Democrats have made no actual gain in votes, except in Connecticut. Their victories have been won in consequence of the apathy or temporary disgust of Repub licans. Of course it is impossible for the Re publican party to act so unwisely as to drive into the opposite ranks those who have this year simply staved at home. But, unless great follies are committed, New York and Indiana are the only large States which can be doubtful in 1868; and the Republican candidate is sure to carry 150 of the 247 electoral votes now recognized. If the South is reconstructed on the Congressional plan (and its vote upon any other basis will not be counted). the Republican majority will be increased. Supposing, however, that by the defection of Pennsylvania and Illinois, as well as New York and Indiana, a Democratic President should be elected, with a House of Representatives in sympathy with him, the Republi cans have 34 of the 54 Senators until 1871 beyond doubt, with a moral certainty of retaining 30 until 1873, and a certainty that may fairly be called absolute of retaining 27 Senators until that time.

Sixteen Republican Senators hold over until 1873, thirteen until 1871, and of those who retire in 1869 six are from the States of Maine, Massachusetts, Michigav, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and Vermont, which no one can pretend to consider doubtful, and one from Ten-Legislature within a few days. Of the Sanators retiring in 1871 seven are from Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (a Johnson man), and Rhode Island. which are not doubtful States, besides two from New Hampshire and Tennessee. Our figures are, therefore, inside the bounds of reasonable certainty. If the Southern States are restored, it will be with at least ten Republican Senators (from Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina) out of the twenty to which they will be enti-

tled, and probably more. Thus it appears certain that the policy of Congress cannot be reversed for six years to come, except by a change of views within the lines of the Republican party or by some act of revolutionary violence. Against the latter danger we are protected for at least another year by the fortunate circumstance that the governors of all the great central States, having at their command all the available militia force of the country, are thoroughly in sympathy with Congress, and would bring a powerful and well-organized body of troops to its aid in case of any outbreak. This con sideration has made the result in Ohio, where alone a governor was elected this month, one of great importance. If the Democratic candidate had been elected there, Mr. Johnson might have felt much more disposed to try issues with Congress than he will feel now.

The moral effect of defeat this fall is, upon the whole, likely to be healthy to the Republican party. Its leaders will surely see the necessity of greater discretion, of using wiser means to attain the desired end, of abandoning schemes of local and private advantage, and of concentrating all the power of the party upon the main issues. The last point has become plain to them, and it is clear that some minor issues are to be abandoned. Whether Pennsylvanians can reconcile themselves to the obvious determination of the West to resist any further increase of the tariff, and whether the West can refrain from tampering with the currency to the rain of the East, are questions yet undetermined. A wise forbearance upon all questions unconnected with reconstruction and a vigorous enforcement of the policy o reconstruction already inaugurated, will yet

give the Republicans a victory in 1868. If, as we hear is the general wish of the party in the West, and of a large portion of it in the East, Mr. Pendleton is to be the Democratic candidate in 1868, the national credit will be at stake in the contest, even more than the questions of reconstruction. Mr. Pendleton's financial theories are undoubtedly popular within his own party, and may please some thoughtless Republicans in the West, where comparatively little of the national debt is held. The managers of the late Democratic Conventien in this State had great difficulty in preventing it from committing itself to the support of Mr. Pendle ton's views, which they were shrewd enough to know would be fatal to the party in this State, where so vast an amount is invested in national securities. Mr. Hoffman de serves great credit for his emphatic assertion of the duty of good on the part of the nation; and we should be glad to hope that the counsels of such men would prevail in the party at large. But the nomination of Mr. Pendleton would be an act of open war upon the national debt, and would, we think, secure a Republican victory on the Atlantic shore.

The completion of reconstruction will re-

move one of the embarrassments of the Republican party, though it may also deprive it of a popular issue. The work, when accomplished, cannot be easily undone, whereas the process keeps the country in a disturbed state. The efforts of Mr. Johnson to hinder its completion do not help his party; but so long as its success remains doubtful, there will be a good deal of natural vacillation in the minds of well meaning men. Success is the final test of all such experiments in government; and until its success has been demonstrated many supporters of the Congressional policy will hesitate at each new step that may be required. It seems probable that the recent elections will make Southern Republicuos at once more prompt and more moderate than they might otherwise have been. They will see the necessity of maintaining harmony among themselves, and of finishing the work of restoration without delay. The colored voters will not reject the aid of white Southerners when offered in good faith; and by 1869 the Republican party may be assured of a real and lasting majority in several of the Southern States. Unlimited success in the Northern elections might easily mislead our Southern allies into a ruinous intolerance, of which there have already been some indications. We believe that the late seemingly untoward events may thus be fruitful of good to the whole country.

The Democratic Party and the South - The Real Izane. From the N. Y. Times.

Senator Yates, in the letter read at the Cooper Institute the other evening, tersely indicated the prospective result of the restoration of the Democratic party to power. "No one can doubt," he wrote, "that the result would be the immediate recognition of the revolted States as lawful States in the Union, and the admission to seats in the Senate and House of Representatives of the leaders of the Rebellion, to resume their old influence and power in the politics of the nation." In other words, "The triumph of the Democratic party would be the reopening of every question settled by the war."

The motive of the Democratic party is manifest. Its chance of restoration to power is dependent upon the readmission of the Southern States to Congress, free from the conditions now being enforced. On the attainment of this object the very existence of the party is contingent. For with all its numerical strength in the North-notwithstanding its gains in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the vigor with which it is fighting in New York and other States-the fact is indisputable that the salvation or the destruction of the Democracy is involved in the future of the South. Let it come back as though no Rebellion had occurred -with slavery overthrown, indeed, but with all the appliances of the slave system in full operation as before the war-and the relistablishment of Democratic authority over the land would be simply a question of time. On the other hand, bring the South into the Union subject to the terms and governed by the influences of the reconstruction acts-with the freedmen enfranchised, the prominent Rebels excluded from office, and the local organizations checked at the outset by the restraining hand of Congress-and Southern representation will thenceforward throw its weight adversely to the pretensions of Democracy. Thus reconstructed, the Government of the Union will be beyond the reach of the present Democratic leaders. While, then, we are bound to confess that

certain features of the Congressional plan were framed with a view to partisan advan-tage, it is equally clear that the course of the emocratic opposition is controlled by no higher considerations than those of party profit. Here, however, the analogy ends. Beyond this point there is not the shadow sures are warped by a partisan bias, but at least their general scope harmonizes with the objects which animated the North in the prosecution of the war. Granting that the experiment of universal negro suffrage is beset with difficulty, and that the disabilities imposed are more sweeping and harsh than wisdom or magnanimity would desire them to be, it must not be forgotten that the provisions of the scheme, of which these are parts, bear an obvious relationship to the one great object of securing and perpetuating livers essential results of the Union victory. The means employed may not be the most discreet imaginable, nor the spirit that employs them the most generous or amiable; but these defects will be forgiven if their effect be to build up the Union anew on a basis of justice and peace. With the Democracy the case is altogether different. What the war has done they seek to undo. The victories of the Union armies they would counteract by a surrender of all that the Rebel leaders demand. With guarantees of peace or justice they are ready to dispense, that thereby they may reinvest with the balance of governing power the States but recently in rebellion. To obtain for the Democratic party the help which alone can save it, they are prepared to clothe with authority as Senators and Representatives the unpunished, untaught, unrepentant promoters of Rebellion, that the Federal Government may be transferred from Union to Democratic hands. Divested of surplusage and disguises, this is all that the Democratic policy on this subject amounts to. It is an attempt by pretenses of constitutionality to ignore the lessons and upset the results of the war, and to secure for the Democracy a renewed alliance with the disaffected elements

Intoxicated with late occurrences, our opponents scarcely affect concealment. The last fortnight has changed the tone of many of them considerably. Twelve months ago negro enfranchisement had no more doughty champion than the leading Democratic journal of the Northwest. More recently our neighbor, the World, while bitter in its denunciation of the measures of Congress, was earnest in its recommendation to the South to accept them, and to comply with their requirements, as the sole means of regaining the privileges of the Union. The World then insisted that no available form of resistance could benefit the South as against the power of Congress, and our impression is that it counselled a prompt compliance with the prescribed conditions as preferable to prolonged exclusion. Since the elections in Ohio and Pennsylvania our contemporary has preached widely different doctrine. Instead of advising compliance with the law, it vehemently urges the Southern whites to stand aloof from the work of reconstruction, that they may embarrass and, if possible, defeat it. The hope is held out that by de aying reconstruction, readmission unincumby guarantees may be obtained brough the successes of the Northern Democracy. One concession, and one only, is recommended, and that relates exclusively to a constitutional provision for insuring an equality of civil rights in the South. With this exception, the most rational and the most able of Democratic journals now scout the notion of reconstruction. It will listen to no talk of terms. It spurns every proposition for securing to the loyalty of the South the direction of Southern affairs. It will be content with nothing less than the unconditional resto-

ration of the South-its colored people disfranchised, its Rebel leaders occupying the seats o Senators and Representalives, its theory of State rights intact and operative, and its ma chinery of local government worked in the identical interest which precipitated the conflict with national authority. Plainly stated the design of the Democracy is to destroy the safegnards which the war has given to the Union, and to use whatever advantages may be acquired in the interest of Rebeldom.

The saying of Senator Yates is, then, in no respect exaggerated. "The triumph of the Democratic party would be the reopening of every question settled by the war." And though we are not apprehensive of such a result, though we do not believe that any triumph is probable which would enable the Democracy to grasp again the reius of the National Government, the tendency of the party effort is sufficiently marked to reveal the real issue which underlies the contest nov in progress. The merits of the struggle in this respect are too well defined to admit of extended misconception. Shall the States which preserved the Union dictate and en force the conditions on which the excluded States are to be reconstructed ? Or shall the States which combined and fought to destroy the Union be restored unconditionally, in order that their Rebel leaders may renew their alliance with Northern Democrats, and so regain political influence? As between the Republican and the Democratic parties, all other issues sink into trivial proportions. This issue it is, above all others, which should letermine the judgment of this State for or against the Democratic party.

To talk of peace or harmony as an end to be romoted by the success of Democratic candilates anywhere, is simply absurd. There can be no real peace save that which recognizes as enduring the realities achieved by the war: no asting harmony save that which springs from the reorganization of the South in conformity with the national sense of loyalty and right To these conditions the principles and policy of the Democratic party are essentially antagonistic. Hence it is the disturbing party; the party whose return to power would unsettle he relations of the States, disturb the commerce and imperil the finances of the country. and revive the battle between the friends and enemies of the Union. Peace can be secured confidently only through the agencies which conquered the Rebellion and asserted the supremacy of the National Government. And these must be sought elsewhere than on the tickets or in the counsels of the party called

General Butler's Fluance.

From the N. Y. Tribune. That Copperheads and Rebels should hate he national debt and seek to swindle the publie creditors, we can fully understand. That lebt is a necessary and onerous result of the Slaveholders' Rebellion. It symbolizes the efforts and sacrifices whereby our national existence was preserved. Whenever a poor man bays food or clothing for his family, he is comelled to pay some share of his hard earnings o defray the inevitable cost of raising the national flag over the forts, arsenals, armories, etc., whence the Rebels had torn it down and trampled it in the mire. If the Government could not have borrowed enormous sums, the Rebellion must have succeeded, and become a Revolution. Of course, whoever wishes it had succeeded, whether in dividing our country, or in "reconstructing" it on the Basis of slavery everywhere and always, hates the debt, libels its holders, and will swindle them if he can. General Butler stands on a different plat-

form. He holds that the war for the Union was necessary and righteous. He holds that the money wherewith it was prosecuted was rightfully lent by the loan takers and borrowed What that seems to us strangely inconsistent with these positions, our patrons have read with pain in his two elaborate letters, whereof the

econd appeared in our last. We do not care to follow him through the various positions taken in his last. They seem to us utterly inconsequent and immate rial. Grant that some, or even most, of the loans on which interest is expressly payable in specie do not specify that the principal shall be so paid, as in all our old loans nothing was said of specie. General Butler is quite aware that our Government borrowed money during our last war with Great Britain at 12 per cent., taking the amount—no, a good deal less than the amount—in the notes of suspended banks which were 10 to 30 per cent. below par; yet every cent of the face of these loans was paid in coin or its full equivalent. no matter though this was not stipulated.

But suppose this were not so. Suppose our Government, like ether Governments, had often defrauded its creditors—what of it? Villainy is, unhappily, an every-day occurence; does it therefore cease to be villainy? Here are the essential facts, which General Butler's assertions and arguments seem to us

in no respect to shake :-

The Government of the United States, fightng for its life against a formidable Rebellion must have money-vast sums of it. One of its desperate expedients was the making of its own promises a legal tender within certain limitations. It said to its people. take my demand notes as money in payments from me and from each other, save that I shall still collect my imposts in coin and pay out that coin as interest on my bonds. If you do not choose to hold my notes, you may at any time convert them into my bonds bearing six per cent. interest in coin. 11 Thus the "legal ender'' became a postponed debt, on which six per cent. interest in specie was to be paid at the holder's option. And, when nothing was said of paying the principal in coin, the reason was that nobody imagined or dreaded that, when the loan fell due, there would be any "legal tender," or paying otherwise than in coin or in its full equivalent.

But some timorous soul raised the question —"Will the Government pay the principal as well as the interest in coin?"—and the Secretary of the Treasury at once responded—"Certainly; principal as well as interest is payable

On the strength of this assurance, men sold houses and farms for less than half their present value, and loaned the proceeds to the Government. More was thus loaned in the two years preceding Lee's surrender than any people on earth had ever before loaned to their Government. Trust funds, the deposits of the poor in savings banks, the President's salary, and almost every loyal man's savings, were poured into the national coffers. Foreigners-Germans especially-invested largely in our bonds, as they clearly would not have done had they not trusted to the assurances given by Secretary Chase, and reiterated by every Treasury agent and by the journals intent on selling the bonds-conspicuously by the Tri-From day to day, week to week, month to month, we urged every one to invest all he could spare in the bonds from time to time on the market, assuring them that they would be paid, principal and interest, in coin. General Butler's pay and allowances could not have been handed over to him even so promptly as they were, and would have been worth far less when he get them, if our countrymen and

foreigners had not been assured and convinced that the Government bonds would surely be

paid, principal and interest, in coin.

What is the meaning of payment? A man owes General Butler a debt, drawing interest. The debtor offers to give him therefor his note, payable nowhere, in nothing, and drawing no interest; would be consider that a tender of payment?

The resort to "legal-tender" at all was only justifiable by dire necessity. If the Govern-ment was able to pay in coin, then it was raseally to make its notes a legal tender. War and its fearful burdens absolutely compelled the resort. But nobody then talked of perpetuating the make-chift after peace should be restored; hence, little was said about the medium in which loans should be paid off. We all expected to escape from the slough of 'legal-tender'' long ere this-as we ought to have done.

Again, the Government borrowed in a short time large sums in currency, stipulating that these 7.30s should be convertible at maturity into Sixes, the interest payable in coin. What a swindling mockery was this, if the Sixes might be paid off in "legal-tender," 44 per cent. below coin !

General Butler threatens the Republican party with defeat if it holds with us on this subject. We can only answer-Better defeat than dishonor! No party can be always in power; and if the Republican must go down, let this be inscribed on its tombstone-"It

sacrificed power by daring to be sternly just.' Now, as to high interest, exemption from taxation, etc., seven eighths of the national debt is within the immediate control of the Government. The Seven-thirties may be paid off in cash or Five-twenties yery soon; Five-twenties may be redeemed at par, as they shall respectively have been five years issued; and any or all of our public debt can meantime be purchased with coin for far less than its face. If, then, the rate of interest is high, it can be lowered as fast as people can be found to take new bonds; and, if it be wrong to exempt bonds from taxation, we may subject the new bonds to taxation of every kind. We believe our whole debt might be funded in a taxable six or non-taxable five per cent. but for the fear of some Butlerian dodge which looks to us like repudiation, whatever the General may call it. We hold, therefore, that every such letter or other manifesto as General Butler's is costing the country millions on millions by keeping our Sixes down to 71 or thereabout in London when British Threes sell at 94-twenty-three per cent, higher than our Government's promise to pay twice as much per annum. Let all unite in supposing:-"Our debt shall be paid, principal and in interest, to the last farthing !" and we can sell Fives as high as Great Britain could sell Fours-that , above par. And then we may have all but a fraction of our debts funded at five per cent. within five years; and the saving of interest would soon pay off the principal. We object to General Butler's scheme-first, that it is rascally; next, that, like most knavery, it is ruinously expensive.

We think General Butler wise in declining to discuss "moral considerations," but less happy in his decrial of a "public conscigregation of private consciences, and only to be understood and appreciated by those who make some contribution thereto. Let each confine himself to such topics as he comprehends.

The Reconstruction Question in Congress-What Ought to Be Done. From the N. Y. Herald, What effect will the late elections have upon

Congress? Will the two houses still adhere to their radical leaders and their extreme measures, or be guided by the instructions of the late elections? The voice of Ohio, for example, warns the party in power of the rocks and shoals which lie before them as distinctly as the elections of last autumn point out the way of safety and success. If the Republicans would settle this business of Southern reconstruction on a fair and enduring basis, if they would retain the power which they hold to the inishing of this great work of restoration, the way is so plainly marked before them that he who runs may read it. On the other hand, the road to swift destruction is not less plainly indicated. Which road will the two houses take? What will Congress do?

The experimental measures of the last three essions on negro suffrage for the reclamation of the Rebel States, as far as submitted to the bar of public opinion, have been condemned by the loyal States. The developments of southern universal negro suffrage under the five Southern military commanders, pointing, as they clearly do, to Southern negro political supremacy and to a negro balance of power in our national affairs, have startled the public mind of the North, and its first warnings have been heard in these recent elections. radical programme is adhered to by Congress, these warnings will assume a bolder form of expression, and in the elections of next year the party deeming itself too powerful to be dislodged will be shattered into fragments and dismissed in disgrace. There will be a political revolution in the settlement of the Presidential succession as remarkable and decisive as that which broke up the old pro-slavery Democracy at the Charleston Convention.

Mr. Stevens, the impracticable radical leader of the House of Representatives, thanks God for these late elections, as involving the proper rebuke to the Republican party for playing he coward's part. He is mistaken, for in Pennsylvania, where this universal negro suffrage issue was avoided, the party substantially holds its own; while in Ohio, where the friends of Mr. Chase distinctly presented this issue in the form of an amendment to the State Constitution, they are terribly defeated, and by Republican votes. We may expect a similar result on the same question in New York in November, though here the Republi cans, snuffing danger in the air, have postponed the issue as an amendment of the State Constitution. "Old Thad" and Wendell Phillips, and all their disciples of the radical school, are all wrong. They would charge bayonets against an impassable stone wall but in a council of war, if common sense is to prevail, their foolish instructions will be rected, and they, too, will be set aside.

The Constitutional amendment submitted from the Thirty-ninth Congress, first session, and ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it part of the supreme law of the land. is the true policy of the Fortieth Congress All these subsequent measures pushing to the hazardous ultimatum of universal negro suffrage in the work of Southern reconstruction ought to be repealed, and the conservative Republicans and Democrats of the two Houses have the power to do this thing and to reestablish the conditions of this aforesaid Constitutional amendment. What are they? They are-First, that in all their civil rights citi zens of the United States, of all colors, shall stand in all the States upon a footing of equality. Second, that suffrage and reprecentation in Congress shall go together, as each State for itself may elect; that where there is any abridgment of what is known as universal suffrage, there shall be a corresponding reduction in counting the people for representation. Third, that certain leading Rebels

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shall be disfranchised and excluded from office | unreasoning contempt of the advice of supeuntil absolved by a two-third vote of each House of Congress. Fourth, that the national debt and soldiers' bounties shall be held as sacred obligations; but that all Rebel debts and all claims for slaves shall be void. Fifth, that Congresss shall have the power to enforce these provisions of the supreme law.

Is not this plan of reconstruction enough All the Northern States have emphatically approved it; Tennessee has been restored nder it, and why not the others of the Rebel States? Because they rejected it? Try them again, then, and they will be wiser. They will be glad to take it on the sober second thought. Thus, within six months from the meeting of Congress this whole business may be settled and permanently, too-civil rights, suffrage and representation, Rebel disabilities, Rebel debts and claims for slaves, and the national debt and soldiers' bounties and all-in being fixed in the Eederal Constitution. We must have some of these things in the Constitution, or we shall have no security for the future. This great amendment, then (already ratified, we are not mistaken), is the policy for Congress and the party in power, while the road of Stevens, Wade, Sumner, Phillips, Butler, Chandler, and their followers, is the road to dissolution, revolution, anarchy, bankruptoy, and destruction.

Garibaldi-Pope Plus,

From the N. Y. World. Until the present exciting aspect changes, and still more during the new emergencies likely to arise, the contest in Italy will occupy the attention and absorb the interest of Christendom. The decision of Napoleon elevates it from a local insurrection to the rank and dignity of a European question, possibly

of the first magnitude. As the germ of the oak is to be found in the bursting acorn, its life being the identical life of the developed tree, so the spirit of Garibaldi on the one side, and that of Pope Pius IX on the other, contain the seminal principles of the rising contest, however colossal may be its consequences. Garibaldi represents what is most aggressive in innovating modern tendencies; the Pope what is most ancient in existing civilization. The Papacy is the oldest and most time-honored of all extant institutions. As a spiritual power it is very far .from being effete; indeed there are symptoms that it is extending its hold upon the conscience and religious sympathies of the world. Protestantism has made no relative

gains since the era of the Reformation. Every country of the Old World which remained Catholic after the great struggle in the sixteenth century is Catholic still, while in the New World every country south of our own acknowledges spiritual allegiance to the settled by Puritans and Episcopalians, the Catholics rank among our largest and most growing sects; while in Canada, besides the adherence of the old French inhabitants to the Catholic faith, that Church has considerable strength among those who speak the English tongue. Moreover, there is in England and United States a perceptible Romanizing tendency in the bosom of Protestantism. It is exhibited in the activity and influence of what is called high-churchism, and latterly in the outbreak of ritualism. As compared with Protestantism, Catholicity is not on the decline, and has not been for two centuries. There is indeed a general decay of faith by which all forms of Christianity suffer, but the Catholic the least of any.

In this country, where we have opportuniies of observation, there is, out of the Episcopal Church and its Romanizing tendencies, a growing spiritual torpor and a constant ebb of religious interest. The majority of our Protestant clergy retain their hold on the public mind by their activity in various humanitarian, reformatory, and political schemes, and trying to outbid each other in matters which interest the public more deeply than religion. The Catholic clergy, on the other hand, here, and we suppose the world over, devote themselves to the spiritual wants of their flocks. In our larger towns they keep open almost the only places where the poorer classes may worship without feeling them-selves overborne by the spirit of caste or excluded by expense. We conclude, therefore, that the spiritual influence of the Papacy auffers no decay, except from the skepticism and secular preoccupation which are undermining all religion, and that it loses less from these causes than the rival forms of Christianity.

In speaking of the decadence and crumbling influence of the Papacy we refer only to its temporal authority, which is in the last stages of decline, and perhaps on the point of dissolution. No enlightened historian, no philosophic reasoner worthy of the name, whether Protestant or Catholic, disputes the beneficent influences of the Papacy during the Middle Ages. It was the only barrier against the supremacy of brute force, the only conserver of learning, the only bond of communion and intercourse among the nations of Christendom. Commerce and civilization, a constant interchange of intelligence, and the new agencies for the promotion and diffusion of public opinion, have gradually superseded this necessity for the kind of influence once excited by the Papacy. The new social forces have taken that part of its work, and by doing it better have rendered obsolete a venerable institution without whose fostering aid these new forces would have been stilled in their birth. The temporal authority of the Pope has long ceased to be self-subsistent. There has not been a day since the return of Pius IX to Rome in 1849 when his power would not have toppled, if unsupported by secular

If the Pope; as a temporal sovereign, represents the most ancient, venerable, and longestlived of all existing institutions, Garibaldi, on the other side, is the embodiment of whatever is most headlong and aggressive in the modern spirit. It is his impracticable and opinionated zeal which has precipitated the present crisis. and the vigorous and admiring sympathy he excites is what renders it formidable. It seems to us quite beside the mark to dilate on Garibaldi's narrowness, his impolitic zealotry, his

rior men. These are the very qualities which make himistrong. A sledge-hammer is a rude and simple instrument; but if its vigorous blows be delivered upon a single point, it will break the hardest stones. Garibaldi is in some respects a political force of the highest order. In the first place, as a chief attribute of his ascendency over other minds, he has that perfectly clear and settled perception of

his aims which excludes doubt or vaciliation. This firm grasp of his purposes cause vaguer and less inflexible minds to lean on him with confidence. This strenuous steadiness of aim belongs to all men born for influence; but in Garibaldi it is the rudder of a small ship. With a mind of more breadth and penetration it would make him a great man. Another source of his influence is the simplicity of his life, which gains for him the credit of singlehearted devotion to a cause. He covets and enjoys reputation, but neither friend nor foe suspects him of sordid ambition. With these qualities, which are potent elements of leaderhip in all epochs, Garibaldi joins the advantage of moving with the most modern current of his time, and of being fitted by his intrepidity to strike when other men would only think. His ungovernable impulsiveness may lead him to strike before the time is ripe, but the electric effect even of premature blows strengthens a growing cause.

Millions of hearts beat quicker at the fame of Garibaldi's attempts. It signifies little that intelligent men contemn his lack of judgment; the multitudes who admire are still narrower than himself, and have therefore no sense of his deficiencies. The glowing admiration he elicits is a popular offset to reverence for the Holy Father which is rooted in many hearts. Perhaps both sentiments are equally unreflecting. Each, however, having merit of hearty sincerity, is a potent political force, and each will be utilized to the utmost by the stronger hands into which the contest is about to pass. Garibaldi and the Pope, the ancient and the modern spirit, are merely the pieces on the chess-board with which the game of European politics will be played, by men who care little for one cause or the other except so far as they can make it serve their lust of power.

Napoleon makes the first move, and opens the game with his customary duplicity and skill. He pretends that the Pope is in peril, not from insurrection but invasion, and that he intervenes against the invaders. When he interposed to save and restore the Pope in 1849, he pretended that he sent an army to Rome out of friendship to the new republic, although the Roman republicans had never invited him. The use made of his troops disclosed his real intentions. The purpose and the motives are much the same now as then. It is an appeal to the sympathies of Catholic aspenially of the rural districts, where there remains much of the simple piety of the olden time, the clergy have great influence, and the people are not infected with the spirit of the clubs and coteries of Paris. While Napoleon is strong among his Catholic subjects his throne on a pretty secure basis, the roops about the capital being a tolerable afeguard against sedition so long as the rest the empire is tranquil. By strengthening is reliance on his Catholic subjects he gains heir support in the war for which he desires pretext, and weakens his possible enemies the same kind of appeal to their Catholic ubjects. A war undertaken to maintain the ights of the Holy Father would begin on lausible grounds, and if Prussia should inervene France would easily place her in the ight of an aggressor. Napoleon's industrious reparation since the beginning of the year, nd the counter-preparations of Prussia, qually formidable, are perhaps the best inexes to what is coming.

If a great war grows out of these troubles, it vill begin between France and Italy. russia shall come to the aid of her late ally, Austria will support Napoleon, and the war row to colossal magnitude. It was by the ombined arms of Austria and France that the ope was restored in 1849, and the Catholics f both countries would readily support their ulers in a similar joint attempt. esult of the contest, Prussia should be humled, weakened, and reduced to her former elative rank, Napoleon would have accomlished his wishes, and Austria might be comensated by the restoration of some of her osses in the late war. These are probably the ims in contemplation; but their accomplishment depends upon the uncertain fortunes of

A London telegram states that the Times dvises the King of Italy to get beforehand with Napoleon by promptly marching to Rome, and occupying the holy city himself. his would be a weapon with a double edge, apoleon might thereupon charge that Victor manuel had thrown off the mask by open participation in an invasion which he had efore secretly abetted. So far as Napoleon ould make this appear plausible, he would ave ground for accusing Victor Emanuel of a reach of treaty, and would thus find a legitimate casus belli. The advice of the London Times may, after all, be good; but it would need to be followed with great skill in the reatment of the Pope to prevent Napoleon turning it to his advantage.

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