SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

The Pope's Dilemma-Some Definite Foints in the Late News. From the N. Y. Times.

Seeing that our despatches concerning the Roman business come from Florence, Paris, London, and Berlin, with occasionally a disjointed and mendacious despatch from Rome itself, it is no wonder that there should be considerable confusion both in regard to the military and diplomatic aspect of affairs. There are a few broad features, however, that can be discerned, even now, with some approach to

1. That the people of Rome itself and the other subjects of the Pope have refused to

take any part in the Garibaldian movement. 2. That the Pope himself is determined to hold on to the temporal power, though it drench Christendom in blood; that he will soruple at no means in his power to retain possession of Rome; and that, if he be not forced out by such an improbable circumstance as a successful war on the part of Italy. he will retain his grasp of the sovereignty until he is negotiated out of power by means that he finds it impossible to resist.

3. That the limit of Garibaldi's revolutionary strength is the force of three to five thousand that have been encamped at Monte Ro tondo, and that, while he felt unable to assail Rome, and could neither make a show of resisting the French troops on one hand or the Italian troops on the other, he yet refused to obey Victor Emanuel's summons to disband his forces, hoping and expecting that some complication would presently arise with France by which his sword would be made available, and his end would be gained.

4. That the French intervention, originally undertaken by Napoleon with reluctance and with the apparent assent of the Ratazzi Administration, is to be so managed as to avoid, as far as possible, giving offense either to the Italian Government or to the allies of Italy.

5. That Napoleon, as soon as he had guaranteed the Pope against overthrow, attempted to initiate negotiations for the pacific settlement of the Roman question-such negotiations to be carried on in Conference, and to have, as their unavowed but unavoidable aim, the consummation of Italian unity.

6. That Prussia, though ready to support Italy in certain contingencies, is by no means so anxious to get into a war with France as to lead her to find occasion for quarrel in the mere fact of French intervention in support of the Pope.

7. That the Italian Government, by reason of the financial and military condition of the kingdom, feels that a rupture with France would be ruinous to it, and that, even though allied with Prussia, it would almost certainly be bankrupted and broken up in the event of

8. That the feelings of the people of Italy are very strongly aroused against Papal domination, and that thereby the Italian Government is weakened and confused, and placed at a great disadvantage on all hands and in all respects; and that, though we need not give much heed to the threats against Victor Emanuel and the outery for a republic, yet the attitude of the Government towards France, and its position towards its Prussian ally, are greatly weakened by the conflict between the people and the authorities.

That though a rupture between and Italy, involving also Prussia, Spain, and Austria, may possibly be brought about by some untoward incident, there has nothing occurred thus far that leads to consider such rupture imminent.

10. That, though the English are strongly opposed to the Papal power and to the French intervention, and anxious that Italy should be allowed at the present opportunity to settle this disturbing question, there is not the first sign that the English Government will, in any event, lift a finger in the matter, or do anything more than perhaps interchange some diplomatic arguments with France.

11. There is no doubt from what has already been developed that, excepting the Garibaldians, all parties, Italy, France, and Prussia, are exceedingly anxious to avoid a war on the Roman question. If it be said that France could have evaded all difficulty about the matter by simply refraining from sending her troops to Rome, it must be remembered that the Garibaldians threatened such an onset upon the Pope as the Catholic powers could not be supposed to permit, and that Napoleon had treaty engagements which his tender conscience and his regard for his dynasty could not permit him to see violated.

-On the whole, it is impossible to forecast the end of this extraordinary bewildering and threatening affair. All parties feel that some definite, permanent, and satisfactory solution of the Papal question must quickly be found. There can be no guarantee of a month's peace while things remain as they are and have been. Intervention is a wrong to Italy, a disgrace to the Pope, and a weakness for France. It is war in itself, and the generator of wars. And we should think that all parties, even the Pope himself, must feel by this time that only by permitting Italy to obtain Rome can this long-standing and intolerable difficulty be settled.

The Caucus System.

From the N. Y. Times. Mr. Ewing, in a recent letter, calls upon the

Republican members of Congress to discard the tyrannical caucus system, and vote upon their individual judgment and responsibility. The advice is good, for it is always wise to discharge a high public trust in accordance with one's real convictions, and not according to the

dictation of others.

But the caucus system is not accountable for the action to which Mr. Ewing takes exception. Neither universal negro suffrage nor the Military Reconstruction bill was passed in consequence of the decisions of Republican caucuses. On the centrary, they were passed against those decisions, and because they were not adhered to. At every Republican caucus held in the session of 1866 on the subject, the vote was two to one against universal negro suffrage. Mr. Stevens, being ontvoted, declared that he would not be governed by the decision; and when the bill (relating to the District of Columbia) came to a vote in the House, he and all the rest of the radicals voted, in spite of the decision in caucus, against giving the negroes a qualified suf-frage, as did all the Democrats. It was thus defeated, and when the question was next taken, on giving them universal suffrage, all the Republicans voted for it-as the only way to secure the colored people any vote what-ever. Mr. Stevens and his followers refused have it; and thus the minority forced their birth.

views upon the party, in direct opposition to the decision of the party caucus.

It was by precisely the same manouvre that the Shellabarger amendment to the Reconstruction bill was carried and the Southern whites disfranchised. A majority of the Republicans were opposed to so sweeping a measure, and had rejected a bill in which it was embodied, by a decisive vote. But it was afterwards brought forward in the form of an amendment to another bill; the Democrats voted with the radicals against the previous question, and thus allowed the amendment to come in, and then the whole party vote was east for the bill. All the worst features of the reconstruction policy were thus forced upon the Republicans by Democratic votes. The latter refused in every case to cooperate with the moderate and liberal men of the Republican party in defeating the extreme and rigid measures brought forward and pressed so tenaciously by the radicals; and they never failed to give the latter the aid of their votes. Their policy seemed to be to make the laws as severe as possible upon the South, in hopes that they could reap a party advantage from the odium they would excite.

The caucus system, when fairly conducted and honorably carried out, has its advantages. If not pressed so far as to override individual judgment on matters of principle, and coerce men into action which their consciences condemn, it may secure harmony of action in a party which has the same common aims and purposes. But when one portion of those who go into caucus abide by the common decision only when they can dictate it, and unite with political opponents to overrule that decision when it is against them, it becomes simply a fraud and a snare.

Taxation and Revolution.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The causes which produced ancient revolutions are not fully understood; but those within the range of modern history have, in many instances, sprung from the efforts of the people to free themselves from those burdens of taxation which bad government has imposed upon them. Nothing bears so heavily upon the resources and the progress of individuals as the fact that a very large portion of all their gains goes to the inexorable tax gatherer. It is reasoned, and with truth, that there is no necessity for the enormous expenditures which demand such levies. From complaints, the whole nation, impelled by the same force and seeking a common focus, which is revolution, find in this a panacea for their ills.

The fifteenth century gives us an instance in the German people, who were goaded to premature revolution by the pressure of Papal taxation. In the person of Tetzel we have a tax gatherer par excellence, whose promises of heaven were in proportion to the amount which he could force by religious fanaticism from the people. The results were the first great liberal and spiritual outbreak in Europe. In England forced loans to carry on the Spanish war, and finally the "Tonnage and Poundage bill," set the revolutionary ball in motion, which did not stop until the head of Charles I rolled upon the scaffold. France, in the prelude to her great revolution, presents a no less sad picture of the results

of oppressive taxation. The people saw no exit from it except by the sword, and with the sword they cancelled their debts. Our own revolution of 1776 gathered its force from taxation. South Carolina nullification arose from taxation. Our late Rebellion, in its inception, found much of its strength in the discriminating tariff, which was an idea around which the Southern leaders could rally the masses. Spain rumbles with revolutions to-day, because the people cannot stand the onerous imposts which a corrupt administration imposes. Mexico has just finished a fifty years' war to rid herself from the assessments which the clergy made upon all her capital and energies. Cuba, at our very doors, is fast being forced into revolution, because it is impossible for her to prosper under the bur-

dens imposed. Now of ourselves in 1867. As we glance back at the history of taxation, we find that we have taken it up experimentally, deter-mined to solve the problem of raising revenue if it costs us a half dozen revolutions or the disintegration of our nationality. We commence after the fashion of 1598, and must run through the phases up to the time we can say that the problem is solved. In 1598 Sully stated that out of 150,000,000 livres collected by taxation from the French people, only thirty million found its way into the public treasury. It would be an interesting scrap of knowledge to us of the United States to know what proportion of the revenues collected actually inure to the benefit of the Government. Would it be safe for the Government to invite revolution by placing taxation before the people in its true light?

Our military government is to-day costing us one hundred and twenty millions of dollars annually, and yet we maintain no armed force as a protection against foreign powers, but rather to dominate ourselves and increase the costs of government. Our total taxes swell to the enormous figure of one thousand millions of dollars annually-an impost of gigantic proportions in comparison with that of any other country. There is not a European power existing that could stand a proportionate burden without revolution; and our Government should understand that to be lavish in further expenditure is to invite repudiation, a complete overturning of the order of things now existing, and even a new rebellion. As matters now go the national banks, riding high upon the political tide that forced them to the surface, are reaping thirty millions of dollars annually from the bone and sinew of the country, which is heavily taxed to pay their enormous dividends. In fact, they represent

a hydra sapping the public presperity.

In the train of enormous taxation follow all those evils which produce a feverish condition of the country. Taxation to excess means degradation, poverty, ignorance, and its attendant evils. It means a drawing of very broad lines between rich and poor, and the creation of classes—a powerful aristocracy and a lower class—which bubbles into war when oppression can no longer be borne. It means governmental corruption in its worst forms—an increase of spoils, and, consequently, a hotter contest for office at political elections. It means the creation of an army of office-holders who feed upon the public purse without, as individual members of the nation, producing anything for its support. It means the subversion of all those principles which we have so long labored to keep in prominence as the true bases of our republicanism. This we point out to the people, and tell them to guard well the future. The men they placed in power to carry out the demands of the times and overturn rebellion were well selected, and did their work bravely. Now, however, other issues demand brains fitted to meet them, and brains of another class must handle the great questions that follow our war. Failing to recognize the truth of this, we shall lapse again into revolution to settle by the sword those questions to which rebellion gave

The European Situation. From the N. Y. Tribune.

The scene about Rome is one of intense, absorbing interest. If it be true that the Italian troops marched into the Papal States without the privity or consent of France, that Minister Menabrea charges France with violating the September treaty by entering Rome, while Do Monstier retorts by charging Italy with a vio-lation of the same treaty by invaling the Papal States, it is plain that for some occult reason Italy has from the first been acting without that mutual understanding with France which was inferred from its decrees against Garibaldi. But it is to be considered that, in all its pretended severity towards Garibaldi, Italy has done nothing inconsistent with the theory that her opposition was merely a feint-a ruse of statecraft, designed to keep the September treaty to the ear, but break it to the hope of France. The arrest of Garibaldi and his banishment to Caprera, at a time when he was without an army and could not have safely set foot in the Papal provinces, at the same time allowing him to issue his proclamations with entire freedom, permitting his followers to gather on the frontiers and to perfect their plans for invasion, and finally overlooking his escape and triumphal march to the very gates of Rome—all indicates the Italian Cabinet are disposed to use his revolutionary efforts if they can. Their proclamations, arrest, etc., are for France, not for Italy. But their prompt attitude of hostility to the French occupation of Rome, their own occupation of the Papal provinces, and the mysterious rumors which come from Prussia, that the latter power will intervene if necessary, but is at present neutral, all strongly indicate an impending struggle for the leadership of Europe between Napoleon and Bismark.

Both France and Prussia have so much to risk in such a contest that we would suppose each would enter into it only when absolutely driven. But for six months both countries have been industriously preparing for, and with bated breath awaiting, war. If, three months ago, when no Italian complication had arisen, the question anxiously asked in Paris and Berlin was, "Will there be war?" what shall we expect when French legions are in possession of Rome, and France and Italy are mutually accusing each other of violating the same treaty?

In the event of war, we may confidently predict the issue of a considerable quantity of new European securities, which would in some degree thrust our own bonds out of the foreign market, and, by causing their return to this country, would entail a reduction in their value. The current of emigration from Germany, and indeed from Europe generally, would be considerably checked by the demand of the French and Prussian Governments for troops. On the other hand, an active market for breadstuffs and for our military manufactures would be opened, which might compensate in part financially for the disadvantages of having a return of our securities and a check to our emigration.

Peace with the Indians.

From the N. Y. World. The Indian Commissioners announce the conclusion of a definite treaty of peace with all the Southern tribes, including the Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Arapahoes, and Chey_ ennes, numbering from five to six thousand souls. The first two tribes are to confederate and remove to an agricultural reservation comprising about six thousand square miles, three and a half million acres of land, between the north fork of the Red river and the Red river, embracing the southwestern corner of the present Indian Territory, with a fraction of Texas. The Apaches having also agreed to confederate with the Kiowas and Comanches, are to be placed on an adjoining reservation. These three tribes are to receive, in lieu of the annuity previously paid them, one suit of clothes annually for each Indian, besides which \$30,000 per year will be expended for such other articles as they may need. It is proposed to furnish them with agricultural implements, to build them an agency house, a warehouse, and a school-house, and provide dwellings for a farmer, miller, teacher, physician, etc., who will be sent to instruct and aid them. Several Comanches are already farming on their reservation. The three tribes agree to do what they can to induce the Texas Comanches and the Arizona and other tribes to join them; when the Commissioners agree to enlarge the reservation proportionably to the increase of settlers. The Indians also compact not to molest the railroads, "to keep lasting peace, to attack no more trains, and to cease killing

With the Cheyennes and Arapahoes a separate treaty was concluded. The reservation set apart for them consists of eight or nine thousand square miles, bounded east by the Arkansas river, south and west by the Cimar-ron, and north by Kansas. They will be provided with a suit of woollen clothing each year for each man, and with \$30,000 worth of other necessary articles annually. An agency house and the other buildings mentioned in the treaty with the former tribes will also be erected in their country, and instructors in agriculture and blacksmithing, a school-teacher, etc., are to be sent if they desire them. Neither the Cheyennes nor Arapahoes manifested any wish for these aids to civilization. Buffalo Chief, the head of the Chey-ennes, spoke his mind very freely to the Commissioners, as follows:-

missioners, as follows:—

"We spring from the prairie, we live by it, and profer to do so, and as yet we do not want any of the blessings of civilization. We do not claim this country on which we are now—that is, south of the Arkansas river—but that country between the Arkansas and the Platte is ours. We are willing, when we desire to live as you do, to take your advice about that, but until then we will take our chances. It were well that those soldiers on the Arkansas road were out of the country, that we might rosm over it as formerly, and that the bones of our forefathers might rest in peace. You think that you are doing a great deal for us by giving these presents to us, but we prefer to live as formerly; if you gave us all the goods you could give, yet we would prefer our own life, to live as free as we have done. You give us presents and then take our land; that provokes Upon this point—refusal to yield, as the

Upon this point-refusal to yield, as the Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas did, the right to bunt north of the Arkansas and south of the Platte—the two tribes were immovable. The Commissioners being forced to let them retain that right, they finally covenanted "to keep away ten miles from all roads and forts, to withdraw all opposition to white settle ments, railways, and wagon routes, and keep the peace" with white men like the rest of the tribes. About \$100,000 worth of goods were distributed to the five tribes at the clusion of these interesting proceedings, "which distribution," writes a correspondent from the scene, "afforded them all intense satisfaction."

These treaties sound very well. But the flaw in that made with the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes is almost certainly destined to produce further trouble. The Cheyennes, the most bitterly hostile of the north-southern tribes, are the ones of all others who ought to be forbidden the privilege of rozming along

the region between the Arkansas and the Platte, where the great railroads are being constructed, where the overland stages and wagon trains are thickest, and where the temptation to murder and plunder is too great for the virtue of such savages. The Commissioners have preferred incur this risk, rather than provoke the tribe to immediate war. No trouble is appre-hended during the winter, as all the tribes will probably remove as far south as possible until spring. When the buffalo return north next year the Indians will follow them. If the usual outrages are not committed on the Plains after that time, we shall be pleasantly surprised.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

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Rev. Newman Hall, D. D.:

Dear Sir.—Wishing to testify our appreciation of your valuable services to our country during the dark days of the Rebeillon, and learning of the great entusiasm in Boston and New York attending your lecture on "The Relations of Great Britain and America in connection with the Late War," we desire to know if it will be agreeable to you to deliver this lecture in Philadelphia. We ball your visit to the United States with great pleasure, believing it will do much towards promoting Christian unity between two great nations, and we hope your arrangements will permit you to name an early day for Philadelphia to give you a cordial welcome.

Very respectfully, yours, etc.,
William M. Meredith,
Morton McMichael,
Jay Cooke,
A. H. Franciscus,
James Pollock,
John W. Mears,
John W. Mears,
John W. Mears,
John Wilses,
M. Newkirk,
A. Holland,
Eli K. Price,
Phillips Brooks,
George H. Stuart,

New York, Nov. 4, 1807.

New York, Nov. 4, 1867.

Messrs. William M. Meredith, Morton Mchichael,
M. Newkirk, Jay Cooke, James Poliock, and others,
Gentlemen:—I am grateful for the kind request conveyed in your letter, that I should address the citizens of Philadelphia on the relations of Great Britain and America in connection with the late war.

I shall be happy to comply with your request on Monday evening, November 11.

I am, gentlemen, yours faithfully,
NEWMAN HALL.

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Citizens of the Ninth Ward, favorable to the nom! nation of GENERAL U. S. GRANT for the Presi dency, are requested to meet on WEDNESDAY EVENING, 6th inst., at the N. W. corner of MAR-KET and MERRICK Streets, at 734 o'clock, for the

purpose of forming a Grant Campaign Club. Frederick Fraley, William Struthers. Joseph W. Bullock. Evans Raudolph. Samuel H. Perkins, Edwin C. Markley, Francis Blackburn, Cyrus Horne, Daniel B. Beitler, William M. Bull, Francis Newland, John H. Davis, John E. Addicks. [11 5 21 Louis D. Baugh,

HORTICULTURAL HALL, BROAD Street, below Locust.

FESTIVAL AND WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The friends of Freedom will hold their Annual Festival and Social Gathering, to promote the interest of Equal Justice to the Freedmen, on FRIDAY EVENING, November 8, at HORTICULTURAL HALL, The Festival will open at 5 and close at 11 o'clock P. M. The leading caterers of the city have kindly volunteered their services, which insures satisfaction, so far as the lables are concerned. Also the Delmonico Band have volunteered to furnish music. At 8 o'clock precisely, WENDELL PHILLIPS will address the audience on the 'Perlis of the Hour.' Tickets admitting to the Festival and Phillips' Lecture, 50 cents: for reserved seats to Lecture, 25 cents extra. Sale of tickets commences at Ashmead's Book Store, No. 723 CHESNUT Street, and at the Office of the Hall, on Wednesday, November 6, at 10 o'clock. HORTICULTURAL HALL, BROAD

PENNSYLVANIA RAHLROAD COMPANY, TREASURER'S DEPARTMENT,
NOTICE TO STOCKHOLDERS,—The Board of Directors have this day declared a semi-annual dividend
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ner of THIRD and DOCK Streets.

DR. J. M. HOLE, OF OHIO, PRESI-dent of the National Medical Association of the United States of America, can be consuited by those wishing medical or surgical treatment, on and after the Soth instant, at the office No. 30 ARCH Street, Philadelphia, Pa., formerly occupied by Pro-fessor William Paine. Office mours, v A. M. Le 12 M. 1 P. M., to 4 P. M., 7 P. M. to 2 P. M.

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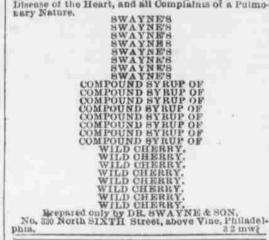
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STORE SHADES made and lettered. 5 % 2m8p

COPARTNERSHIPS.

OTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT THE

COTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT THE CONTROL OF THAT THE CONTROL OF THAT THE LIAM JONES AND WASH'N REEGE BAKER, under the sirm of J. WILLIAM JONES & CO., Importers, Manufacturers, and Dealers in Dye Woods, Dye Studie, etc., is dissolved by mutual consent. All debts owing to the said partnership are to be received by the said J. William Jones, and all demands on the said partnership are to be presented to him for payment.

J. WILLIAM JONES.

WASH, REECE BAKER.

Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 1887.

THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE WILL BE continued at the old stand, No. 57 N. FRONT Street, by J. William Jones, Louis I. Houard, and George F. Knorr, who have the day formed a Copartnership under the name of FONES, HOUARD & KNORR, TOUTS I. HOUARD, GEORGE F. KNORR, 11 264

DRIVY WELLS-OWNERS OF PROPERTY-

Manufacturer of Poudrette,
stor GOLDSMITH'S HALL, LIBRARY Street.

Philadelphia, Nov. I, 1867.