

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

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

The Political Buzzards and Gen. Grant.

We have seen nothing more amusing for a long time than the concerted and desperate crusade from all quarters made upon General Grant, to force from him a political declaration of some sort or other. The Tribune expresses the general feeling which animates the whole army of crusaders, when it declares it does not care what he says, but insists on his saying something. They all feel in precisely this way. They want something to "pitch into" on one side or the other. A Presidential candidate who can't be attacked is simply a nuisance. He spoils business. What are the hangers-on of parties to do with such a man? What hold will anybody have on him for office after he is elected? This sort of thing must be stopped. Grant must be made to say something, and no matter what he says, it will give somebody a chance to assail him—and then political business can begin again.

As usual, Montgomery Blair is foremost in the movement. If Washington report may be credited, he has been buzzing about General Grant like a bee in a tar barrel—seeking private interviews, holding private conversations, and trying in every way to get some show of authority either for saying that Grant is a radical, or that he isn't. The Boston Post seems to have been made the organ of his revelations, but that reporter of the slightly journal very decidedly overdid the business. He seems to have thought it his duty to present the General as not only decidedly hostile to the radicals, but as bitterly enraged with all his friends who represent him as having the slightest toleration for them or their opinions. Probably it was supposed that this would bring out an official correction, at the very least, and that might serve as good a purpose as a formal declaration of political sentiments. But it brings nothing but a flat denial of the whole story, and a repetition of the assurance that nobody has any authority to speak for the General on political and party questions.

On the other side of the case, Colonel Forney comes into the ring. The Colonel has a keen scent, and generally knows whether he is running with the hare or hunting with the hounds—though it makes not the slightest difference. The radical demagogues who have absorbed his worship for the last two years, having been somewhat shaken on their pedestals by the late elections, he proposes to transfer his devotion to the rising sun, and accordingly come out for General Grant. But in order to be consistent (for the versatile Colonel is "nothing if not consistent"), he devotes the columns of his "two newspapers, both daily," to prove that the General is a radical of the most radical type—and this he sends forth, more sure, with mysterious intimations that it goes under high authority, with official sanction, etc. etc. This was precisely the red rag which brings on the bull. The Copperheads, Democrats, and Rebels make a fresh rush upon the General, with catechisms in hand—hoping at last to get disclaimers sufficiently specific to serve their purpose. But all they get is the assurance that General Grant knew nothing about the pronouncements, and that Colonel Forney had no more authority to speak for him than anybody else.

And so the game goes on. Both parties are scouring the whole political field for proof that Grant is on one side or the other. Washburne declared some time ago that the General agreed with Congress. Kelley declares now that he is a radical. General Rawlins made a speech which expressed his own opinions, and that is quoted as proof of Grant's. Blair avers that Grant agrees with the President, and Wendell Phillips is alternately puzzled and enraged, because the General will not tell the world with whom he does agree and with whom he don't.

Now, all this is meant for mischief, but it will do none. These political buzzards never hear so innocently employed as they are now in quarrelling about what General Grant won't say. They certainly cannot harm him. He is not likely to be either coaxed or goaded into such declarations as they demand. He is sought by the people for the Presidency, not for his opinions, but for his character; not because he is for Congress and against the President, nor because he is for the President and against Congress; but because he is known everywhere to love his country above any party—to seek its honor, its peace, and its prosperity far more than the triumph of any party, any section, or any man.

The Roman Question.

After a silence of some days the Atlantic cable is again eloquent. Matters have not, if we are to judge from its intimations, mended in Italy. Italy, in fact, stands on the verge of revolution. Outbreaks have taken place in most of the large cities, and though the military have gained a temporary triumph, the cities are described as in a state of siege. It is evident that it is with the utmost difficulty the Italian Government are managing to preserve even the appearance of order. So loud are the people against France that Victor Emmanuel and his Government, through General La Marmora, now on a special mission to the Emperor Napoleon, are compelled to insist on the immediate withdrawal of French troops from the soil of Italy. They claim to have proved their ability as well as their disposition to preserve order, and France is assured that there is no reason to fear further disturbance, Garibaldi and the other ringleaders being about to leave Italy for the United States. It is also stated that the Italian Government has refused to accede to the proposal to submit the settlement of the Roman question to a purely Catholic convention.

The Path to Peace.

Immediately after the great Democratic successes of last week, the World, eschewing even the appearance of inebriated exultation, and impelled, as it believes, by a patriotic desire to see the country tranquillized, intimated that it would offer some suggestions looking in that direction. The warmth of approbation with which the spirit of that article has been indorsed in numerous letters from various parts of the country, encourages us to proceed. Our respected correspondents confirm our judgment that the present is a favorable conjuncture for settling the peace of the country on a durable foundation.

We have, meantime, while awaiting such responses (favorable or adverse) as we suppose the appeal in question might perhaps call for to lose in a tranquilizing pamphlet, by which all differences would be settled, all rights protected, all interests adjusted and harmonized, and a question which so vitally concerns the present and future welfare of the country be rescued from the embittering animosities of a convulsing Presidential canvass.

We have no doubt that if the controversy proceeds on its present basis, the Democratic party will carry the Presidential election; and any Republican who thinks the present reconstruction scheme will stand in that event, discredits his intelligence. The essence of the present reconstruction scheme is negro suffrage; and if anything was ever emphatically condemned by the people on the eve of a Presidential canvass, negro suffrage has been so condemned in the late elections. Negro suffrage may be right in itself; but clearly the people are not ready to concede it, and no time remains to educate them up to that point before opening the great canvass that is close at hand. It is against every reasonable presumption that a party standing upon that issue should succeed. The Democratic hopes seem to us to rest upon as solid an assurance as the contingencies of party politics admit of.

But, for the sake of the argument, we will allow the Republicans to discount our expectations to any extent not absolutely extravagant. The fact that it is generally conceded by Republicans that their only chance of success lies in running an uncommitted man like General Grant, is a confession that, as a simple contest of opposing policies, unaided by personal prestige derived from other sources, the Republican cause would be hopeless. The tide whose ebb has in one short year stranded that party in so many States, is still running out. With this survey of the situation, the most sanguine Republican must acknowledge that if his party succeeds next year, it will be "by the skin of its teeth." In a contest which will have consolidated half the population of the country into an attitude of intense hostility; a contest which will have arrayed the Southern whites in stubborn scorn of the pretensions of the negroes, and a majority of the whole people (including Southern whites and Northern Democrats) in unrelenting opposition to the policy of the Government.

General Grant's Position.

It is not so very long since the popular cry in political contests used to be "Measures, not men." Mr. Andrew Johnson was nominated for Vice-President of the United States in accordance with the false principle embodied in that cry. The disastrous result of the experiment seems to be driving some of our friends to the opposite extreme; and, with the equally dangerous watchword of "Men, not measures," they are bent upon intrusting our national destinies to a General of whose political principles nothing whatever is known, and confiding the most delicate functions of statesmanship to a man who has thus far shown himself only as a resolute and successful soldier. We have been at some pains to collect all the accessible evidence as to General Grant's opinions on the great questions which divide the country, and the decision of which must shape for good or for ill our course during the next Presidential term. We have at present a list of twenty "authorized" explanations of the General's position. Nine represent him as an uncompromising radical; nine are positive that he is a straight up-and-down Democrat; and two declare that he is nothing at all, and will not accept a nomination for the Presidency from either party. Colonel Forney, for example, published the other day, in his two papers, five mortal columns of most excellent Republican sentiments, all of which he asserted that he knew on most indubitable testimony to be in Grant's head, if they had not actually come out of his mouth. The Boston Post next day hastened to inform us that Grant repudiated every word of Colonel Forney's five columns, and the Philadelphia Press replied by an "authorized" contradiction of the Post. The Philadelphia Post learns that Grant has no sympathy with the radicals. The Springfield Republican is certain that he is substantially in accord with the party of freedom, only he is not so foolish as to accept Colonel Forney as his spokesman. The Rebel Mobile Times accepts him as a Copperhead; the Madison Tele-graph denounces him as a radical; the Richmond Enquirer believes he is no friend to the nigger, while General Rawlins vows on the faith of a soldier that he is the best friend the nigger ever had. More than all this, the Hon. E. B. Washburne, a thoroughly disinterested statesman, whose mission in life is to get Grant elected President, has made a long speech to prove that his friend is everything the most exacting voter can require. This ought to have settled the whole business; but, alas for the uncertainty of human affairs! Mr. Washburne has not contented himself with that up gets that pestiferous Boston Post again, and avers that Grant "detests" Mr. Washburne, doesn't know him, wants to get rid of him, and is not responsible for any of his statements. The Washington Chronicle says this is a lie, and Mr. Washburne, we presume, is of the same opinion. The New York Daily Book thinks any man who doubts Grant to be in perfect accord with Congress is "green enough to be eaten up for grass;" and right on the heels of this comes a statement in another Copperhead paper that the General has accepted a nomination from the Johnson Democracy. The Copperheads quote his acceptance of Mr. Stanton's place as a proof that he is a Democrat; Colonel Forney quotes it as a proof that he is a radical. One gentleman heard him refer to the removal of Sheridan as "more of the President's dirty work;" and another gentleman learns that he has taken warning by Sheridan's "admirable fate," and gone over to the conservative party.

Now we have no relish for getting Presidents out of a grab-bag. We have no sympathy with the "hurrah!" movement which hopes to rush a candidate into office, not because he is fit for the place, not because he holds to the principles which the party is created to support, but because he is a good man to shout for at the hustings. We do not believe the election of any President who can merely be relied upon to distribute offices to the Republican party. The election by Republican votes of a President who was not heart and soul identified with Republican principles, would be a greater disaster for us than an open defeat in open battle at the polls, where the lines were sharply drawn, the standards boldly displayed, and the generals resolutely committed to the cause in which they engaged. It is better to be beaten than betrayed.

The Path to Peace.

Immediately after the great Democratic successes of last week, the World, eschewing even the appearance of inebriated exultation, and impelled, as it believes, by a patriotic desire to see the country tranquillized, intimated that it would offer some suggestions looking in that direction. The warmth of approbation with which the spirit of that article has been indorsed in numerous letters from various parts of the country, encourages us to proceed. Our respected correspondents confirm our judgment that the present is a favorable conjuncture for settling the peace of the country on a durable foundation.

We have, meantime, while awaiting such responses (favorable or adverse) as we suppose the appeal in question might perhaps call for to lose in a tranquilizing pamphlet, by which all differences would be settled, all rights protected, all interests adjusted and harmonized, and a question which so vitally concerns the present and future welfare of the country be rescued from the embittering animosities of a convulsing Presidential canvass.

We have no doubt that if the controversy proceeds on its present basis, the Democratic party will carry the Presidential election; and any Republican who thinks the present reconstruction scheme will stand in that event, discredits his intelligence. The essence of the present reconstruction scheme is negro suffrage; and if anything was ever emphatically condemned by the people on the eve of a Presidential canvass, negro suffrage has been so condemned in the late elections. Negro suffrage may be right in itself; but clearly the people are not ready to concede it, and no time remains to educate them up to that point before opening the great canvass that is close at hand. It is against every reasonable presumption that a party standing upon that issue should succeed. The Democratic hopes seem to us to rest upon as solid an assurance as the contingencies of party politics admit of.

But, for the sake of the argument, we will allow the Republicans to discount our expectations to any extent not absolutely extravagant. The fact that it is generally conceded by Republicans that their only chance of success lies in running an uncommitted man like General Grant, is a confession that, as a simple contest of opposing policies, unaided by personal prestige derived from other sources, the Republican cause would be hopeless. The tide whose ebb has in one short year stranded that party in so many States, is still running out. With this survey of the situation, the most sanguine Republican must acknowledge that if his party succeeds next year, it will be "by the skin of its teeth." In a contest which will have consolidated half the population of the country into an attitude of intense hostility; a contest which will have arrayed the Southern whites in stubborn scorn of the pretensions of the negroes, and a majority of the whole people (including Southern whites and Northern Democrats) in unrelenting opposition to the policy of the Government.

We appeal to every citizen not wholly destitute of candor to say if such a state of things would be a solid foundation of our country? If it would tend to cement our shattered national unity? If it would grab up by the roots the deadly poisons which poison our political atmosphere? With race arrayed against race and party against party in nearly equal strength; with passions whetted by the fiercest Presidential canvass ever known, and the violence of contention fed by prejudices which such a contest would render ineradicable—if this be what we are fated to come to, may God in His infinite mercy take pity on us! May heaven help our distressed, distracted country!

The questions now in issue penetrate to the very foundations of our political system; they touch the most powerful and irrepresible passions of human nature. These questions are too deep-reaching and too unsettled to be safely kept open and made the foot-ball of party violence in successive Presidential elections. This deeply agitating controversy can never be closed by a method which half the population of the country stubbornly refuses to accept. We therefore, in a spirit which is not in the least unwilling to make concessions, present this appeal to the good sense, sober judgment, and patriotic instincts of the country.

No settlement has any reasonable chance of durability which does not secure the concurrence of well on to two-thirds or three-fourths of all our citizens. A bare majority, on questions which so profoundly agitate the public mind, can settle nothing, because the beaten minority will not despair of success on a subsequent trial. The Constitution wisely ordains that nothing shall be inserted therein, without a vastly overwhelming preponderance of public sentiment in its favor; wisely because there can be no stability which does not rest like a pyramid, upon a broad base. Whether the proposed settlement shall take the form of Constitutional amendments or not, it is essential that it should be established on a popular assent equally broad; and if it can gain that, it would probably be better to secure it against subsequent disturbance by fortifying it with constitutional barriers.

But the chief thing to be aimed at is not this technical security, but the substantial fairness which will commend it to the judgment of the great body of the people. To this end it must furnish adequate security to the Union; to the rights of the States; to the just claims of the public creditors; and, though least not least, to the interests and capabilities of the negro race. No settlement can stand which does not combine and harmonize these several elements on a basis adapted to the present situation and conducive to them all. That the resources of existing statesmanship are equal to the problem, in the present improved tone of public sentiment, we will not permit ourselves to doubt.

The first important preliminary is a national conference composed of men of moderation and character representing all the various interests. A mode can easily be contrived for bringing such a conference together, if public opinion shall indorse its expediency. Nor would there be any difficulty in designating many of the men who ought to participate in its deliberations. The South should be represented by such men as Wade Hampton, Alexander H. Stephens, Governor Orr, ex-Governor Brown, William C. Rives, General Dick Taylor, General Longstreet, and others of similar moderation and standing. Our object of course is not to provide a list, but specimens. There is no greater reason for deploring the death of the late Governor Andrew than that such a conference cannot have the assistance of his counsel and eloquence. But the Republican party

has many men capable of a similar liberality. Without going beyond our immediate vicinity for samples, we venture to name Hamilton Fish, William C. Bryant, Henry Ward Beecher, and even Horace Greeley, as men who could meet the representatives of the South in amicable discussion, with a sincere desire to reach mutually satisfactory results. The Democrats would send their soundest and wisest men. A conference of this kind, consisting of sixty or eighty men of eminent standing, ripe experience, and persuasive temper, would succeed in finding some solution of our national difficulties which would lift the Union out of the slough of party politics, and re-establish it on the only basis whereon it can stand—that of comprehensive, all-adjusting equity. Any proposition which a conference so composed should agree in recommending would probably be so intrinsically fair, so marked by consideration and reconciling justice, that they would command a popular support wide enough to put them into the Constitution, if that should be deemed their fittest embodiment.

Thus much for the initial stages of the method; we will now proceed, with more hesitation and diffidence, to hazard some hints relating to the substance. It is, of course, not what we suggest, but what the proposed conference might after full consultation agree in, that we should expect to stand by.

The negro question being the knot of the difficulty, it would be futile to offer any suggestions which did not include that. From the very nature of the conflict, all parties must abate something of their claims as a means of securing permanence for what is granted; just as in entering into civil society men relinquish some of their natural rights to secure the protection of the whole body for the remainder. What is yielded on the negro question may also be in part compensated by concessions gained on other points. The extreme negro party on one side demands that negro suffrage shall be immediate and universal.

But this party is confronted by an obstacle it cannot ignore in the demonstration, just given in the elections, that the public opinion of the country does not support its claims. As friends of the negro, they had better accept a postponed and gradually extending suffrage, guaranteed by common consent, than take the risk of getting nothing by prematurely demanding all. The extreme party, on the other side, demands the permanent and universal exclusion of the negroes from the suffrage. But this party cannot ignore the fact that the Republicans are in possession of the Government, and that time enough will elapse before they go out to consolidate the negro race in such rooted antipathy to the white, as to preclude, or postpone to another generation, all hope of harmonizing the interests of the two races. The prompt restoration of the Union is an interest of such magnitude as to be worth a sacrifice, but this healing promptitude is not attainable without considerable concessions in favor of the negroes.

Our own plan would be, to require a five years' probation from the date of their emancipation, as a condition of the more intelligent participation of the Old World; and then admit the first generation on a very small property qualification (say half of what was required of the first generation of white freemen in this State), and in the second generation, when a majority of heads of families will probably have become property-holders, make the suffrage universal. The necessity for these dilatory precautions lies in the fact that the chief evil to be guarded against in the State government is extravagant expenditures and oppressive taxes—an evil against which there is no other protection in a republican government (and even this protection is not very efficient) than that they who lay the taxes shall also feel them. Universal suffrage is safe in the North because a majority of our citizens are owners of property; but republican government would not long survive among us if the avenues to competence were closed against industry and thrift. We shall not stifle for this compromise of the negro question; but without such compromise there can be no durable settlement.

Another conciliatory measure which we venture to suggest, is the adoption of certain provisions of the Confederate Constitution. If there is not manliness enough in the country to recognize what is really good in that instrument, our people are greater bigots or noodies than we deem them. We do not say that a man is a political bigot who contests the excellence of the provisions, but only that he is a cunning idiot if he objects to a thing acknowledged to be good in itself, because it has that particular origin. One of the provisions of the Confederate Constitution which we recommend for consideration is this:—"The principal officer in each of the executive departments, and all persons connected with the diplomatic service, may be removed from office at the pleasure of the President. All other civil officers of the executive department may be removed at any time by the President or other appointing power, when their services are unnecessary, or for dishonesty, incapacity, inefficiency, misconduct, or neglect of duty; and when so removed, the removal shall be reported to the Senate, together with the reasons thereof."

There is perhaps no change which would contribute so much to the stability of our institutions as the incorporation of this provision into the Constitution. It would prevent the country from being convulsed, in every Presidential election, by the reckless and selfish scramble for the control of the Federal patronage, which is doing more than all other causes to corrupt the people and undermine the Government. The South can easily accept it, having already given it their solemn approval. The Republican party should be willing to accept it, as a rational substitute for their Tenure of Office bill. No conjuncture will ever again occur so propitious for its adoption; and besides its solid merit, it would be a link of harmony between both of the chief parties to this unhappy controversy. If there were joined with it the provision of the Confederate Constitution extending the Presidential term to six years, and making the incumbent afterwards ineligible, our Presidents would no longer be tempted to subordinate the interests of the Government to the hope of a reelection.

We also recommend the following excellent provisions of the Confederate Constitution:—"Congress shall appropriate no money from the treasury except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked, estimated for by some one of the heads of departments, and submitted to Congress by the President; or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies; or for the payment of claims against the Government the justice of which shall have been judicially declared by a tribunal for the investigation of claims against the Government, which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish."

"All bills appropriating money shall specify the exact amount of each appropriation, and the purpose for which it is made; and Congress shall grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer, agent, or servant, after such contract shall have been made, or such service rendered."

OLD RYE WHISKIES. THE LARGEST AND BEST STOCK OF FINE OLD RYE WHISKIES. In the Land is now Possessed by HENRY S. HANNIS & CO., Nos. 218 and 220 South FRONT Street, WHO OFFER THE SAME TO THE TRADE, IN LOTS, ON VERY ADVANTAGEOUS TERMS.

Their Stock of Rye Whiskies, in Bond, comprises all the favorite brands extant, and runs through the various months of 1865, '66, and of this year, up to present date. Liberal contracts made for lots to arrive at Pennsylvania Railroad Depot, Erieason Line Wharf, or at Bonded Warehouse, as parties may elect.

ENGLISH CARPETINGS. NEW GOODS OF OUR OWN IMPORTATION JUST ARRIVED. ALSO, A CHOICE SELECTION OF AMERICAN CARPETINGS, OIL CLOTHS, ETC. English Druggettings, from half yard to four yards wide; Mattings, Rugs, Mats. Our entire stock, including new goods daily opening, will be offered at LOW PRICES FOR CASH, prior to Removal, in January next, to New Store, now building, No. 1232 Chestnut Street. REEVE L. KNIGHT & SON, NO. 507 CHESTNUT STREET.

GROCERIES, ETC. FRESH FRUITS, 1867. PEACHES, PEARS, PINEAPPLES, PLUMS, APRICOTS, CHERRIES, BLACKBERRIES, QUINCES, ETC. PRESERVED AND FRESH, IN CANS AND GLASS JARS. Put up for our particular trade, and for sale by the dozen, or in smaller quantities, by MITCHELL & FLETCHER, 910 2d St. NO. 1204 CHESTNUT STREET. JAMES R. WEBB, TEA DEALER AND GROCER, S. E. COR. EIGHTH AND WALNUT STS.

NEW BUCKWHEAT FLOUR, WHITE CLOVER HONEY, FIRST OF THE SEASON. ALBERT C. ROBERTS, Dealer in Fine Groceries, 117 7th Corner FIFTEENTH AND VINE STS. SOAP.

IMPORTANT TO THE LADIES!! No More Dread of Wash-Day!! MOORE'S ELECTRO-MAGNETIC SOAP. "WASHING MADE EASY."

LOOKING-GLASSES OF THE BEST FRENCH PLATE, In Every Style of Frames, ON HAND OR MADE TO ORDER. NEW ART GALLERY, F. BOLAND & CO., 111 2nd St. No. 614 ARCH Street.

STEAM ENGINE PACKING. The modern and extremely popular packing, called MILLER'S LUBRICATIVE, OR SOAP-STONE PACKING, Has already been adopted by over 20,000 Locomotive and Stationary Engines, and is beyond question the best applied the most durable, the cheapest, and nearest the machinery the least of any steam engine packing yet introduced. It is not liable to burn or cut, does not require oil, and there is no waste in its use, as it is made of all sizes to suit the boxes, from 1/2 to 3 inches in diameter. All persons interested in the use of the steam engine are particularly requested to give this packing a trial. A liberal discount will be made to dealers. H. C. SADLER, No. 639 ARCH STREET, PHILA. Sole Agent for Pennsylvania and Delaware. See certificate below.

LEGAL NOTICES. NOTICE.—IN THE MATTER OF THE PHILADELPHIA STEAM PUMP AND TOWING COMPANY. Notice is hereby given that the report of the Auditor appointed by the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of Philadelphia, to report upon the petition to dissolve the said corporation, and to settle its affairs, was filed in the said Court on the 14th day of October, A. D. 1867, and unless exceptions are taken thereto before the 14th day of November, A. D. 1867, the said report will be confirmed, and the corporation dissolved accordingly. By order of the Court, T. D. WEBB, Prothonotary.

REMOVAL. C. W. A. TRUMPLER HAS REMOVED HIS MUSIC STORE FROM SEVENTH AND CHESTNUT STS. TO No. 928 CHESTNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

BOARDING. 1121 GRAID STREET, BETWEEN Chestnut and Market and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets—centrally located, accommodation for permanent, transient, and table boarders. \$1.00 per week. DRIVE WELLS—OWNERS OF PROPERTY.—The only place to get Privy Wells cleaned and Manufactured at very low prices. G. W. WELLS, 1121 GRAID STREET.