### SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

The Legal-Tender Act a Necessity. From the N. Y. Times.

The Journal of Commerce has so often discussed the constitutionality of this question that we should suppose it might state with tolerable precision the ground upon which it stands. But, although we said, in reply to its attack upon this set of Congress, that it was supported on two grounds—first, that it had been found to be "necessary and proper" to carry into effect the powers involving page. carry into effect the powers involving pecuniary expenditure, specifically granted to Con-gress for purposes of war, and, second, that it was a reasonable and well-known means to the end which was sought to be accomplished -the Journal persists in stating that we had

these grounds only.

We also stated that the measure became thus legal, inasmuch as the money fabricated from the precious metals had been persistently expelled from the United States, in consequence of the prevalence of small bills all over the Union.

hinged its constitutionality upon the former of

A candid and intelligent examination of the effect of the universal habit of the country to treat such bills as the representatives of money-from a very general preference of them to coin as a thing to carry in the pocket and use in daily transactions-must lead to the conclusion that in a war of great magnitude the precious metals cannot be commanded in sufficient abundance for an unusual expenditure. The pockets of the people are the depositories of nearly as much, if not more, of the circulating medium than is collected together in banking institutions, and when this amount consists of gold and silver, it might constitute a sufficient fund, with the aid of what is deposited on banks, to justify the Government to rely upon it in war. Canada now holds a considerable share of our small coins, while the people of the United States hold the paper promises to pay them in the shape of stamps. The only coins which now circulate in the Atlantic portion of the United States are those (one, two, three, and five-cent. pieces) which have been degraded below the standard for other coins. The latter circulate here because they will not circulate in countries which keep up their standard to the recognized footing.

Now, suppose the United States shall be

involved in another war during this state of the finances, to what extent would the Government be justified in adapting its pecuniary measures to the present financial condition If it should call for the "constitutional currency," what else would flow in but nickel delicately touched with silver? Gold and silver in abundance for our wants could not be obtained. Must the nation for that reason submit to be annihilated, or may it not for its preservation from destruction adapt its pecuniary measures to the circumstances which exist? If it can do so now, when our finances are debauched with paper descending to frac-tional amounts, it could do so then, when they were so debauched with small bills, down to a dollar, that the expulsion of coins of that magnitude and above was as certain as the expulsion of our fractional coinage became by the issue of fractional currency. If the Government is ever to conduct war on the basis of the "constitutional currency," the event will have been preceded by a long course of expemence in the opposite direction to that in which we have steadily travelled from the very origin of our Government. It will take years to establish the pre-eminence of the precious metals as a circulating medium.

The mode and manner of carrying into effect owers of the Government must ever de pend on the circumstances of the time. The Constitution contains only the great outlines of authority, and it is left to Congress to choose "necessary and proper" to effectuthe means ate the object, with no other limit than that they shall be reasonably conducive to the end, and not against any constitutional restriction. This rule has been laid down frequently by the Supreme Court, and it seems clear that the case in question comes within its operation.

### Reconstruction as it Stands.

From the N. Y. Nation. It is three years and more since the close of the war, and to-day we have Tennessee de-manding the aid of the United States army to keep in existence the State Government which represents, not perfectly perhaps, but still tolerably well, the principles in behalf of which the war was waged by the North; that is to say, the present State Government of Tennessee is in the hands of men who are and have been better lovers of the Union than of secession, and, under its rule, the colored citizens of the United States there resident are not oppressed, but each counts for as much politically as a white Tennesseean of equal intelligence; yet the Legislature has just been obliged to send a committee of its members to Washington to ask for the support of the Federal Government, and the request seems so reasonable that even Mr. Johnson feels bound to grant it. Certainly this is a fact that challenges careful consideration; and it will not seem less important if we extend our view so as to include the rest of the South, for the case of Tennessee cannot, we think, be held to be in any essential respect exceptional. The Legislature of that State has, to be sure, been sterner in disfranchishing formerly disloyal citizens than some, and perhaps most, of the other Southern Governments. And not nnnaturally was this so. In Tennes-see the Rebel and the Unionist were for years face to face in a hand-to-hand fight "for wife and life." Many of the Tennesseean law-makers of to-day, within the past six years, been hunted like wild beasts, and have set out by night for the Federal lines with their homes burning behind them to light them on the way. When a man has been compelled to live in the woods for days together, feeding his children on parched corn, or not feeding them at all, and has worn a cow-bell round his neck in order to get safely past Rebel pickets, where he would have been murdered without mercy; when he has watched from his hiding-place while his father or brother was first whipped and then was shot, in cold blood, by a man who, perhaps, called him by his Christian name just as the bullet was sent through his head or his heart, it is not surprising if he is slow of belief that persons formerly in rebellion ought to be allowed to rule the State in which he lives. Whether it was bad or good policy, it certainly was not at all unaccountable that Mr. Brownlow's government should have been so harsh in its

their fellow-citizens. But outside of Tennessee this proscriptive spirit-mild as it is at its worst-has not been very actively at work. In Georgia, for instance. nobody is distranchised by the act of the local authorities; the Congress of the United States has done all the disfranchising that has been done in Georgia. But what is it that we see there, and what is it that we may very reasonably expect to see? The whites are in a

treatment of disunionists as to deny them the

right to govern or participate in governing

by black ones as there is that the earth will | crat, as were most of his followers. One of soon begin to revolve round the moon. No- the earliest companies to volunteer was a body in the State or out of it ever said that Democratic company from New Bedford. the twenty or thirty colored members of the Captain Devereux, of Salem, was a Democrat, Legislature have ever shown a tyraunical or cruel disposition, or that there would be any reason to fear them if they had, or that the best interests of the State could not be promoted by the Legislature as it was when elected. Doubtless there were colored men in the Legislature who were not over-wise. Perbaps the Legislature has not yet been seen in this or any other country which has not contained a certain number of men whose opinions on almost any subject whatever would be of small value. But regardless of good policy, of the local law, and, as we think, of statesmanship—regardless of everything but the traditionary prejudice against negroes—the majority in the Georgia Legislature have just driven out of the House and Senate every one of the few men of color who had dared to be elected to seats in it. And this is only the prelude to other things that none of us will like so well. It is not intended by the Democratic majority that the Georgia negro should cast a vote any more than it is intended that he should be voted for. It is intended, in the case of each negro in that State, that the man who formerly bought and sold him shall regulate his whole existence, social as well as political; and nothing, we take it, is much surer than that before this time next year we shall see in operation a Georgia Black Code not so very different from the slave laws of 1858, much as has happened within the decade.

There are hardly two other Southern States in which it is impossible-indeed, in which it is not probable—that there will be the same defeat of almost all the results of the war. In Mississippi it has already taken place. In that State-the most degraded and ignorant, perhaps, of all the States of the Union-it is now, on the whole, almost as well, from the Southern point of view, to be the employer of a negro as it was formerly to be the owner of him. He is not salable now; but he can be kept in one's hands almost as closely as before, and one is almost as little responsible for the just or decent treatment of him. So also of Texas, as well as of Mississippi and Georgia; so of Arkansas; so, to a great extent, of Alabama. Louisiana is at peace because of the presence of Union soldiers, and for no other reason; and we ourselves think that if we except North Carolina and Florida-which latter is so small as hardly to be counted-nothing better could be said of the South generally than that it seems sure that the negroes will soon be reduced to a condition not very far removed from their old condition, and that in most towns south of Tennessee no white man who is not a believer in a "white man's govvernment" is going to be allowed to live in

comfort or safety. If nothing worse were to happen than the social ostracism of the Northern men who have gone to the South, the matter would still be lamentable enough. On account of the discouragement of immigration, an immense tract of the national territory would be condemned, for a generation or two longer, to lie half-inhabited and half-cultivated by a comparatively uncivilized people-more or less barbarous masters and serfs. But if we may judge by the course taken by Georgia, the oatracism of Northerners at the South is not to be all that we have gained by the war. We are, as we have said, to have, besides that, the virtual enslavement of the negro population. We have not yet heard any suggestion of a way to prevent Georgia's proceeding as far as she likes-and we know how far that is-in the way upon which she has entered. She has declared negroes ineligible to office, and so they may be under her constitution; but whether they are or not, who is to say no to her Lagis. lature? Nothing hinders her declaring negroes incapable of voting. Nothing, we imagine, short of a United States army, or, possibly the fear of one, can hinder her from taking her own course in all respects. We have made the mistake of letting the South slip from the grasp of military power before we could be said to have honestly completed the work of reconstruction. It may have been necessary to take that erroneous course. Perhaps if we had not done ill, we should have seen the Democrats in power doing worse. We can congratulate ourselves on having at least attempted to do our duty by the people whom we freed from their masters and the people whom we freed from their slaves-on having done something towards bringing the South into conformity with the customs and laws which regulate society among the more civilized nations. But it is not to be denied that, as regards this work, we seem to have attempted rather than to have succeeded. The state of affairs in Georgia and Tennessee is such as may well make us doubt whether, between the two stools Restoration and Reconstruction, we have not failen to the ground-have not had all the trouble and anxiety of trying to make a new South, and have not, after all, unconditionally, or all but unconditionally, readmitted the old Souththe South in which Andersonville was possible, the South of slave-laws, of dense ignorance, of social and political tyranny, whose very virtues are the virtues of a time that is gone by, and in this age are for the most part vices that help to keep a people out of the current

of progress. If this be so-and we do not know on what theory Georgia (except so far as we can keep a Federal police there, and strengthen it to any desirable extent) is less her own mistress than Tennessee is, or New York, or Massa-chusetts—then a heavy responsibility is laid on the Republican party. To do anything towards preventing the full consummation of the plans of the present generation of Southern politicians and statesmen, it will be necessary that the Republican party should keep in power. A present success of the Democratic party means, of course, a restoration of the Union as it was. Four years more of Republican administration, and a Democratic success will mean something better than but not what will even then be needed-a supervision by the enlightened and unprejudiced part of the country over the rest of it-a surety on the part of all men in the South, loyal or disloyal, that behind the governments now established there is the irresistible force of the nation at large. Republican success is for the present certain, we suppose; but it has been endangered, and easily may be endangered again. We hope for much from the next four years, but we must watch warily, or lose all that has been gained.

#### Democrats in the War. From the Boston Post.

Among the unjustifiable assumptions of the radicals, none has been more false than the assertion that the ranks of the Federal army, during the war, were almost exclusively filled by members of their party. Here in Massa-chusetts, the very hot-bed of their growth and the point of their numerical strength, the first three companies that reached Boston in response to the Governor's call were composed principally of Democrats. Captain Dike, a Democrat, and the son of a Democrat, was notified at midnight, at Stoneham, that his company was wanted in Boston, and it was on Boston Common at 11 o'clock the next morning. Major Watson, of the 6th Regi-ment, who gallantly led his men through

and a large portion of his men were Democrats. General Guiney says the 9th Regiment was composed entirely of Democrats. Colonel Burrill was a Democrat, and a majority of his regiment entertained the same political opinions. In Nims' Battery nearly every man was a Democrat. General Butler says there were not three hundred Republicau voters among the six thousand men he en-listed to follow him to New Orleans. Among the Democratic officers whose commands were also largely composed of Democrats, were General Cowdin, Colonel Parker, Wilder, and many others. When Major Wilder was called upon to suppress the riot in this city, he was ready for duty in less than two hours after notice, and did his work faithfully. But a few weeks ago Dr. Loring received :

merited rebake from General Schouler, Presi-

dent of the Grant Club at Lynn, at a Republi-

can meeting there. Loring, like Charles

Sumner, called the Democrats Rebels, and in the course of his remarks appealed to General Schouler to confirm his allegation. The Gene ral said in response, "He had been a Republiean from the start, and did not come into the party after the war was over; that he could not endorse the remarks of Loring; that Democrat as well as Republican had volunteered for the defense of the Union; that Democrat as well as Republican lay side by side on every battle field of the South; that Democrat as well as Republican had returged to their homes worn and disabled by the war; or lay side by side in every graveyard in New England; and that he, for one, would not acquiesce in the slanders that had been heaped upon them." The General, as Adjutant of the State during the war, knows as well as any citizen in it the character of the men who filled the ranks of the army from Massachusetts, and is too honorable to indorse the calumnies of grovelling recreants who fawn for thrift before the power of radicalism, and abuse their old associates to ingratiate themselves into favor with those they deem ready to reward scandal with promotion. In civil action the Democrats were as prompt in sustaining the war as the radicals. Governor Andrews said, in addressing soldiers, that the heart of all Massachusetts beat in sympathy with his words, from the shores of Cape Cod to the hills of Berkshire. Party spirit was allayed, political differences were forgotten. The Hon. B. F. Hallett, Democrat, and the Hon. Edward Everett, Republican, addressed the same meetings. Mr. Northend, Democrat, in the Legislature moved to provide for the discipline and instruction of a military force and to aid families of volunteers. Governor Andrew commissioned officers without regard to their politics. Henry Wilson said ne recommended citizens for commissions without thinking of their party. The law authorizing the issue of seven millions of State scrip to sustain the war was voted for by every Democrat in the Legislature. General Schouler, in his history, says the people of the State were a unit in support of the war. The Hon. H. L. Dawes publicly complimented the Democratic press for its supported of the war. The Democratic State Committee in 1861 expressed themselves as decidedly in favor of energetically prosecuting the war as did the Republican Committee. The Hop. J. H. Clifford, Republican, President of the State Senate, 1862, said. 'Already have gallant sons of Massachusetts. native and adopted, of every class and condition, and holding every variety of opinion upon controverted questions of policy and principle, marched as a band of brothers to the field to uphold the common flag, or to fall in its defense." The Hon. Caleb Cushing, Democrat, in calling the House of Representatives to order, as the senior Repres same year, called upon its members to dedicate themselves, heart and soul, "to uphold, to re-establish and perpetuate our sacred and beloved Union." Mr. Ballock, President of the Republican Convention, 1862, said, "all were agreed in the prosecution of the war."

So in the private walks of life, the Democrats were as active-and their families-in sustaining the war for the Union, in every manner in which the humanity and the patriotism of citizens were indicated, as any portion of the community; facts more numerous than we have space to here enumerate conclusively establish this. In the midst of the war the Democrats nominated a General in the field as their candidate for Governor; after the war they nominated another General who nobly distinguished himself in the war, and who was selected, at the close of the great contest, to present the worn and stained battle flags of the State to the Governor to be preserved in the archives of the Commonwealth.

#### The Presidential Contest—Wendell Phillips and the Women's Rights Women. From the N. Y. Herald.

Some twelve months ago, among the Republican party leaders and managers, apprehensions were entertained that Wendell Phillips. with his radical abolition faction on negroes rights, and Miss Susan B. Authony and Company on women's rights, including the right of suffrage, would be apt to make some mis-chief in this Presidential campaign in a third party movement against the Republican candidate, and especially in the event of General Grant's nomination.

The platform of Phillips on negroes' rights embraced—first, the proposition of "Old Thad Stevens" of some "mild measure" of Southern confiscations, whereby the freedmen might be provided each with a homestead of forty acres of land and a mule to work it; and, secondly, universal negro suffrage, North and South, by act of Congress. He had no hope of these things from the Fortieth Congress, and but little hope in the Republican party. He had no faith whatever in General Grant, and subsequently the developments of the impeachment trial excited his especial wrath and vengeance against Chief Justice Chase. Since the Chicago Convention Phillips has become less violent in his philippies, and is much less conspicuously before the public than he was last winter. In fact, in almost disappearing from the public eye he has been almost entirely overlooked in the excitements of this canvass. We had anticipated a third party in this fight, on an independent negroes' rights and women's rights platform, under the direction of Phillips as chief engineer, and it is somewhat remarkable that no such party ticket or platform is in the field.

The Republican party at Chicago made a regular back down on negroes' rights in declaring that while compulsory universal negro suffrage by act of Congress was a good thing in the South, it was best to leave this matter in the North to the discretion of the several States. Next, in regard to women's rights not a delegate or volunteer appeared in the Chicago Convention, and not a word was said upon the subject. Moreover, the constitutional amendment, article fourteen, the work of the Republican party, provides that suffrage throughout the United States may be extended to all races and colors on the universal principle, but that it shall be limited to males above the age of twenty-one years. Thus on negroes' rights, as advocated by Phillips and his radical

Francis Train and Company, the Republican party has utterly failed in the nomination of

General Grant to come up to the mark.

And how is it with the Democracy? In their nominating Convention at Tammany Hall they gave our fellow-citizens of African descent pretty clearly to understand that the fundamental idea of the Democratic party is that this is "the white man's government," while on women's rights they laughed and shouted, and yelled and screamed in their uproarious mirth over Miss Anthony's petition, as if they thought it the funniest in the world and the richest joke of the sea son. What would have happened had Wendell Phillips, in behalf of the black man, and Miss Anthony, in behalf of the white woman, appeared in the Tammany Convention, arm in arm, there is no telling. In all probability Horatio Seymour would have swooned in a flood of tears under Wade Hampton's denunciations of the radical outrage. At all events there is but little comfort to be found for Phillips or Miss Anthony, the women or the negroes, in the Democratic ticket or platform. How is it, then, that the radical abolition or

negroes' rights party of Phillips, combined with the women's rights party, have no ticket of their own in this contest? Is the philanthropic proposition of forty acres of land and a mule to every freedman in the South given up? Is the grand idea of universal female suffrage abandoned? We think not. Had the Democrats boldly taken up the advocacy of universal suffrage to white women as a safeguard against universal negro suffrage, the whole face of things in this cauvass might have been changed. But the failure of the Democrats to seize their golden opportunity does not end the agitation. As neither Phil lips nor Miss Anthony, however, have any-thing in their peculiar line of business promised from either of the two great parties of the day, and as it would be a waste of labor to attempt now to get up a third Presidential party of any account, we dare say that Phillips and his political guerrillas and Miss Anthony and her women's rights women have agreed to let this Presidential contest go by default, but are determined to take the field early for the campaign of 1872. They doubtless expect that General Grant will be elected that under his administration the whole business of Southern reconstruction and restoration will be definitely settled, together with the money question, and that then will be the time for a tremendous political revolution in behalf of a general division of property all round among all races and all colors, free farms, free markets and free love, and universal female suffrage and women's rights.

Radical Treatment of the South. From the N. Y. World.

Nacaulay, somewhere in his history, draws a spirited and impressive contrast between the retrospective sentiment excited by the Eag-

lish wars in Scotland and the Euglish wars in Ireland. Since the absorption of Scotland, that country has been treated by England with a wise magnanimity which has obliterated all hostile feelings, and the consequence is that each people has long regarded with sympathetic admiration the deeds of valor performed by the other when they were spilling each other's blood. The heroism exhibited by both sides is thrown into the com mon stock of national glory. Burns' patriotic songs are read with as thorough enjoyment by the people of the southern part of the island as by the descendants of the "Scots wha ha wi' Wallace bled." Walter Scott describes with as keen a zest the valor and conduct by which his ancestors were defeated and made to run like cowards, as if every throb of his pulse were not that of an ingrained Scotchman. But the Irish poet Moore, though a far less intense Irishman than the great novelist was a Scotchman, would sooner have cut off his right hand than have written a stanza celebrating the prowess of the English forces in any of the Irish battles. Every engage ment on Irish soil is still a fountain of exasperation to Irish feeling. The memory of English valor perpetuates hatred but rouses no admiration. The consequence is, that the wars of two centuries ago contribute to the bit-

ter alienation which makes the Irish question

to-day the most difficult problem in British

The Democratic party is aiming to treat the

South, since the close of the war, as England

has treated Scotland; to respect its local feel-

ings and prejudices, to encourage its trade, to

politics.

build up its prosperity, and efface the uupleasant memories of former quarrels and contests. The Republican party, on the other hand, is treating the South as England has treated Ireland; forcing upon it institutions it abhors, exasperating its local prejudices, repressing its development, and domineering over it with all the insolence of conquerors. If the Democratic party succeeds, the South will be our Scotland; if the Republican party, it will continue to be our Ireland. In a country like England, where there is a state religion, it would seem consistent and logical that the national church should be upheld in every part of the empire. But Scotland was wisely left to worship according to her own preferences, and was permitted to retain her own jurisprudence; while an opposite system in Ireland has kept that country in a state of chronic irritation and ill-suppressed mutiny. The Republican party is more absurdly tyrannical towards the South than the English Government has been towards Ireland. What language would be strong enough to portray English despotism and insolence, if, instead of attempting to force upon Ireland the Episcopal Church which England adopts herself, she should use her power to force the Methodist or the Baptist religion which she rejects? What would be said of the tyranny and folly of England if she should undertake to force Roman Catholic religion upon Scotland while she enacts laws against it at home? But this scarcely conceivable folly would be similar to what the Republican party is perpetrating in the South. Negro suffrage, which is rejected and scorned in the North, where the negroes are few and it would do little harm has been forced upon the South, where the negroes are numerous and the danger great. A more flagrant inconsistency, a more exaspe rating insult, cannot be imagined. If we are going to force upon the South anything which the South detests, we should at least have the apology of its being something which we do not ourselves reject. No insolence can be more insufferable, no hyprecrisy more odious, than to be apostles and propagandists of a system in which we do not believe, and to resort to persecution and the sword to compel people to do what we have shown by recent examples that we scorn to do ourselves. And yet this is the hopeful method adopted by the Republicans for recovering the alienated affections of the South !

The Republicans are making the late war the hinge of the Presidential campaign. They invoke all the bitter animosities and sectional hatred which prevailed when we were drafting soldiers to fight against the South. To acouse the Democratic party of slackness in the war is regarded as their best electionsering weapon. To denounce the Seuthern people as Rebels is thought the best justification of the Republican policy. The subjugation and humiliation of the South is as much the aim now as it was six years ago. It is not a policy majority in Georgia; there is as much likeli- ment, who gallantly led his men through abolition faction, and on women's rights, as of peace, but of passion, revenge, and demihood that white Georgians will be oppressed the mob in Baltimore, was a prominent Demo- advocated by Miss Susan B. Anthony, George nation. The symbol of the canvass on the

HANAS S. I. 218 & 220 S. FRONT ST S. FRONT ST. HENR OFFER TO THE TRADE, IN LOTS,

FINE RYE AND BOURBON WHISKIES, IN BONDS of 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868.

ALSO, FRIE FINE LYE AND BOURBON WHISKIES, Of GREAT AGE, ranging from 1864 to 1845.

Liberal contracts will be entered into for lots, in bond at Distillery, of this years' manufacture.

Republican side is the sword. Its leader is a man who knows no trade but war, selected because the old feeling of hostility would more naturally rally around him than around a statesman or a civilian. If Virginia should send General Lee to the Senate, or if the Southerners in the Democratic Convention had asked for his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, such a selection would be denounced by the Republicans as an affront to Northern self-respect. And yet they put forward our most distinguished soldier and brandish his sword in the face of the South, as if the Southern people had no pride or sensibilities which Northern insolence is bound to consider. The effect of such management is to make the memories of the war a source of perpetual irritation between the two sections; to cause the South to regard itself as a subjugated and persecuted people, threatened with still further humiliations if the Republican party succeeds. Perseverance in such a course will make the Southern question as endless and irritating in this country as the Irish question is in Great Britain, and will keep open perennial fountains of bitterness in all the battle-fields of the late war.

#### How Not To Do It. From the N. Y. Tribune.

Everybody has heard of the unfortunate adventurer who drew in a raffle an enormous elephant, with an appetite corresponding to its proportions. The acquisition of this beast would have been exceedingly delightful to its new proprietor, only he could not afford to keep it; and could neither sell it nor give it away. The Democratic ex-slaveholders seem to be mostly in this perplexing predicament. They would like hugely to have the colored vote for Seymour, but, even if it were to be had for the asking, their attempts to ask for it are ludicrous in the extreme. Under the circumstances this is not an easy thing to do: there being a great deal of human nature in the bosom of the Patriarch, some of it is apt to get into his mouth, and his experiments in adjusting his organs of speech to seek for favors from his late bondmen result pretty often in the most remarkable contortions. The endeavors of the ex-masters, in this department of public duty, to hit the exact line between the most sublime condescension and the friendliest familiarity, give to all their addresses, and speeches, and leading articles the same duality of tone which characterized the vocal organs of Mr. Orator Puff. These, as the reader will remember, were sometimes to "B alt.," and instantly sunk to "G below." Good Lord," he exclaimed in his ne and she tones, Hep me out! help me out! I have proken my bones!

bones!"
'He:p you out," said a Paddy who passed; "what a bother!
There's two of you there; can't you help one another?" -The consequence of this extensive vocal register is that these Southern Democrats sometimes sigh, and sometimes swear; sometimes, by way of suitable gesture, they snap the fingers of those hands which anon are raised in the attitude of petition; now they are ferocious, and now fascinating; and so they go on vibrating between threats and promises, until the puzzled freedman, finding it impossible easily to decide whether they are friends or foes, will hardly give them the benefit of the doubt. That blacks should vote at all, they hold to be an insufferable grievance; but if blacks must vote, let it by all means be upon their side! The vote in such incapable hands is utterly worthless unless they can secure it—then, indeed, it becomes at once and incalculably precious. In a word, if they can convert voters into moral slaves, to do their bidding, to sustain their opinions, to become their unquestioning and convenient instruments, all will be serene and they will be content. On the other hand, a freedman who will not vote for Seymour is a rascal, an idiot, an ingrate, a lunatic, an incendiary, and a knave! So they offer him glasses of rum and eleemosynary breeches, houses and employment, groceries and boots but if these blandishments are disregarded the Patriarchs relapse into the old fury, and threaten nakedness, hunger, houselessness, and every other form of the most fearful destitution.

These vibratory emotions we have already pointed out as exhibited in all their beauty in the "Address of the Democratic white voters of Charleston to the colored voters of the State generally"-a document excessively smooth and saccharine in spots, but which ends with a promise of "wretchedness and ruin" to all blacks who are base enough to cast a Republican ballot. Of course, the animus of such a production is logically evident. The expresston of hatred is always more sincere than the wheedling of an affected interest, and men do not bully those whom they are anxious, from a disinterested motive, to persuade. These past-patriarchs must learn to control their tempers-a very difficult thing for them to learn-if they would convince the freedmen that Seymour is their warmest and most trustworthy friend-feeling for them, praying for them, planning for them by day and affectionately dreaming of them by night. The freedman may not be learned in American politics, but a bitter experience has sharpened his faculties of observation, as they would have been sharpened if he had been no more than a mere animal, and he knows well enough that he might have waited long indeed for his liberty of voting, or for liberty of any description, if he had waited for Horatio Seymour to undertake, in the dark drama of the day, the benevolent part of a Moses. He knows that the men who talk thus smoothly to him have ten thousand times announced to the world that his bondage was perpetual, that it arose from the nature of things, that it was based upon the Holy Scripture, was established under the Old Dispensation and confirmed under the New, and was as permanent and immutable as Christianity itself. He knows-he knew long ago-that he was purposely kept in a condition of ignorance and degradation. He brows, text and margent, the whole of the old slave code, for the commentaries upon it were constantly written in blood and scars upon his back. He understands alike the cursing and the coaxing. He estimates at their full value the temptations which are extended to him; and if he is frightened into apparent acquiescence for a moment, he will ere long, by the force of instinct, reason himself back to a just comprehension of the situation. Any class of men would, under the same circumstances, do

this; but these freedmen will be specially helped and kindly encouraged, and, if necessary, their rights will be sternly defended should they be cruelly and inequitably assailed. They know that they have friends; they know who they are; and it is the consciousness that they know this, and will know it better day by day, which rouses the impotent wrath of Southern Seymourites and occasions all the idle talk about "scalawags" and "carpet-bag-gers" which is the burden of half the "Democratic" speeches in those regions. Is it to be for an instant supposed that the ignoble timidity of which the Southern Democrats are making a display discreditable to human nature will promote their interests, selfish and shameful as those interests are?

There was but one prudent policy for them to pursue, and they have avoided it with childish absurdity. They might have been consistently humane; they might have recegnized frankly the real rights of the emancipated; they might have mastered the passions of hatred and revenge which the failure of the Rebellion has left smoldering, and addressed themselves with cheerful and hearty alacrity to the wise arrangement of their solial rela-tions. Then the presence of the black population would have occasioned no unmanly embarrassment, nor would they have been driven to the expedients of a discreditable and unavailing duplicity. They would have been saved from fawning and flattery on the one hand and from cowardly menaces upon the other. They have chosen a different course; but while they pursue it they settle nothing, adjust nothing, advance no real prosperity of the South, remove no private prosperity of their own from jeopardy. One position or another they must ultimately accept. They must recognize the human and natural rights of all, without the least fraudulent reservation, expressed or implied, without the smallest unjust limitation, or they must lose the little hold upon the colored population which the Rebellion has left them.

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