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

The Moral of Republican Defeats.

Our remark that the check here and there received by Republicans in the recent Congressional elections bids fair to prove a lasting benefit to the party is objected to in some quarters as unsound in theory and dangerous in practice. The Cincinnati Chronicle states the question thus:— "If Republican principles are good, it is a laudable desire of Republicans in every Congressional district to be associated with them by one who holds those principles. If the Times had said it better to be represented by a corrupt Democrat, than by a corrupt Republican, would there would be more appearance of reason in its theory; but why choose either? And if you do, why help the Democrat to power, and place for steering and piloting, who have vote always against your own party and principles in addition? The advantage is not clear.

"Suppose, on the other hand,—as is unfortunately true in several cases,—that this process of depletion for the benefit of our party has resulted in leaving at home some of our very best men, and in electing Democrats of the opposite character in their stead. Where is the profit?"

The argumentum ad hominem illustrates one of the inconveniences of defeat, but leaves untouched the essential welfare of the Republican party. We regret the loss of good men, and regret it all the more because in their cases defeat has, for the most part, been the consequence of Democratic fraud. In an honest encounter they would have been successful. In other instances, as in the rejection of Ashley, the party has suffered the penalty of an attempt to press upon it an objectionable man; while the fate of Bonny in Minnesota, shows how easily a district overwhelmingly Republican may be sacrificed by personal ambition.

Apart from personal considerations, however, it seems to us that the party may turn to a profitable account the warnings it has received in several of the States. The probability of moderation has seldom been more strikingly exemplified. The party was for a time disposed to presume upon its enormous strength. It was assured by some of its leaders that it might do as it pleased with impunity; that whatever it might choose to do would be indorsed by the country; and that its lease of power might, by its own acts, be prolonged indefinitely. Had the adherents of this doctrine acquired control of the Chicago Convention, the probability is that the national contest would have ended differently. The party owes its triumph in a large degree to its moderation. The blunders of its opponents helped it somewhat, but the aid thence derived was inconsiderable compared with the strength arising from the personal character of its candidates and the conservatism of its platform.

We ought not to forget that of the supporters of Grant and Colfax a not insignificant percentage originally belonged to our opponents. The War Democrats are an element of power whose cooperation should be remembered with gratitude, and whose strength we can never afford to despise. These men are not Republicans in the partisan sense. They will not vote for the Republican ticket simply because it is so called. They separated from the Democracy when that party proved false to the Union, and they attached themselves to the Republican party because of its fidelity to the Union and its devotion to national interests. This class of voters cannot be relied upon, unless the party seeking their suffrages present a policy which commends itself to their judgment. They deal with candidates and policies on their merits. They will do nothing blindly. And they have throughout the war, been our policy harmonizers with the objects of the war, while that of the Democracy would have placed the Government in the hands of its enemies.

The balance of power, as between the two parties, is, then, held by the moderate men of the country. They worship neither names nor organizations. They are observant, critical, and in the aggregate influential. The continued success of the Republican party depends upon the confidence of these voters. And it can do this only by eschewing extreme measures, rejecting extreme counsels, and endeavoring wisely and energetically to restore harmony and promote prosperity. The local defects it has experienced will not be in vain, if they impress upon it the necessity of justifying confidence by the excellence of its own measures, the purity and efficiency of its own administration, rather than the past follies or crimes of its opponents.

In addition to these considerations, the value of an effective opposition in Congress deserves notice. That is one of the benefits to which we originally referred. Parliamentary history teaches conclusively the advantages of an opposition which, while unable to defeat measures, is strong enough to insure their discussion. The country has suffered from hasty legislation, and the Republican party will not be a loser if the repetition of the evil be quietly prevented.

The Outgoing Administration.—Mr. Johnson a Failure.

All eyes are turned from the setting to the rising sun, from the outgoing to the incoming administration, from Mr. Johnson to General Grant, from favors lost, refused, or enjoyed, to favors expected, and generally from the disappointments of the past to the hopes of the future. Very few politicians or philosophers show care to inquire what Mr. Johnson has done, what he has failed to do, what he can do, what he is doing or intends to do, or whether, on his retirement from the White House, he goes to Tennessee or to Texas. To the public at large it is enough that his administration has been a failure, and that they are awaiting the incoming of General Grant with a very general expectation of something better.

To the aspiring politician, however, Mr. Johnson's administration, even as a failure, is full of instructive matter. First of all, it reminds us of Tyler and Fillmore, each of whom, like Johnson, was elected as Vice-President, and as a make-weight on the ticket, each of whom became President from the untimely death of his superior, and each of whom as President turned out a failure. It was the great misfortune, we apprehend, of all three of these men that they were not satisfied in being President by accident, but desired an other term each in his own name and in his own right. That it was Tyler quarrelled with Henry Clay and the Whig party, and endeavored to set up a party of his own on the basis of the distribution of the spoils. The movement was carried to the point of an independent Tyler convention, but it collapsed with the nomination of Polk as the Democratic candidate and was merged in the Democratic party. Fillmore, as the substitute for General Taylor, played a more cautious game, but failing to secure the Whig nomination of 1852 he took the field in 1856 as the candidate of the American or Know Nothing party, the lineal successor of the Whig party South, against the Republican party, the lineal suc-

cessor of the Whig party North, and so elected Buchanan. Tyler and Fillmore each signally failed in their main object, but they had some satisfaction in the success of their next project, which was the defeat of the party they had deserted, and the same may be said of Van Buren, in reference to a second term, as the lineal successor of Jackson.

Johnson has, then, been more unfortunate than Van Buren, or Tyler, or Fillmore. His independent Johnson party movement of 1856, and his efforts to secure the Democratic nomination of 1868, were love's labor lost; and quite as fruitless were his efforts at the eleventh hour of the day to turn the scale by a pro-nomination in favor of Seymour. Worst of all, however, for Johnson, in his policy to make the Presidential office subservient to his election as President in his own right, by a third party or by the Democratic party, his administration from beginning to end may be pronounced a failure, and a failure compared with which that of Tyler was a great enjoyment and that of Fillmore a great success.

The first step of Mr. Johnson after he was sworn in as President of the United States was the work of reconstruction. He had no subsequent blunders and failures may be charged. We refer to his primary blunder of undertaking the reconstruction of the subjugated Rebel States without the assistance of Congress. As the law then existed, the two houses, which had adjourned on the 4th of March, 1865, would not, without a special call, meet again till December. The Rebellion (April 15) had just been suppressed, the conquered Rebel States were all in chaos, and to Congress properly belonged the work of reconstruction. Why, then, did not Mr. Johnson call the two houses together in an extra session? Because he had resolved upon a reconstruction plan of his own, from which he expected such an amount of political capital as would make him President for another term, whether supported or opposed by Congress. He had a Congressional recess of eight months before him, and within that time he expected to complete his work, and that, accepted or rejected, in making its acceptance his ultimatum to Congress the succession would be within his grasp.

This theory of the inspiration of Mr. Johnson's Southern policy makes it clear and consistent from first to last, foolish and pigheaded as it appears upon any other theory. But so much has he been absorbed in this great game of "my policy" of reconstruction against Congress that he has not paid sufficient attention to anything else. Otherwise the Mexican question would have been settled according to the policy suggested by Grant and Sheridan, the Alabama would have been settled according to the policy suggested by Andrew Jackson, and the internal revenue frauds of all sorts, especially the whisky frauds, would have been thoroughly overhauled by a general suspension of officials charged with or suspected of dishonest associations, and by a complete sifting of their cases before the courts preparatory to a submission of the facts to the Senate.

To sum up the administration of Mr. Johnson, it amounts to this: His mind was set in the beginning upon the prospect of securing the next Presidency through his scheme of Southern reconstruction, and he has been so deeply absorbed in this business, and so indifferent to anything else, that our interests abroad have been permitted to run to seed, while plundering whisky rings have been depleting the Treasury at the rate not of a few paltry hundreds of thousands of dollars, but to the tune of a hundred millions a year. So it is well that a short reversion is left of the United States, and an unpardonable administration of Johnson.

Financial Schemes.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

H. B. W. sends us an essay looking to resumption, which we do not publish, because it seems to us mistaken in its conceptions, without being original. In brief, H. B. W. would approach the resumption by easy steps, through successive offers from the Treasury to purchase all the greenbacks that should be offered, first at 142; after awhile, at a lower; after another interval, at a still lower rate of discount, until they shall have been gradually brought to par with gold. The calculation of course is that few or none would be offered at the rates thus from time to time established—that the fact that the Treasury would buy all that should be offered, say at 125, would establish that figure as their minimum value, and so on until they were brought to par.

All which seems to us good argument, so far as it goes, in favor of resuming fully and at once. If offering to redeem greenbacks, say at 130, would render them every where worth that rate or more, so that no one would wish to exchange them for coin, it seems to us that offering to redeem them at par would have a similar effect.

But we do not choose to approach resumption through contraction, real or threatened. We do not know that we now have or have not a redundant currency, and will not dogmatize on that point. We say, resume; then, if there be too much currency afloat, part of it will flow in and be exchanged for specie; if not; not. We choose to be governed by experience, not by hypothesis. If experience shall prove that the currency is redundant, it will of course contract on resumption, and the Treasury must be prepared to redeem greenbacks so long as they shall be in excess of the business wants of the country. How to redeem them? In what? The specie in the Treasury would go part way; but, in order to be able to redeem to the last farthing, we must so appreciate the national credit that we can borrow at fair rates to any desirable extent. Only make it certain that United States five's, having twenty to thirty years to run, can be largely sold at a premium, and the Secretary may laugh to scorn any attempt to run his vaults empty of coin. He will borrow just so fast and so far as he may need, to keep his vaults supplied with specie, and the gold numbers will find their way to the pumps out of specie will be just like an effort to pump dry a ship's well.

The American Flag in Paraguay.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The Dictator demanded that two members of the Legation, Mr. Porter C. Bliss, of New York, and Mr. G. F. Masterman, should also be given up to him. "At this point," says Mr. Washburn, "I made a stand." We think it was time. It was but a weak stand, however, and the way our Minister made it was to enter into a long correspondence with Lopez in order to gain time. At last the United States steamer Wasp, which was to carry Mr. Washburn home, arrived at Ancon. Will our readers believe it?—The Minister of the United States went on board, and allowed the two attaches to be taken by force from his side as they started to go with him; and so he steamed away, leaving them to the certainty of an awful fate at the hands of the enraged Dictator, making no effort whatever to save them, taking no steps to vindicate the outraged sanctity of his office or avenge this insult to our national honor. An American squadron was lying idle in the Brazilian waters; but Mr. Washburn sneaked home like a coward.

By this time we have a new minister in Paraguay, and a man, if we are not mistaken, of a very different stamp. General Washburn, "I made a stand." We think it was time. It was but a weak stand, however, and the way our Minister made it was to enter into a long correspondence with Lopez in order to gain time. At last the United States steamer Wasp, which was to carry Mr. Washburn home, arrived at Ancon. Will our readers believe it?—The Minister of the United States went on board, and allowed the two attaches to be taken by force from his side as they started to go with him; and so he steamed away, leaving them to the certainty of an awful fate at the hands of the enraged Dictator, making no effort whatever to save them, taking no steps to vindicate the outraged sanctity of his office or avenge this insult to our national honor. An American squadron was lying idle in the Brazilian waters; but Mr. Washburn sneaked home like a coward.

Grant's Diplomatic Appointments.

From "Drick's" Fomeroy's N. Y. Democrat.

The true object of General Grant's recent visit to this city became accidentally known only a day or two ago. He came to consult with the leaders of the radical party on the subject of the selection of ministers to represent the new administration in Europe. Nearly all the important missions were decided upon, and Messrs. Sumner, Forney, Wetmore, Butler, Greeley, and Sickles, the fortunate men who are to ornament the European Courts for the next four years.

General Sickles goes to England. It has long been the custom to send to the Court of St. James not only a statesman, but a man of unblemished private character. The Queen, who is the model British matron of the period, would probably refuse to receive an ambassador on whose reputation rested any serious stain of dishonor. General Sickles is universally recognized as a man whose integrity as a statesman is commensurate only with the purity of his personal character. Add to this the fact that, on a memorable occasion, he vindicated the sanctity of his happy home at the cost of violating the merciful impulses of his noble and unselfish heart, and the fitness of his appointment to the Court of Victoria becomes at once apparent.

Mr. Sumner had been promised the Spanish mission, it being a maxim with American administrations that, in view of the dangerous diplomatic character of Queen Isabella, the ambassador to Madrid must be a man of Roman virtue. Obviously Mr. Sumner was designated by nature to reside with impunity at the Spanish Court; but, unfortunately for him, Queen Isabella has ceased to reign, and almost any man can now be trusted at Madrid. The Massachusetts statesman will therefore be sent to Greece, where he can brush up his Grecian antiquities a little, and Mr. Stanton, whose experience in walking Spanish is regarded as almost equivalent to a knowledge of the language, will visit the land of Don Quixote at the national expense.

Mr. Greeley is to succeed General Dix at Paris. This is an admirable appointment; for not only will Mr. Greeley's courtly manners and fascinating personal appearance reflect honor upon the country which he represents, but he will have an opportunity to relax his overtaxed brain by joining in the pleasures of the Jardin Mabille and the Closerie des Lilacs. Mr. Greeley's fondness for the dance, his skill in the execution of its most intricate figures have long been familiar to the public, and we feel confident that his appearance in the *caneen* will give the Parisians a new idea of the progress of refinement in America.

The Austrian mission has been assigned to General Butler, who, however, takes it only for the opportunity of visiting the grave of Haynau. The Austrian empire is too much impoverished to afford a long residence to him who sighs for new spoils to conquer.

Mr. Forney will go to Turkey, where he hopes to reside permanently, and to find employment congenial to his tastes in superintending the affairs of the Sultan's seraglio. If the Sultan should at any time desire to prove the infidelity of any of the inmates of his harem, Forney is just the man for him to employ.

That life-long Democrat, General P. More Wetmore, as the *Leader* calls him, has given General Grant a good deal of trouble. He has insisted upon retaining a reserved appointment, but no place of sufficient importance to be worthy of the man could be suggested. Luckily, General Grant thought of the republic of San Marino, with which we have heretofore had no diplomatic relations. General Wetmore at once saw that San Marino was just the place for him, and he promptly consented to become the American Minister at that important post. The territory of the San Marino is quite large enough to hold both General P. More Wetmore and his inevitable nosegay; and we trust that, irrigated by his genial presence, the broad acre-and-a-half of the republic may blossom forth in perpetual flowers.

Will the Republican Party Split?

From the N. Y. World.

Not, we suppose, until after General Grant has selected his Cabinet, and bestowed his other patronage. His characteristic reticence will prevent an early germination of the seeds of schism which are plentifully buried in the Republican soil. General Grant was not, as everybody knows, the spontaneous choice of the radical or stronger wing of the party. The so-called conservative Republicans began to push his claims early last year. They were met by a resolute opposition from the radicals, led by the *Tribune*, which assailed his pretensions with its scorching diction. General Grant's porters desired, and were charged with overtly adding, the defeat of the party in the State elections of last year; expecting, by such tactics, to bring the radicals to perceive that, unless they consented to the nomination of Grant, the Democrats would take him up, and, with the assistance of his early Republican supporters, elect him. This management was successful. The radicals were compelled to make a compromise of necessity. They were faintly satisfied with very slender proofs that General Grant was a Republican. His complicity in the restoration of Stanton was their strongest, almost their only, evidence that Grant was with them. The fact that it was their fears, and not their will, that consented to his nomination, will make a quarrel easy, if they should find that they cannot control him. His sympathies and gratitude go more naturally with the section of the party that forced his nomination.

Besides these historical grounds of distrust, there is a discomformity of mental organiza-

tion between the staid, phlegmatic, taciturn, practical General Grant, and the ardent, excitable, vehement, demonstrative, visionary radicals and agitators. Minds so differently constituted do not view things in the same light, or reach the same conclusions as to the same evidence. So far as General Grant follows his own cool, practical, unenthusiastic judgment, he will be likely to diverge from the hot, impatient, vindictive, extravagant radicals. This incompatibility will cause differences to arise easily, and to grow rapidly when they begin, unless there should be a remarkable spirit of mutual indulgence and accommodation. As General Grant has yielded but little to secure his election, he may be inclined to yield still less and have his own way now that he is secure of his office.

The latest project of the radicals—that of depriving the States of their control of the suffrage—is inconsistent with General Grant's letter of acceptance. The most memorable thing in that letter was its famous entreaty, "Let us have peace." He could not have meant by this a cessation of hostilities, for since his capture of Lee there have been none. If he had any meaning, the only one that the interests of the country require a cessation of the everlasting agitation about the rights of the negro. That language pledged him—if it pledged him to anything—to maintain the *status quo*; to discontinue the introduction of new topics of dispute. Taking the regulation of the suffrage away from the States and giving it to the Federal Government for the benefit of the negroes, would be a great departure from controversy; and if General Grant's desire for "peace" is sincere and genuine, he will be obliged to oppose it. He will have no opportunity to break with the radicals on this question, for he will not yet be in office when Congress passes the resolution; but they will take his failure to endorse it as a sign of his secret hostility, and will distrust him accordingly.

The question of raising his salary may disclose to him who are his secret enemies in his own party, in advance of his inauguration. The project starts with the *Times*, the foremost advocate of his nomination previous to the elections of last year. It is objected by the *Tribune*, the foremost of his early opponents. We cannot believe that it will pass Congress; but it may serve the purpose of indicating to General Grant his concealed enemies. For aught we know, that may be the chief object of the proposal. The applicants for office will be so much more numerous than the offices, that there is a strong temptation both to court General Grant's favor and to excite his prejudices against rival claimants.

General Butler owes the new President no kindness, and will be a thorn in his side. He will be always on the alert to find things that can be turned to General Grant's disadvantage; and if his sharp observation discovers that the radicals are dissatisfied, he will be the leader of the sore-heads. He is by nature busy, factious, revengeful, cunning, audacious; and as soon as it is seen in what abhorrent the stream of patronage is to flow, he will not be difficult in finding coadjutors in a faction bearing towards the new administration.

The Democratic party, in the meanwhile, will maintain its discipline, and wait and watch.

Y. P. M.

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