From the N. Y. Tribune.

#### SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Loading Journals Day for the Evening Telegraph.

THE EMPIRE LOST.

M. Emile Girardin, editor of La Liberte, is an old-time acquaintance both of the Prince and the Emperor Napoleon. To the one, when counseled by M. Thiers, before his election to the Presidency, not to commit himself by promises of fidelity, M. Girardin gave the remarkable advice to be honest. To the other,

that "its fall is inevitable."

when it was suggested that he might become Emperor, he is reported to have given the assurance that he would not reign for three months. M. Girardin may not be a true prophot, but it is certain that long ago he earned the nickname of The Weathercock. On this, and on royal accounts, we take more than usual meaning from his averment that "the second empire is approaching its end," and

Napoleon might have prevented what now appears a fatality coeval with the prostration and decay of his life. He might have Napoleonized France in a liberal way many years ago, thinks M. Girardin; and even so lately as in 1869, after the general elections, could have ordained a plebiscite instead of a senatus consultum, and an amnesty without conditions, instead of one excluding such a man as M. Ledra Rollin. The French editor is well aware, doubtless, that Prince Napoleon, imperialist as he is by virtue of palaces and pensions, and republican in respect of an exceedingly liberal speech, was a pronounced opponent of the plebiscite, however earnestly he inveighed against a non-elected body like the French Senate making a constitution for France in the utter absence of the representative part of the government. The Prince is supposed to be a shrewder politician than the editor, and may have calculated that at best an appeal to the people was profoundly dangerous. Better the monstrosity of the Emperor's own chosen Senate voting a Senatus Consultum, than summoning the people indiscriminately to a feast after so long a starvation. Be this as it may, the opinion of La Liberte is not shaken that the invalid Emperor is about to encounter the greatest crisis of his life. Is it still possible to avoid catastrophe? asks our French contemporary of a man who knows how to look "revolution in the face." Should the peril of the hour neither inspire nor enlighten nor stimulate him, then he loses the remnant of his power, and, says M. Girardin, "the empire is lost,"

He would be bold who would venture to predict at this date either that Napoleon or his empire can long survive the crisis upon which France seems to have entered. Peace remains with the empire, though the radical deputies, albeit not many in number, loudly and justly complain of the prorogation of the Legislature, though the press is unusually bold and outspoken, and though the people at large, as witnessed in part by the late Councils-General, are not entirely satisfied. The moment has arrived, in the judgment of the Siccle, when France must know something about her foreign as well as her home policy, and with all her proneness to rebellion be taken into the imperial confidence. There is to be a new empire or a new France; but as yet everything depends upon the pulse of one sick man; and the sick man is forsworn and the people are ready to forswear.

THE LATE ELECTIONS-THE FIF-From the N. Y. Herald.

The late elections have been very close in Pennsylvania and Ohio. One way or the other the result in Pennsylvania signifies nothing, because in that State, beyond their local issues, there was really nothing at stake. In Ohio the contest was of some national importance in two aspects-first, in regard to the fifteenth amendment, and secondly, in reference to Pendleton, as the Democratic champion of Ohio and the West for the Presidential succession. With the vote of Ohio there would be a

fair prospect of securing the required ratification by three-fourths of the States of the fifteenth amendment during the coming winter. With a Democratic majority in either branch of the new Legislature the vote of Ohio will be lost, and considering that California is lost, and that the new Democratico-conservative Legislature of Tennessee is regarded as worse than doubtful, there is the probability of a hitch in said amendment which may carry it over into the elections of next fall. The whole number of States in the Union is thirtyseven-three-fourths of thirty-six is exactly twenty-seven; but the thirty-seventh State will make twenty-eight required for the ratification pending.

Now, how stands the case? The States which have ratified the amendment are twenty, to wit:-Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Penusylvania, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The States which have rejected the amendment are:-Delaware, Georgia, Ohio-three. The States which have not yet acted on the question are: - Alabama, California, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, and Vermont-fourteen. Of these States, Mississippi and Texas are required to ratify as a condition of reconstruction-two; and Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Rhode Island, and Vermont are certain-five

more, which will make in all twenty-seven. We want one more, and we have these States from which to get it, viz .: - Alabama, California, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, Oregon, and Tennessee. Now, as for California, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, New Jersey, Oregon, and Tennessee, they may be counted out, so that our chances are reduced to Ohio, Alabama, and Georgia. With a Republican Legislature in Ohio the thing is fixed without further difficulty: but in default of Ohio a little judicious diplomacy on the part of the administration may secure the one vote wanting on said amendment from Georgia or Alabama. These States have no interest now in any further opposition to this amendment, inasmuch as they have negro suffrage established within their borders. It is their policy in fixing it upon the North to bring the Northern Democracy into rapport with the new anti-radical party of the South. We conclude, therefore, that the fifteenth amendment is safe, and that it depends entirely upon General Grant whether the ratification shall be completed without unnecessary delay or shall be carried over to the elections of next year. So much, then, for the fifteenth amendment. We see that a Republican Legislature in Ohio fixes it at once, but that even a hitch in Ohio does not endanger it,

ministration. Now for Pendleton. The Ohio Democrats, chaning under what they called the cheating of Seymour and the New York managers in the Tammany Convention of 1808, have been | and then in the fulness of his stomach he

because it can be still easily fixed by the ad-

making a vigorous effort to put Pendleton in | speaks praises. The reviewer exempts the the foreground for 1872. Had they elected | New York Times and another journal from him Governor over the popular Republican candidate, Hayes, it would have been a fine feather in Pendleton's cap. The Democracy of the whole West would be rallied around him as their champion against New York and her candidate, and they would doubtless prove too strong for Tammany Hall and her favorite. But the defeat of Pendleton leaves New York, with her man Hoffman, master of the field, and our coming November election will establish the Democratic supremacy of the Empire State through the decisive Democratic

vote of our imperial city. Thus the election in Ohio leaves the national Democracy in the hands of Tammany Hall, for Tammany controls the decisive vote of this city. Hoffman, then, and not Pendleton, has the inside track for the next National Democratic Convention, and this, we presume, finishes Pendleton. He failed signally in 1864, for he was a deadweight upon McClellan; he has been a failure ever since, and he ought now to be laid up in lavender, for he is a very nice man.

Having thus disposed of the only two national issues really involved in these late elections, we dismiss them. General Grant's administration in them was only an incident; but its popular strength will be practically put to the test in the elections of next fall for a new Congress.

THE LESSONS OF THE ELECTIONS.

From the N. Y. Sun. As a necessary preliminary to carrying the next Presidential election, the Democrats are proposing to win over to their standard some of the States which have generally been Republican. We should like to know when, where, and how they are going to begin. Elections have just taken place in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Iowa. In view of the main object they are trying to accomplish, the Democrats, according to all precedents, ought to have succeeded in the two first-named States. and seriously reduced the usual Republican majority in the last. But they have failed at every point.

The Democracy fought the battle in these three States under every seeming advantage. This was the year when, after triumphing in a Presidential election, the party in power usually loses its doubtful States. The many blunders of General Grant's administration had spread demoralization through the ranks of his supporters. Looking to the particular States where the trial was to occur, we see that Governor Geary had, for some reason, provoked the enmity of powerful leaders of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, and was therefore a weak candidate; while Pendleton was the idol of the Ohio Democrats, was deservedly popular with the masses of the people, and being a prospective candidate for the Presidency, the most strenuous efforts were made by his followers to carry him into the Executive chair of the State.

Nor did the Democracy of these two States lack confidence in their success in this struggle. They went into the contest apparently sure of victory, the election of Packer being steadily predicted by their organs, while Pendleton bimself, a man not given to boasting, declared all through the canvass that he should be chosen Governor of Ohio by 20,000 majority. And now the result is before us in the defeat of each of these strong candidates, with all their colleagues on the State tickets, by moderate but significant majorities. As to Iowa, though the Democrats did not anticipate succass, because of the strong hold which the Republican party has always maintained there, they did expect to largely reduce its majority, whereas in fact they have scarcely diminished it at all.

Why have the Democrats so signally failed in achieving the results they anticipated in these important elections? The answer is obvious. To quote the language used by the Express some days since, they have been trying to race with dead horses, and, of course, they have failed to reach the goal. More than this, they have thrust the offensive remains of their dead steeds in the faces of the people, who have turned away from them with loathing and disgust. In a word, and without a figure, the Democratic leaders in these three States made the fifteenth amendment one of the main issues in the recent contests, and they have been rebuked by defeats as unexpected as they are instructive.

These results should impress upon the minds of the honest masses of the Democracy a serious lesson. They should teach them to diseard the counsels of aristocratic and reactionary journals and blind and cowardly politicians, and induce them to restore to the creed of the party the liberal and progressive principles of Jefferson and Jackson, and to select as their leaders statesmen who have wisdom enough to discern the signs of the times and courage enough to act accordingly.

THE DICK TURPINS OF JOURNALISM. From the N. Y. Times.

Readers who have lingered over the animated and instructive biography of the original Richard Turpin will remember that, among the other pleasing habits of that highprincipled gentleman, was one which gave innkeepers no little concern. When hunger or thirst assailed Mr. Turpin, it was his wont to make the best of his way to some tavern where he knew he could count on the best of fare, and order a repast fit for the gods, washing it down with the best wines the cellar could furnish. The host naturally was delighted with his customer until it came to the hour of settling. Then his face grew longer than his bill, for Turpin was too much in advance of his age to pay for anything he wanted. Although Turpin is no more, his convenient system still flourishes, with sundry improvements suggested by the progress of civilization.

It is dangerous to "follow the road" in these days, but it is not dangerous to follow journalism, and it has been found quite possible to combine the two callings in a most advantageous manner. The field open to the journalist is far wider than the highwayman could ever boast of. The latter could only hope to stop a coach or rifle the pockets of a stray traveller. The former may make money all day long-by assailing private reputations, or by selling his pen to the highest bidder. There is no loss of character involved in this sort of work, for a man seldom performs it until he has no longer any character to lose. It does not hurt the modern Dick Turpin to tell him that his honesty and morals are not

absolutely without blemish. In the new number of the National Quarterly Review there is an article in which literary brigandage of a humbler kind is exposed. The writer is dwelling upon the scandalous treatment to which guests are subjected in many hotels, and the high prices they are compelled to pay for abominable food and accommodation. How is it that such hotels get custom at all? The answer of the reviewer a very insufficient one, for a reason we shall presently state-is that the proprietor gets a puff or two inserted in journals which are always ready to sell every inch of their space for "a consideration." The "correspondent is feasted to his heart's content,

his criticisms, but we must assume that he is right in asserting that there are public writers who pillage hotel-keepers, sometimes without even giving the dirty puff expected in return for their victuals. The system is, indeed, pushed still further. There are "critics" who sell themselves for a trifle less than a good plate of bread and meat, and praise or blame at the bidding of their owners. Others manage to get clothes as well as food for nothing—if dishonor is nothing. If they are refused they go away and bark, most of them being unable to bite. The man or woman who pays them best has the benefit of their services. They hire themselves out just as in some parts of the world a "strictly confidential" bravo or assassin may be engaged for one or two little jobs which require a sharp knife and a blunt conscience. Journalism-if the name must be degraded

by using it in connection with rascality of this description—can only be purified from this taint by hotel keepers and others opening their eyes to one great fact, namely, that the public are too wise to be juggled by either the mendacious calumnies or the equally corrupt praises of dishonest writers. Here, perhaps, more than in any other community, the people judge for themselves, and decline to be victimized by the adventurers who try to dictate to them what hotels they shall patronize or what clothes they shall wear. Bad hotels are not used because newspapers puff them, but because there are no good hotels in the same place. Any one who can offer the public honest value for honest money, or who in an official station performs his duties faithfully, has nothing to fear from Grub street. Does any sane person think the worse of President Grant because he is calumniated by persons who tried to coerce him into giving them offices for which they were unfit? Attacks from such sources really advance him in public esteem. It is only truth which is powerful. Let those who court dishonest writers, or those who fear them, take this fact to heart, and we shall hear less of scandals such as those which the National Quarterly reviewer brings to our notice.

AFTER THE NEXT CENSUS-WHAT?

From the N. Y. World, We have little hope of any far-reaching political and financial reforms until after the census of 1870; but we look forward with great confidence to the next decade. During the next ten years our politics will turn upon questions of finance, currency, and taxation; and, owing to the new geographical distribution of political power, the influence of the West in our politics will be predominant. The population of the New England States is nearly stationary; in none of the States east of the Alleghenies has the progress of population kept pace with the marvellous growth of the free and expansive West. Had it not been for the war, the influence of the West in this decade (1860-70) would have been fa greater; the uppermost idea in the Western mind being ordinarily material and industrial development-an idea which has been eclipsed and overborne by the great civil convulsion consequent on the Presidential election of 1860-the year when the last census was taken. Before the new apportionment of Representatives on the basis of the next census, the engrossing questions of this decade will have disappeared from our polities, and the increased ascendancy of the West will be fully felt. "Westward the star of empire takes its way;" and the weight of that section the period between 1870 and 1880 will be increased by the accumulations of the two preceding decades. In the present decade the West has not wielded the influence due to

its increase of population from 1850 to 1860. In questions purely financial the West and the South are natural allies-the chief industry of both sections being agricultureand the influence of the South in national politics has been practically abolished since the census of 1860. But, during the next decade, the South will be in the Union with increased power. The South will have an increased representation in Congress in consequence of the abolition of slavery, which will cause five-fifths of its colored population to be counted, instead of three-fifths as under the last census. The weight of the South in the national councils will thus be increased: and, from similarity of interests, the South will reinforce the West, and their joint influence will operate as a unit. But the West will take the lead, and the increase of its Representatives will enable it to dictate the politics of the nation. After the next census, the will of the West cannot be successfully resisted; and all speculations respecting the future course of our polities will go widely astray, unless they are based on a correct

estimate of the tendencies of Western opinion. There can be no doubt that the predominant sentiment of the West is vigorously opposed to a protective tariff. There can be no better proof of this than the fact that free-trade doctrines are making rapid progress among the Republicans of that section. The two most popular, able, induential, and widely circulated Republican journals in the Westthe Chicago Tribuns and Cincinnati Commercial-are out-spoken, intrepid advocates of free trade. The interests of that section enlist it on the free-trade side. The West (as well as its natural ally, the South) is a community of agriculturists; that is to say, a community of consumers of manufactured goods, and not of producers. It is the interest of all consumers that goods should be cheap; and it is the professed object of protection to make goods dear, in order that American manufacturers may be able to hold the home market. The West and the South are reliably antitariff; and, during the next decade, the combined West and South will have a controlling majority in Congress-the West gaining a great access of strength by the growth of its population, and the South by counting the whole of its colored population, instead of three-fifths of it as heretofore. As the new census is to be taken next year, we are already in the dawn of a great and final triumph of free-trade principles in our tariff legisla-

On the important questions connected with the national debt the interests of the West and South are also identical. A very small proportion of the Government bonds is held in either section. The South has been precluded from purchasing them by its poverty and its pressing need of capital for active uses; and the West by high rates of interest which afford a more profitable employment of capital than investment in Government bonds. There can be no party either in the West or South that will favor the bondholders at the expense of the just interests of the

On the currency question, we fear that the influence of the West will not be salutary. The West desires abundance of money; it shrinks from a reduction of prices; it will probably continue to oppose, as it has hitherto mecessfully opposed, a contraction of the currency with a view to the resumption of specie payments. But resumption without contraction is a demonstrated impossibility-except by altering the coinage.

We fear also that the influence of the West will not be favorable to State rights. The Western States have never, like the old thirteen, occupied a position of independent sovereignty. Their history inclines them to regard themselves as the creatures of the Federal Government, and not as its creators. They began their existence as dependent Territories, in a state of complete subjection to the Federal authority; every acre of their soil owned by private citizens was purchased of the Federal Government; they have looked chiefly to Federal legislation to aid their development; they were admitted by that Government into the Union, with such boundaries, and on such conditions, as it chose to prescribe; having no diversity of interests which leads them to fear or be jealous of each other, and trusting to their wonderful growth to maintain their rights against other sections of the country, it is not probable that they will ever be distinguished as strenuous advocates of State rights,

Whether our estimate of the tendencies of Western sentiment is correct or not, no reflecting person can doubt the future preponderance of the West in national polities.

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MRS. MINNIE GUMMINGS has opened the above named place, at No. 119 South EIGHTH Street, where gentlemen can find everything in their line. The best fitting SHIRTS in the city, ready-made or

Purchasers of twelve articles receive the thirteenth as a

UMBRELLAS TO HIRE for 25 cents. Handkerd left hammed free of charge. Polite Salesladies in attendance. A call is respectfully solicited and satisfaction

anteed. MINNIE CUMMINGS. 93 PATENT SHOULDER-SEAM SHIRT MANUFACTORY,

AND GENTLEMEN'S FURNISHING STORK PERFECTLY FITTING SHIRTS AND DRAWER ade from measurement at very short notice.
All other articles of GENTLEMEN'S DRES GOODS in full variety. WINCHESTER & CO., No. 706 CHESNUT Street.

FINE DRESS SHIRTS AND

> GENTS' NOVELTIES. J. W. SCOTT & CO., No. 814 CHESNUT Street, Philadelphia,

Four doers below Continental Hotel,

OST—BETWEEN LA PIERRE HOUSE, and Union League, on west side of Broad street, a POCK ET BOOK, centaining upwards of thirty dollars and checks, payment of which has been stopped, and other papers valuable only to the owner. The monoy may be retained and reward given and no questions asked, if the pocket-book is returned, with papers, to No. 115 S. THURD Street.

I OST CERTIFICATES .- NOTICE IS HEREb, given that application has been made to the City seasor of the issue of duplicates of the following deliber cortificates of the Six per Cent. Loan of the City Fluid delphia (free of taxes) - 4 60, 81000, dated October 5, 1864.

480, 81000, dated October 5, 1864.

480, 84000, " " b, 1864.

5571, 82500, " November 30, 1864.

\$8500, in name of JOHN H. B. LATROBE, in AUSTIN & OBERGIS, No. 313 WALNUT Street.

LEGAL NOTICES.

STATE OF DAVID C. FULTON, DEC'D .-L. Letters Testamentary on the estate of DAVID C. FULTON, deceased (formerly of Little Rock, Arkansae), having been granted to the PENNSYLVANIA COMPANY FOR INSURANCES ON LIVES AND GRANTING ANNUITIES, all persons indubted to said estate arresquested to make payment, and those having claims against the same to present them at the office of said company, No. 304 WALNUT Street.

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