SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING FOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELE PRAPH.

SOLD OUT.

From the N. Y. Tribune. We have often been reminded of the Ohio Irishman who, when the Bank of Wooster. after maintaining a precarious existence for some years, often going, but never quite gone, did at last collapse and explode, while everyone else was denouncing and execrating its directors, was only moved to admiration and delight. Having heard so often that the Wooster was on its last legs, and supposing that banks were set up to make money for their managers by failing, he regarded this as an instance of peculiar and tenacious vitality. "Ah!" said he, "that Wooster was a bully of a bank. It stood up a great

The Republican members of our Legislature, finding themseves suddenly and unexpectedly placed in a position of power and responsibility by Jim Irving's enforced resignation, decided to use that power and fulfil that responsibility by defeating certain obnoxious measures devised and pressed in the exclusive interest of the present managers of our State politics. These measures were named by them, and they entered into a solemn engagement in writing, whereby each pledged his faith to all the rest and to their common constituents to vote steadily against those measures, and thus secure their defeat. All was plain, simple, business-like and above board.

Our columns attest that while we approved and sustained this compact, we were careful that it should not be carried one hair'sbreadth beyond the bounds of legitimate parliamentary resistance. We urged the Republican members not to rest under the imputation of wilfully defeating a tax-levy for our city, but to frame such a bill as ought to be passed and present it in both houses, with a proffer of their solid vote to pass it. Had they conspired to defeat the annual appropriation, the supply, or any other bill essen-tial to the regular operation of the Government, State or city, we should have point-edly condemned such factiousness, and asked them to retrace their misguided steps. But they did nothing of the sort.

For two days their ranks remained unbreken. Time and again they voted in solid phalanx not to order a special election to fill Irving's vacated seat. Why should it be filled before the Democrats give back to us Twombly's stolen seat? Why should a special election be held to fill Irving's place at the heel of the session, when Mr. Blood's seat in the Senate, vacant by his death, has remained vacant throughout? Is it more important that the Assembly be full for six days than that the Senate be full for a hundred?

The Democratic writers from Albany have been daily assuring their friends here that the thing would be "fixed"-in other words, that a Republican member would be bought. Thus, the Herald of Friday said: -

"The test is made on the passage of this bill to fill the Irving vacancy, and the vote stands 64 to 63— every Republican in the line, not one missing—and, sixty-five votes being wanted for it, the bill is lost. Truly, this is a most remarkable event. Here was an opportunity for a speculative Republican on the main-chance to make twenty, fifty, or a hundred thousand dollars clear cash, and retire to private life comfortably fixed; and there was no bolter. Has the age of miracles come again? For, after all the buying and selling at Albany of the last two or three years, this thing appears like a miracle."

e writer of that was at least aware of th means whereby the Democratic managers expected to solve the knotty problem which confronted them. He knew how they had vanquished other difficulties as formidable

Accordingly, in the Assembly, on Saturday, Mr. Orange S. Winans, a stipendiary of the Erie Railroad, representing the eastern district of Chautauqua county, rose and announced that his signature to the agreement of the Republican members had been given without understanding its purport; and it seemed that he had, for the last two days, been steadily voting in a state of continued obfuscation, since he now turned a square corner, and voted ave where he had previously voted no; and nowhere he had voted aye. Not only did he thus help the Democrats order a special election in the Irving district, but he announced that he would vote with the Democrats on party questions to the end of the session! Such being the case, we do not see why they should order an election in Irving's district and not order one in Blood's. It is said to have been a remark of the late Dean Richmond that it was folly to spend money to elect members of the Legislature, since they could be bought cheaper; and, when bought, you were sure of them.

this matter, but to rest content with a plain parration of the facts. And now we say to the unbought Republicans, Be not discouraged. This step will prove a real godsend in the future. It will give us stronger and truer men in place of the slippery and fishy creatures who wriggle their slimy way into the Legislature in order to make money by selling their votes there. Our next Assembly will be Republican, and will be far stronger in talent and integrity than any we have had for fifteen years. But for your written compact, a dozen would have been in the market; as it was, two days were required to secure one. Your purpose was just; your agreement in writing was just as it should be; your seeming defeat was a substantial victory. Let the Democrats pass their measures as they can and will; do not resign; do not "filibuster;" do nothing factious, nothing to which good men of no party can take exception. The tide is rising and swelling, destined to bear you on to triumph.

We have chosen not to go into heroics over

REPUBLICAN COLLAPSE AT ALBANY. From the N. Y. Herald.

Wonders will never cease. Tammany Hall has found her man, and in the Republican round robin-the one Republican vote needed to break the deadlock in the State Assembly resulting from the pugilistic James Irving's resignation. On Saturday last Mr. Orange S. Winans, a member from Chautauqua county, boldly, in the Assembly, left the Republican line and joined the rejoicing Demoeracy. With this acquisition the last obstruction is removed, the course is clear and the whole budget of the big bills of "the Boss" will be smoothly carried through, including the bill for the practical repeal of the city Registry law, the bill to amend the State Election law, the Two Per Cent. Tax Levy bill and all the rest. These bills are so shrewdly adapted to hold fast the State of New York in the hands of Tammany against all Congressional election law and Ku-klux bills and against all probable contingencies, that we may safely say the bolt of Assembly man Winans from the Republican camp on Saturday is the greatest victory achieved by the Democracy since our November election of 1869, which gave them absolute possession of the State for the first time in nearly twenty

But who is this Orange S. Winans, and how

Tammany Hall for the Presidential campaign of 1872 against all probable contingencies Mr. Winans, the bolting Republican, who has given this great victory to Tammany, holds the position of Superintendent of the Eric Railway at Dunkirk, "and his second nomination" (for the Assembly), says our Republican contemporary, the Daily Times of this city, "is reported to have been secured by a free expenditure of the money of Erie"-that Winans "is an adherent of Senator Fenton, and owed his first nomination (for the Assem bly) to the influence of that political chief who, in turn, owes his place in the United States Senate to Tammany Hall and the Erie 'It appears, furthermore, from our aforesaid indignant and chopfallen cotemporary, that Winans, down to last Friday night, was held by the Assembly Republicans as one of the very staunchest and trustiest of them all; that he was remarkably conspicuous in the "round robin" against Tammany; but that, "unknowing to himself, two men appear to have been preparing for him the path of treachery;" that "the one was his political sponsor and the other was his employer;' that "the one was United States Senator Fenton and the other was Jay Gould;" that 'these two were closeted together for two hours on Friday, and that at that interview there is reason to believe Winans was selected to take the bribe of Tweed, said to be seventy-five thousand dollars cash down, with the additional bribe thrown in by the Erie ring of a five years' tenure of a position worth five thousand dollars a year." May we not ask, "How is that for high?" A Herald correspondent at Albany, in his

very interesting letter of Saturday last upon this business, gives substantially the same facts of the gossip afloat touching the alleged buying and selling of Winans. Our corre-spondent gives the rumor that Winans was offered "fifty thousand dollars and a five thousand dollars per annum sinecure for five years, if he held firm; and that 'make it seventy-five thousand dollars down and let the sinecures go and I am yours,' was the answer said to have been made." Our correspondent, however, says further, that "if Winans were a poor man there would be but one opinion as to the motive power which flung him into the ranks of the Democratic party; but it seems that he is rich and lives like a nabob at Albany, and "that the real power behind the throne" in this belt of Winans "is, in the opinion of many, the Erie Railway; because Winans is an employe of the road, was elected by its influence, and can be elected by it again, no matter what ticket he may run on;" and that "the Erie folks owe the Democracy a debt of gratitude for having choked to death Goodrich's plan to put an end to their rascali-

Here, then, from two intelligent sources at Albany, wholly independent of each other, we have the opinion that the Erie Railway had much to do in this alleged purchase of Winans. On this basis, however, of a mere money consideration, this bolt of his from the Republican camp to the Democracy is nothing more than the repetition of the old familiar story of these last twenty-five years of Albany bargains and sales. On the other hand, Mr. Winans rises to the dignity of a great political intriguer upon the theory that in going over to Tammany he acted under the advice and in the interest of Senator Fenton, and for the purpose of administering a deadly blow to General Grant in New York as the Republican candidate for the Presidential succession. This theory, too, is so very plausible that we cannot resist the temperature sible that we cannot re recite some of the historical facts which go to

support it. At this time the two most conspicuous Republican factions in this State are the Fenton faction and the Conkling faction. The New York Tribune has been from the beginning and still is identified with the Fenton faction: the Times has been and still is anti-Fenton. These facts may account to some extent for the specific indictment of Senator Fenton by the Times in connection with this Winans affair, and also for the peculiar doubling and twisting of the Tribune on the round robin. For our present purpose it is enough that Winans is a political protege of Fenton, and that Fenton has become dissatisfied-yea, disgusted with General Grant and his administration. In being ruled out of the Custom House by Mr. Murphy and Senator Conkling the truth is, we fear, that Senator Fenton is ready to repeat the third party movement of Martin Van Buren of 1848 against the administration and the regular Presidential candidate of the dominant party. Mr. Winans, therefore, as a Fenton man, has probably been acting under the advice of his political guide and friend in the desertion of his party at Albany, and in thus turning what otherwise would have been a great victory in behalf of the unity and harmony of the Republicans of New York into a decisive victory for Tammany Hall against General Grant and his administration.

THE COMING REVOLUTION OF LABOR

From the N. Y. Times. It is a narrow and imperfect view of the Paris revolution, which is taken by many of our contemporaries, that it is merely an outbreak of the discontented spirits who always congregate in Paris. It is true it is a move ment of the French working men of that city especially, and of the Rouge wing of that It will have its own terrible and grotesque French characteristics. It will proclaim words of lave and perform deeds of blood. It has in effect already declared the belief in God a superstition of the past and religion a chimera; it sacks churches and plunders priests, yet its proclamations and orders will be filled wi'h gushing expressions of universal philanthropy and promises of the kingdom of love and fraternity. The beau-tiful monuments of Paris, which commemorate French victories, are too redolent of blood and violence for these gentle enthusiasts, and yet they will soon mark every threshold with its bloody stain in an absurd civil strife, and shoot their own best countrymen who may be suspected of opposing their ambition. The streets of Paris will run with blood, while the walls will be covered with

affiches of fraternity and good will. These are the peculiarly French characteris-ties of this outbreak. And more of a similar character will come. Parisian self-indulgence will have its fitting apotheosis, when, as we may hear ere long, marriage is pro nounced brutality, Government tyranny, property roblery, and religion a sham. Then the "Commune" will be absolute, and every Parisian will enjoy every blessing of life without check of law, religion, or administration. Each citoyen of the new republic will be a law unto himself. But though these and similar features are the essentially French ones of this revolution, it is really a sudden ontburst of far wider, deeper, and soberer forces than are visible in the Parisian capital. It is the first muttering of that social storm which shall yet shake every capital of Eu-rope. It is the old defiance renewedthe glove thrown down again—between capital and labor. Hundreds of thousands of laboring men in all civilized countries is it that his defection secures this State to have organized, so that they may secure more

of the prizes of life to themselves. For centuries they have beheld the rich and powerful enjoying all the leisure and luxury of the wealth which labor had created, while they have been able barely to keep their place on the earth. They have heaped up riches for others, and been poverty-stricken themselves. All the wealth of the world has come from them, and they have had none of its benefits. Laws, governments, tariffs, taxes, and priests have robbed the laborers to enrich the employers and the capitalists. When they have resisted, the capital class has starved them out, or restrained them by law. Year by year they have seen their families poorer and the employing class richer. Century after century their brethren have been ground down

by the rich. With these views of the injustice in the present distribution of wealth, the laboring class of Europe has formed itself into an almost universal association or republic of labor. Thus far, it has only called itself an association for trades-unions. But it already exercises a prodigious power in opposition to capital. It has already raised wages in England against all the theories of the economists and the protests of philosophers. It has proved for itself the fallacy of the old dogma of the books that "the wage-fund" is a limited sum, which can only be increased by diminishing laborers or increasing employers. The trades-union has already secured to the laborers of Great Britain a larger share of the profits of production than was ever enjoyed before. But the European unions expect to accomplish more. They mean to control every labor market in the world. They are already beginning to affiliate themselves with the American unions. They are in close connection throughout Europe. Their mem-bers have little respect for either Church or State; vast numbers of them are "infidels; many believe in socialism; many devoutly hold property to be robbery; and all dislike the rich, and demand a larger share in the goods of life. This bloody and wild outbreak in Paris is only one explosion of the vast, boiling, volcanic material which underlies

European society. In other countries, indeed, the laboring population is more sober and reasonable and self-controlled than the Parisian. But in all it equally hates property, and feels itself wronged by the rich. Possibly the very extravagances and horrible crimes of the Parisian Communists will, for some years, weaken the influence of the working classes in all countries. The great "middle class," which now govern the world, will everywhere be terrified at these terrible outbursts and absurdities: they will hold a stronger rein on the lower. Still the struggle cannot be prevented. The great revolution of labor has yet to come.

PHILADELPHIA AND VIRGINIA.

From the N. Y. World. The ocean or one of our great inland seas is not much disturbed when a mass of rock is by some convulsion thrown into their midst or an actual island disappears. But a pebble cast into a placid pond makes a great splash, and when two or three disturb the surface at once, there is a manifest ripple on the shore. Our sister city of Philadelphia just now has its chronic calmness disturbed. Her courts of justice are engrossed by a controversy, agitating one set of ecclesiastical organizations to their centre, on a question whether Episcopal hymnology is orthodox in Presbyterian choirs, and whether in point of fact "From reenland's Icy Mountains" and "Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me" are not positively licentious melodies. Then, in turn, prelacy is convulsed by ritualism, and the tom-foolery of one crack-brained parson has tempted the successor of Bishop White to make an ass of himself. We have no more faith in the necessity or expediency in Protestant organizations of auricular confession than has the Pennsylvania "Father in God; but when we hear, in this day, of the confessional as practised in our country, "invading the sanctity of domestic life," "destroying the purity of women's hearts," "breeding loathsome ideas and fostering lust and crime," we are profoundly grateful that the jurisdiction and teachings of such an Episcopal nincompoop are west of the Delaware. But it makes a sensation in Philadelphia.

Nor is this all. In 1876 there is to be, and we are sincerely glad of it, a centenary cele-bration in Philadelphia, and our neighbors are actually discounting it. Congress has sanctioned it with a reservation that it is to cost the Federal Government nothing. New Jersey approves; Delaware agrees; and now it seems Virginia has sent an exploring expedition to see how the land lies, and Philadelphia is at this moment busy making them welcome. Judging from the newspapers the poor Virginians are having at once a hard and a jolly time of it. Of conviviality at the expense of the municipality there is abundance, and in all the elements which makes hospitality so easy, as we admit gratefully, Philadelphia is fertile. We have no means of knowing who the Virginia guests are, whether scalawags, which is quite probable, or carpet-baggers, or genuine Rebels. From the magnanimous tone of the speeches which are made to them we should infer they were the last. If so, grievous must be their suffering at the hands of their taskmasters. They have been carried through all the classicalities, old and new, of the city. They went to Independence and Carpenters' Hall. but did not remain at either long-the walls being redolent of rebellion. They were entertained at the Union League, and saw Thaddeus Stevens' picture, and the old flags that had been saved from the routs of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, and the fragments of shell picked up on Virginia battle-fields, or amid the ruin of Virginia homesteads. The Philadelphia masterpiece of art-her "Last Judgment," Rothermel's Gettysburg, was shown to them with the bloody repulse of Pickett's Division, and Grener, and Edwards, and Williams, and Whiting, Virginia's soldiers, in bloody death. There, too, they were treated to a glimpse of Sheridan's ride to Winchester-a picture eminently suggestive of sympathy for Virginia, with a lurid background of burning mills, and barns, and haymows. Girard College was avoided, for there there is a vulgar, oldfashioned prejudice against black boys, and Laurel Hill, where the Rebel Hugh Mercer, of Fredericksburg, is entombed. But they saw the prospective park, and General Grant's log cabin, and General Grant's Chesnut street house, gift of Borie and company. But supposing them to be gentlemen and loyal to the land of their

birth, most grievous must have been their

suffering, when in speeches, and addresses.

and editorial congratulations, they were told, as a matter of felicitation, that they—that

Virginians, proud of their State and conscious

of its resources-had sold themselves to an

alien and a corrupt corporation. They were made to see, as the Press says, "the power of

the Pennsylvania Central in pushing its re-sistless branches into the South," and for this they were bid to be grateful. While all this is going on north of Mason and Dixon we

Whig-of a few days ago: -

Whig—of a few days ago:—
"While the Enquirer pipes to the tune, the hand that made us is divine, and giorines the radical Pennsylvania Central as the richest and most charming concern in the world, we hear that sagacious men at the North look upon it as rotten to the core, and expect an explosion at no distant day. People even in Philadelphia who have invested their all in it, supposing it to be a big thing, begin to indulge this apprehension. The authorities of the road will permit no investigations into its affairs, and no one knows what is its condition. All efforts to investigate are creed down. The corporation has got a bill passed by the subsidized Legislature of Pennsylvania changing its name, and enabling it to consolidate with its various leased roads. This is regarded as the beginning of the end. As the most profitable part of their business is in what are called Tast freight lines, 'sleeping-car companies,' etc., which belong not to the railroad, but the officers: these last, when the explosion takes place, will break full-handed. road, but the officers; these last, when the explosion takes place, will break full-handed.

'We hope the blow-up may take place before any more of its pollution shall have been disseminated among us, or our poor people entangled with them or deluded by their promises."

The Norfolk Day Book says: -"The General Assembly of Virginia has adjourned. We are unable yet to form an estimate of 'he value of their services, or to separate the good from the bad laws they have enacted. But it is not so difficuit to tell the sheep and the goats among members. We have seen the Virginia policy destroyed. Yes, the policy originally announced by Mr. Madison in his port bill, and have beheld the cocoanut-heads. carpet-baggers, and scalawags bought up by the lobby at so much apiece. The Whig suggests that some members went for the sum of \$10,000." "This is a frightful picture. Its details have escaped the public, but we know that it was openly charged on the floor of the House and Senate that the railroad and funding bills were driven through under a greenback pressure never known before in

nonwealth. And this under the name of "Progress, indeed! We smell corruption in the very word when used by certain classes, and look upon it in their mouths as we would on a skeletonkey in the pocket of a housebreaker. At the next election we shall have more than one sermon to preach on this text,"

GEARY IN DANGER. From the N. Y. World. We have always had, as our columns attest, a kind feeling for the mildly Republican Governor of Pennsylvania. His chronic versatility and the palpable weaknesses, rather those of head than heart, as revealed in his political transitions and questionable military exploits, we have dealt with in a tone of kindly good humor. His manly conduct since he has been Governor, on more occasions than one, especially in his effort to save the sinking fund of his State from corporate spoliation, and his manly rebuke, in the highest and finest spirit, of the Federal intrusion at the polls, have extorted from us earnest and cordial praise. So now, in no meddlesome temper, we are tempted, if not to break a lance in his behalf, to utter a word of friendly sympathy and approval. He is in peril in the house of his friends. The loyal press of Philadelphia is out in a shriek of fury at him. The League-the mother League, too-in whose friendly arms he once was cherished and from whose bounteous bosom he drew so much of that nutriment which in his executive infancy made him at once so cosy and so rosy-the league, Medealike, casts him out, and is ready to murder him. All this, it seems, for no other reason than that he desires, in the pending difficulty between labor and monopoly, as developed in Pennsylvania's most protected spot, it should be settled on terms favorable to that side which has fewest influential friends; and has had the inconceivable audacity, by the advice of his law-officer-the Attorney-General-himself a Loyal Leaguer of the most eruptive character-to institute a regular judicial inquiry as to whether certain corporations have acted within their charter. In doing this he falls once from grace-not only fronts the great corporate powers that rule Pennsylvania, and throws himself

gether prudent, in this open defiance. There s in the Herald the report of an interview with Governor Geary at once so dramatic and lifelike that we cannot withhold credit from it. Here is a tale of piteous disappointment winding up with a disclosure which we should not dream of making on authority less responsible and impressive than Governor Geery's:-"I understood that Grant disappointed you in re-"I understood that Grant disappointed you in regard to a visit he was to make you."

"Yes, he did. I met him and invited him to come to Harrisburg for a visit. He said he would as soon as Congress adjourned. I told him he could have a quiet and, I hoped, a pleasant sojourn at Harrisburg. I would bring the best people in the State to meet him. We would ride around the country in the afternoon and be to ourselves, or with company, just as he pleased. He seemed to be greatly elated with the idea, and I (I will be frank) was just as much pleased to have him come. I went home and made with the idea, and I (I will be frank) was just as much pleased to have him come. I went home and made arrangements to give him half of my house for his residence during his visit to Harrisburg. I did not care if I spent a year's salary, \$5000; yes, I would have spene \$10,000 to have made his visit a success. I intended to make it the event of my administration. Everything was being perfected in good style, on the quiet (I am giad now I did not make it known), for the President's visit, and I was congratulating my.

deflance

President of the United States, whom,

in common with other proprietors, these cor-

porations own. Is not, or was not until

recently, Mr. Borie, a director of the Reading

Railroad Company, the chief offender; and

are not Mr. Cameren and Mr. Scott (not of

the Senate, but of the Pennsylvania Central)

all powerful in another direction? There is

something very intrepid, though not alto-

open

of

quiet (I am giad now I did not make it known), for the President's visit, and I was congratulating my-self on the pleasure he would receive at Harrisburg, when I received intelligence one day that he was off with Cameron and a number of Philadelphians on a fishing excursion. When I heard that Cameron had captured him I knew there was no further hope of a visit to Harrisburg. I stopped the preparations and telegraphed to the northern part of the State that I would leave at once on a tour of inspection to the prisons, school-houses, and other public buildings, and I started." "Did Grant and his friends catch many fish?" "I don't know; but, to use a slang term, they all got as drunk as fiddlers, and had to help each other home by turns."

And then is added:-"I understood that Commodore Foote had talked to Grant, with tears in his eyes, until he had induced him to cease drinking; at least all the 'meral' histo-ries of the war say that he did."

'History is one thing, whiskey is another." There is rashness in this; and it is quite within the range of possibility that Governor Geary may be the first victim of the new Kuklux bill; for, if the Pennsylvania corporations-Borie adjuvanti-claim that their rights under the fourteenth amendment, as construed by Judge Bradley, are interfered with, and that the "constituted authorities," of whom Governor Geary is one, "connive" or "refuse to interpose," there will be nothing to prevent the President from declaring martial law in Scranton and Mahanoy and taking military possession of Pottsville. The Governor's only hope is that Mr. Borie has passed into the category of Mr. Grinnell, and that the rich and respectable loyalty of Philadel-phis, like that of New York, is no longer worth considering.

THE FRUITS OF IMPERIALISM.

From the London Spectator. With that curious incapacity for looking beyond the moment which is apt to distinguish the popular view of external affairs, the people of England, who, when they saw the utter rashness, weakness, and even imbe-cility of the French Imperial Government in time of war, gave all their sympathy to the republic and all their contempt to the empire, they were bid to be grateful. While all this is going on north of Mason and Dixon we found the following pleasant allusion in an inclined to wish that the Emperor were back

other that, while he ruled, Paris was, at lesst, orderly, and France was, or seemed to be, great. No doubt; but is it the sign of a good parental government when, the moment the parental authority is withdrawn, every trace of orderly and intelligent insight into the ends of life disappears at once, and it becomes manifest that the parental authority was not one of discipline preparing for self-government, but one calculated to stifle and suppress all the independent capacities of the individuals submitted to its rule? The Emperor himself knew better, if he really said some five or six years ago, as he is reported to have said, that he had but one remorse, and that was, that his Government would render self-government in France more than ever impossible. So, at all events, it seems likely to prove. No one can doubt that the situation in 1848 was far more hopeful than the situation seems to be now in 1871. Of course the German conquest, and the excessive and humiliating rigor of the German terms of peace, must be taken into account as one of the disorganizing elements of the present. Yet had France gained in capacity of self-government since 1848, instead of losing, as she undoubtedly has done, the external pressure might have welded France together anew, instead of exposing the utter anarchy of wishes and purposes within her. The Assemblies of 1848 and 1849 unquestionably contained wild and lawless elements, but they contained also far greater elements of strength than any which have shown themselves in this distracted and reactionary medley assembled at Versailles in the hour of France's greatest peril. Louis Philippe's Government was a narrow-minded and, in some respects, a mean one, but it did, at least, teach the middle classes the alphabet of political life; it brought out not a few eminent men; it developed party-leaders of a certain amount of force; it did more in the direction of political education than any Government France has had since the revolution. Now, twenty years of suppression, twenty years of parental rule, during which no man who valued his dignity or independence ever dreamt of aspiring to the position of a French statesman, have left France in utter political impotence, without parties which know their own political ends, without leaders who have the confidence of their parties and guide their counsels, without the deference for each other which is of the essence of political liberty, without a trace of the self-reliance which is at the root of all sobriety and moderation. And this is notoriously the late Emperor's doing. When, in 1851, instead of steadily resisting encroachments under the Constitution, he plotted to upset the Constitution and put down the Parliamentary life of France by the help of that popular panic and ignorance the expression of which he organized in the plebiscite, he really shut up, and knew that he shut up, the political school of France, and suppressed political education, which is the only root of true order, in the so-called interests of order. Thenceforth every Assembly of Deputies recognized that if it displeased the Emperor, a plebiscite would shut its mouth: and all power accordingly dropped from its hands. Imperial clerks and secretaries took the place of statesmen. The opposition, perfectly conscious that they had no responsibility for France, became a mere knot of virulent literary antagonists of the empire. The ministerial party knew that it existed only to support the throne; the tradition of political responsibility and party bonds was lost; the half learned lessen of self-government was utterly forgotten; and the experience, able enough of its kind, narrow and limited as that kind was, of the eighteen years of middle-class government in France, was utterly wasted—a generation having arisen to which its lessons are as though they had never been taught. And all this is, we say, emphatically due to the Emperor. Had he acted as Cavaignac acted in 1848, France might have had less material prosperity, might have passed through more dangerous-looking crises between 1850 and 1870 than she did, but she would not now be the helpless chaos she is. Louis Napoleon, by the deliberate policy of making his appea to the timid ignorance of the nation to overrule and extinguish the discussing intellect of the nation, brought these things about, and is guilty of that political impotence of the nation at which all Europe stands aghast.

And though this is the great count in the indictment against the ex-Emperor, and the very root of all his sin, it is not the only one. It was hardly his fault, perhaps, that he had not even a small fraction of the intellectual and moral energy necessary for the awful re-sponsibilities he took upon himself in ordering the coup d'etat-or, at least, it is his fault, but only in this sense, that a man not conscious of the enormous power requisite to infuse energy and intelligence into the guidance of the State after he had concentrated power in his own hands, ought to have known that he was committing a crime of far more fatal immediate consequences in bringing about a condition of things in which the only spring of vitality was his own will and brain, than he would have committed if he had really possessed the genius to direct a great administration well. He made himself essential to France without

having a mind or an industry or a power of impulse anything like as great as that of any of our recent English prime ministers. We do not deny his intellect a certain detachment and impartiality and a partly artificial stateliness of its own. But it was radically languid; constantly under the dangerously sedative influence of a love of pleasure, and entirely without the restless and impulsive vigilance of all great administrative natures. The consequence was that when the late Emperor found himself the centre of a great political system, he was compelled to make money do, or rather seem to, the work which he ought to have done by the un-wearied energy of his own will. The natural sequence of the destruction of political liberty, and the concentration of great power in the hands of a lazy and somewhat enfeebled valetudinarian, was a vast system of corruption. We do not charge the Emperor with any personal meanness in the matter. For this there is no evidence, and, as far as we know, his perhaps somewhat artificially-cultivated, yet quite genuine feeling of Imperial dignity, would alone have ren-dered it impossible for him to amass wealth for himself. But we do say that his lavish use of money to make the imperial machinery of government run easier in his languid hands was a new misfortune to France over and above the misfortune of the suppression of her political education, and ought now to be a second "remorse" to himself.

As a ruler the ex-Emperor is bound to feel not one, but two great passions of remorse—
one that his regime postponed to the Greek
kalends the possibility of any intelligent and
temperate freedom in France; the other that
his regime degraded the ideal of administrative duty, and rendered pecuniary greediness
something like the law of official life. It is with the inheritance of both these monster evils that the conquered and frantic country -conquered through his incompetence,

accredited Virginia organ-the Richmond | again on his throne, and are reminding each | frantic from the ignorance and confusion which his suppression of all real political life for twenty years compelled—is now struggling. No doubt it is fair to set off against these monster evils that the Emperor taught France the secret of material prosperity, and went a good way towards giving her free-trade. Put let no man who does not believe that money, or money's worth, is the summum bonum of nations, talk of the ex-Emperor's regime as if it were the golden age towards which, in the present anarchy and confusion, it is natural to cast back a longing glance. The military impo-tence of France, which is, perhaps, the least of all the frightful evils of the present situa-tion, the political impotence of France, the social corruption of France, are all the natural and legitimate harvest of the imperial seed. Napoleon III sowed the tares which are now being garnered in so plentifully by the unhappy Republicans—let us hope for conflagration. Who that has the true welfare of France at heart can hesitate for one moment to say, "An enemy hath done this? Not, of course, an open or selfconscious enemy-we are perfectly aware that in his own way, and under his own self-interested conditions, Louis Napoleon loved France and desired to see her glorious and great; but still he was her deadly enemy, because he was one who loved power better than duty, and thought more of the wealth and glory of France, than of her intelligence, her liberty, or her self-respect.

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