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

Financial Tinkering in Congress—The Morrill Bill.

Mr. Morrill, the Senator from Vermont, has a bill before Congress to resume specie payments after July, 1869, or, in other words, to compel the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the interest-bearing legal-tender notes and to pay the bondholders in coin after that date. This bill provides also for the sale of gold in the Treasury at that time, for which the Government is to receive paper in the shape of the three per cent. interest compound notes. It also requires the national banks to redeem in coin their currency of five dollars and under; but permits them to redeem bills of a higher denomination in greenbacks.

The Government is first to part with all the gold in the Treasury, and then, after having parted with it, is to redeem the legal-tenders in coin, while the national banks are not required to pay in specie their notes over five dollars. Such is the confused and impracticable legislation to which Congress is invited by the Vermont Senator. The mountains of the State are not as green as is this scheme for reaching specie payments. A bill to dry up the Mississippi or to stop the flow of Niagara would be quite as reasonable. It ought to be called a bill to bankrupt the Treasury, to add to the wealth of the bondholders, at the expense of the people, and to turn over to the national banks all the gold, while it allows these favored institutions to circulate an irredeemable paper currency. It is an insidious measure for the special benefit of the national banks and the bondholders, from which both the Government and the mass of the people will be the sufferers. But it is impracticable, and if Congress should be stupid enough to pass it—which, if we may judge from the notion of the measure lately on the currency question, it will not—the consequences may be serious, while the object will not be reached.

The British Parliament tried to force specie payments after the wars with Napoleon by such measures as this, but had to undo what was done several times. From 1815 to 1821 several efforts were made to force resumption, but the Government had to abandon its purpose in consequence of the suffering produced and difficulties in the way. Finally, when resumption was forced through the clamor of the bondholders and capitalists, which was not fully reached, however, till 1823, the country was plunged in a terrible financial convulsion and appalling distress. Similar results will follow here if the same disastrous policy be pursued. If Mr. Morrill cannot be taught by such lessons of experience, it is to be hoped the majority in Congress can, and will reject the impracticable and dangerous bill of that Senator. Let the circulation of the currency remain as it is, except to make it uniform, by substituting legal-tenders for national bank notes, and the country will reach a specie basis gradually, without serious revolutions.

Another absurd proposition made by the financial tinkers is to raise another and a foreign loan to pay a portion of the debt—that is, to create one debt to pay another—to place ourselves still more at the mercy of British and other foreign capitalists, and to make a big job for some speculators. The British wisely kept as much of their debt as possible at home, so that the interest, when paid, should not leave the country; and Louis Napoleon, when he raised a large loan, was careful to spread it among the French people; but our sapient financiers want to make us the debtors of foreigners, to bind us hand and foot, and to leave our finances and trade under foreign control. The debtor nation, like the individual debtor, is always more or less at the mercy of the creditor, and the foreign creditor from year to year drains a nation in debt of the specie or money which is the lifeblood of internal trade.

Suppose, according to the theory of these financiers who want a foreign loan, that the whole of our debt could be sold or transferred to Europe, we should have to send upwards of a hundred and twenty millions in gold abroad every year to pay the interest. The capital on the purchase money would not be swallowed up in a vortex, and after the first stimulating effect passed away we should be left dependent and helpless. The Government wants no loan, and, least of all, a foreign one. As the debt falls due, if there be not money enough in the Treasury to pay it, let Congress provide for changing one form of indebtedness for another by the simple process of substitution. That is all which will be needed, and we can dispense with foreign loan negotiators or the assistance of foreign capitalists, so far as the United States Treasury is concerned. If these financiers are desirous of getting foreign capital, or the foreign capitalists of using it here, let them apply to the hundreds of profitable enterprises in the country—the development of our vast undeveloped resources and to the creation of wealth among us. It is this way loans would be profitable both to the country and foreign capitalists; but it would be better to keep the national debt at home among our own people. Rather pay off the debt as fast as possible than to create a new one. We are not among those who believe a national debt a national blessing, and we are quite sure it would be anything but that if held by foreigners.

Failure of the Roman Conference—The Situation in Italy.

By a telegram through the Atlantic cable, dated in Paris on Saturday evening, we are informed that Napoleon's plan of a general European Conference on the subject of the Italo-Roman and Papal temporalities questions has failed, the great powers having finally refused to take part in the assemblage. The subject has been in a state of diplomatic negotiation for some time, and Munich and Paris have been respectively named as the place and the 9th of December for the day of meeting. The intelligence of the complete failure of the French imperial proposition, furnished by our special correspondence, is of a very important character. Napoleon's invitation for the Congress was addressed to all the powers of Europe, great and small, and the negative action of the great powers will not only humiliate the Emperor deeply, but reaffirm the royal distinction of the value of Government votes on subjects of general interest created by the treaty of Vienna and maintained ever since.

The agitation on the subject of Rome will, most likely, be renewed with great intensity, particularly in France and Italy. In the Italian Chambers a strong debate has already taken place, the liberals assailing the ministers in the most merciless manner for sub-

mitting as they had done to the dictates of Napoleon. A fresh vote, similar to that of 1861, declaring Rome to be the natural capital of Italy, was considered probable. Such a vote would amount to a vote of want of confidence, and might necessitate a change of ministry. A change of ministry might bring back Rattazzi to power, and the return of Rattazzi, in present circumstances, could scarcely fail to bring Italy and France into open collision. A Franco-Italian war would be disastrous to Italy and to the Government of Victor Emmanuel; but it might also be disastrous to France and to the Government of Louis Napoleon. Napoleon has no desire to go to war; but revolution in Italy, which is now by no means improbable, would drag him into war whether he would or not; and a war between these two powers on the Roman question would at least arouse the slumbering republicanism in both countries, if it did not prove the signal for a general European conflagration. It is difficult to see what good a Congress could do, even if got together. The Italian Government is in sore perplexity; so is the Government of Louis Napoleon; and so far as it is possible, in present circumstances, to judge, the perplexity in both cases is likely to continue until events of themselves shape a solution of the difficulty. There are some who are of opinion that Napoleon really wishes to make an end of the Pope's temporal power, with the exception of "the Vatican and a garden;" but the recent declaration of M. Rouher, and the consequent gratification of the Church party, render this view of the case for the present untenable. It will be, perhaps, best and wisest for all the European powers to acquiesce in the decision of the great ones, and leave Napoleon to settle the question as best he may.

Reconstruction and its Enemies—The Disturbing Element in the Republican Party.

Wendell Phillips was not far wrong when, with the fate of impeachment before his eyes, he affirmed the presence of conflicting elements in the Republican party. He was evidently right, too, when, in the same connection, he predicted the renewal of an attempt on the part of the extremists to control the Republican policy, and to engraft upon it views at variance with the scheme of reconstruction now in progress.

The current reports of interviews held within the last few days by Southern deputies, black and white, with sundry leaders of the extreme faction, afford a timely illustration of the forces which are at work to prevent the restoration of the Union. They show that the Southern opponents of the law who meet in Conservative Conventions and bewail the departure from the cardinal article of their faith—that "this is a white man's government"—are not the only or the most dangerous foes of the pacification which the country most anxiously awaits. They prove that whatever be the result of pending operations in the extended States, the finality of the scheme is threatened by politicians who do battle under the Republican standard, and who will renew in Congress the delays and disturbances which have already been so productive of mischief.

According to the statements transmitted from Washington through different but in the main concurrent channels, Messrs. Sumner, Stevens, and Butler severally declare themselves dissatisfied with the alleged moderate character of the present law, and counsel the Southern deputies who call on them for "advice" to adopt more proscriptive measures. Thus, Mr. Sumner advises the conventions yet to be held to widen the disfranchising clauses of the Congressional plan, and to impose disabilities which would have the effect of excluding the great body of Southern intelligence from participation in the Government. Mr. Butler favors, substantially, the same course. Mr. Stevens, as usual, is not behind either. He would allow a bare majority of those who vote to determine the matters submitted to them, instead of a majority of the registered voters, as required by law. He proposes to increase the Congressional representation by allowing to the two-fifths hitherto excluded, members to be voted for on a general ticket or as Congressmen at large; and he contemplates the organization of provisional governments, to be established by the conventions, and to take the place of the district commanders. This last proposition is intended to secure the existence of "loyal governments" to rule the States in which the measures of the Conventions may be voted down or otherwise defeated, and is a forerunner of what gentlemen like Mr. Hunter may expect as the alternative of "negro rule" under the law as it stands. Mr. Stevens clings, moreover, to his old idea of "mild confiscation;" and Mr. Butler suggests that for the better securing the supremacy of the "loyal element" the disfranchised class shall be debarred participation in the management of banks, railroads, or other chartered commercial enterprises. To crown the whole, Mr. Sumner insists that the problem of nationality which he has striven profoundly to elucidate, shall be solved by the enactment of a Political Rights bill, making political co-extensive with civil rights in all the States of the Union.

It is not easy to speak with patience of projects so obviously at variance with the policy of the Republican party, so injurious to the country, or so calculated to add to the dangers and difficulties of the South. And yet nothing is gained by refusing to look at plans and propositions which indicate the purposes, and throw some light upon the probable tactics, of the faction whose confidence are shared by Messrs. Sumner, Stevens, and Butler in common with the special contributor of the *Anti-Slavery Standardist*. The folly and enormity of what these persons propose is not a reason for passing it over unnoticed. The spirit it reveals cannot be safely disregarded, since its influence will be felt, immediately, throughout the South, and again in Congress when the question shall come up for final adjustment.

The first effect will perhaps be the worst. There can be no doubt that the absence of faith in the finality of the Constitutional Amendment contributed not a little to the failure of that measure in the Southern Legislatures. They declined to acquiesce in unpalatable conditions, which, after an ungratifying and fruitless struggle, they might not be the ultimate of the National Government. The distrust was, in our judgment, unfounded, and the refusal unwise; but we must nevertheless admit the plausibility of the reasoning in which both originated. A similar argument against the Reconstruction law is now furnished by the extremists; though the effect may not be so distinctly traceable—the tendency is unquestionably the same. It will put a powerful weapon in the hands of those who dwell upon the bad faith of Congress as a motive to opposition. On the more violent members of the Conventions the influence will be still more mischievous. From the Carolinas and from Virginia they have sent to Washington to learn the views of politicians who claim to be considered leaders. The trio whose extravagances now come before us have been visited for this purpose, and their opinions will be reported to the Conventions with all the weight of gospel. The delegates who reached Washington in search—it may be an honest search—after information, go back to Richmond and the Carolinas assured that the action of the Conventions cannot be too extreme for Congress. In this manner, strength will be imparted to the demand for proscriptive measures, to the delight and profit of the demagogues and incendiaries with whom "loyal" pretenses are a cover for every outrage.

Nor can the Republican party afford to be indifferent to these exhibitions of the temper which animates its extreme members. We do not apprehend that Mr. Sumner, or Mr. Stevens, or Mr. Butler will be more potent when the time for revising the work of reconstruction shall arrive, than they are now. It is as well passed. Harsh as it is, it had been much worse were they able to dictate the course of the party. They were beaten then, however, as signally as they have since been beaten on the subject of impeachment; and we believe that they will not appear to better advantage when they shall attempt to fasten their fanaticism and intolerance on States seeking admission under the law. But, notwithstanding their numerical weakness—notwithstanding the fact that they are a mere corporal's guard compared to the great army of Republicans—their projects, so impudently paraded and so persistently renewed, entail disaster and disgrace upon the party with which they are unfortunately allied. It suffers in every respect from their proceedings. A regard for its own usefulness and welfare, then, not less than for the interests of the South and the honor of the country, seems to suggest the most summary disposal which the practice of Congress permits of whatever measures they introduce for giving effect to their disorganizing policy. The appointment of a Reconstruction Committee in the House, with Mr. Stevens at its head, opens the door to nuisances of this nature, and we may expect to hear of them often. It cannot, without impeding its power, even entertain the propositions which the Sumners and Stevens and Butlers of Congress stand ready to introduce; nor can it without dishonor lend encouragement to those who in its name are plotting for supremacy and for office in the Southern States. It may not, perhaps, be politic to proclaim in advance a readiness to be more liberal than the law; but the party does owe to itself and to the people who repose confidence in the capacity of its statesmanship, such a display of firmness and moderation as shall free it from the suspicion of complicity with the violence which assails its peace and endangers its unity.

The Nearest Duty.

Conversing last week at Washington with one of the keenest and most determined radicals in the South, we inquired as to the prospect of carrying his State in the ensuing election. "Very much depends," he replied, "on our candidate for Governor. If A be the man, I shall fear the result; with B, the chance will be better; but the man we ought to run, if we could, is General X. He was a Rebel, and fought gallantly through the war; yet, the moment it was over, he said he had fought for slavery, because he believed in it; but, now that it was gone, he was for Reconstruction and lasting Union on the basis of equal rights for all. From that hour, he has steadily, openly advocated the enfranchisement of the blacks, not merely as expedient, or politic, or inevitable, but as essentially right—a logical, necessary result of emancipation. If he were only enfranchised, so that we could run him for Governor, our success would be certain."

Is there one man on earth not a born idiot who can imagine a reason for not enfranchising such a man—all such men? What sort of policy, or justice, or common sense, can there be in keeping under the ban men who are not merely with us and of us, but whose restoration to political rights is essential to our own success and ascendancy?

We do not seek to disguise the fact that we favor a far more generous and comprehensive restoration to political rights; but that cannot affect the wisdom of enfranchising our own people. It is on this point that we would now fix attention. The Alabama Convention has sent up to Congress a long list of the disfranchised in that State who, because they are earnest, active radicals, the majority desire to have restored to the fullest rights of citizenship; and we do not doubt the ultimate success of this demand. But why not admit a principle rather than establish an exception? Why should not Congress enact, in six lines, that every Southern man who has, for at least three months past, supported reconstruction on the basis of equal rights for all citizens, and still supports it, shall, upon making and filing his affidavit to the fact, be restored to all political rights and placed on the registry of his district as a voter? What is the need of squandering paper in printing long lists of names when the principle involved is so clear? Admit that a few unchanged Rebels might commit perjury in a matter so plain as to render exposure and infamy, if not legal punishment, inevitable, we insist that their power for evil would be fatally crippled by the notoriety of their crime. And it is never possible to preclude absolutely all chance of such abuses.

Colonel Donu Platt used to insist, in his Ohio stump speeches, that the Republicans must haste and get a principle to stand upon before Vallandigham should die and leave them bankrupt. In that spirit, we hold that the issue falls wherever the ex-Bourbons of the South insist on arraying the blacks in solid phalanx against them cannot possibly be expected to cut legal punishment. We insist that the old masters shall have writ enough to say to their ex-slaves, "We concede to you all the rights that we claim for ourselves; why should we be antagonists any longer?"—they will carry a large part, if not most, of them away from those who now run the Republican machine at the South. The recent conservative negro meeting at Mobile is ominous of what must surely come. So long as the reactionists who absurdly term themselves "conservatives" shall see fit to stand on the platform of "a white man's government" whereof blacks must be serfs, gradations of the same kind, and all other matters will amount to nothing more than the Irish vote for Know-nothing tickets; but the moment the old aristocracy of the South concede the right of suffrage to the blacks, the whole situation will be changed. And that they will do, as soon as they are satisfied that they can do no better.

Every consideration of policy—and we are now looking no further—demands that the reconstruction of the Southern States be hastened so far as is consistent with the maintenance of political rights for their lately emancipated people. Congress will doubtless amend its late acts so far as to render a majority of those voting, instead of requiring a majority of all who are registered, to adopt their renovated Constitutions. That it will also enfranchise at least all the free-trading radicals who were once Rebels, is so obvious a dictate of common sense that we cannot imagine a pretext for postponing it even a week.

Shall We Buy a New African State?

Only one hundred and fifty millions in gold for the two islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, with, as we presume, all the "Spanish Virgins" thrown in. Was ever such a bargain offered to mortal nation before? That it has been offered even now, and to us, we, at this writing, may not over-confidently assert, since the news comes to us from the same quarter from which we, some short time ago, received the startling information of the entire submersion of the Island of Tortola with all its inhabitants. It is furthermore remarkable that the Spanish Government, never in a hurry to take the colonies into its confidence, should announce this news to Cuba before its publication in Washington.

At the price named Cuba and Porto Rico, with their adjacent dependencies, certainly could not be regarded as dear. Porto Rico, it is true, costs the Spanish Government rather more than it comes to, but taken "in the block" her West Indian possessions yield nearly a yearly income of nearly two millions of dollars, so that in selling them out for a hundred and fifty millions she parts with them at about a seven years' purchase. Yet, when we reflect how weak Spain now is, how troubled and cloudy is the near future of Christendom, and how extremely convenient a thing to the Spanish treasury would be so large and available a sum as one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, it must be admitted that a Spanish ministry might do many things much more foolish than to part with the "gems of the Antilles" even at this seemingly inadequate rate. It is not at all likely, of course, that the plots and contrivances alleged to be hatching in Mexico against the Spanish authority in Cuba will speedily, if ever, come to nought. But unlikely as it is, it is still possible that an enterprise nominally originating in Spanish America, but really supported and made formidable by the cooperation of adventurers from the United States, might result in compelling Spain to fight for her dominions in the Caribbean Sea, and that on a scale and in circumstances which, whatever the immediate issue might be, would rapidly put the balance of her accounts on the wrong side of the ledger. Then, too, it must be obvious now, if it was so never before, to all Spanish statesmen who are capable of looking before and after, that the eventual absorption of Cuba and Porto Rico into the continental system of the new world is inevitable. And, finally, the overthrow of slavery in the United States opens directly before their eyes the fast-approaching hour in which emancipation must confront Cuba also with the social and political problems which the British West Indies, after years of financial depression, have not yet worked out, and which the people of our own Southern States have not yet been permitted by their radical rulers at Washington to rationally take up. So confused and threatening are the aspects of her own home politics, that Spain may very wisely shrink from the thought of grappling with new and monstrous difficulties of this kind in regions remote from her shores. The old Castilian pride, it may be supposed, is still too

The Presidency.

We do not propose to hold General Grant responsible for the utterances of any of those who favor his election as our next President, preferring that he should speak for himself, and take his own time for so doing; but, as General Dent is commended to public attention as a brother-in-law of the General and a member of his staff, and as his letter, embodies the views of a considerable section of General Grant's present supporters, we submit it to public attention. It is as follows:—

"Dear Sir:— * * * To be quite frank with you, General Grant does not wish to be either the Republican or the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. I would prefer to be elected by the people, without any reference to the present party organizations. If it is possible, let there be a new organization, representing the people and not the politicians. The General is now in a position which suits him very well, and he will not give it up unless he thinks he can be of more service to his country. He will not take the Presidency if he cannot enter upon its office unimpeded and unobscured by party affiliations and platforms. He does not care to throw the question of public policy until they come up for settlement, and hence his reluctance to be questioned as to platforms, or confined to certain lines of action. He has certain views of his own, which he tolerably well expressed in an article written by a young friend of his for the January number of the *Geology*. Of course he must not be held responsible for all the views therein expressed, but he gives about what he thinks of the present political situation. He is desirous of perfect freedom of action for himself, General Grant does not wish to act independently of the people. His care would be, if elected, to study their interests and wishes, and to do about what they would want to do for themselves. Let party questions enter into the canvass for Congressmen, and, whatever the will of the people is, the General will try and obey it. "On one point, the General is quite clear. If elected, he will make no appointments on account of political services. He believes that a reform of our civil service, such as that embodied in Mr. Jencks' bill of last session, is of vital moment, and all he will ask of any candidate for President is, if elected, to make himself an irretrievable guarantee that he is a true friend of the cause of Union and Liberty, and equal rights of all men before the law, and of course, unimpaired suffrage."

—In palpable contrast with General Dent's programme stands the declaration of the post-principal organization known as the Union League of America, which, at its session in Washington on Thursday last, unanimously "Resolved, that the National Council of the U. L. A. is utterly opposed to any departure from the sacred principles of its organization, and that it is its duty to support the same; and that we do hereby respectfully, but earnestly and firmly, urge the National Republican Convention to place no man in nomination for President who is not a true friend of the cause of Union and Liberty, and equal rights of all men before the law, and of course, unimpaired suffrage."

—We believe a considerable portion of those who unite in this resolve are supporters of General Grant, regarding him as just such "an irretrievable guarantee" as their resolve calls for. And we cannot doubt that, if General Grant shall be nominated for President at Chicago next May, it will be substantially on the platform embodied in this resolution.

There have been times in which a President could be fitly chosen with small regard to his political convictions; but these are not such times. For, while many voters are doubtless more intent on the election of their favorite candidate, than on the question of his principles, there is a far larger number who will support the man mainly for the sake of the principle which his election is to establish. Many of these are for Grant; others for Chase, for Wade, for Colfax, or for Stanton; but their choice is guided by a belief that the principles which they cherish may thus be most surely preserved. No presentation of candidates will be generally satisfactory which does not recognize and respect this truth.

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pride, it may be supposed, is still too proud to be brought to the point of submitting to the sale of her possessions to a foreign power. But, if we are to judge by the course of events, it is not likely that she will be able to do so. She is now in a position which suits her very well, and she will not give it up unless she thinks she can be of more service to her country. She will not take the Presidency if she cannot enter upon its office unimpeded and unobscured by party affiliations and platforms. She does not care to throw the question of public policy until they come up for settlement, and hence her reluctance to be questioned as to platforms, or confined to certain lines of action. She has certain views of her own, which she tolerably well expressed in an article written by a young friend of hers for the January number of the *Geology*. Of course she must not be held responsible for all the views therein expressed, but she gives about what she thinks of the present political situation. She is desirous of perfect freedom of action for herself, General Grant does not wish to act independently of the people. Her care would be, if elected, to study their interests and wishes, and to do about what they would want to do for themselves. Let party questions enter into the canvass for Congressmen, and, whatever the will of the people is, the General will try and obey it.

—On one point, the General is quite clear. If elected, he will make no appointments on account of political services. He believes that a reform of our civil service, such as that embodied in Mr. Jencks' bill of last session, is of vital moment, and all he will ask of any candidate for President is, if elected, to make himself an irretrievable guarantee that he is a true friend of the cause of Union and Liberty, and equal rights of all men before the law, and of course, unimpaired suffrage."

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Vivid and erect in Spain for these considerations to produce their full effect upon her rulers. But since the Czar and the Russians, whose boast for years it has been that their territory has always advanced and never receded, have brought themselves to part with their American domain, Isabella and her subjects may, perhaps, be satisfied to give up, with dignity, and of their own free will, the remnant of an empire, all the rest of which has been wrenched from Spain by the humiliating hand of triumphant rebellion.

Whether Spain would do well or ill to part with her West Indies, however, is neither so interesting nor so profitable a matter for Americans to reflect upon as whether the United States would do well or ill to purchase them. In a general way and under the ordinary conditions of our national life, there would be little or nothing to be said against the acquisition in a friendly spirit and for a reasonable sum of possessions so noble in themselves, so near to us, and so important to our complete supremacy in American waters.

But for the opposition of the men now most conspicuous in the Republican party, indeed this acquisition might already have been made, for successful Democratic administrations pursued it through many years, and President Pierce brought negotiations to accomplish it up to a point at which they must have succeeded had not the whole force of the then incipient Republican organization and sentiment been thrown against the work. The annexation of Cuba was thus prevented precisely as Mr. Seward and his confederates in the Senate, by collusion with Mr. Toombs and other Southern revolutionists, defeated the treaty for a Mexican protectorate which was successfully negotiated by a Democratic administration to President Juarez seven years ago. But just at this precise time it may be fairly questioned whether there are not other territories even more noble in themselves, still nearer to us geographically, and far more important to us, both in peace and war, which it behooves us to secure before we lay hands upon the Queen of the Antilles.

Between the Potomac river and the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Rio Grand, there stretches a vast expanse of fertile and desirable territory, the possession of which has been thought to be so essential to our national greatness and prosperity, that to retain them we have incurred a national debt practically equaling that of Great Britain, but which are to-day as much out of our control for all beneficial purposes as if they belonged to the kingdom of Spain or the republic of Mexico. An area half as large as that of all Europe, inhabited by a population not foreign to us, like that of the Spanish Americans by race and speech, but of our own blood, and bred in our own traditions, is steadily and swiftly slipping away from us into desolate and anarchic hands. What with the Freedmen's Bureau, the "military governments," the centralized administration generally, and the taxation system now extended over the South, we are spending annually more than the amount of the interest on the proposed purchase money of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, to alienate and make worthless to us the superb territories on which the vast fabric of our commercial wealth and importance once most surely rested. As a measure of practical statesmanship, then, which should take precedence, the outlay of millions to make Cuba valuable to us, or the retrenchment of millions to keep the South from being valueless to us?

This question is the more timely, that if we buy Cuba at this moment, and under the domination of the temper now paramount at Washington, in what we call with sarcastic courtesy our National Legislature, we simply buy an enormous reinforcement of the centrifugal and disintegrating forces which the radical policy is generating at the South. Under the radical reconstruction theory the ten Southern States of the Union are being rapidly converted into foreign republics, to be inhabited by a mongrel race as foreign as the white population of the rest of the Union as are the present inhabitants of Cuba and Porto Rico and Mexico. To suppose that the white inhabitants of the South will remain in the South under the supremacy of the negroes is simply childish, and to do the more intelligent of the radicals justice, they are not so silly as to suppose that this will be so. They look forward avowedly and with exultation to the creation of the South of new communities to be as predominantly African as those by which the British West Indies and Hayti are now occupied. All things under the existing rule at the South are working out this result. But those who most noisily clamor for it do not seem to have reflected that so soon as it has been attained these new parti-colored republics will find themselves drawn by natural affinities away from the white States of the Union as it now exists, and into close political sympathy with the mongrel inhabitants of Spanish America and the West Indies. Ten African States most assuredly will not long continue to be represented at Washington by Americans not "of African descent." Senators and Representatives of their own complexion will at no distant day be despatched to meet on the floor of the National Legislature and on a footing of perfect equality with the white Senators and Representatives of the North and West. Does anybody in his senses suppose that the people of the North and West will tolerate such a spectacle or submit to be ruled by the legisla-

tion of such a parti-colored body? It may be proved to be their duty as philosophers and philanthropists so to do, but that will matter little. The instinctive repulsions of race are not to be restrained by any such obnoxious theory. And these repulsions, be it remembered, will be felt at the South as well as at the North, by the African as well as by the American. The parti-colored States will represent the joint rule of the white as much as the white States the joint rule of the parti-colored. The more sharply this state of things defines itself the more strongly will the Southern or African States find themselves drawn towards that great hybrid population which inhabits the shores of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf, which makes Mexico what Mexico is, and which is gradually repelling the whites from the Antilles. Is it very difficult to forecast the immense impulse which would be given to what we may fairly call the African secession by the sudden introduction into our system of an island like Cuba, with its seven hundred thousand negroes and its quarter of a million of mulattoes, all of whom, of course, must be at once admitted to the "boon and blessing" of universal suffrage?

Cuba is a charming thing to have, no doubt, and dirt cheap at a hundred and fifty millions of dollars. But ought the taxpayers of the North and West to be entirely wild with joy at the prospect of paying a hundred and fifty millions of dollars for the pleasure of accelerating in the interest of the African race that disruption of the Union which they have just been spending three thousand millions to prevent?

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