

2 SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

The Next Step in Reconstruction.

From the N. Y. Nation.

There is, of course, a good deal of allowance to be made in every canvass for buncombe and exaggeration in estimating the amount of weight which ought to be attached to campaign speeches; and although Southern orators could not complain if we took literally all they are just now saying, probably very few people do take it literally. It is most likely that neither Blair, Wade Hampton, nor Forrest feels nearly as valorous or as bloodthirsty as he talks. If they did, they would not only belie all our past experience of Southern speeches, but of all campaign speeches. If campaign orators really went through all the emotions they describe themselves as going through, few of them would ever witness the Presidential election. There are limits to human endurance; and if speakers usually found—like General Battle, the other day, at Mobile—that "no language could express the emotions that swelled their bosoms," there would be a grave mistake. But there is a little doubt that, though Southern politicians do not mean as much mischief as their words, taken literally, would indicate, they mean a good deal of mischief. There is good reason for believing that they do not intend to be very scrupulous about the use of intimidation as a means of influencing the coming election. They are busy getting up a "conservative party" amongst the negroes by moral suasion, and any negro who is convinced by their arguments that the Southern planters are his best friends, they appear to be receiving into their ranks with a good deal of cordiality. But then, it would be a mistake to suppose that they give up as hopeless cases those negroes who are not convinced by their arguments. For them they are providing a simple and efficient system of social persecution, by which, in some parts of the country at least, any negro who is not armed with a card, issued by a white committee, testifying to his "soundness," will not receive employment in any capacity. But there will, of course, be a large number of cases in which both the moral suasion and the denial of employment will prove ineffectual; and the great question of Southern politics now is, how will the white and white Unionists—the "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags"—be dealt with on the first Tuesday in November next? We suspect roughly. We doubt very much whether, in a large number of districts in the South, voting the Radical ticket at the polls will not be a service of much difficulty and great personal danger.

Now, this ought not to be. If all we have heard during the last year or two of the "regeneration" of the Southern States through the adoption of the new Constitutions and the readmission of their members to Congress has been true, there ought to be no more reason for anxiety about the elections in Georgia and Alabama than about the elections in New York or Connecticut. But it was not true, or true only in a Pickwickian sense. Southern society remains in the States which are in the Union exactly what it is in the States which are out of the Union. The loyal portion of the population are represented in Congress, which is all very well so far as it goes; but the disloyal portion is no smaller, and no less fierce and bitter than it has ever been. What we have gained by reconstruction is, that the Government of the restored States has been handed back to those of its own people who are fit to be trusted with it, and that the negroes are being familiarized with the duties of political life. But the tie which binds the State to the Union has not been really strengthened, nor have the normal guarantees of social order. No shifting of the power from one hand to another, no distribution of the franchise, no administration of oaths, will do this. Nothing will do it but the growth of new habits of the part of the people. A State is made peaceful and prosperous not by the appearance of a certain number of gentlemen in black broadcloth in certain seats in the House and Senate, and the accession of Jones, in place of Brown, to the governorship of shiriverty, but by the acquisition by the mass of the people of certain ways of looking at life, and their adoption of certain standards of propriety for the regulation of their conduct. If the mass of men in South Carolina had the same notions of the objects of living, and of the difference between vice and virtue, comfort and discomfort, as the mass of men in Massachusetts, even though they view the whole the rebellion as substantially a mistake, they are now too high, safely let them send Hampton and Forrest, or anybody else they pleased, to Congress, and let everybody vote without any test oath or other restriction. A man might approve of the Rebellion most heartily, but if he had a sincere respect for the law, or, at all events, a hearty horror for violence and outrage, he would prove a very good citizen, and discussion might fairly be relied on to cure his political heresies. But the mass of men in most Southern States are not in this condition, or in anything like it, and therefore it is that what we call "reconstruction"—that is, the restoration of civil government in the Southern States, and the reappearance of their members in Congress—instead of being the "regeneration" of Southern society, is only one of the various agencies by which that regeneration is to be effected.

The foremost amongst them, we say still, as we have frequently said during the past two years, and we say it now more confidently than we have ever said it before, are time and order. What does most to make the spectacle of the political equality of the negroes odious to Southerners is what made the spectacle of negro freedom odious to them—want of familiarity with it. What makes it so hard for them to have negroes vote is their never having seen them vote. What makes it so hard for them to keep their knives out of negro ribs, and their pistols away from negro heads, is the fact that outages on colored people, or, in fact, on any people, are not associated in their minds, as they are in the minds of the members of more civilized communities, with legal punishment. It is, therefore, in the highest degree important—no matter how something the South in Congress—that the State governments should be in the hands of persons who will use their powers to give security to all classes, and that there should be an administration at Washington which may be counted on to uphold these governments in case of necessity. Put Seymour and Blair in power, and the process of undoing at the South at once begins; the rule of the strong hand is restored, and we are just as far from real reconstruction as ever—in fact, farther than ever—for the beneficial effects of the last three years of military rule would be lost. The idea of respect for the law, as something higher and stronger than the feelings of the local mob, which has been slowly taking root in the Southern mind, would be torn up and cast out, and we should be worse off than ever. To govern the South militarily so long is the best thing that the Republican party has done next to emancipation, and if it could with a due regard to the interests of the whole country, which we admit we can-

not, keep it under military rule for four years more, it would be rendering the South the highest service that it can receive through any human agency. Unless the machinery of government the party has set up there, however, can be kept going for some years longer—unless, in short, the South can be governed by law, and not, as in times past, by the passions and prejudices of the most passionate and most prejudiced of the most turbulent community in the world, reconstruction will prove a complete farce. The South of 1869 will be the South of 1860, minus so many men killed, so much property destroyed, and the destruction of legal slavery.

The danger of a Democratic triumph, too, does not lie in the fact that Seymour is this kind of man, or Blair that kind of man, but that the party which elects them has ceased to be a party of progress or reform. This has been said of it of late, but it is usually said, and most loudly said, with special reference simply to its opposition to the removal of negro disabilities, and the charge therefore makes less impression on the public mind than it ought. The fact is that it is the enemy of all useful changes or ameliorations in the Government. Judicial purity, administrative efficiency, popular education, the sense of corporate honor, the strict administration of justice, and, in fact, all restraints on the evil tendencies of society, in whatever direction, are no worse enemies. In fact, the only principle it can be said to hold firmly and preach persistently is that liberty is not a means but an end, and that as long as a man can do what pleases him to do is of little or no consequence—a doctrine as hostile to social and political progress as any that ever was preached. It is in this fact, indeed, that the gravity of the present crisis lies. Usually an opposition has the other half of a political and social truth in its possession, and while pursuing the same great ends as the party in power, advocates the use of different agencies, and has at its head men who, whether right-headed or wrong-headed, are sincerely wedded to the end, and stand as high morally as their opponents. The peculiarity of the Democratic party is—and the history of the last seven years justifies us in saying this—that its sole principle is hostility to the men in power, so that if the Republicans hit on a plan of adding twenty healthy, happy years to human life, the Democrats would devote themselves to persuading the public that the boon, coming from such hands, was worthless. There is probably nothing in political history equal to the speeches of the Brookes, Vallandigham and Seymour, since 1851, for emptiness of everything but negation and invective, and the readiness the Democratic members of the House invariably show to vote en masse with any Republican, on any subject, who sets himself up in opposition to the rest of his party, is a striking illustration of their childlike and the imbecility of their tactics. Their accession to office, therefore, for the government of any community, would be a great misfortune—much more for a community in so disturbed and critical condition as this.

Morals and Manners.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The Sun thus replies to our three questions respecting Horatio Seymour's assertions in his Bridgeport speech:—"It is evident to any man who knows the facts, that the statements quoted as Governor Seymour's are not true, and that it is not creditable to him to have made them. He should not have allowed himself to be led into such exaggeration. But who can properly undertake to say that he was not honestly convinced that they were true when he made them? Certainly, we shall not do it. We know, if the Tribune does not, how honestly the most upright advocate may be carried away from the truth by the heat of an argument, how ready he is to rely, without rigorous sifting, upon what is furnished him as facts. No man should pronounce such conduct dishonest, unless he can bring upon the spot the most convincing evidence. Even then, let us add, he will commit a grave error if he employ the words liar and villain. Prove the truth, but avoid the epithets, and your case will be a great deal stronger for it."

Comments by the Tribune.

Governor Seymour, speaking directly to a large gathering of the electors of Connecticut, and practically to most of those electors, on the eve of an important election, and when too late for effectual contradiction, asserted:—"It will cost this year more than \$150,000,000 to keep an army to keep the South in subjugation." "If more than \$300,000,000 per year have been wasted in order to uphold this policy of reconstruction." "Now \$400,000,000 (per annum) are raised, and out of it the public creditor gets but \$100,000,000." The Sun, if we understand it, holds that these assertions, though "not true," and "not creditable" to the maker, may nevertheless have been honestly made. We, on the other hand, maintain that they are so utterly at variance with official records and exhibits that they could have been honestly made only by a very ignorant, incompetent debater, whose blind, besotted prejudices induce him to swallow whole whatever worse men of his party have asserted. Horatio Seymour is no such man. He has good natural abilities, ample leisure, abundant means of information, and is well posted in public affairs. When his official documents show—as they certainly do show—that the entire expenditure of the Federal Government in the South for the fiscal year then closing, and since closed, for the pay and maintenance of so much of our army as were stationed there. Military government, reconstruction expenses, and the Freedmen's Bureau, altogether, was less than forty millions of dollars, (a considerable share of it being devoted to guarding the exposed frontiers of Texas against possible Mexican or Indian raids), we imagine that a public man of Governor Seymour's general intelligence could not have asserted that "it will cost this year more than \$150,000,000 to maintain an army to keep the South in subjugation," without intending to deceive and mislead his hearers and readers.

The public must judge whether our position or that of the Sun is the right one. We feel that a simple statement precludes the need of argument.

But, says the Sun, "it is a grave error" to characterize a false and defamatory statement as a lie, or to brand its author as a liar. Under favor, that depends on the motive and animus of the falsehood. "Why didn't you strike the dog with the butt of your musket?" asked a captain of an Irish private, who had pinned a savage mastiff to the ground with his bayonet. "Sure, and so I wud, plase yer Honor, if the baste had run at me wud his tail."

We feel that Mike was more logical than the captain. It seems clear to our mind that there exists a formidable conspiracy to lie the Republicans out of power by the most enormous exaggerations and fabrications with regard to the national expenditures. Take a recent illustration:

D. W. Voorhees recently made a speech at Terre Haute, Indiana, wherein he (of course) tried hard to make Copperhead capital out of the Freedmen's Bureau. To do so he roundly asserted that said Bureau "spends from ten to fifteen millions of public money for the support of Southern negroes." As the said Bureau is not spending even one million, nor half a million, for the purpose above indicated, we regard the above quoted assertion as going to the utmost

limit of allowable rhetorical embellishment. But Voorhees did not see fit to stop here. He proceeded to give chapter and verse for his assertion by quoting, not any official return of money actually expended, but an estimate by Gen. Howard, three years ago, of the money he probably could usefully spend in that department in the year 1866, provided Congress should see fit to appropriate it. The aggregate of the sums which he would have chosen that Congress should place at his disposal was \$11,745,050, including \$3,000,000 for "Sites for Schools and Asylums," \$1,930,000 for "Transportation," etc. etc. General Howard having, in 1865, asked Congress to place so much money at his disposal, Voorhees triumphantly quotes this estimate as though the money had actually been appropriated and actually spent! Although General Howard's brief letter of July 17, exposing a similar cheat by Mr. Boyer, Copperhead M. C. from Pennsylvania, was freshly before the public, showing that Congress appropriated less than seven millions of the amount asked for in '65-'6, and that all the money ever spent by the Freedmen's Bureau during its existence, with the pay and allowances of all the army officers employed therein, and the commissary stores furnished to the Bureau's order from the army depots at the South—in short, every outlay that could possibly be charged against the Bureau in any way—amounted to less than ten millions, or, to speak exactly, \$9,954,370. Here was a fresh, explicit statement from the official of the Bureau, stating its actual and entire expenditure from the day of its formation; yet Voorhees ignores this, and gives instead a three year old estimate of what might be spent in 1866, as the nearest attainable approximation to the cost of "the support of Southern negroes."

If the Sun believes this and kindred statements of the Copperhead orators innocently, honestly made, it is its duty as well as right to say so. But we, on our part, believe them wicked, villainous lies, put forth with deliberate and criminal intent to defraud the people of their savings, and thereby restore to power Howell Cobb, Wise, Toombs, Slidell, Forrest, Semmes, and the whole Rebel crew, whose sway has already cost their country such oceans of blood and rivers of tears; and we mean to expose and defeat the nefarious intent by saying exactly what the truth seems to require, in the most direct and expressive language at our command. That is our way; it seems to us the sincere, honest, manly way; wherefore, we do not comment it to the Sun. Let that luminary "just gang its ain gait," while we adhere to ours.

The Democratic Star in the East.

From the N. Y. Times.

Mr. Pendleton has the merit, rare among Democrats, of preserving in political disunion the language and courtesies of a gentleman. He does not find it necessary to adopt the style of certain of our neighbors, who desire to prove their zeal for Seymour and the abuse of Grant. Nor is he disposed to follow the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency in maligning and depreciating Mr. Colfax. In his Bangor speech on Thursday Mr. Pendleton declared that General Grant "has stood the test of success," and "has borne himself with moderation and magnanimity in his high office." And of Mr. Colfax, Mr. Pendleton said:—"He is an amiable and estimable gentleman, and would perform with dignity the duties of the high office to which he aspires." The slanderers who imagine that truthfulness and justice are incompatible with efficient party warfare, may learn from the personal aspects of this speech that it is possible to be Democratic and at the same time decent.

Unfortunately, Mr. Pendleton's candor does not show itself in his treatment of political questions. He is not so liberal in his regard to persons forsaking him when he changes his principles and measures. In discussing constitutional questions, he finds it convenient altogether to ignore the great revolution through which the country has passed. He bows "in reverence to the form of government which has bound these mighty States together," and lauds the sagacity and self-denial of its founders; but of the criminality of the Democratic leaders who would have shivered the Union into fragments, or of the construction which their rebellion compelled the Government to put upon its powers and duties, he says not a word. The only allusions he makes are of wanton, senseless violation of law and right by the Republicans. They are arraigned for "deliberately conspiring" for the overthrow of the constitutional system merely to gratify a treasonable longing for strong government. This is the gravamen of the charge preferred and reiterated by Mr. Pendleton. On this ground, before all others, he demands the defeat of the Republicans. The Rebels, however, he does not mention. He takes no notice of the fact that his Democratic friends made war upon the Government, and necessitated the rigorous exercise of its powers to suppress the claims. He has censured only for the means employed to put down the Rebellion; the Rebellion itself and its authors are, by his argument, made to appear righteous and patriotic. The greatest of Republican crimes, according to Mr. Pendleton, is that of having preserved the Union which his section of the Democracy endeavored to destroy.

The same one-sidedness of statement extends to the constitutional amendments which have been adopted under Republican auspices. We quote from the World's report:—"Twice since the close of the war they have used all the power which the possession of the Governments, both State and Federal, has given them to amend the Constitution; and in each case the amendments were in derogation of the substantial important recognized rights of the States. By the first of these amendments the power of the States over slavery in the Territories was abolished, and a second, citizenship in the States is to depend upon the will of the States, but of Congress; and the exclusion of negroes from the right of suffrage is punished by the loss of representation."

These amendments are characterized as an "attack upon the States themselves." Here again Mr. Pendleton's aversion to whatever hurts the Rebels appears. His denial of the lawfulness of strong effort on the part of the general Government to preserve its integrity includes emancipation, resorted to as a war measure. The right of the Rebel States to resist the control of slavery was in his judgment superior to the right exercised by Mr. Lincoln. "Everything for the Rebels, nothing for the Union," is the sum of the Pendletonian philosophy. Could its expounder have had his way, the South Confederacy, with slavery as its corner-stone, would now have been in full operation. The war for the Union, and emancipation as part of the price of the Union, were both "in derogation of substantial, important, recognized rights of the States." Such is the Copperheadism, pure and simple, which Mr. Pendleton preaches to the applauding Democracy of Maine.

And as he includes emancipation among Republican sins, so of course he condemns the civil and political sequences. The recognition of equality before the law, as a result of the acquisition of freedom, he denounces as an outrage. He would have slavery, if it were possible. Not being possible, he would have the millions lately in bondage still subject to their owner's law of proscription and punishment. They should have neither civil rights nor political privileges. The former are

secured by the Fourteenth amendment, and denial of the latter will, as Mr. Pendleton remarks, entail a diminution of representation. He, however, conceals the fact that though these general principles have by Republican action been incorporated in the Constitution, the right of suffrage remains vested in the reconstructed States. This opposite might be inferred from the general tenor of his argument, which is that the reserved rights of the States are by the amendment invaded. Now, from Mr. Pendleton in Maine, we appeal to Judge Bond in Connecticut. The speeches of both are printed in the same page of the World. And Judge Bond, addressing the Democrats of the Farmington Valley, said:—"What was the fourteenth constitutional amendment but a choice between two evils? But in the amended Constitution the right of the State to control its suffrage was conceded, the reserved rights of the States were acknowledged, and Congress must stand upon that policy. We've got to stick there."

We are content to take the Connecticut Democrat's interpretation of the amendment as an answer to Mr. Pendleton's assertion that the Republican party is "accumulating power in the Federal Government, and taking it away from the States." Can he not concede to the party the frankness and fair play which he concedes to its nominees? Must even Mr. Pendleton pander to Democratic trickery?

On the financial question he displays the "courage of his opinions." He is the same in Maine as in Ohio. He is for paying the bondholders in greenbacks as fast as the bond matures, and proposes to begin by striking down the national banking system and replacing its paper with three hundred millions of greenbacks, to be issued for redemption purposes:—"Take up \$300,000,000 of bonds and save \$15,000,000 in gold annually by way of interest. This will reduce your interest, and enable you either to reduce your taxes or to increase your payment the next year. Your income is at least \$500,000,000 a year. Be satisfied with that. Let the interest be stopped. Let robbery be punished. Expend \$150,000,000 a year, twice as much as General Jackson expended in any four years of his Administration. Add \$150,000,000 for interest, and yet you have more than \$300,000,000 a year, and that is constantly increasing. A large amount with which to pay off the public debt. In this way it can be paid—every dollar in principal and interest, by the time it becomes due, without adding one cent to the tax or one cent to the circulation."

The Democratic theory, then, involves, in the first place, the paucity, the ruin, the financial chaos inseparable from a sudden breaking up of the present banking system. The closing of the banks implies the closing of their customers' accounts, and the stoppage of the facilities without which industry and commerce cannot move. A proceeding so summary and sweeping as to solvent man in the country can contemplate without alarm. In the next place the theory presupposes a continuance of oppressive taxation. Mr. Pendleton's exposition requires for its verification an annual surplus which can be realized only by keeping up the revenue to its present figure. Reduce the taxes to the extent called for by the condition of the country, and the calculation falls to the ground, so far as it applies to an immediate or a very early payment of the debt.

Moreover, although Mr. Pendleton, in the passage we quoted, contends that his plan may be worked out without adding one cent to the circulation, we observe that he subsequently, in the same speech, pointed delicately towards inflation. "Stop the excessive contraction of the currency," he said, forgetting that that has already been done by a Republican Congress; and then he added, "expand it if necessary to recover the business of the country (from the prostration it now feels)." Nothing could be plainer. Inflation—"just a little bit essential to the application of the greenback theory."

Leaving aside for the moment, therefore, the question of good faith as between the nation and its creditors, it is evident that the Democratic policy in regard to finance would be productive of immeasurable disaster. It would destroy the banking system on which the business of the country depends. It would prolong the excessive taxation from which all interests suffer. It would unsettle values and send gold up like a rocket, by an unlimited issue of currency. These conclusions we derive from the speech of the recognized author of the policy adopted by the Democratic Convention in the first place, and they indicate one element of the cost of electing Mr. Seymour to the Presidency.

Greeley on the Presidential Election.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Greeley begins to see the Presidential canvass in clear light, and sees every reason to fear the failure of Grant. He says that the labor that is to insure the triumph of the Republican candidates "is yet to be done," that six times as many clubs as the Grant men now have are necessary; and that before it can expect to win the clubs must "gather and glean" the million votes of those who are now indifferent or hostile to the Republican party. And all this, he justly reasons, "implies special canvass as has never yet been made in our country." For those who fancy the election of Grant and Colfax certain he says:—"So far is this from the fact that they are this hour in peril of defeat" and "will surely be beaten if their steadfast supporters are not speedily aroused to general and intense activity." Republicans "have to poll their very last vote in half the States—many more than they ever yet polled in the belt of States beginning with Connecticut and extending through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio to Indiana—or Seymour will be next President." He believes that "there is danger—grave danger"—that Grant will not be the next Executive; not that he doubts of the real supremacy of the Republican party in point of numbers even, but he fears that Republicans will be apathetic and Democrats crafty, and of course dishonest—a view not quite consistent with his other view that his party needs to win half a million votes gained either from its opponents or from men indifferent to party.

Greeley, then, begins to feel the coming defeat of General Grant. He has good reason to be uneasy in view of the possibility. He may regard this result as in a narrow degree the sequence of his own efforts. He has directly contributed to bring it about. He created in the first place and has kept alive those elements of disaffection to the Republican party from which alone Grant's defeat can come. He is the man who has driven the common sense, the respectable controlling conservatism of the country into an attitude of hostility to the Republican party. He is the real source in his party of all its extreme tendencies—all those desperate efforts to remodel the nation in accordance with extravagant and misty theory—those ridiculous vagaries of a dreaming enthusiast who fancies he is a politician and a statesman. Had republicanism acted on the impulses of the people at the close of the war, had its policy reflected the true will of the people, how different would have been our recent history! But it gave way to that spirit of which Greeley was the head and front, and the rest came of course. Thence came all the nigger legislation, and all that perversion of our recent political strife that would not have peace if it was not peace with

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the nigger in the best place. Thence came all the legislation outside the Constitution, and the effort to cast the Executive office out of our system of Government because the occupant of that office did not agree with Greeley in his views of his duties. This is the spirit that has rendered it impossible for the people to act longer with the Republican party, and though the nation respects and reveres Grant for his character and his history, it cannot even for his sake accept a party of such tendencies and subject, as its record shows, to such unsafe influences. It is not the first time that Greeley has appeared in the same character. He had some relation to the disastrous defeat of Scott. He was the leader who inspired in the people such a natural alarm and fear of what might follow the success of the Whig party. His extravagant agitation of the Anti-Slavery excitement, his fury, his venomous invectives, his intellectual antics generally, made such a sentiment against his party that Scott's heroic national record was an insufficient assurance. In the same way his extravagance and folly have driven from the support of his party the vast masses of the people, and thus he has prepared the way for the defeat of his candidate. There is one thing that may save Grant, and this chance for safety comes from a queer quarter. The Copperheads, by the peculiar character of their opposition to the hero of the war, may yet insure his election. Their campaign against him may stimulate a great popular movement in his favor. Popular gratitude is capricious and will not see indignities cast on one whom it ought to favor, even though if left alone it might neglect him. Jackson's career indicated once the full force of this, and Grant may again. The Copperhead violation of all decency in its assaults on the great commander may give him a champion in every respectable voter, and if the people are thus pushed to make the contest turn on the personal merits of the candidate we shall see that the popular good will toward the nation's hero is greater even than the popular fear of the radicals.

Consternation in the Colored Camp.

From the N. Y. World.

The certainty with which the radical leaders count upon an overwhelming defeat of their party in November has created a consternation in the colored camp amounting to a positive panic. It is three months since Grant was nominated, and his name has not created enthusiasm enough, as yet, to enliven a picnic party. His speeches in which he has thanked sundry "ladies and gentlemen" for turning out to see him, and has thereafter bid them a cordial "good night," are not accepted as the expressions of a policy which is to reduce taxation or pay the public debt. The terrible record of the radical party, its failure to restore the Union, and thus the harvest for which the war professedly was fought; its reckless, frightful squandering of the people's money for party purposes; its confessed inability to legislate wisely upon any of the present pressing issues; and the general feeling that it is a party which has been thoroughly tried and found utterly wanting—all these things tell the leaders that the people have done with the party, and that they propose quietly to put it out of existence at the polls. Still, with these things staring it in the face, the Tribune shrieks, "We must not be beaten." But that "we" will be beaten, Mr. Horace Greeley plainly shows in the Independent for this week. The Men and Brethren who are "everywhere resting in the conviction that General Grant cannot possibly be beaten," are told that "this is at once untrue and perilous." He "hopes" that Ohio will not be lost, and with regard to Pennsylvania, "he hopes, but fears." With the closest figuring and counting in sundry rotten boroughs—the radically reconstructed Southern States to be carried by black vote controlled by the bayonets of "the General of our Armies"—reckoning also Ohio and West Virginia, which Greeley says "are desperately contested," he makes 159 electoral votes for Grant, which will give a bare majority. Should the Southern States, which Greeley calls "the Rebel States," be permitted to vote, he says "we cannot rely upon one of them till 'the votes shall have been polled and the result declared.'" This is a sad show indeed. Why, these States were expressly "reconstructed" to make a sure thing for Grant, and Greeley reckons Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina, with their 19 votes, to make the 159 which Grant must get to make a majority. What is to be done? It would seem by Greeley's own showing that he will not say, nor even prize strawberry plants secure victory for his party next November.

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