

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILING BY THE DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Carry Me Back.

There is a bump, or, to speak more respectfully, "an organ," in the cranial structure, which, when it is particularly profuse, makes traveler and exile homesick. Black folk, whether bearded or not, have brains exactly like light-colored beings, and however thick the African skull may be, the "organ" which it encloses are quite as lively as the cheeks below them were of the purest white and the most brilliant carmine. In the palmy days of the patriots, the most potent truce which could be employed to keep a Virginian or a Maryland chafed dole, was to sell him to go further South; and we know very well that too often, under pecuniary pressure, this method of raising ready money was resorted to. It is not strange, considering this, and moreover that Texas is a State founded by emigrants, that we find there a great many freedmen who were born in Tennessee, Kentucky, or upon the Eastern seaboard—or rather we should have found them there a little while ago—for now it appears that "they are returning to the States from which they were originally brought by the slave dealers." Being at liberty to do so, they are carrying themselves back to do so, they are carrying themselves back to do so, they are carrying themselves back to do so...

These statements in regard to the emigration from Texas remind us of the chronic fear in some Northern States of a disproportionate incursion of blacks. Certain of our neighbors have always assumed that emancipation would be followed by the general flight of the freedmen to the North; and various measures have been suggested, and in some cases actually taken, to keep the colored people where, it is asserted, "they belong." The inhibitive instinct of the black has not been taken into the account at all. His preference for a warmer climate than ours the croakers have been altogether too nervous to consider. Assuming that he would prefer wood-sawing at low wages to the cultivation of cotton and tobacco for wages considerably higher, and arguing that the demand for wood-sawyers and bootblacks is limited, the uncomfortable conclusion has been reached that he shall have an immense mass of black pariahs to support in idleness. Now, considering that the freedman, if he is equitably treated there, can have no motive whatever for leaving his old home, it is curious that those who profess the most profound abhorrence of the race, and the greatest fear lest it should overrun the Northern States, are perpetually floundering with every project for rendering the negro contented, busy, and prosperous at the South, "where he belongs," where his labor is in demand, and where he can add more than in any other section to the general production of the country. If these wretched victims of negro-phobia have no consciences to be awakened; if there is no fleshly spot in their obdurate hearts; if nothing but self-interest can keep them mindful at least of the forms and shows of humanity, then we appeal to their selfishness, their prejudice, and their hatred, and we ask their cooperation, however base may be their motives, in making the Southern States such an abiding-place that the negro will not choose to leave it. We think especially that the members of the Democratic party have earned no matter how the right to be regarded as "Southern brethren," and to exhort them to keep their freedmen at home by rendering that home pleasant and desirable. No statute forbidding the passage of the black on one State to another is possible. He must be left to the motives and the influences which always govern human nature. He must be free to select his own domicile, and, while he lawfully demeans himself, he must have the full protection of the law. Only when all other things are thus rendered equal will he be truly at liberty to follow his own natural tastes and impulses. Why, then, do we, in the power of the Democratic party to give to its quondam allies the best possible advice, and to remind them that the agricultural property of the South is a matter altogether out of the question, and something not to be reasonably anticipated, if those who are most familiar with Southern labor are to be driven by bad treatment from the plantations to work under great difficulties at the West or to crowd into the already over-crowded cities. A plain resolution embodying this idea would really sweeten all the other duties of the Democratic Convention, and its endorsement by such a body, in our opinion, is demanded by common prudence and by common sense. Republicans will not be listened to; will the Democrats speak?

General Grant and Political Parties.

From the N. Y. Times. General Grant is coming to this city this week to enjoy the last play-spell he is likely to get for some years. Next week he will be officially informed that he is President-elect, and then his troubles will begin. His first duty will be to select his Cabinet; and it seems to be pretty generally understood that he regards this as a matter of more importance to himself than to anybody else—one upon which, therefore, volunteer advice is not desired. Meantime we hear from Washington that the feeling among the leading Republicans is becoming one of intense and painful anxiety. Their advice has not been asked; they have not been informed of the General's intentions; they haven't the slightest idea what course he seems to them, as a matter of course, wrapped in impenetrable gloom. The main point of anxiety and of doubt is whether the General intends to take and follow the advice of the party, in his official action, or to "set up for himself"—follow the dictates of his own judgment and not upon his own sense of justice and sound policy. All experience, it is urged, shows that the former is the only safe way—the only way in which his administration can be made a success, and that the latter will lead inevitably to the fate of John Tyler and Andy Johnson. Members of Congress, in both houses, wearied with watching and waiting to be "sent for," do not hesitate to proclaim, more or less openly, that if General Grant does not consult the Republican party and conform to its expressed desires, he must not expect their support, and particularly enough they predict for him a speedy discomfiture. In all this there is something of good sense, something of natural impatience, and a good deal of narrow-minded and ignorant selfishness. Grant knows that he has been elected mainly by the Republican party, and that the political sentiments and principles of that party are those which in the majority of the country will either ignore the principles or the interests of the party. The Government of this country is a party government, one in which the wishes and views of the dominant party must control. No President, therefore, can hope for success in carrying on his administration in disregard of these views and wishes; and General Grant is the last man likely to make the attempt. He is not a man of overweening personal ambition, or of undue confidence in his own ability. He is most anxious to see the country prosper, and a marked feature of his life that he has always shown power rather than sought it, and that a desire to promote the public welfare has been the only motive which has ever governed his public action. But, on the other hand, he is not a man likely to take his opinions ready-made from others, or to regard anybody's ideas of policy and duty as paramount to his own. He will think for himself, and judge for himself on all matters relating to his own official action. And although he was nominated and elected by a political party, no President for many years has been more free from the rigid responsibility to the party than he. He was never identified in any active way with the party which elected him, and gave only a general assent to its leading principles, and declared his general sympathy with its views and purposes, when it offered him its nomination. And with that general declaration the whole party was satisfied. It asked nothing more at his hands, and he never thereafter decided anything that he should do for himself, or with any section of the party, or with any class of its leaders, as to hamper the independence of his official action. He has the confidence of the great body of the people, without regard to parties, and will command their support in all acts that relate to the public good and involve the restoration of peace and harmony to the whole country. The reconstruction policy of Congress has not only come to be the law of the land, but it has come to be the settled policy of the nation. We hear no more from any quarter of overthrewing it. The Democrats have ceased to revile it in their speeches and conventions. Even the Southern newspapers most bitterly opposed to it at the outset have ceased to denounce it or to expostulate with it. It is felt universally that, whether it is or is not the best policy that could have been adopted, it has come to be the only policy from which settled peace and harmony can be expected. No one doubts, therefore, that General Grant will administer the Government in conformity with its spirit and its language, and that the reorganization of society, political and civil, in the Southern States must proceed on the basis of its principles and its provisions. But in the selection of the specific agencies and measures by which this result shall be sought, General Grant may very wisely be left to the exercise of his own discretion. Indeed, his relations to the people of the whole country, as well as to the party which elected him, give him the right to claim this at their hands. He will, without doubt, consult the opinions of the men whose abilities, character, and position make their opinions of value on all matters of public concern; but he has a perfect right to claim exemption from that omniscient dictation on all matters, great and small, and especially on all appointments to office, which party leaders have come to consider it their right to exercise over all incumbents of the Executive chair.

This schedule, with three members from New York, is clearly out of the question, unless something extra may be considered as due to this State in honor of Seymour and the Tammany Convention. And yet New York has other Cabinet candidates, with better chances, perhaps, than either of the three above-named, to say nothing of Morgan. There is A. T. Stewart, at whose house General Grant has taken breakfast; there is Marshall O. Roberts, at whose house a special ten-dollar dinner was given in honor of Grant, including the Appointment of the present Attorney-General, who is (the defender of Andy Johnson), at whose dinner, given him by the New York lawyers, General Grant was the lion of the evening; and then there is Hamilton Fish, whose guest it is given out, General Grant this week will be for three days and three nights. If New York is to furnish the whole of the new Cabinet, here are the men; but if it is to have only one member, his name will probably be discovered after General Grant's three days with Mr. Fish. But here is another of the Cabinet volunteers for the new administration:—

For Secretary of State—John Lothrop Motley or Charles F. Adams of Massachusetts. Treasury—W. P. Fessenden, Maine. War—W. S. Johnson, New York. Navy—Admiral Porter, D. C. Interior—Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio. Postmaster-General—A. G. Duran, Pennsylvania. Attorney-General—J. F. Wilson, Iowa.

Then there are other available in Massachusetts, such as Wilson, Banks, and Butler, and then from the forty or fifty outgoing members of Congress there are some not mentioned by the Cabinet makers who are at the service of Grant. All taken together, there is a list of exponents and probabilities of one, two, or three hundred, from which the General may pick and choose. Having chosen one, however, he only wants half a dozen to fill up his Cabinet, so that the difficulty of satisfying Bill without offending Tom, Dick, and Harry, is apparent. When Lincoln first came in he had a comparatively easy task. He saw at once that the men for his Cabinet were his competitors for the Presidency in the Chicago Convention—Seward, Chase, Cameron, and Bates, for instance—and he acted accordingly. But Grant, without a competitor at Chicago, has no such guide-book. It is thought, therefore, that he must do something for "Old Ben Wade," as a competitor of Colfax, and that the President elect would have, in the same view, to provide for Fenion, if the New York Legislature had not kindly relieved him of this difficulty, together with Morgan.

As for Stanton, it is possible that Raymond's cock-and-bull story relating to Banks and Grant in the Vicksburg campaign, as a flank movement against Stanton, from the Johnson, Seward, Wade, and Raymond camps, may bring the ex-Secretary of War into the foreground. At all events, it is quite likely that General Grant has not derived much information from these late Vicksburg disclosures. We think it likely, too, that General Grant will choose a new Cabinet out and out, without a single stick of timber from Johnson, excepting, perhaps, Seward as Secretary of War. But if Seward, they say, cannot continue to be a Cabinet officer without giving up his position in the army, he will give up the Cabinet.

Doubtless with or before the inauguration of President Grant all the members of the present Cabinet, from Seward to Krantz, will deliver up to him their respective departments, although, under the Tenure-of-Office law, he may retain them for a month in their places, but no longer, without substituting their names or the name of any he may choose to continue to the Senate. We presume, however, that President Grant, on the 4th or 5th of March, will submit to the Senate a new Cabinet in full (excepting perhaps Seward), and that it will be on one condition, Mr. H. B. Washburne, it is understood, does not wish to undertake any Cabinet duty in any department. His health will not permit it. But he does like the climate of France and the cooks of Paris. Accordingly he is studying French in the evening with a master and during the day with a master, and is getting on very well. Admiral Porter, rumor says, on his expectations of the Navy Department, has invested fifty thousand dollars of his prize money in a house in Washington, and we must stick a pin here to mark another probability. But here is a snag yet remaining to General Grant for two weeks and three days to look about. We expect him here in a day or two—say Thursday, at the furthest—and here he shall have had a consultation with Mr. Fish, a talk with Fenion, a look into Wall street, a visit to the French Opera of the Erie Railroad, and a drive or two to the High Bridge, we shall, perhaps, learn that Greeley has been singled out for special annexation commissioner to Hayti, and Dana as Governor of Alaska, where he can keep cool all the year round.

Universal Negro Suffrage. The following resolution passed the House of Representatives on Saturday, and there is no reason to doubt that it will pass the Senate, and the amendment it proposes be submitted to the States for their ratification or rejection:— "Resolved, etc., two-thirds of both houses concurring, That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, and an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be held as part of the said Constitution, to-wit:— Article—Section 1. The right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or any State, by reason of race or color, or previous condition of servitude, of any citizen or class of citizens of the United States. Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article. The resolution was passed by the necessary two-thirds. Yeas, 150; nays, 42. The Speaker, as a member of the House, voted in the affirmative. This amendment may be triumphantly carried through Congress, but there are good grounds for believing that it may be defeated in at least ten of the States; and ten refusals to ratify will suffice to kill it. Mr. Boutwell, one of the foremost advocates of negro suffrage, preferred the passage of a simple act of Congress forbidding the exclusion of negroes, assigning as his reason for this preference the improbability that a constitutional amendment would be ratified by the requisite number of States. There are some Republican States, like Ohio, which have recently voted down negro suffrage, and their Legislatures would hesitate to ratify this amendment at the risk of their party losing the States in the next elections. All the Democratic Legislatures will reject it, of course. Mr. Boutwell estimates that about nine-tenths of the Republican party desire negro suffrage, and that the other one-tenth is opposed to it; but we incline to think that a much larger proportion of that party would disapprove, if they could not get on the question itself without any bias. Multitudes of Republicans give it a sort of support, less from a feeling of right than a constrained sense of consistency. Their sectional passions and their party hostility to President Johnson caused them to abstain from the attempt to force negro suffrage upon the South, and they now hesitate to sanctify themselves by opposition to making it universal.

These Republicans who have their doubts whether negro suffrage is a very good thing after all, or whether, if it is expedient in some localities, it is equally adapted to all, should be content to look on and see the experiment tried under existing laws, without barring the door against a retreat, if experience should demonstrate that its effects are not salutary. If the experiment should prove to work well in the large number of States in which negroes now vote, the opposition would gradually dwindle, and there would be less and less disposition to disturb what has been done. If, on the other hand, the experiment will work steadily in favor of it, and if beneficial results will be as solid a security for its permanence as a change in the organic law. But if the experiment should prove mischievous or disastrous, it ought to be reversed; and a constitutional amendment should not hedge up the way of retreat from an unfortunate measure. This view is so consonant to prudence and good sense, that we do not see how any candid Republican can resist it. The Southern negro exercised the ballot for the first time about six months ago. Considering how confessedly unprepared they were to act with intelligence, and how their votes were controlled by the Freedmen's Bureau, and may hereafter be controlled by their old masters, or by postpaid demagogues of their own race, it surely cannot be maintained by any honest man that the experiment has gone far enough to show the wisdom of the negroes' participation in public affairs. If the Constitution is left as it is, the suffrage can be withdrawn from the negroes, or restricted by qualifications, in States where experience does not sanction it; and be left undisturbed in those States where its results may prove satisfactory. The fact that its advocates are in such premature haste to make it a rigid, universal, irrevocable rule, shows that they have no great confidence in its beneficial operation. For if they had, they would see that the opposition to it would grow constantly weaker with the progress of the experiment.

The reason for doubting the wisdom of the great innovation are not found alone in the fact that the negroes have been so recently let loose from a degrading, brutalizing tradition, but chiefly in the fact that voting by colored races has never worked anything but mischief wherever it has been tried on a large scale. Where the population has but a thin sprinkling of negroes, as in some of our Northern States, their admission to the ballot-box has no perceptible effect; and, except in checking a national repugnance, it does little or nothing for good. But the case is very different where the colored population is large, as in the South American republics. There, feeble, rickety, and chaotic republics, which tried to emulate our example, but deviated from it in bestowing the suffrage indiscriminately upon all races and colors, furnish a signal warning against such an amendment to the Constitution as is proposed. They demonstrate to all mankind that universal suffrage is to panacea for political evils. The worst governed and most anarchical countries in the world, except negro San Domingo, have been for a half a century the Spanish-American republics on this continent, which have never made any distinction of race or color in the qualifications of voters. So many experiments, for so long a period, and all having the same uniform, calamitous result, may be triumphantly offset against the fanciful expectations of those who are trying to make the South American practice a part of our organic law.

It is said that negroes vote in Jamaica, and that anarchy has not generally prevailed in that island, the reply is at hand. Negro voting in Jamaica is a mere form without substance. The colonial government of that island is under strict imperial control. The Governor, who has a negative upon all laws, is appointed by the Crown; and even the laws which he approves are subject to be annulled by Parliament. The colonial legislature of Jamaica possesses no real power, nor even any privilege beyond an over-dressed right of petition. When it passes an act, it merely makes known what it desires, and it depends upon the Governor to say whether the desire shall be granted; for it must be borne in mind that his negative is not a qualified one, like that of our President and State Governors, which can be overruled by a repassage of the bill, but an absolute and final veto. Negro suffrage does no harm in Jamaica, because all suffrage in that island is a shadow and a mockery. Colored suffrage, so far as we may judge of its consequences by the experiments in other countries, is a very bad thing, and a bad government, as in Mexico and the South American republics; or, if these evils are avoided, it must be by putting upon it the curb of superior restraint, as in the British colonies. Such a constitutional amendment as is now proposed is the most powerful and insidious instrument that could be employed in taking political power away from the people and centralizing it in the Federal Government. To avoid South American anarchy we shall take refuge in overruling imperial control. It is impossible to refer to negro suffrage after it is fixed in the Federal Constitution, an attempt will be made to contract its mischief by rendering suffrage itself a nullity, and putting a Federal negative upon State laws. No step is so easy and immediate as from a degraded local suffrage to central control. We have an argument on this subject which is peculiarly fitted to convince Republicans (if their minds are not steered against all reasoning), because it rests upon their own States. In the case of Massachusetts, to which we allude we have already disputed their premises; but a difference of opinion as to the facts cannot release them from the consequences of their own principles. Why have they nullified the right of suffrage in the local government of this city by transferring the seat of authority to Albany? The pretext is, that the suffrage here is so degraded that to trust it with the government of the city is inconsistent with order and economy. Whether the fact is true or not, the argument is one whose soundness it becomes no Republican to question. The principle is, that when people become incapable of governing themselves, they must be governed by others. Now, we would ask Republicans to tell us, in all candor, if they think the ignorant Southern negroes a more promising body of constituents than the white citizens of the city of New York? When universal negro suffrage has been fully tried, and found to degrade the suffrage in all States where the negro population is large, the consolidationists will be furnished with the strongest argument ever put into their hands. It will be precisely the same argument which is deemed so conclusive in Republican estimation for depriving this city of self-government, and subjecting it to the control of the State Legislature. The degradation of the suffrage which is falsely imputed to this city will be to real an evil in the negro States, and as the privilege of voting cannot be withdrawn, the most natural remedy for the evil will be the absorption of all governmental power into the vortex of the Federal Government.

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FARRER, HERRING & CO., No. 629 CHESTNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA. G. L. MAISER MANUFACTURER OF FIRE AND BURGLAR-PROOF SAFES, LOCKSMITH, BELL-HANGER, AND DEALER IN BUILDING MATERIALS. No. 64 RACE Street. JEWELRY, SILVERWARE, ETC. ESTABLISHED 1826. HOLIDAY PRESENTS. WATCHES, JEWELRY, GLOCKS, SILVERWARE, and FANCY GOODS. G. W. RUSSELL, No. 29 NORTH SIXTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA. GROCERIES, ETC. WHITE CLOVER HONEY, BATHURST BUCKWHEAT, F. J. MESS MACKEREL, Albert C. Roberts, Dealer in Fine Groceries, 117P Cor. ELEVENTH and VINE Streets. WIRE CARDS, FOR STORE FRONTS, ANVILS, PAC 70418, ETC. Patent Wire Building Iron. Bedsteads, Orthopedic Wire Work, Paper Makers' Wire, and every variety of Wire Work, manufactured by W. WALKER & SONS No. 11 North SIXTH Street, mwp

MEDICAL. RHEUMATISM, NEURALGIA. Warranted Permanently Cured. Warranted Permanently Cured. Without Injury to the System. Without Iodide, Potassia, or Colchicum By Using Inwardly Only DR. FITLER'S GREAT RHEUMATIC REMEDY, For Rheumatism and Neuralgia in all its forms. The only standard, reliable, positive, infallible permanent cure ever discovered. It is warranted to contain nothing harmful or injurious to the system. WARRANTED TO CURE OR MONEY REFUNDED. Warranted to CURE OR MONEY REFUNDED. Thousands of Philadelphia references of cures. Prepared at No. 29 SOUTH FOURTH STREET, 522 mtp BELOW MARKET. CITY ORDINANCES. AN ORDINANCE To Authorize the Payment of a Certain Fund to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund. Section 1. The Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia do ordain, That the City Treasurer be and he is hereby authorized to pay over to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund the net amount of twenty-one thousand two hundred and thirty-four (\$21,234) dollars and twenty (20) cents, the net proceeds of the sale of the coupon lot of the Amherst bonds, remaining to the credit of the City in the City Treasury. JOSEPH F. MARGER, President of Common Council. Attest— BENJAMIN H. HAINES, Clerk of Select Council. WILLIAM S. STOKLEY, President of Select Council. Approved this first day of February, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine (A. D. 1869). DANIEL M. FOX, Mayor of Philadelphia. 221

RESOLUTION. To Authorize M. Baird & Co. to lay a Certain Railroad Track. Resolved, By the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia, That M. Baird & Co. be and they are hereby authorized to lay a railroad track across Buttonwood street west of Broad street, to connect their Locomotive Works situated on each side of said Buttonwood street, on the west side of Broad street; Provided that the work shall be done under the supervision of the City Engineer and Surveyor, and that it shall be done without injury to the City, and that should the said firm first pay to the City Treasurer twenty-five dollars to pay for the publication of this resolution. JOSEPH F. MARGER, President of Common Council. Attest— BENJAMIN H. HAINES, Clerk of Select Council. WILLIAM S. STOKLEY, President of Select Council. Approved this first day of February, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine (A. D. 1869). DANIEL M. FOX, Mayor of Philadelphia. 221

RESOLUTION. To authorize the laying of a Gas Main on West Delaware Place. Resolved, By the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia, That permission is hereby granted to the Trustees of the Philadelphia Gas Works to lay a main on West Delaware Place, between the intersections of Twenty-first street and Spruce and Pine streets. JOSEPH F. MARGER, President of Common Council. Attest— BENJAMIN H. HAINES, Clerk of Select Council. WILLIAM S. STOKLEY, President of Select Council. Approved this first day of February, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine (A. D. 1869). DANIEL M. FOX, Mayor of Philadelphia. 221

FIRE-PROOF SAFES. FROM THE GREAT FIRE IN MARKET STREET. HERRING'S PATENT SAFES. Again the Champion! THE ONLY SAFE THAT PRESERVES ITS CONTENTS UNCHANGED. LETTER FROM T. MORRIS PEROT & CO. PHILADELPHIA, Fifth Month 5th, 1868. Messrs. Farrel, Herring & Co., No. 629 Chestnut street—Gentlemen:—It is with great pleasure that we add our testimony to the value of your Herring's Patent Safes. At the destructive fire on Market street, on the evening of the 24th inst., we were in possession of a large quantity of our safes, and being situated in an exposed situation, and left with the burning floors above, we were enabled to save a quantity of our safes, and the contents thereof, including bank notes, bills, receipts, and other valuables, in perfect safety. We would therefore recommend your safes to all who have any valuables to be preserved. We would also recommend your safes to all who have any valuables to be preserved. Yours, respectfully, T. MORRIS PEROT & CO.

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