### THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS COMPILED RVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING THUNGRAPH.

The New Movement Against Rome. From the Tribune

For several months the city of Rome has been the cynosure of a large portion of the Christian world; for, complying with the invitation of the head of their Church, the Roman Catholic Bishops from every country of America and Europe, and from many parts of Asia, Africa, and Australia, have been journeying towards the Eternal City, there to constitute the largest Episcopal Convention the world has ever seen, to listen to a solemn allocation from the Pope on the condition of the Church, and, in return, to give expression to the sentiments animating themselves and the priests and the laity of their dioceses. have already laid before our readers a full and graphic account of the solemnities in Rome, and the text of the Papal allocution. On Saturday we published the most important portion of the address of the Bishops to the Pope, and a complete list of the Cardinals, Patriarchs, and Archbishops who were present at the Convention, as well as a list of the Bishops from the United States. Though most of the names of these dignitaries, as well as of the names of their sees, are unknown to the majority of our readers, the list cannot fail to be scanned with interest. It is certainly a grand and unique assembly, this meeting of Bishops from the American republics and European monarchies, from countries exclusively Roman Catholic, and countries predominantly Protestant, such as the United States. England, Holland, and Switzerland, from the Mohammedan countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the vast pagan empires of Asia, embracing also, beside the prevailing Latin rite, all the various Eastern rites, as Greeks, Melchites, Ruthenians, Syrians, Chaldeans, Maronites, Armenians, and Copts. No similar ecclesiastical demonstration of our age has been more calculated to awaken the interest of all Catholies and the curlosity of other religious denominations. And, to add to the interest of the meeting, the Pope has officially declared his intention to convoke soon an ecumenical council, which, in a time when the relation between Church and State in Enrope is undergoing a radical change, and the emporal power of the Papacy is threatened with destruction, cannot but be regarded as an event of grave and universal importance.

While the Romeward journey of the Bishops

has come to an end, and most of the prelates have left the capital of the Church in order to return to their dioceses, we learn by cable despatches of the beginning of a quite different "On to Rome" movement. While the Bishops, in their address to the Pope, again give an emphatic support to the maintenance of the temporal power, Garibaldi, in a speech made at Pistoja, has proclaimed that the time for the liberation of Rome from the rule of the Pope has arrived. A despatch from London even asserts that, according to telegrams received from Florence, an engagement has already taken place near Vicenza, between the Garibaldians and the Italian troops. The movement does not seem quite unexpected. Several weeks ago Garibaldi publicly announced that a new movement against Rome would be made after the Episcopal Convention. The Roman Government seems to have been fully informed of the project, and is even reported to have entered into diplomatic negotiations with the French Government, in order to obtain new securities for the continuance of the temporal power. This seems to indicate that a real movement of the Garibaldians against Rome is looked upon in Europe as a serious affair. As all the elections since the establishment of the kingdom of Italy have shown, the party of action, which is unanimous in its desire to annex Rome, if necessary by force of arms, constitutes a considerable portion of the Italian people. The desire for annexation, as repeated declarations of the Chamber of Deputies prove, is even shared by a very large portion of the National Liberal party, which generally supports the policy of Government. Nevertheless, as regards the ultimate prospects of the new Caribaldian movement, we do not believe that its chances of success are any better than the movement a few years ago which ended so fatally at Aspromonte. Now, and then, the Italian Government will use the whole military force of the country to suppress the movement, and there are no reasons to believe that the participation of the people at large in this movement will be any more general than it was in 1862. Should, contrary to expectation, the power of the Italian Government fail to check the movement, a word will suffice to obtain the aid of France, which in Italy stands in no fear of being ordered out of the country by another United States. The Garibaldians, as the revolutionary party in many other countries of Europe, are apt to overestimate their own strength. They regard more their own enthusiasm than the condition of their resources; and whatever may be the sympathy of the progressive party of foreign countries with their aim, it will be of little use to them when they have to grapple with powerful and regular armies.

Mr. McCuiloch, the Treasury Frauds, and Congress.

From the Herald.

There is a great deal of commotion in Washington just now about the frauds on the Treasury in the Internal Revenue Department. It is suppressed as much as possible by the friends of Mr. McCulloch, by the fraudulent distillers' influence in Congress, and by those interested in shielding the guilty internal revenue officials; but the frauds are so flagrant and gigantic that the facts relating to them cannot be smothered. The subject is of so much importance, and so replete with startling revelations, that with all the efforts to pass it over or make the best of it the truth will appear. This was seen in the proceedings of Congress on Thursday. So sensitive was the House of Representatives on the subject that a little spark created a great blaze. The violent language used, and the whole spirit of the debate, showed the intense interest and deep feeling among the members of that body. Mr. Schenck, in speaking of the delinquent internal revenue officers and the Metropolitan Board of Investigation, said that the Secretary of the Treasury kept his "brood of rascals in office, and then appointed a committee to watch them," while other members attempted to defend Mr. McCulloch, without denying, however, the enormous frauds committed under his administration of the Treasury.

But with all this commotion it is evident that Congress has neither the knowledge nor capacity to grasp and deal with the subject. The manner in which it was brought up shows the igno rance and incompetency of members. The question raised was simply as to the power and right of the Secretary to appoint interests at stake, and the existence of a large the Metropolitan Board of Revenue. This was pauper and unthrifty population, such as we

a very small affair in comparison with the greater question of the frauds themselves, of the parties responsible for them, and the remedy to be applied. It is a nie of mathematics that the lesser is swallowed up by the greater; but these Congressmen do not think so; they wrangle over a trifling matter of authority in appointing a commission to investigate the frauds, while these monstrous frauds, the causes of them, and a remedy against them, they leave untouched. The Poard is well enough, and we think the creation of it is about the best official act Mr. McCulloch ever performed. It is composed of the right sort of men, and may render valuable service to the country. Why could not Mr. Schenck find something more important and more to the point in exposing the mismanagement of the Treasury Department, which has led to these stupendous losses to the Government? As to investigating the frauds, Mr. McCulloch is doing right, provided the investigations be thorough and honest; but the country wants to know how far he is responsible for them, or who is re-

Mr. Schenck, however, was not the only member who failed to see his duty or the important point in this matter of frauds on the revenue. Mr. Ingersoll entered into a defense of the Secretary on the single point of the authority to appoint the Board of Investigation. He abused New York well for its frauds on the revenue, but said nothing about the six hundred barrels of contraband whisky that were hauled out of a cave in his Congressional district. We would not presume to say Mr. Ingersoll had any knowledge of this fraud upon the revenue of his district; but we must say it appears strange that members of Congress can find any reason for defending an officer of the Government who has, through neglect of duty lost, to the Treasury. hundreds of millions of dollars. Mr. Kelley could see nothing more important in the matter than the spoils of office. He dwelt entirely upon the mere question of what partisans were or were not appointed to office. All his anger was vented on this question. Mr. Allison, Mr. Van Wyck, Mr. Barnes and others, who participated in the debate, saw nothing of more consequence than the offices or the right of the Secretary to institute a commission of inquiry. This imbecility and want of comprehension of the important question at issue on the part of Congress is lamentable. It shows plainly the incapacity of that body to comprehend and deal with matters of great public interest. We hardly know how to designate its ignorance and incompe-tency. Had it admitted P. T. Barnum to a seat in face of his clear defeat by the people of Connecticut, we might call it the Barnum Congress or the Humbug Congress; but, looking at its conduct about the revenue frauds, we may properly call it the Whisky Cougress,

All this twaddle about small matters or indifferent questions amounts to nothing. The frauds, the cause of them, and the responsibility for them are the proper subjects of inquiry. Mr. McCulloch may try to lay the blame on Congress or his subordinates; but the truth is, he is the responsible party. As Secretary of the Treasury, it was his duty to see that the revenue was collected and frauds prevented. It is nonsense talking about the tax being so high that it cannot be collected. The excise tax on spirits in England is higher than it is with us, is above two dollars and fifty cents in gold, equal to about three dollars and fifty cents in currency, and yet it is col-lected there. Why not here? There is no reason in the world why it could not if the head of the Treasury did his duty. If the Treasury continues to be mismanaged in this manner, and Congress should show no more ability to correct the evil, we may look for national bankruptcy and a repudiation of the national debt. We shall see the extraordinary anomaly of a prosperous country in industry and commerce with an empty Treasury, an embarrassed Government, and a repudiated debt. Such is the prospect before management of our national finances.

#### The New Revolution in England. From the Times.

We do not suppose that many of our readers here had the patience to follow closely the progress of the Reform bill in the British Parliament. It has had a hard struggle for existence, and down to the date to which the last newspapers reach, it was still beating about against contrary winds in the House of Commons. But we learn by the Cable that it has since safely arrived in the House of Lords, where (the conservative peers being tolerably compact under Lord Derby) it is likely to encounter no formidable opposition. Mr. Disraeli has performed wonders, as all admit, and Mr. Gladstone stands lower in the public estimation than ever he did. He systematically opposed the Government bill, mainly because it was too liberal, and opened the door of the franchise too wide. He has been defeated in every movement, and has invariably exhibited the worst possible temper under defeat. But no one could have anticipated that the session of 1867 would witness the apotheosis of Mr. Disraeli and the abasement of Mr. Gladstone. The Reform bill is by far the most serious

measure, as regards its direct action upon the working of the Constitution, ever adopted by Parliament. Changes as great have been made, but never by the hands of the representatives of the people. No one pretends to be able to explain what will be the precise and full effect of this bill, but that it revolutionizes the electoral system in England is palpable to all. It gives a vote to every man who rents a house, no matter what its value-it may be £5 or any lesser sum a year-provided he pays his rates. Mr. Gladstone never proposed to bring the amount below £6, and he would rather have confined it to £7. Mr. Bright himself has not ventured to ask so much as household suffrage. In fact, Mr. Disraeli has deliberately overshot the mark of the extremest radical, and taken all the arrows out of their quivers to prevent them shooting again. The Liberal party has completely lost its bearings. It will take the whole recess to enable them to understand properly what has taken place, and by this time next year they will probably have decided what is best to do next. "There is scarcely, "complains the Saturday Review, dolorous strains, "any political opinion held so steadfastly in England that we cannot now easily conceive it fading away, and there is no man of anything like real intellectual force whose career we can anticipate." It is a thorough bouleversement which has taken place among all sections of political parties, and we cannot help sympathizing with the original proprietors of the Reform question, who have had the bread snatched out of their mouths by the adroit hand of the arch deceiver, Vivian

But what will be the ultimate result of these organic changes upon the English political system? That it must be vast beyond all precedent no one can doubt, and there are not a few who believe that it will be fraught with evil. When we consider the number of vested

have no knowledge of here, it is impossible not to perceive that these fears may be better grounded than the Conservative party imagine. To let every industrious and every bonest man exercise a fair share of political power cannot be a mistake. There is no danger in doing right, least of all in doing right to those who have been wronged. But in the densely populated countries of Europe there are large classes who live by their wits, who will not work, who deliberately make a trade of begging or steal-Let any one read that very curious book, "London Labor and the London Poor," and judge for himself whether the persons therein described are fit to govern for others. The sweeping extension of the franchise now to take place in England is therefore undeniably bold experiment. According to republican ideas, it must prove a healthy change; but we have to take fairly into account the different conditions which exist in an old country like England. When we find Liberals like Mr. Gladstone shrinking back from heusehold suffrage, and even Mr. Bright orying out that it is enough, we may well ponder the grave and eloquent warnings which Mr. Lowe has urged upon the heedless ears of the House of

Mr. Lowe's latest device to counterbalance the effects of the Reform bill is the same as that which Mr. Buckalew recently recommended to the Senate-namely, the adoption of the cumulative vote. We need not reinind our readers that Mr. J. S. Mill is the earnest advocate of this scheme, or that the judgment of practical politicians has hitherto been decidedly against it. It is a design to secure to minorities their due share of representation, and it derives great weight from the fact that so able a man as Mr. Lowe has taken it up, and that no fewer than 173 members of the House of Commons voted for it the very first time it was proposed. But neither this expedient nor any other will answer the purpose which Mr. Lowe has at heart. The progress of the democratic principle is steady and resistless. The Ministry have yielded much, but the cry will still be "give ! give !" and the classes which demand concessions have been armed with the power to insist upon them. See the terms in which the candidates for Parliament now address the electors! They are for surrendering everything to the triumphant "working classes, They go, as it were, with a bag crammed full of offerings to the poor, and invite them to thrust in their hands and take out what they please. There is Mr. Dilke, proprietor of the Athenaum, and a protegé of Prince Albert's, putting up for the newly created borough of helses, and promising to be as plastic as clay. There is nothing he will refuse to do. When once this spirit has seized a nation, there is no foretelling what cherished institutions of the past may not suddenly be swept away. Like the pillars and ratters of a tropical house eaten inside by white ants, they may crumble to pieces at the least touch, and at the most unexpected moment.

We are fully disposed to believe that an

altered future is before the mother country. The old moorings have been cast away, the old channels destroyed. The tone and character of the House of Commons will be chauged, and we do not know why we should hesitate to say that we hope it may be changed for the better. But it is very curious to mark the misgivings which prevail on the subject in England. Even those who vote for the Reform bill are fearful that they are calling a Frankenstein into existence which may be the means of their own undoing. Possibly Earl Russell, veteran reformer though he is, may yet try to raise an embankment against the innudation. It will be but a plank swept away by the current. The malcontents must be content to rest upon hope, which, as the poets say, is the surest consoler under adversity. Certain it is that the day is coming when a Queen of England who pockets a sum equivalent to two million dollars gold a year, and ignores her commonest duties, will no longer be possible, and when the estate of Peers will be made useful or swept away altogether. The national hospitality of Great Britain is now dispensed by noblemen who have more public spirit than the monarch, and who do not think it an obligation binding upon a Christian to squander millions in scattering painful effigies departed relatives broadcast over the land. In the meantime we are to have another life of Albert, written by the Queen's express desire. We suppose it is not disrespectful to express a fervent hope that this is the last we shall hear of him. It is instructive to study the lives of the good, but when their transcendent virtues are incessantly dinned into our ears, we may easily have too much of them. We should think that the English are rather tired of being peppered, so to speak, with images of one who, both as husband and Prince, was only properly appreciated after his happy translation. Prince Albert alive was not estimated very highly, but of course everybody understands him better now. And it has long been ascertained that nothing is so safe as to praise the dead, for they are the only persons who are not liable to do things afterwards to prove that their panegyrists are hypocoites or numskulls. Lord Cranborne declares that the monarchy is even now dead—the Reform bill has killed It might be buried for all the good that it has been to the nation during the last seven years.

True Radicalism.

From the Nation. Many well-meaning persons, impressed with a sense of the value of past reforms, and disgusted with the stupid conservatism which blindly adheres to every ancient abuse, are so anxious to be considered "radical" in their views that they fear to stop even when they have attained all that is really desirable or practicable. They distrust themselves, their common sense tells them to pause, and feel uneasy at the thought that they have no more fields to conquer, and no progress, as it seems to them, to make. They dread the imputation of conservatism, and would almost prefer to have risked what they have gained rather than stand still. This class is never likely to form the majority of a community, but as its errors frequently afford an excuse for a reaction against wise reforms, it may be well to address a few words of advice to those who feel troubled by such fears.

The first thought that occurs to us is the folly of imagining that, for hundreds of years to come, there will be any difficulty in finding subjects for radical reform. As fast as one topic of discussion is disposed of a dozen are ready to rise in its place-all important, involving much labor, needing long considera-tion, and sure to lead to animated controversy. It is a law of human nature that only one such controversy can be carried on at one time and place. Slavery, and the evils growing out of it, have absorbed the attention of this country for some years past, and so gigantic an abomination could never have been overthrown without an intense concentration of the public mind upon the work. It has been cut up by the roots, and the Congressional plan of reconstruction is rapidly extracting the last remnant from the ground. Universal suffrage is

so nearly established, and appears so certain, that some who are more anxious to be radical than to be right are already casting about for some new demand for the benefit of those who were lately oppressed. But who cannot see that there are many other great questions which have been lying in abeyance during this great struggle, and which will give ample scope to the powers of the most radical reformer? Let no man be impatient for conflict. He will soon have quite enough in the legitimate path of duty. With a system of taxation which demoralizes a large part of the community, with rotten legislatures, municipalities, and judges, with systems of education grossly defective, with extravagance and ineffisiency the rule in government rather than the exception, it is clear that no one need fear that the work of reform is at an end.

In the next place, genuine radicalism aims only to uproot evil, and to plant in its place that which promises good fruit. Having done this thoroughly, the wise radical is content to wait for final results, and slowly to build up when the work of pulling down is properly over. If we can never reach a state in which growth rather than destruction is desirable hen all destruction is useless, and the radical is the most unwise of men. But such is not the fact. We have already, in respect of many things, reached the stage in which develop ment, and not simple uprooting, is the duty of the race. The Christian religion, the educa tion of the young, the republican system of government, the family state, the liberty of ommerce, and many other instances, might be given as illustrations of institutions or doctrines which need no change at the root, but have yet vast room for development and

The practical application of these remarks at the present time relates chiefly to those persons who are uneasy lest by opposing confiscation and other punitory schemes they should cease to be radical. The party which claims to be conservative is so amazingly stupid that we cannot blame any one for doubting his own sagacity when he finds himself agreeing with it upon any point. But it should be borne in mind that like a man who sings on one note the whole time, a party that persists in one line of conduct must be right occasionally and may happen to be right frequently. Let no one fear to act upon his own convictions of duty even if he does find himself sometimes in

strange company. All the propositions which are made by demagogues, looking towards special favors for special classes of people, are simply schemes of robbery which will, if carried out, despoil the majority of the very classes intended to be favored. Suppose the land of the South should be confiscated and divided among the negroes, as some advise. Not one-fourth of the negroes would get any land which they could live upon, while the other three-fourths would be deprived of a large part of their wages by the universal disorganization of the employing class. Suppose the eight-hour law should be made compulsory, as its friends insist. Who would suffer so much as the workmen, whose wages would be cut down, and whose employers would largely abandon enterprises undertaken under different expectations?

It is not the mission of true radicalism to enter upon such schemes as these. In the sphere of politics it has long been the maxim of radicals that nothing can or should be done except to secure to every man the free use of his powers, and a fair and equal opportunity for his development. In other spheres of action there is abundance of work for the most zealous reformer. Nay, in political affairs, as we have already intimated, there will always be enough to do. While the nation has been crushing one evil, others have sprung up which in their turn demand attention. tion. Let us be content with securing equal justice at the South, and then combine to attack corruptions nearer home.

England's Mahometan Guest.

From the World. Abdul Aziz, the sovereign whom it is now the delight of England to honor, is the second son of that Mahmoud who commanded the Turkish fleet at the disastrous battle of Navarino, and is at present in his 38th year. He s of middle stature and robust person, is well acquainted with the French and English languages, and affects a predilection for liberal deas and general reform. But the oppression which drove the luckless Cretans to arms, and the atrocities which have been perpetrated on them since their insurrection by his mercenaries, constitute rather questionable evidence of the sincerity of his Majesty's professions. The Sultan's treatment of these heroic islanders is. in fact, an open violation of his most solemn promises and sacred edicts. Yet, while emoloying every conceivable means to crush the resistance of these followers of the cross, he presents himself as a visitor to the Christian nations of the West, as though he were the most tolerant and philanthropic of monarchs. What would have been the reception of this infidel emperor in England pending the Greek war of independence, had he then reigned and ventured to appear there? What kind of entertainment would such philhellenists as Byron and Hobhouse and Canning have given to the butcher and persecutor of their brethren in the faith? But alas! how are the mighty fallen! The Britons of that day sent forth their fleets to combat in behalf of their co-religionists, and freely lavished their money and their blood to sustain the cause of the weak. Whereas the Britons of our time, instead of nobly sympathizing with and succoring their Cretan brothers, affect to ignore altogether the sufferings of these unfortunates, and not only extend the rites of hospitality to their tyrant, but even get up naval reviews and civic banquets

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