SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED SVESY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Split in the Republican Party South. From the N. Y. Herald.

A Georgia Democratic paper declares that the Republican party of that State is now "hopelessly split in twain." One faction is headed by Governor Bullock, who wants the State again kicked out of the Union, and the other is headed by the Atlanta Era. The Bullock wing had a meeting at Atlanta on the night of the 15th and resolved "that reconstruction was not complete in Georgia," whereupon the Era avers that "the meeting did not represent the sentiments of the Republican party in Georgia," and protests against the proceedings of all such meetings. Now what is the policy, under such circumstances. of the conservatives and all others who desire to see the South relieved of all disabilities and restored at once to her proper position in the Union? It is to let these turbulent radical factions fight it out among themselves, and the true men of the South keep on raising good crops, making money, becoming economical and developing the resources of the country. The radicals in the South, in fact all over the country, are in a state of ferment about who shall retain and who shall obtain office under the incoming administration. This will keep them busy for some time to come, and in the midst of their quarrels the South will do well to remember that when "rogues fall out honest men come by their

Revolution.

From the Hartford (Conn.) Times.

It was usurpation and revolution for Congress to declare that the people of three States of this Union should not vote in a Presidential election. The reconstruction measures of Congress are revolutionary. When Congress met in joint convention the other day to see the votes opened and counted, the spirit of revolution was rife. Having usurped power repeatedly, it was tried again, and veting to throw away the votes of electors in this State and that, raised such a row as is witnessed in revolutionary times-such as was repeatedly witnessed in the French Assembly in the height of the French revolution. This came from the revolutionary course and the policy of usurpation on the part of Congress. On this occasion the joint convention was, under the Constitution, a board of canvassers only-the Constitution directing the presiding officer of the Senate to "open all the certificates in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives; and the votes shall then be counted." There is nothing more to be done, unless there shall be no choice, in which case the House of Representatives shall choose. There being a choice, the person having a majority of the votes "shall be the President."

The joint convention had no authority to throw away or add to the votes of the States returned to the President of the Senate. The members of both houses had only to be present when the certificates were opened and the votes counted.

Motions to change those certificates and declare a result different from that rendered by the States at once threw the Senators and Representatives into a mob, and scenes dis-

graceful to the country ensued.

So we find that the fruits of usurpation are seen sometimes in this way-in the violence and disgraceful conflicts among the usurpers themselves. The violence and disorders on this occasion were precipitated by the jealousies existing between the House and the Senate. When they were brought together the combustible material was at once ignited. Separately, each was ready to change the votes of States. Neither scrupled at any crime. But together they disagreed upon the mode and the States that were to be trampled down, and the flames of passion burst out. Over such work as this the people seem to be slumber-

The War in Paraguay. From the N. Y. Herald.

The intelligence from Paraguay confirms the views we have hitherto held that the fall of the river defenses would not be the end of the war. So it turns out. Lopez is as defiant as ever, and has taken to the not distant mountains and called his obedient people around him. From one little fact we deduce that they will obey the call unhesitatingly. When the Brazilian troops marched into Asuncien the city was found intact—not a thing displaced or removed—and the remaining inhabitants pursuing their usual vocation. Two hours had not elapsed from the Brazilian entry when every house had been sacked and the plunder conveyed to the camp and ships

Had Marshal Caxias arranged with Lopez a deep and consummate plan to give new life to the waning cause, a better one could not have been devised than the sacking of Asuncion. The vandalism of the Brazilians will create its impression in every hamlet and cause every Paraguayan heart to turn with renewed hope to Lopez. From this moment we date the decline of the war in Paraguay and the march of events to an early rupture of the triple alliance for its destruction. The allied efforts depend for success on the cooperation of their fleet. This can act no longer on the offensive, as Lopez has withdrawn from the river, and may now assume a desultory war, which must keep the allied army and fleet ever on the alert for defense.

Among the allies a spirit of distrust and even enmity to Brazil already shows itself. At Buenos Ayres President Sarmiento objects to the military dispositions of the Brazilian commander-in-chief, while in Montevideo the popular feeling exhibits a stronger development in mobs and stones. Meanwhile Brazil begins to see that she is paying the whole cost of extending Argentine sway over the Gran Chaco and Parana, and that Uruguay is as determined as ever to resist imperial encroschment. These are but the premonitions of the coming rupture which the weakness of the Brazilian treasury tends to hasten. and thus, in the moment of its seeming triumph, Brazil exhibits the indications of greatest weakness.

The Mexican Muddle.

From the N. Y. World. What are we to do with Mexico? That we, the people of the United States, must do some thing with Mexico, is unquestionable. The flaming Ucalegon is our next-door neighbor. and that Ucalegon flames is, in a great measure, our work. It is certain that Mexico, during the short reign of Maximilian, was a more quiet and, in her foreign relations, a more civilized and tolerable State than she ever was before that unhappy prince crossed the seas to rule her, save for the brief period of the American conquest under General Scott. It is equally certain that since the United States, in the pursuance of our traditional policy on this continent, made the empire of Maximilian an Impossibility (for the Mexican resistance to the Franco-Austrian occupation took its whole vitality from our attitude), the so-called Mexican Republic has

combined to stifle ere its birth. At the present moment, the Government of Justez is to-sing like a dismasted ship in a norther, off Vers Cruz. It may be a longer or a shorter time before it is driven on the shore and dashed to pieces; but the catasprophe is inevitable. And when the catastrophe

ball have occurred-what then? It is easy to say that we have only to put out our hands and annex this distracted region to our own territories. But, whereas all our previous acquisitions since the "area of freedom" first began to be enlarged under Jefferson have been acquisitions of territory either quite unpeopled or so sparsely peopled as to make the assimilation of its populaton an easy task for us, the annexation of Mexico, like the annexation of Cuba, would be the aggregation into our political body of a large and well-established community too numerous to be obliterated by any sudden wave of American immigration, and so radically unlike our own people in habits, origin, religion, and manners as to make the problem of digestion a very grave and serious one.

With Louisiana we added to ourselves a small number of French and Spanish subjects familiarized with the principles and the practice of order and of liberty under forms differing indeed from, but not necessarily incompatible with, our own institutions. Florida brought us a mere handful of Spanish citizens; and California was practically uninhabited. With New Mexico we acquired a quota of colonial and hybrid Spanish-Indian inhabitants, insignificant in proportion to the extent of the region over which they were scattered, yet so troublesome, by reason of their intrinsic unlikeness to ourselves, that the Tribune and the radicals are to-day gravely urging the establishment of the "Freedmen's Bureau" in that country, under the pretext of abolish-

ing the plague of "peonage."
What would be the results to our body politic, in its actual condition, of the sudden admission of seven or eight millions of the composite Mexican race to the rights and privileges of "American citizenship?" The imagination recoils from the apocalypse of "carpet-baggers" opened to our gaze by the mere suggestion! St. Thomas we might swallow with comparative ease, for its inhabitants, so to speak, might all dance together on the point of a cambric needle; and, few as they are, they are of a kindred blood, for the most part, with the Saxons and the Norsemen, our forefathers in freedom. St. Domingo, even, might be manageable by our national gastric juices; for it numbers, we believe, hardly more than a hundred thousand people, planted on a region nearly equal in extent to the New England States exclusive of Maine.

But Mexico, in its most important districts, is as thickly settled as many of the most pros perous parts of the Union. What are we to do with it? Were there but one-twentieth as many statesmen at Washington as there are politicians, such a question as this, pressed upon us by events such as those which are now occurring and during the last five years have occurred in Mexico, would long ere this have been clearly brought before the public mind and practically discussed in the public interest. But the American press, not the American Congress, represents the statesmanship and leads the policy of the republic today. And what Congress is too careless or too ignorant to deal with, it has now become the duty of the press seriously to moot and patriotically to decide.

Our Difficulties with England. From the N. Y. Times.

We are by no means certain that the treaty which Mr. Reverdy Johnson has negotiated with England for the settlement of the Alabama claims ought to be ratified by the Senate for presuming to entertain the amend-Senate. Indeed, if our differences with Eng- ment of Senator Edmunds that no military or land are so grave and comprehensive as they are represented in some quarters, it is very clear that it ought not to be. It is unquestionably true that the material loss of the ships burned or sunk by the rebel cruisers fitted out in English ports by no means measures the injury done us by England during the war. It was her premature recognition of the rebels as belligerents, and as entitled to all the rights of a nation at war, which first gave the Confederacy position and strength to carry on the war; and it was the tolerated use by the rebels of English ports, English workmen and English capital in building, arming, manning, equipping and sending to sea rebel cruisers against our commerce, that created a rebel navy, gave vigor and effect to the rebellion, and prolonged the war for a year or more beyond what, but for such aid, would have been its end. And the motive of this extraordinary course was very largely hostility to the United States as a national power, and a desire to check its growth and arrest the development of its national

But these are acts which constitute national insults and national wrongs. It may be very well urged that such acts of hostility cannot be settled by the payment of damages. The material losses which may have resulted directly from them, even where they can be distinctly traced, do not measure the degree of he had made the removals for "the public wrong involved or the extent of injury inflicted. But for the moral support and encouragement held out by England and France, at the beginning of the Kebellion, and at various stages of its progress, it is very doubtful whether the war would have lasted a year, while it is quite certain it could never have grown so powerful, and lasted so long, and done such serious damage to the country, as it actually did.

On this theory, a large part of the whole cost of the war, in life, in money, and in suffering, may rightfully be charged to England, if this is to be made a matter of account our-

rent, and settled on that basis. But every one sees how absurd that would If this is our complaint-if we charge England with having prolonged the war and added millions to its cost - with having swept our commerce from the oceau, driven our flag from the seas, discarded the obligations of neutrality, trampled on our national rights, and insulted our national honor-the question ceases to be one of damages, and becomes one of national honor, and can be adinsted only as questions of honor always are adjusted by nations proud enough to feel an insult and strong enough to resent it. It can only be settled by war. If we are to take this view of the wrong done us, we cannot take any other view of the remedy open to us. Nations do not claim damages for their injured honor. They do not present pecuniary claims for rights scoffed at and trampled on. We must either place our complaints of England's sction during our war on a different basison some basis that admits the allegation of specific acts, involving specific losses, to be atoned for by specific acts of payment or apology-or else we must punish the wrong and avenge the insult in the usual way. The world has not outgrown the era of wars, nor has any new mode of settling international controversies been yet devised and

The Tribune finds another mode of settling this difficulty. It is opposed utterly to Mr. Reverdy Johnson's treaty. Our complaint of England, it says, is not for the specific

been rapidly lapsing back into a condition as | losses she inflicted upon our commerce, or for | We are indifferent as to the number of amenddeplorable as that in which Mr. Mel sue found it when he negotiated, in 1860, that still-born simply for a few ships burned, but for our national rights trampled upon; our national honor wounded; our commerce destroyed; our war, with its sorrows, prolonged; the graves or our heroes multiplied; the burden of our debt largely increased." Nevertheless it Nevertheless it thinks all these things may be atoned forall difficulties may be settled and all controversies adjusted by the payment of damages, provided only that payment is large enough and of the right kind If England will only transfer Canada to our jurisdiction, abandon all further claim and title to that country and hand it over to us, in satisfaction of our just complaints of her conduct during the war, the whole quarrel, the Tribune thinks, may be amicably settled to the mutual satisfaction and the material advantage of all concerned.

A good many things might be said about this proposition; but one is probably enough. England would much rather go to war with the United States than cede Canada to us on any such grounds. The idea that she would do anything of the kind-that, by way of confessing her wrong and making atonement for it, she would cede to us the largest and best of her colonies, is preposterous and absurd. Such a scheme is open to the weightiest of the objections urged against the Johnson treaty, that it proposes to settle a national wrong by pecuniary damages, and is further subject to the additional objection

that it is utterly and absurdly impracticable. There are three ways of settling our differences, each of which may commend itself to a special class of minds:-

1. We can settle it on a oasis of the Johnson treaty, by payment of losses to our commerce, to be fixed by a joint commission, England having agreed to that mode of adjustment.

2. Or we can take redress by war, which is the usual and straightforward mode of revenging such injuries and insults as we complain of.

3. Or, we can let things rest, and by recognizing the Cubans, or the Fenians, or the Cretans, or some other revolted fragment of a people as belligerents, convince England practically how the lessons of international obligation she practised on us can be turned against her, to her own great detriment. This does not strike us as especially high-toned or especially worthy a great and a powerful nation. England is doubtless more deeply interested in the repudiation of the theories of neutrality on which she herself acted during the war than we are, and in due time she will probably take the proper steps to secure such a result. But that time will scarcely be hastened by our insisting on keeping our quarrel with her open, in the hope of being able to take advantage of difficulties in which she herself may become involved.

Tenure of Office. From the N. Y. Tribune. The New York Times says: -

"Senators seem to be unaware of the interest taken by the people in their action (or rather inaction) regarding the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office law. The country desires the demolition of every barrier that will obstract Grant's course in reforming the awful corruption of the administrative service. The next four years will either be better or worse toan the last four fearful activity. If they are worse, we will be threatened with ruln—if better, it must be by peremptory reform, and this is impossible while the Tenure-of-Office law remains. Sens. tors must know this, and they must know that the people know it."

If General Grant were to be President forever; if it were impossible ever to have another Audrew Johnson; if there were no good principles involved in the Civil Tenure-of-Office bill, then we might accept the theory of the Times. Sometimes its theories have an absurd application. In the Times of Sunday we have a long article severely censuring the naval officer should hold additionally a civil office. According to the Times, the first evil of that law would be to prevent the appointment of General Sherman in the Cabinet Then we should have innumerable frauds upon naval and military departments, and general rascality everywhere! In other words, all office-holders that don't come from the

army and navy are thieves ! We repeat this summary of the Times' former article to make a comparison with the extract here quoted. There is a haughty tone about this paragraph which is amusing. Senators seem to be unaware of the interest taken by the people in their action (or rather inaction) in regard to the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office law." We see little interest in this We see little interest in this subject. The bill was not even honored with a debate in the House. It was whirled through under some parliamentary rule. The influ-ences which accomplished that sudden repeal stand hammering and battering at the doors of the Senate. "The country does not desire the demolition of every barrier that will obstruct Grant's course in reforming the awful corruption of the administrative service." But does the Civil Tenure-of-Office law prove to be such a "barrier?" Does the Times imagine that if General Grant were to send to the Senate on the 6th of March names for every revenue place in the country, and say good," they would not be confirmed ? wise to say that the Civil Tenure-of-Office bill was passed merely as an annoyance to President Johnson? Are we to put upon the record that all legislation of the past few years was temporary and trivial-mere expediency, without statesmanship or purpose?

Of course, the editor of the Times would be glad to have this admission made, because he pposed these measures in the outset. But is prudent to surrender this bill without havng something in its place? We don't insist upon the Civil Tenure of Office act. We think ome of its provisions cumbersome. We should like to see the statute in reference to the Cabinet stricken out. We think the President should be permitted to take prompt responsibilities when a sudden necessity arises, but we regard this bill as forever destroying the vicious principle that "to the victors be long the spoils," and as leading the way to a thorough reform of our whole civil service. We have not the least fear about General Grant. At the same time we think the Civil Tenure-of-Office bill will be, in many respects, a convenience and a comfort to him. It will save him from the overwhelming tide of officegetting, which seems about to overwhelm his administration. After Adams we had Jackson. After Taylor we had Buchanan: after Lincoln we had Johnson. Now we have Grant. After Grant, what? Who knows but even a worse than Johnson may come-a President with more tact and higher courage. Give such a man this tremendous civil power, unchecked by the Senate, and we give him imperial

We therefore trust the Senate will be cautious about entirely surrendering this bill. It must not be controlled by the foolish argument that the repeal is necessary for the success of General Grant's administration. We have yet to hear from General Grant any expression of his desire that it should be re pealed. These angry, impatient, petulant, clamoring politicians who stand at the Senate doors and address us in the language of the Times represent nothing but their own desires. We care little for this particular bill. sires.

ments it may receive. We are perfectly willing it should be reformed; but we do implore an American Congress not to surrender to the uncertainties of future policies the great principle that public office shall only be given to public worth.

What It Costs. From the N. Y. Evening Post.

does this tax cost the people?

The Tribune gives the consumption of pig iron in the United States as follows:-

Domestic.cwis.22709.940 27072 860 28.9.5 4 m 31,009.40 1mported cwis. 1,076 861 1957,881 2,279,799 2 107,903 Cons'ption, cw1,24,285 | 02 28,989 244 31,235,219 33,197,905 These figures appear to be nearly correct. The duty on the 2,107,905 hundred weights imported is, at nine dollars per ton, not quite \$950,000; allowing eight per cent. for the gross cost of collecting the duty, the actual receipts of the Treasury from the tax on pig iron was not quite \$875,000 in gold. What

Pig iron is now worth in New York, if there were no law to make it dear, less than \$19 per ton in gold; but it sells at \$29 per ton in gold. and the whole amount consumed, which the Tribune states at 1,655,390 tons, thus costs the people \$16,553,900 in gold more than it is worth, on account of the tax. Thus the people are actually taxed by act of Congress \$16,500,000 in gold every year; of which \$875,000 are for the Treasury, and all the rest, nearly ninety five per cent. of the whole, is sheer waste, so far as the country is concerned, going to enrich men who render no equivalent. Where it goes is shown by such returns as a set of furnaces "in one of the Middle States" made to the owners, and which Mr. Wells gives in his report, "showing a yearly product of 35,000 tons, on a capital of \$450,000, sold at a profit of from \$10 to \$13 a ton," an annual profit of one hundred

per cent. on the capital. Under the rapid improvements science and experience are suggesting, iron and all of its manufactures grow cheaper in the markets of the world every year. This movement is a measure of civilization; and the progress of society at large, as well as the condition of any single community or nation, cannot be more fairly tested than by the simple inquiry, how much iron will a day's work buy? But as discoveries and inventions are made which cheapen iron, the monopolists of this country ery out for higher duties, lest the fall in price ruin them. The question is between them and the community at large. They demand the exclusion from this country of the benefits ot advancing civilization, in order that their rapid rate of amassing riches may not be diminished.

It is said that the new Ellershausen process will cheapen wrought iron fifteen dollars a ton. If so, those who make wrought iron by the old process will demand an additional duty to that amount on all wrought iron, in order that they may not be ruined. This claim is just if "the protective principle," as the Tribune calls it, has any place in legislation; if taxes are to be levied, five per cent. for the Treasury and ninety-five to enrich producers. But if so, a general law forbidding improvements of all kinds in manufactures, and inflicting heavy penalties on any one who makes labor more efficient, would attain the same end, with less appearance of injustice.

There are many taxes like this on pig iron, which take twenty dollars from the people for every dollar which reaches the trersury. Those who complain of heavy taxation ought at least to know where the money goes. If the people have heavy burdens to bear, they are not the burdens of the war and of the national debt. These would be felt as a serious drawback to the prosperity of the country, were they not made doubly and trebly oppressive by what are called "protective duties" on home manufactures; that is, duties so contrived as to raise prices to the highest degree possible, without yielding any important aid to the Government.

A little consideration of these taxes of twenty dollars for monopolies and one for the nation, will satisfy any impartial man that this obvious evil is by no means the chief one which results from the system. The taxes on iron enter into the price of every fabric and product used in life. Food, clothing, rent, travelling, furniture and books, are made much dearer by it; and the enjoyments of every man in the community who is not very rich are curtailed by it. Business of every kind is hampered and burdened by it in unnumbered ways; and the general prosperity of the country suffers from it tenfold more than it would from a direct impost levied to support in idle luxury every man in the country now engaged in making iron. The revenues of the Government suffer with the general prosperity; and there is no doubt at all that the repeal of every duty on iron and manufactures of iron would indirectly add to the duties received from other articles many times as much revenue as it would abandon.

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