THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1869.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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sent laws gave them.

From the N. Y. World.

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1837.

London.

United States.

tom of this deliberate unfriendliness;

to additional reparation in money.

Sumner in England speaks thus:--

"What astonishes us is not the sentiment of his peech, which is manly, natural, and patriotic, nor

in any considerable degree its practical counsel (to reject the convention), which we can at least fully understand; but the extraordinary mixture of strictly sentimental with strictly legal considerations which pervades it throughout. * * Now, what is

which pervades it throughout. * Now, what is it, then, which Mr. Sumner calmly proposes to us all

-even those who, like ourselves, approach him most closely in political blas? Simply this: to submit our political and legal consciences in the most abject

manner to a dogma which not a single man amongst us worth a moment's consideration holds to be true-to confess a *legal* guilt of which we are entirely un-

conscious, and this as a condition *size qua non* of re-conciliation with the United States. Was anything so monstrous ever proposed on this earth before by any man taking the rank of a statesman? *** In

short, Mr. Summer's legal argument is a very poor cx parke statement of the United States' case, without even a pretense of a judicial discussion. Mr. Summer has nothing to say which has not been heard a hun-

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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAT FOR THE EVENING TRIEGRAPH.

BULLING THE PRICE OF GOLD. From the N. Y. Tribune.

The Treasury holds a surplus of at least sixty millions of gold, which ought long since to have been used to pay off public debt, and thus reduce our annual burden of interest. That gold would Our annual burden of interest. That gold would once since we held it have bought eighty mil-lions of six per cents.; it would still buy over seventy millions. The sconer it is employed "for the purchase or payment" of bonds, as the law directs, the better for the public interest. Such a hoard, lying dead, makes gold scarce and bonds plentiful in the channels of business, whereas it is the public interest, in view of the urgent need of funding our debt at lower rates urgent need of funding our debt at lower rates of interest, that gold should abound and bonds be scarce. The Treasury stands in its own light in allowing a dollar of coin beyond its current needs to rest in the Treasury.

The operators for a rise have managed to put up the premium on gold, and this they can do so long as the Treasury backs them by hoarding gold. Every dollar thus hoarded is carried for If the Treasury held but ten miltheir benefit. lions of coin, they could not keep up gold to anything like its present premium. long as the Treasury holds on to one hundred millions, they can manage and manipulate the residue with ease.

Fusing up the premium on gold is playing right into the hands of the Secretary, assuming that he wishes to use his surplus coin to reduc the public debt. If he can sell gold at 140 and buy bonds at 115, every million of his cash will buy up over one million and a quarter of bonds. He ought to thank the gamblers for helping him to so favorable an opportunity, and improve it to the utmost. Instead of one million of bonds per week, he should buy up five, ten, fifteen, twenty millions-all that he can get at anything like the present prices of bonds and gold respec We do not believe he will ever again see tively. week wherein ten millions of gold will buy up Bo large an amount of bonds as at this mon He should buy—buy—buy—so long as \$1,000,000 in gold will purchase \$1,100,000 of the national debt and he has a surplus of gold to sell. Such, we cannot doubt, is his intention. He may buy but \$1,000,000 this week; but, if the great disparity between gold and bonds shall continue he will buy more and more bonds from week to week hereafter. So crowd up the premium on coin, Messrs. Gold Gamblers! so that our gold shall serve to wipe out as many bonds as pos-

SOUTHERN STATE INDEBTEDNESS AND THE CARPET-BAG LEGISLATURES. From the N. Y. Herald.

It is demonstrable as a problem in geometry that the credit of our different State governments should keep pace with the appreciation of the national credit. We do not find this to be the case, however, with the bonds of our Southern States when compared either with Northern securies or with Government five-twenties. The reason is to be found in the fact that they are in the hands of speculating Legislatures, who have frittered away the little money in the State treasuries instead of applying it to the payment of interest. These carpet-baggers have little or no interest in the welfare of the people among whom they are sojourning further than to make the most money possible out of them. If they can get possession of the stock of a railway they issue np the State indebtedness. The past due interest is left to care for itself or he past due interest left to care for itself or is paid by the pawnbrokerage of new bonds. The securities of our Southern States are far below their real value. Their oppressive, speculating lawmakers sit brooding upon their credit and warn away legitimate investment. With the advantages which the whole region of the South possesses for be coming wealthy, not only through its agricul-tural products of cotton, tobacco, and sugar, but through its immense water-power and manufacturing facilities, it ought to rival the Eastern States, and its credit be as good as that of Mas-Eachusetts. The South is the present sufferer from the corruption of those who thus control its State governments. When these same men the people that they were to have affairs ar-ranged in accordance with their own ideas, and the more prone they would be to murder land-lords who insisted on the rights which the preability, urged that seduction and adultery are crimes worthy of suitable punlahment. But ordinary punlahment was not what this Mary-land woman wanted. Nothing less than the life of her victim world, with the life of her victim world. ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES. of her victim would satisfy the stomach of her deep revenge. It is not by any means certain that she would have been satisfied with the con-signment of the faithless man to the peniter-The London Spectator approaches Mr. Summer very closely in political bias. Its intense anti-alavery feeling, among other things, kept it during the Southern Rebellion in an attitude of tiary. Such an explation she would have re-garded as grossly inadequate. We hold all hu nan life, whether under conditions of guilt or friendliness towards the North and unfriendliinnocence, to be inexpressibly sacred. We are glad that Martha J, Cairnes is not to be hanged; ness towards the South. What it says of Mr. Sumner's syeech has, therefore, especial interest. The point and purpose of a long article thereon, in its issue of May 1, are to enforce the distinc-tion it draws between the moral culpability and but whoever undertakes to convince as that deserved ovation instead of discipline, will find the labor of his logic lost.

legal culpability of England towards the ENGLISH DISCUSSION OF THE ALABAMA CLAIMS,

From the N. Y. Times.

First, as to moral culpability. The Spectator admits that the tone of Parliament and of the uppermost stratum of the English people was, at the beginning of our civil war, in the highest It is very clear that the London press has ma-It is very clear that the London press has ma-terially changed the tone of its comment upon Mr. Summer's speech, in one particular. Its first indignant outery, on the reception of that speech, was that America had made fresh pecu-niary demands, preposterous in their amount. The London Times figured them at exactly £422,000,000; the London News at about £500,-000,000, the London News at about £500. degree unfriendly to us of the North; that the furnishing, fitting out, and escaping of the Alabama and other cruisers constituted a sympanother symptom was the confidence with which the South applied for a loan in London, and for the ships and munitions of war in which they invested the loan which they obtained; that this unfriendliness of the aristocracy and middle 000,000; the London Herald at a sum equivalent to our national debt; and so on. We, on this side of the water, know very well that our people have never expected, never even dreamed classes towards the North daunted the Ministry of any such demands being presented, much less paid. Before Mr. Sumner's speech, nobody "in its rather hesitating and tremulous attempt to preserve a friendly attitude towards the Government of the United States;" and finally, that had our case been theirs-had the upper crust of ever broached such a proposition. The idea that Great Britain had wronged this country by the the United States expressed its hearty sympathy issue of the Queen's proclamation, in 1861, was generally held, though not a few influwith an Irish rebellion, raised a loan for it, and was ential journals and public men denied that position, and denied also that, in any case, sent out privateers under an Irish flag to scour the seas in search of British commerce-they should in all probability have either declared war with the United States, or, if deterred from that course by a mere prudent calculation of consequences, still have been thoroughly dis-inclined to condone the offense and resume corit had anything whatever to do with the Ala-bama claims. But even the more popular theory did not pretend that this alleged wrong could be made the subject of pecuniary damages. It was never imagined that, however the war may have dial international relations with the United been "prolonged by British sympathy" with the States without extracting from our Government insurgents, or by the over-prompt accordance to them of belligerent rights, these matters were something more than a dry contract to refe the legal claims of injured individuals to arbinow to be squared off in cash. This last discovery t was reserved for Mr. Sumner to make.

All this, says the Spectator, is moral eulpabi-lity, the infliction of moral damage, and not to be Or, rather, this last discovery it was reserved or Mr. Summer to intimate -for it would be intreated in any sense as a question of pecuniary justice to that Senator to suppose that even he, accustomed as he is to go to all extremes of damage. For this moral wrong we are entitled to an apology and expression of regret, but not statement in the line of "an idea," could actually maintain such a proposition in positive terms The trick of Mr. Sumner's rhetoric was this:-Secondly, as to legal culpability. Of such was the case of the Leopard boarding the Chesapeake, He first pictured the unfriendly conduct of Eng which was a monstrous breach by England of inland towards our Government, from May, 1861 ternational law; and of such, too, was the incursion down to the sinking of the Alabama, in strong into our territory across the Canadian border in colors; he then passed to the costs of our war, But the Spectator denies that England, and, finally, without directly stating any con nection between these points, nrged that the whole of these costs ought, from her "moral refrom beginning to end of the Rebellion, committed, as to us, a clear breach of neutral obli-gation. We, however, think differently, and, sponsibility," to be met by Great Britain. And this we call a "trick" of rhetoric, because, since in consideration thereof, England consents to equitable arbitration to decide if that power did the people of this country feel, and have a perviolate the rules of international law in the fect right to feel, as strongly as Mr. Sumner possibly can, the justice of the specific Alabama claims, and the responsibility of England on one Alabama case or that of her consorts. If the arbitrator decides against England, then let a commission assess the damage. But, till that decision is made, England cannot, and will not, or another ground for that ship, the very vigor of his statements on these points gained ap-plause for the entire speech, though in the confess her legal culpability. This, since Sumner's speech, is the tone of one whole diplomatic discussion hitherto, and in of the most friendly journals we have had in the whole popular discussion also, no such preosterous inference of fastening half of our war In respect to the general character of the debt on Great Britain was ever thought of, and speech, the former admirer and champion of is not now

Exactly what Mr. Sumner said on this point was this:

was this:— "The Rebellion was suppressed at a cost of more than four thousand million dollars, a considerable portion of which has been already paid, leaving twenty-five hundred millions as a national debt to burden the people. If, through British intervention, the war was doubled in duration, or in any way ex-tended, as cannot be doubted, then is England justly responsible for the additional expenditure to which our country was doomed; and, whatever may be the dual settlement of these great accounts, such the final settlement of these great accounts, such must be the judgment in any chancery which consuits the simple equity of the case."

Here, with some rhetorical flourish, Mr. Sumner, as we have said, first explains the size of our debt, and then declares that England is responsible "for such additional expenditure" as own action caused—or, as he loosely phrases it, "to which our country was doomed." Now, any man in his senses can see, and doubtless Mr. Summer, having his senses, sees, that this "addiional expenditure" is an incomputable amount On the very face of it, it is not a matter to be reckoned as exact pecuniary damages. You might as well ask the commission to decide how urge the moon looks to them-one man taking it to be as big as a dinner plate, another as big as a cart-wheel, and the "arbitrator" deciding that it is the size of a Cheshire cheese. The "additional expenditure" is just what we may choose to think it is, even as we may say that it consists of one month's expenses or three years'. The folly of this estimate as a practical settle-ment is sufficiently evident-to say nothing of the point it confuses in international law. The English press, however, were not to plame for jumping at first to the conclusion which Mr. Sumner's loose logic seems to convey. But, after "driving a coach and six" through that logic, and back again through the rhetoric. they have concluded, and very properly, that the American people at least never could have made that pecuniary demand, whatever else they may ask. And, as a matter of fact, save for one or two wild propositions, like the Tribune's, to "take Canada in payment," made purely from sensational motives, and speedily dropped, without response in public sentiment, no such preposerous pecuniary claim as the English papers first saw, has ever been broached. We shall freely admit, however, that, embitcred by war memories, the present disposition of the American people seems to be not to enter into negotiations for the settlement of the Alaama dispute, without a prior acknowledgment of the national responsibility of England (by reason of her governmental action at variou imes) for the reparation of the damages inflicted by the Alabama. As this position is one which nigland is not likely to concede, we shall probably have no settlement at present; but at least we can "agree to disagree." It is a position, nevertheless, whose justice has been substan-tially conceded by a small part of the English ress, though never by the English Government. It is also at least a comprehensible position; and we are glad to see the English papers substituting it for the one called from Mr. Sumner's speech, and attributed at first to our people;-we have not yet quite lost our wits as a nation.



come in their turn to Congress and take part i the law making of the whole country, we shall find them well trained for the undertaking of rigantic jobs and swindles similar to the Pacific Railway and the whisky frauds.

DR. GLADSTONE'S DIAGNOSIS. From the N. Y World,

It has been apparent, for some time, that the medicine prescribed by Mr. Gladstone for the Jrish disease would prove ineffectual for the cure of the patient. In spite of the soothing syrup of the Irish Church bill and the mollifying effects of amnesty plasters applied to Fenian sores, the febrile symptoms still continue to display themselves with alarming frequency and violence, and the patient still requires the attention of a large body of armed watchers to prevent him doing fatal injury in his paroxysms of rage. His friends are naturally anxious about him, and plenty of fault is found with the treatment practised by his physicians. Some of them roundly assert that Dr. Gladstone is mistaken in his diagnosis, and that, while he is treating the patient for the sentimental disease of the Church, the sick man is, in fact, laboring under an acute attack of the land fever. Among these complainers is Earl Grey, who flatly asserted the other day in the House of Lords that, unless the Government did something at the present session of Parlia-ment towards settling the land question in Ire-land, they must be held morally responsible for all the murders of landlords, bailiffs, and factors that may be committed during the next twelve months. That is a very plain statement, and probably it was received in Ireland with some satisfaction and approval. It is a confession that the land laws of Ireland are so extremely contained the source of th oppressive that fiesh and blood-or, at least, Irish fiesh and blood-cannot be expected to endure them, and that the offense of breaking them rests not upon the violator of the laws, but upon the government which has framed and insists on attempting to enforce them. The peculiar and popular form in which resistance to the Irish land laws is generally manifested, is the murder of landlords or landlords agents; but, in Earl Grey's opinion, these murders are not murders, but unavoidable accidents resulting from the attempt to enforce laws that should not be enforced. The Government had made many vague promises concerning laud reforms which they proposed to introduce in Ireland after a while; but they had now declared they could do nothing until next year. Meanwhile, the Irish people "were getting to believe that some measure was about to be passed in-consistent with the principles which the legislature had hitherto recognized in dealing with proprietary rights." The were determined upon having two reforms-They fixity of tenure and compensation for im-provements. "Fixity of tenure" means that the landlord shall not have the power to eject his tenant and shall not raise his rent; "compensation for improvements" means that the landlord must pay the tenant for all the improvements of whatever kind he chooses to make upon his farm. With these two provisions firmly incorporated in the law, the tenant would have the game in his own hands. In no case could he be dispossessed; in no case could he be compelled to pay a higher rent; and in every case the cost of all the new buildings, fences, drains, and ditches which he put on his farm would come out of his landlord's pocket, and would not cost him a shilling. The improvements would be of no advantage to the land-lord; they would be of advantage to the tenant; but the landlord must pay for them, and the tenant must reap the profit from them. Earl Grey is inclined to the use of strong language, but he scarcely exaggerated when he said that these two demands, on which the Irish farmers had set their hearts, would result in "nothing more or less than absolute confiscation The longer the government deof the land." layed informing the country of the polley which they proposed to adopt on this question, the more general would become the belief among

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dred times before, though he suppresses a great deal which has also been heard a hundred times before, and which seems to us of much greater weight. But what he does say, instead of being put forward as proof that there is something to discuss-for which only it would serve—is unfortunately put forward as proof that there is nothing to discuss-which it not only does not prove, but disproves."

THE CAIRNES CASE ONCE MORE. From the N. Y. Tribune.

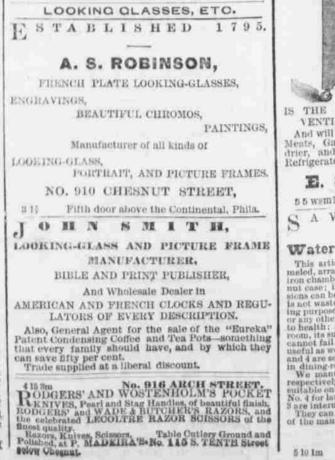
We published on Thursday last the letter of "An Old and Constant Reader," who thinks that "the law provides no adequate redress to the injured party, or, in other words, does not inflict adequate punishment for seduction and adul-While we agree with our correspondent tery. that well-marked offenses of this character are deserving of severe penalties, we beg leave to suggest that the deficiency of the law probably arises, in a measure. from the difficulty of determining upon a penalty which shall be no more than just and equitable. About most crimes there is a monotonous uniformity of character; one theft or one forgery is almost exactly like another. But in cases of seduction and adultery, it may well happen that the man of weak will and of riotons passions is really the tempted and injured party. To send him to prison, while his paramour remains at large, receiving the sympathics of an indignant but rather thick-headed public, is to treat a man with injustice and a woman with unmerited eniency. It does not follow because a woman resents the faithlessness of one who has stolen her virtue, or because she waylays and assassinates him, that she is not herself at all to blame. Probably there are as many Dalilas now as in the days of the unfortunate Samson, who said :--

"How cunningly the sorceress displays

Her own transgressions to upbraid me mine." Now, in order to arrive if we can at a dispas sionate estimate of the proportionate defin-quency on each side, in cases like these, let us ook at the late case of Martha J. Cairnes in Maryland. There is no evidence that the woman is or has been at any time insane. For a vic-tim of cruel deception, she appears to have been all along uncommonly strong-minded. She shoots her faithless lover, and, maugre the remonstrances of the judge, she is found "not guilty," she is feted and carcssed as a heroine, she marches away free, and by the fiction of the law innocent, amidst the applauding shoat of a mob of fine ladies and gentlemen. The man she sent suddenly to a stricter than any earthly account, with all his unperfections on his head, is in his grave and cannot tell his side of the story. But here is certainly a woman who, according to all the rules by which we ordinarily determine character, has a degree of mental energy which might have protected her against the wrong of which sha complains, and to avenge which she committed a thoroughly marderous marder. According to all fair presumptions, which in this affair was the tempted and betrayed party? What man, unless of a courage unusually indomitable. would care to marry a woman capable of doing this thing? Yet, while juries insist that women this thing f. Yet, while juries insist that women under the influence of rage, mortification, and disappointment may kill with impunity, we shall continue to read in the newspapers that Miss A. yesterday shot Mr. B. for refusing to marry her as he had promised to do. We say distinctly that this is to make follow fash-lowable.

Juries, of course, refuse to hang women guilty of taking their revenge into their own hands. and so instances of this really indefensible crime and so instances of this really indefensible crime, contrary as it is to the whole spirit of the law, are multiplied. But suppose Martha J. Cairnes had been found "guilty" and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. Is it not plain that this would at once have taken the romance out of the whole affair? But a verdict of "guilty" meant the halter, and the jury shrank from strengther the woman. By the theory of from strangling the woman. By the theory of the law she should have been put to death, and she simply goes scot-free-a lionness of the rarest description !

Nobody, we fancy, will accuse the Tribune of



Walter of any plants in both other of the