THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH, PHILADELPHIA, THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1869.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon Carrent Toples Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

THE IRISH CHURCH BILL AND THE LORDS.

From the N. Y. Herald.

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On Monday evening the Irish Church bill was read a third time in the House of Lorda and passed. It will be seen from the cable news that the debate was more than usually stormy. - It must indeed have been one of the grandest nights which the gilded chamber of the Lords has seen in many a long year. There was eloquence - the eloquence of those who look to the opening future and of those who look back and lean upon the dying past - the eloquence of hope and the eloquence of despair. The aged Earl of Derby, once known as the Rupert of debate -- a forman who has crossed swords with Canning, with Brougham, and with most of the great Parliamentary champions in three generationsseems to have spoken with but a little of his earlier energy and power. Like a baron of the olden time, and like the old French guardsman, his words in this life and death struggle were "No surrender." Finding his cause hopeless, and still unwilling to yield, he announced his intention to protest against the passing of the bill, and when the bill was passed the protest of the Tory chief was formally presented. The first fight of the evening was on the question whether or no the Irish Bishops should retain their seats in the Fouse. It was keenly contended that they hould, but when it came to a division it rried by a majority of one hundred and WOR against eighty-two that they should not. i great fight was on the question of ent endowment-that is, that the btained from the sale of the church be used for the purpose of equally og Catholics, Presbyterians, and Epis-On this question the whole weight Lussell was thrown in the scale against int friends, and when it came to a it was found that the principle of ant endowment was carried by a y of seven. The bill was then passed. now been carried through the House , the bill in its amended form will be down to the Commons. How will the ons act is now the great question. We

to idea that the decision come to by the t on Saturday will be departed from. adowment in fact-as well in fact as in Di. man ---- must be complete. Concurrent endo ment is opposed to the fundamental princi₁ of the bill. On this point, therefore, we may expect a further fight. The decision of the Lords on this particular question is simply absurd. The Catholics have again and again said they do not want endowment. The Earl of Dunraven, on Monday evening, speaking in their name, very properly said that concurrent endowment meant not disestablishment and disendowment, but disestablishment and re-endowment. Even Lord Cairns, the Tory leader, could not agree to such an arrangement, believing as he did that indiscriminate endowment was unsuited to Ireland. We shall now have lively times in the House of Commons.

THE REPUBLIC UNDER EMPIRE. From the N. Y. Tribune.

Agitation in France is not over; but it is Fair to say that Napoleon is confronting the force of public opinion with the powerful plausibility which is native to his dynasty. That plausibility is the science of kings, and sometimes the detestation of the peoples, but, such as it is, it is the imperial life-long habit. From the day when the Emperor convinced himself that it was inexpedient not to forswear himself, and that he could best represent the average propensities and intelligence of France by maintaining in his proper person the fantastic and divine right of usurpation, he has practised the black art of empire. To know how to put peoples asleep, to keep them down as by a spell, to ruin while he amuses them, to make the poor pay for their poverty, while they shout, "Vive Napoleon !" to chain np courage and make intellect a convenient slave-this is a science worthy of Nostradamus and Cagliostro besides. It is to employ the general selfishness of a great people to keep it in subjection, and to make use of some moral cowardice in the popular nature to fight imperial battles. Not for the first time in the history of the world are nations ruled by juggling. The versatility of French experience is a marvel. It has run the gamut of monarchy in all forms; has passed every spasm of anarchy except that of popular death; has de-graduated, so to speak, out of the republic in every stage, and has returned to empire to undergo the process of being kept scientifically under thumb. France has been returned to her cratlle with bayonets to watch her; and in time she has been suffered to walk her own way within narrow bounds and under guard. Her great men share her prodigious versatility, What has not Mr. Louis Napoleon been since the day when he wrote socialism?-what changes in his own individual constitution contemporary with those of France has not M. Thiers observed? How long has it been since that astute servant of several masters, Prince Napoleon, professed the conviction that the mission of Napoleon I was to prepare his country for emancipation, and that the "republic only will harmonize "with France." M. Ollivier, once half-radi-cal, awaits the republic, while he serves the monarchy. M. Rouher once favored a strong republic, with the motto of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and Senator Guerroniere held put for a republic not established on the vainglory of conquests, while the Prince of Moskowa, also an Imperialist. avowed his belief in the healing virtues of pure liberty. It is purious how the ideals of political health which these gentlemen have entertained have sunk back into the hypochondria of what the Emperor calls strong government-govern-ment plus the doctor and minus the cure. The straightforward men in France have not developed into numbers. The public life of the Empire is sophisticated by the general, but happily not inconvertible frand which governs it, and under which the ablest adapt themselves to a potential crookedness. There is hope, however, in the inconsist-ency of France. The ex-republicanism which abides the Empire predicts a return of liberty. The legions who have changed their coats can change them again with a greater satisfaction after having survived the enforced spell and probation of the Empire. The mass of these men cannot in their hearts be deceived as to the measure of the Emperor's sincerity. To ns it seems that the infirmity of the Emperor is not in his comprehension, but in his born want of vital and courageous sincerity. In fact, it is not given to empires to represent the sincerity of the popular will, bluce they exist by obscurity and ignorance, and only perish when people are wise enough and brave enough to assert their sin-berity. We have no permanent faith in the Imperial plan of reforms just revealed. In

the intention of corrupting his besiegers. The real ground of reform has not been carried. It is back of the laws and the legislatures that France suffers—suffers prefectship, gerrymandering, and misrepresentation. The measure of Napoleon's concession is the measure of French representation, and the measure of French satisfaction is about the same. The reforms granted by the Empire are but an induction to the study of its general fraud.

THE FRENCH EMPEROR'S SPEECH. From the N. Y. Times.

The message of Napoleon to the French Legislature, which was telegraphed to us Tuesday, shows the profound influence that has been produced by the late elections.

They have, in fact, compelled the Em peror to announce his purpose of establishing reforms that are tautamount to a change in the principle on which he has hitherto administered the Government.

The Senate has yet to consider the questions which he has proposed, but this "consideration" will amount to little more than an agreement with the will of that power by which the Senators hold their places. If he be really willing that they should pass into law, the Senate will be ready enough to assent. If, at any period of the time at which they are under "consideration" he desires their modification in any way, the Senate will be equally ready to assent. And if, at any time, he is pleased to let the Sena-tors know that he desires the rejection of his own propositions, they will be happy to register his will in that direction.

The vital point in the scheme which he has formulated, is the proposition to give the Legislature the "control of the budget." This is the fundamental symbol of power in all free legislative assemblies. It has always been practically withheld from the Napoleonic Legislature, and the Emperor has always been careful to retain it in his own hands. While he held it, he could control the entire action of the Government. Of his own motion he could proclaim war or peace. He could increase the army, augment the public expendidures for his own ends, and, in short, by controlling the Treasury of the nation, could establish its policy upon all points of administration. No matter how servile the Legislature may at this time seem to be, when its members find they can control the budget, and through it the Government, there will arise among them a new feeling of responsibility and independence. The people, too, will be able to hold them to a more strict account, and the popular will must become more imperatively dominant.

The power is one which the Emperor would never resign if he did not see the impossibility of permanently upholding the present system.

As for the other changes he proposes, they are all in the direction of liberal reform. The proposition to permit the Legislation to elect its own officers, who have heretofore been appointed by the Emperor, will give the body much greater freedom and independence. The simplification of the methods of dealing with "projects of law" will facilitate the passage of public reforms. The submission to the Legislature of commercial treaties is an important extension of the powers of the body; and though its existence heretofore would, beyond doubt, have prevented the adoption of some most advantageous treaties, such as the commercial treaty with England, yet, as republicans, we must have more faith in the general wisdom of the Legislature than of any Emperor. The "extension of the right of interpellation" doubtless provides for the removal of the cumbersome machinery which is now required to be set in operation before a deputy can bring any question to the attention of the Legislature. We know of no method in any Legislature so discouraging and complicated as that in the French Legis lature. It gives the Government full power to dictate what matters shall be discussed by the Deputies, and thus in any emergency gives the Emperor control of the action of the legislative body. Next to the control of the Budget, the freedom of interpellation is the most important step towards legislative independence. The astuteness, if not the duplicity, of Na-poleon, in working his way out of political difficulties such as have lately arisen in France, prevents our indulging in very lively hopes of the passage of any measures of re-form that will seriously limit his personal power, or interfere with the absolute supremacy he has heretofore retained in the Government of France. Again and again has he promised reforms and liberties in the past ew years, and once and again has he deceived the people. But the indications from the recent course of affairs are more duterminate than anything we have heretofore had, and it looks lately as though the "logic of events" had become more powerful even than the Emperor.

To return to Hale. In 1852 he was Presidential candidate of the Free-soil party, and the next year was defeated by Charles G. Atherton in the election for Federal Senator. But in 1855 he was re-elected to fill the vacancy made by Atherton's death; in 1858 was again re-elected to the Senate; and in 1865 appointed by the late lamented Lincoln to be Minister to Madrid. During the three years from March, 1853, when he was out of public office, he was nominally resident in this city as a lawyer, although his chief business was that of lobbyist in Washington. That he carried his professional employment into the Senate, when he returned to that body, has never been satisfactorily established.

Mr. Hale is now an oldish man, past sixty years of age, and the moral standard which he has used as a guide and measure unto himself in his political career can be appreciated by the record of a portion of his acts as Minister at Madrid. Since the leaning of a tree follows the bending of the twig, the condition of the former in maturity may furnish evidence tending to show in what direction has been the bending.

For Perry, the American Secretary of Legation at Madrid, we have little respect. He has managed to get up a quarrel with nearly every minister under whom he has served. and has the good-will of none. The reputation he has in certain quarters as a lobbyist in the executive departments of the Spanish Government, whether deserved or undeserved (of which we know nothing), and his quarrel-some disposition, are sufficient to preclude reasonable hope of his usefulness to the Government of the United States. But, despite all this, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the damaging facts he brings out against Hale, in his recent letter to the Tribune. The case, under his showing, is just as we supposed it was when we commented on it many weeks since; and it is as disgraceful as it well can be to Hale, to the American Embassy at Madrid, and to the people of the United States, who are responsible for the acts of the Republican party. Not so infamous, to be sure, as the Sickles appointment by Grant; but bad enough.

Mr. Hale, in communications of defense addressed to the New York newspapers of his own political faith, has endeavored to slip out of the awkward fix in which Perry had placed him, upon the ingenious theory that the inculpated importations had been made on documents prepared in Spanish by Perry for his (Hale's) signature, the latter not being able, or not caring, to read what they contained; in other words, that the Minister had been duped by his secretary. Hale, in fact, plead ignorance of the law and language which everybody, fit to be a foreign minister, is assumed to know. But Perry, in his recent reply, punches the pith out of that defense in double quick time.

Hale sailed for Madrid in June, 1865, and went directly to his post, and sixteen months afterwards he was discovered smuggling merchandise under color of his diplomatic "per-mit." This is certainly a period sufficiently long to have enabled him to acquire know-ledge enough to protect himself against the wiles of Perry, if he had wished to do so. It turns out that Senor Asensi, Chief of the Spanish Commercial Bureau, called the attention of Perry, on March 8, 1867, to the fact that foreign merchandize, "permitted free" to Hale, went not to the dwelling house of the latter, but to the warehouse of one Velasco. The smuggling operations of Hale were going on briskly, it seems, in the previous December. Perry was informed thereof by the Spanish Government on the eighth day of next March, and three days thereafter Hale wrote the following note to Velasco, who was his pal in violating the revenue laws of Spain :---

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MADRID, March 11, 1867, -- To Sr. D. B. Ruiz de Ve-lasco--Dear Sir: -- Be so good as to send me your

If Spain were not a tolerant nation and well disposed towards the United States, she would long ago have given Hale his passports and told him to leave the country. We are curious now to see what the party

of "moral ideas" will say of their earliest and most conspicuous champion! It is to be hoped that Castelar and his associates in Spain will not estimate all apostles of indi vidual and religious liberty in the United States by such standards as Hale and Sickles!





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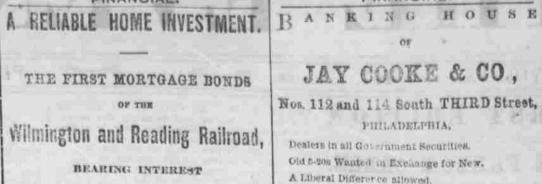
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JOHN P. HALE AS A SMUGGLER. From the N. Y. World.

John P. Hale may be taken as a fair repre sentative of the Republican party, in politics and morals, in habits of mind and thought He was among the earliest, if not the earliest of politicians to successfully use anti-slavery emotion as an element in obtaining office. A country lawyer-more conspicuous for that kind of wit and general faculty of speech which propitiates superficial jurymen than for that learning and sound argument which assist the Bench in ascertaining legal truth he began his political career by seeking office in New Hampshire of the Democratic party, and succeeded so far as to be elected by that organization to the Legislature, and subsequently in 1843, to Congress. Before the end of his first term he was renominated for a second term by the Democrats; but having, in the January anterior to the March in which the election was to be held, written a letter denouncing the proposed annexation of Texas on anti-slavery grounds, a new convention was called in his district by regular Democratic authority, and another candidate nominated in the place of Hale, who ran as an independent candidate.

A majority of votes being required to elect, and no candidate having that number, the district was unrepresented during that term. In 1843 a combination of Whigs and Freesoilers elected him to the Senate of the United States, in which body he was, when he took his seat, the only Senator elected on an anti-slavery platform. Hale antedates Sumner by some two or three years. The latter was elected from Massachusetts by a combination of Democratic and Free-soil votes; the trade being that the Democrats should have the Governor, in the person of Boutwell, and the Senator for the short term, in the person of Robert Rantoul, Jr. The political career of Summer began with an oration in Faneuil Hall against the annexation of Texas, and a letter of rebuke to Mr. Robert C. Winthrop for voting for the measure of annexation in Congress. It was Winthrop, as candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, whom Boutwell defeated. Texas thus gave birth to Hale, Sumner, Boutwell, and the political anticonceding them Napoleon has surrendered his slavery republicanism of New England and least valuable and defensible outworks with the country.

exact account expressing the value of the goods which you have furnished me, and also the amount of duties enjoyed by you in the Custom House on my account. 1 do not wish for any more importamy account. I do not wish for any more importa-tions in my name nor on my account, and I will pay you in cash the balance there may be to my debit in account with you. Be so good as not to make use of the franchise which is pending relative to two bales of carpets proceeding from England, and pay the duties as if it did not exist. I am your attentive and obedient servant, JOHN P. HALE."

Velasco, not understanding how that exposure by the Spanish Government had compelled Hale to summarily close up the partnership accounts, wrote a rather peremptory reply, in these words:-

reply, in these words:— MADRID, March 12.—To Senor Don John P. Hale— Dear Sir:—On the 12th of December I informed you that our accounts would be balanced up to that day by your furnishing me an order for the free admis-sion of three cases. These arrived, and the affair was terminated. Afterwards, and at your request, I paid the account of your upholsterer, he reducing it at my request to three thousand reals. I wrote you saying that this sum would be balanced by an order for the free admission of two bales of carpets, which you effered me, and trusting in your word I ordered the said two bales from London. Yesterday you annul by your letter what you had offered me, and in view of it I sent a telegram to London to suspend the shipment, if it was not already done. Be so good as to send me the three thousand reals which I paid on your account to the upholsterce, Anthony Reyes, and our accounts will be balanced up to this day. I avail myself of this occasion to repeat myself, with the highest consideration, your obelient sorvart, "BONIFACIO RUIZ DE VELASCO."

Perry, in order to clinch the evidence of the fact that Hale was perfectly well aware of the character of the "three cases" refered to by Velasco, and the use to which the evaded duties thereon were to be put, furnishes a copy of the application made by Hale for a "free permit" (as we say in New York) for the Cases:

CRS68:--[Translation from the original Spanish.] "LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MADRID, December 1B, 1863.-The Envoy Extraordi-nary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America presents his compliments to the Minister of State, and begs his Excellency to be so good as to command the proper orders to issue for the admission free of duty of three cases proceeding from England-one of muslin contains and stuff for curtains, one of cotton bed-quilts, one of table linen and stuff for napkins-which are coming addressed to his name, to be despatched at the Custom-house of Madrid. MI, Hale takes this comogranuity to renew. and stuff for hapking-which are coming automatic to his name, to be despatched at the Custom-house of Madrid. Mr, Hale takes this opportunity to renew to his Excellency, Licutenant-General Colonge, the assurance of his most distinguished consideration. Jour P. HALE.

To His Excellency the Minister of State of Her Catholic Majesty."

Unless these documents presented by Perry are forgeries, Hale is by them a convicted smuggler. It is of no use to mince matters, but it is necessary to call things by their right names. The 'proper orders' which Hale ob-tained for the free importation of the "three cases" were obtained by falsehood and fraud, and so were void and of no effect. He impliedly represented the merchandise as in-tended for his own consumption, and when he made the representation he knew he was telling an untruth.

It is as if Senor Roberts, the Spanish Min-ister in Washington, being indebted to Messrs. A. T. Stewart & Co. for articles of a gentleman's wear to the extent of the legal amount of duties chargeable on ten thousand cigars, should pay the same by obtaining from the Secretary of the Treasury, under his diplomatic privilege, a "free permit" for that quantity from Cuba, and, sending the same to Mr. Stewart, cancel his debt. Hale's case is worse than this, for he had not one transaction, but a running account, with Velasco for all sorts of things, including money expended in his behalf, on which he made payments by "free permits" for imported merchandise.

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