SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon Current Topics Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

GRANT.

Prom the N. Y. World. For a graphic description of President Frant and his doings commend us to his first and chief defender. Wendell Phillips' pen bnot half so graphic. In the very defense teprecating criticism of him, there is as keen, tenetrating, and truthful an exposition of the real facts in his official career as one cares to

"In the absence of any substantial grounds for "In the absence of any substantial grounds for controversy, it seems to be regarded as the fit and proper thing to dog the President's footsteps wherever he goes, to belittle his employments, to give him the appearance of being habitually surrounded and engrossed with trifling or equivocal company, with consulting his personal ease to the neglect of his public duties, and in general to be a man who really has no comprehension of the great interests committed to his charge.

really has no comprehension of the great interests committed to his charge.

"They are trying to belittle and degrade the President by publishing stories and gossip from which every gentleman, and a President more than any other person, is entitled to exemption. And what will come of it? The public, the country, will not judge the President by the number of horses he drives, by the number of cigars he smokes, by the places he frequents during the heats of summer, by the number of days or weeks he remains in or out of Washington, or by the class of people who get ac-Washington, or by the class of people who get ac cess to his presence as a means of getting their names into the newspapers. These are matters about which the great body of the nation are indifferent. They wish to know, and are willing to wait a proper time to learn, how the President is attend-ing to their business, having no particular curiosity to know how he attends to his own. * what has this idle, cigar-smoking horse-jockey of a President accomplished during the brief five months that he has had such control of the Government as Congress accorded to him ?"

There is no use endeavoring to give emphasis to certain expressions in this incisive indictment. It is all emphatic. The effect of the printed inculpation is as impressive as a painted picture. It is, in fact, "Grant taking the reins!" It brings up in one view the whole of his brief Presidential career. We are reminded that he has appointed more relatives and family connections to office, and in a briefer time, and that he has selected more men for prominent public stations on account of pecuniary gifts and favors or hospialities extended to him, than did ever any other President; that he has accepted more presents and indirectly solicited more, while in office, than any other man in America; that he made, in the public estimation, more admitted blunders in forming his Cabinet than all the Presidents did, with their Cabinet advisers, from Washington down(how far down?) to himself. That he is an "idle, cigar-smoking horse-jockey" the World forbears to say, however truthful others may think the description. There is no doubt that Grant has absented himself from Washington, and proposes during the coming weeks to absent himself, more than has any of his predecessors in office in the same space of time. This may be accounted for on the ground of his superior knowledge of public business or by the diminished amount and consequence of that business since the days of Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren. Polk, and Fillmore, by the greater frailty of his physical constitution, or by the increased insalubrity of the Washington atmosphere. No President ever before permitted heads of departments to be away from their official duties, at the beginning of an administration, in such numbers. A majority of them are to-day absent from Washington, and the Government is now in the hands of chief clerks, the subordinates of subordinates, each "acting on his own hook." Useful reforms may be accomplished in the absence of these legal chiefs, but, if so, it only demonstrates how useless is their presence. In the earlier and better days to the republic, the President would as soon think of asking of a candidate for office a gift of a hundred dollars as to habitually travel on public conveyances and be entertained in taverns as a deadhead. But now, with the example set before them, we take it, all the subordinates in Washington will vex railway and steamboat officials for

free passes and coax tavern-keepers into free Like master, like man! Every revenue or other official who smokes expensive cigars or drives valuable trotters will plead that they were gifts by admiring tax-payers, who could not resist making such a manifestation of approbation of official energy and fidelity. Washington would have frowned on such a state of things; but what of him? If Grant be right in his ideas of the needs of the Presidential office, then all his predecessors who deemed it their bounden duty to vigilantly overlook and direct the administration of Federal affairs from the watch-tower of the White House-shunning neither inconvenience nor fatigue, setting an example to all below them of fidelity to the public service-were in error. Under the existing administration. not "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" and good government, but eternal idling at places of fashionable resort. An unsophisticated person would say that, if Grant found no executive business to do in Washington, his time could be profitably spent in looking a little into the statute books, of which he has repeatedly manifested such deplorable ignorance, and especially in the matter of the appointment of Mr. A. T. Stewart. But such a one has no idea of the modern style of carrying on the government of a great people. Statesmanlike ideas, in these times, come not from patient study of the records left behind by those who have gone before us in the pathway of civil administration, nor from profound reflection on what legislation the country needs to sustain and improve its prosperity. There is now an easy road for those to travel who aspire to be known in history as wise and beneficent rulers of which Napoleon III, Bismark, Von Beust, and Gladstone never dreamed till the advent of Grant. We agree with the Times that, among the

people, the inquiry at last comes to this:-Is Grant neglecting their interest or his duty? When engaged in the investigation of this point, they will regard it as "the fit and proper theory to dog the President's footsteps wherever he goes," in order to show whether he habitually surrounds himself "with trifling or equivocal company," whether he selfishly consults chiefly his own ease, and whether he manifests a "comprehension of the great interests committed to his charge." The people will inquire into "the number of horses he drives," and how he acquired them; the "number of cigars he smokes," and in what manner obtained: the character of the places he frequents, and in what manner of houses he is most at home. The great body of the nation is not "indifferent" about such things in their Chief Magistrate, provided, in their opinion, the topics throw light on the inquiry how he discharges his public duties. Men are known by the company they keep!

It is in vain to complain or protest against this manner of criticism in a republic like ours. As well attempt to repress the inquiry of a religious congregation as to the personal habits of their clergyman-whether he visits

| Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan en- | man than the first Napoleon, France would | reasonable hope that in overthrowing out by the Whigs on Jackson and the Republicans on Pierce was, in comparison with that I now visited on Grant, as vitriol to rose-water. Nothing in the lives of those two Democratic Presidents had immunity from newspaper discussion and popular scrutiny. The assertions of the opposition then were downright falsehoods, and known to be such when uttered; but in respect to Grant, the effort of his friends is to shelter him from the truth.

We repeat that the Republican press cannot prevent the masses of the people from scrutinizing and weighing the acts of commission or omission by President Grant, public and private, to the end of deciding whether he is or is not discharging his public duties and his social obligations, including the maintenance of a proper dignity and tone of character, as becomes the President of the United

BORROWING TROUBLE.

From the N. Y. Times, A very learned but rather nervous man, by the name of Malthus, once wrote a book to show that, at the rate the population of the world was multiplying, we should soon be obliged to eat each other for the want of something better to eat; that the world could not produce food enough to support its inhabitants. People, however, became reassured somehow upon that subject and did not discontinue their old habit of multiplying and replenishing the earth. So, not long ago, it was apprehended that at no distant time we should be completely deluged by the pauper population of Ireland, and our country rendered intolerable as a residence for nice people. Just as we were getting to regard that road to ruin as a pretty long one, our nerves are tried with the menaced inundation of the

country by the refuse population of China. It may be a comfort to those who are disturbed by these apprehensions, and whose faith in the Divine government has become unsettled, to know that the laws of emigration are very much like the laws which regulate any other kind of commerce, and that the demand and the supply of labor will always bear a certain and regular proportion to each other. Evidence of this pertinent to our present purpose is just presented by the English Commissioners of Emigration in their report for the year 1868. They represent that the relative emigration from the United Kingdom has been rapidly falling off, while its apparent magnitude has only been kept up by the hordes of foreigners, Germans, Danes, Swedes, etc., who land at Hull, and proceed by railroad to Liverpool on their way to America. The Irish emigra-tion, they state, has fallen from 116,391 in 1863 to 64,965 in 1868, or nearly fifty per cent. The decrease the commissioners represent to be due, and no doubt correctly, to the gradually improving material condition of the people of Ireland. Emigration has rid the country of many unproductive consumers: it has reduced to a considerable extent the competition for labor by reducing the amount of it, while a more beneficent system of home legislation has tended otherwise to render their country more attractive to them. So we see that the most pronounced tendency to migration that was ever known, that which has prevailed in Ireland for some years, is subject to the same general laws as every other kind of commerce, and is gradually curing itself. May we not expect that the emigration from China will be just as submissive to the same great laws, and that by the time we have enough of them, they, like the Irish, will have had enough of us?

THE PLAY OF CHANCE IN FRANCE.

From the Pall Mall Gazette, When we speak of the prospects of sovereigns and governmental systems in our own day, a sound common logic, associated with a good knowledge of facts, suffices to lead us to conclusions more or less correct. But when we speak of the prospects of a people we should be far more circumspect: for, among other things, there is a very arbitrary element constantly working in the course of human affairs which must never be left out of consideration. It may suit historians to find in their researches an explanation for every event they have to deal with, and to describe these events as existing in such necessary connection that credulous reader thinks the history act constantly without aberration, and that all of them are perfectly well known to modern writers. But no reasonable contemporary has the necessity orthe right to follow the historian's example, especially when he has to deal with France. The alternate plaudits and cursings to which that nation has exposed herself for nearly a century have led other countries to wholesale verdiets which have neither the merit of truth nor of political utility. They have no utility, for they can neither improve nor help a people. They have not the merit of truth, for to say of a people that it is not fit for liberty, as some do, or to say that it is essentially revolutionary and never contented by anything, as others do, is to say nothing whatever; and to say nothing is not to say the truth. Moreover, hardly any country in Europe has the right to pronounce upon the capabilities of the French people as citizens taken as a whole; for if there is one nation which can boast of greater political liberty, there is certainly not one that has arrived at a greater indepundence of individual life. And as, taking all in all, it does not matter much what kind of trammels stop the natural development of a man-whether they be political, religious, or social-it would be hardly true to say of a contemporary Frenchman that he is, generally speaking, in a worse position than a contemporary citizen of any other country. If we find, as we do sometimes, that the license of French life is too great, it is obvious that there can be no want of individual independence; and as the chief aim of political liberty is to grant independence to the individual, we are bound to say that a people which has arrived at individual freedom without enjoying political freedom must be a very skilful people. When we see further that though constantly checked in its pursuits in science, literature, and other departments of life, the deveyelopment of which implies a considerable share of liberty, it has been always advancing so as to be constantly imitated by other nations, we are obliged to add that it must be a very clever people too. And seeing that a skilful and clever

question-What is the reason of such a state of things? However some future philosophical historian may reply to this question, we at present can only say that the answer must be sought in those seemingly irregular combinations of events which constitute what is called the play of chance. Although circumstances have shaped the French revolution differently from all the other religious and political revolutions of Europe, it is reasonable to believe that if places in their opinion improper. Jackson, that revolution had been stopped by any other

people is in constant trouble about its govern-

mental affairs, we are naturally led to the

dured the same kind of criticism as Grant have gone forward quietly developing a spirit now gets, and tenfold worse. That poured of government in accordance with the real wants of the country. The man, however, who killed the revolution seemed too great to himself as well as to his people to admit of any control. His military genius was so indispensable in the great struggle of the democratic and aristocratic principles, that to buy the services of this genius at the price of present liberty seemed to be not only a highly advantageous bargain but a thoroughly patriotic deed. And it would have been so, perhaps, if Napoleon had been the only son of Letizia Ramolino, and if she had been able to develop in her children the conscionsness that there is greater merit in serving an idea than in serving a person or a name. He was not however, the only son, and the notions he possessed were just the reverse of those which were wanted. glorify the name of Bonaparte became the chief business of France. His numerous brothers and sisters wanted thrones; and the struggle of a democratic republic against the principles of an aristocratical and monarchical world was changed into the fight of an upstart family with all that history had worked out, and men had learned almost to worship, under the names of legitimacy and divine right. Such a contest would not have been of long duration if the marvellous abilities of its leader had not been supported by some sophistical formula powerful enough to command the mind of a whole nation. Blind as the people may have been, they would soon have seen the truth, had it not been artfully hidden under some vital principle of the age. And the great and long-continued success of Napoleon is to be attributed far more to his personification of democracy dressed in purple, than either to his genius or the absence of talent and skill in his adversaries.

The subsequent progress of this principle it is which regulates political events in France for the most part. Bequeathed by the revolution, established by Napoleon, and constantly strengthened by the natural course of things during our century, this principle produced within fifty years more changes of governmental systems in France than other nations have seen during the whole of their existence. We disapprove it as a bad thing for France herself, we dislike it as a very troublesome thing for Europe, but we very seldom take the pains to look for explanations of the fact. Should we attempt the search, and make it in a somewhat abstract, inde pendent way, we should find that all the political changes in France since 1814 were a natural result of the circumstance that that country arrived at the development of democracy before it arrived at political liberty; and that the safe course for nations seems to be the reverse one—i. e. that a free people democratizes itself, not that a democratic one secures its freedom. If France had been happy enough to meet, during the nine capital changes it has undergone since 1814, a single ruler able to understand the fact and willing to remedy the evil, in the first place by pointing it out, and in the second by a frank grant of the whole stock of liberal institutions which the age has worked out, that man would have been blessed during his life, and at his death would probably have been canonized. None of them, however, were able to do so. They came accompanied by the ghost of divine right, which long before had perished on the scaffold, or with old arbitrary tendencies buttoned up in a plain bourgeois overcoat, and therefore destitute even of the attractions of external splendor. Another came with bills drawn upon the old Bank of Glory which had long ago stopped payment, without any means of his own to pay those bills, and with a name which could do much only in case it were thoroughly uncompromised. Even the best intentioned men of those who came to power-private men who had no other right to it than the choice of Paris, won by a reputation for high integrity and wisdom-did not assume authority without selfish views, though of a better kind. Each of them wanted to put in practice some cherished theory which he had partly invented himself, partly bor-

have seemed good to a small knot of studious men in a garret, but of which the mass of the people needed no more than a very brief experience. The enthusiastical theorists could not hold the power they had gained for more than a few weeks. Under such frequent changes of governmental principles, as well as of governmental forms, no citizen can achieve a satisfactory political education. He is kept in a constant whirl of ideas and sensations, which leave him no time for deep and quiet consideration. Constantly engaged in getting rid of what he does not want, of what has proved unsatisfactory, he has no sufficient time to consider and decide upon what he does want. Meanwhile, practical and private life imperatively requires its share of attention, and the man finishes by resigning all care for politics ask-ing only one thing:—"Don't tell me some old story which I know, and for the telling of which I have already paid." And as there is

rowed from his friends—theories which might

hardly a single story which he has not heard, to satisfy him becomes a difficult thing. Possible variations can be found only in the form of telling; and by-andby the form becomes the capital consideration. Everything begins to be judged, not according to its real value, nt according to some accidental impressions it has made. The last prorogation of the Corps Legislatif would not have provoked so much discontent if it had not been communicated to the deputies out of M. Schneider's carriage window. Nobody seems inclined to dwell upon the question whether the proro gation is constitutional, necessary, or practi-

cally advisable, but everybody talks about the way in which the measure was announced; every one speaks of the impossibility of such a thing in England: quite forgetting that it is impossible in this country not because an English Minister would be unable to speak from a carriage window, but because members of Parliament would not run to the window of his carriage. All this is quite natural; and though Napo

leon III had the best intentious in the world he would neither be trusted by the French people nor could be content them. To go wrong would be a trifling matter if it were sufficient not to persist in error to be discharged of all the consequences of the past. Napoleon will have to answer now not only for his own misdoings, and for all the conse quences of the system he reintroduced and has maintained, but for a variety of faults committed by others when he was living at Ham, in New York, or King street, St. James' Things which in other countries night have passed unnoticed, even such things perhaps as might have made a favorable impression at another time, will be scruti nized now with all the absence of moderation to which a passionate people must be inclined when circumstances have made the mass of it democratic without making it free-when the course of its cultivation has developed its wit at the expense of its thoughtfulness. The present state of things

would not be so melancholy if there were any

the personal governmen of Napo-leon, the French would find amongst themselves the necessary material for building up something of their own. But unhappily the prospect of this is very small; and the immediate future will be mainly governed by the same play of chance which seems to have regulated all the affairs of France for the last eighty years. To-morrow perhaps some second-rate Earbouilleur will hit upon a happy word-a lucky idea-and he will immediately become an important person. Frenchmen inve already hundreds of names to push forward, yet the last election returned only a few members in the Left Centre, and a very few in the Left who can be considered as presenting the elements required for the formation of a new government of substantial character. And the age of the greatest part of these deputies is already very advanced, while the rest of the chamber is composed of humble servants of Imperialism, or of contemporary celebrities perfectly fit to make up the "faits divers" in a radical newspaper, or even to deliver witty speeches, but certainly not fit for serious employment in a civilized State. Just now this last named section of the Chamber seems inclined to devote its attention chiefly to personal quarrels between its members; and though the spectacle is certainly not a pleasing or a hopeful one, it may be just as well for France that it begins early. But bad as the position must be, there must be a way out of it. On a future occasion we may venture to speculate as to the least disadvantageous direction of escape.

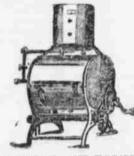
SPAIN AND CUBA.

From the N. Y. Tribune, The desperation of Spain, evidenced by General Prim's appearance in Paris, probably in search of a king, recurs to us a text for grieving. Every mail, every day's telegram from Europe conveys the same monotone of Spanish trouble and failure. The state of the country is deplorable, writes one correspondent from Madrid; robberies and murders are frequent, according to another. Bandits enter villages, and kill their guards: the high roads leading to Madrid have become infested; the Carlists have reappeared at the side of the robber; and now the cable brings word that affairs could not be worse, since the people are malcontent and the treasury is empty. What bankruptcy means in this juncture may be calculated from the fact that the admitted deficit of the Regency finances is fifty millions of dollars over and above an

enormous debt. Here, then, is the practical summing up of Spanish vulnerability and weakness. The selfabnegation of Marshal Serrano in refusing the \$400,000 voted him by the Cortes is commendable, if truly reported, but it is only a drop in the bucket of the national poverty, and is ill accompanied by the heavy and wasteful expenditure of his administration. The estimated income of the Regency is less than \$110,000,000 on paper, and its expenses \$157,500,000. With these terms of bankruptcy the Cuban finances sort wonderfully. There is necessary for actual expenses, says the Captain-General in our news of yesterday "\$55,509,000; our returns will not amount to more than \$39,000,000," so that there is a confessed deficit of \$16,000,000, at the back of which are the demoralized and almost calamitous finances of the Spanish Bank which counts a circulation of \$30,000,000 against two millions and a half of specie and other assets in the way of Government debt,

now worthless. In other respects the situations in Spain and Cuba compare. Volunteers lately menaced Madrid as they have threatened Havana. Highwaymen in Cuba are availing themselves of a general disorder to assassinate and steal. On neither side of the battle have rage and hate died out. The late seditious disturbances among the negro soldiers in Havana, the recommendation of General Puello to evacuate Puerto Principe, and the disheartened report of General Lesca, as given in our news yesterday, all bear upon the opelessness of the Spanish cause, which it would seem that nothing but an insane pride of possession, or a mad fear of popular vengeance, can stimulate to extremer desperation. Mexicans have some reason to say that the bandits have made their country Spanish; Spain and Cuba may have cause in turn to leplore that they are being Mexicanized. With Spain it is now a question of a king, for it has been always the fate of regencies to fail. Some illusion must be set up for the gratification of a fevered and miserable people. With Cuba it is a question of time. How long will Spain waste her money upon rnin, and wreck her pride upon a shadow?

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