SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

6

Editorial Opinious of the Leading Journals Upon Current Topics-Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph,

THE TREASURY AND THE TAXPAYERS. From the N. Y. Times.

We have no disposition to take from the Secretary of the Treasury any of the credit he is entitled to for what he has already a complished in reducing the debt. We have steadily sustained his efforts in this direction, and have applauded the vigor and honesty which have enabled him to pay off so large an amount during his brief term of offlee. This praise, however, has been predicated in part upon the requirements of the Sinking Fund law, and in part upon the fact that a fiscal system for which he is not responsible has placed him in possession of a large sur-plus revenue. It was his duty to dispose of this surplus in some way, and its application to the redemption of bonds has enabled him to confer upon the country certain substantial benefits.

The question now is-not whether Mr. Boutwell's course has been right or wrong, but whether it is just or expedient to con-rinue the taxation which made that course possible. We have nothing but praise for his use of the means which the revenue placed at his disposal; but when he proposes to maintain this revenue at its present rate solely that he may continue the reduction of an indebtedness not yet matured, we think it proper to remind him that the time is not propitious for the cultivation of theories, or the promotion of pet projects, and that the people expect—and have a right to expect— that the surplus shall hereafter inure to their benefit as taxpayers. Between the judicious application of a realized surplus, and the continuance of oppressive taxation solely with a view to the acquisition of a large surplus, there is an essential difference. It is the latter purpose which now challenges public attention.

The plea is, that by keeping up the present surplus and applying it to the payment of unmatured debt, the Government will be enabled to fund the bulk of the remaining debt at a lower rate of interest. Of those who persistently urge this excuse, not one has condescended to explain on what ground the holder of a six per cent. bond may be expected voluntarily to exchange it for a four per cent. There must be compulsion of some sort or the conversion will not be made. Senator Sherman saw this when he suggested that the bondholders should be made to understand that a refusal to exchange might be followed by the redemption of the bonds in depreciated greenbacks instead of coin. Others, more cautions, have contended that there can be no funding at a lower rate of interest until the Government is enabled, by resumption, to offer gold for the six per cents as the alternative of a four per cent. security. We are convinced that resumption must precede funding; and as resumption is a work of time-we apprehend of years-we have protested against the con-tinuance of taxation for the promotion of an object which is distant and indefinite in its distance. There would be some reason in a proposal to prolong the present burdens another year, if there were any guarantee that at the end of that period funding might be effected. But there is no such guarantee and there can be none. On the contrary, since resumption is a necessary preliminary to funding, and since resumption itself is a comparatively remote contingency, the proposal to perpetuate exhaustive taxation lacks the only plausible pretense that has been invented in its behalf.

There is a necessity which the advocates of immediate resumption and the believers in the possibility of funding both overlook. The

vance precisely what course it will take in reference to any and every public measure. It is in the highest degree creditable to the American people that it eschews such journals and gives its support to those which have or inions of their own, irrespective of any political party or any political leaders.

There is a sense, however, in which party organs are and will continue to be a necessity in this country. Political parties there always will be, and voters will range themselves with the one whose professions most nearly accord with their own views. So, too, there will be newspapers which will advocate the cause of each party, and thus represent a certain phase of public opinion. But the journal which is blind to the faults of its own party, as well as to the merits of the opposing party, is not the one which commends itself to the average American. There is beneath all the partisanship of our people an innate sense of justice that is quick to respond to any attempt at fairness in a public journal. This fact the leading papers in the country perceive, so that now, in place of the old slang-whanging partisan organs that used to flourish so extensively, there is a large and growing class of journals which exercise the right to judge impartially of the acts of either party, though in the main advocating the claims of one of them. Several such papers we could name, but the public is too familiar with them to require it. They are the most influential and most prosperous papers in the country, and will continue to advance in prosperity so long as they maintain their present course. On the other hand, the blind party organs (of which there are still too many are struggling for existence and are doomed to the fate of the London Star and the Morn. ing Herald, unless they follow the example of their wiser contemporaries. It is a che rished dream of many persons that the acme of perfection in a newspaper would be neu-trality in party matters. This dream is an idle one. So long as public measures can be adopted only by means of organized political parties, and so long as voters will side with one or other of these parties, just so long will party journals be a necessity; but these journals will obtain influence in inverse ratio to their blind adherence to party. They must be independent, but not neutral.

FRENCH POLITICS.

From the Boston Traveller.

The condition of affairs in France is an apt practical commentary on French politics. Nathey have stolen others. poleon III, having made up his mind to abandon that system of personal government which he had pursued for almost eighteen This theft, a royal one in every respect. uggests curious reflections upon the state of public virtue in Spain. Queen Isabella may years-if we count from the coup d'etat of December, 1851-seems determined to give have stolen jewels, but that was not a circumstance to her habit of squandering Spanish the constitutional system a full and fair trial; and that under circumstances and conditions money. Her ministers were not guilty of viowhich will not leave its votaries any ground lent theft, but it is notorious that they robbed for reasonable or unreasonable complaint or their country of revenues. Her generals were criticism. That they do complain of and not bandits, but somehow Spain has suffered criticise his course is clear, even from the meagre accounts of their words and their from them. Then, too, if the Queen could pilfer in Madrid, what might not her favorites have done in Cuba? These inquiries have very wide ramifications, and would tend indeeds that we obtain through the telegraphic despatches; but that does not prove that their language and their action are reasonable-or evitably to raise up doubts not only of the modesty with which Spanish officials steal in that they are even what could be called unreasonable; for, generally speaking, the tongues and the pens and the hands of French Cuba, but of the honesty with which they bleed their country in Spain. There is a kind of possession which is as bad as robbery. This was the case when politicians are so employed as to convey a very vivid impression that their owners are as mad as hares are reputed to be in March. Isabella wore the crown, with all its jewels, and gambled away one by one those fine There are but one or two instances in French gems of public credit and integrity, and that history of the existence of political parties public honor whose price is above rubies. This was the case, too, when the Spanithat should not have been sent to Charenton. to promote the safety of the French Empire, republic, or kingdom—Charenton having been for more than a century the seat of the French ards insisted on retaining the island which they poetically call "the gem of the Antilles," "one of the brightest jewels in the Bedlam. Insanity is the exception with the and Crown of Spain." The Cuban gem is a fai political parties of England and the United States, and sanity the rule. Twice, perhaps (in one to Spain, and more safely belongs to natural owners. But the gipsy of natio who cries out for her missing baubles, a 1840 and in 1860), have parties go this country; and four or five times have Engclutches at this one, will not, cannot see th lish parties so acted as to be compelled to put a greater theft than Isabella's is the ste in the plea of insanity in bar of the judgment ing of liberty from millions of whites a of history. But even when most crazy, blacks. English and American parties have not so borne themselves as to leave the impression THU DEISTICAL COUNCIL IN NAPLES on the mind of the sane observers of their UNITED ITALY AS IT IS. affliction that they were hopelessly mad. Re-From the N. Y. Herald. mission might speedily come, and that would By special letter from Naples we had be followed by cure, and then a long period the third day's proceedings of the me bers of the Deistical Council assembl of health would set in. With French parties the case is very different. Insanity is with in that city, with the resolutions which we them the long rule, and sanity the rare exadopted by them preparatory to the adjour ment of the body. In previous communit tions from the same pen we have already of tailed the inauguration of the meeting and preliminaries. We now present its platfor and results. The exhibit is a strange or ception. Trace them back through almost six centuries-from the time of Napoleon III to Philip-Augustus, in whose reign France, as we moderns understand the name, began to exist-and you will find them, with very few exceptions, as mad as madness could make them, and thus making of the French world "a mad world, my masters!" Imperialists and Republicans, Orleanists and Legiti-mists, White Terrorists and Red Tercoming as it does from a classic, educat and at one time over pious land, to be r by Americans in the full light of the civili tion and common school education of nineteenth century. The Council in Naples was called ostensi rorists, Constitutionalists and Royalists, Jacobins and Thermidorians, Hebertists in opposition or by way of a free-think contrast to the Connenical Council in Ror and Cordeliers, Girondins and Feuillans, Parliamentarians and Absolutists, Jansenists but, as will be seen, the representatives h (Port Royalists) and Jesuits, Mazarinists and ried on with such rapidity of thought that th Frondeurs, Huguenots and Laaguers, Burgundians and Armagnacs, Nobles and Jacques, almost immediately lost sight of the v reverend and aged gentleman who claims Albigenses and Romanists, and so on, down be the visible vicegerent of God on earth, a far into the crusading ages-read the history soared far away over his head to assail of these French parties, or rather factions, and you are to be excused if you come to the defy the heavenly enthronement. There w Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, and Engl conclusion that you are perusing the annals of Charenton, compiled by a faithful, an men; so that the war notes went forth i chorus of almost Babelic utterances. It impartial, and a conscientious editor. The exceptions are so few that we think it is young Italy and old and young France, with decrepit assumption of medicoval Britain. tolerably safe to say that the Politiques of what appears to us a poor plagiarism of V taire and a miserable imitation of Robespie the sixteenth century formed almost the only really sane party over known in "the plealacking the genius of the one and the perso sant land of France," where men are addicted courage of the other, and with the Goddes to such very unpleasant proceedings in poli-Reason behind the scenes. "War to death with God," "war to religion and tics. Sane politicians are not unknown, and never have been unknown, among the French, but sound-minded parties are all but unknown to that lively and polished princes," were the short and sententious terances with which the doctrine of wome rights and the more subtle essentials of m people, who claim to be, and not altogether of the modern isms which have crept unreasonably on some grounds, the first of silently into the midst of our own populat existing races; and in no other country are in many places were proclaimed. The political leaders so often led as they mulgation of a general proclamation of athe are in France, where the many-headed many was advocated, and finally, as we are told conclusion, "many illustrious athe control the clear-headed few. There is hardly a religious or a political excess mengathered at the table, not to protest aga tioned in French history-and that history is the Ccumenical Council, but to combat Go full of instances of excesses perpetrated in Unhappy Italy! In her pursuit of uni and consolidation has she evolved only t elements of governmental distance and so the names of religion and politics-that was not the work of mobs, calling themselves the people. The horrors of both teranarchy? Loosing herself voluntarily rors, white as well as rod, were the by violence from a recognized centre of cipline and order, is she really incapable work of the rabble, not of their leaders, most of whom would have been glad to walking alone in decency before the natio or has she fallen from the path of rectify merely in temporary lapsus in consequence spare blood; and it is all but certain that Robespierre's fall was owing as much to his desire to put an end to butchery as to all the an unadvised adoption of a new code morals—one which bears such fruit as evil of which he was guilty. That his over-throw was followed by a reaction against the morals—one which bears such trut as a lately seen in the palace near Floren during the moribund marriage of death-sick king? In that instance was free love and a marriage, to-day it Deism and "war on God." We regret all t terror was due to accident, not to design. Danton and his friends had fallen-had "sneezed in the sack"-because they had sought to lessen the requisitions that were made upon the executioners and their overbeism and "war on God." We regret all f sincerely. It is to be lamented for the si of Italy, her morals, her government, and i finance, for the sake of France and for sake of Germany. Our special writers Paris have told and tell of Traupmann; fr worked assistants. So it has been throughout the entire career of France, no party being satisfied with victory over its rival, but thinking itself badly used if not allowed to enjoy the luxury of exterminating it-thus justify-Germany we have news of the murderer of a

CLOWN JEWELS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

King Victor of Italy is a prudent man. He has forbidden the Duke of Genoa to accept that dangerons piece of jewelry, the Spanish crown. Though forestalled in this action by the stripling Duke's mother and her hus-band, the Marquis Rapallo, the gentleman King claims the supreme right to dispose of Italian princes. All of them are now agreed, if the cable reports unerringly, not to touch the fatal crown. Consequently there is another crisis in the desperate fortunes of Spain, and Marshal Prim, with his Ministry, is said to have resigned from the Government, which is to say, in other words, that the Government has resigned from itself. This happens when the Treasury of Spain is in an exhausted condition, and while Democratic papers in Madrid can afford to complain of the horrors of the Cuban war, and ask for the cessation of a vain crusade. Meanwhile, the inevitable Montpensier is announced on hand as always, like that sempiternal blacking of which we have more than once read. The crown of Spain, of which Isabella is charged with having stolen the jewels, is once more rejected in the market, and is about to be set aside by the auctioneer. Who bids? Can Montpensier buy it, or will Marshal Prim accept the Republic in its stead ?

It is a grievous and disreputable crown. Most of its jewels are gone, so that it would be a real saving to Spain not to have a king, and so avoid the expense of getting a new oxe. Minister Figuerola, who takes care of a treasury which a democratic newspaper of Madrid Ceclares is almost bankrupt, has been provoked to charge upon the ex-Queens Christina and Isabella the robbery of about \$4,000,000 worth of jewels belonging to the Crown. Ex-Queen Christina implores the Minister of Finance to consent to become a private citizen, in order that she may prosecute him. Ex-Queen Isabella also rejects, and we presume indignantly, the application to her of what her ex-Minister Canovas calls the ignominous epithet of thief; and her daughter's recent distresses, which have been brought to the notice of the French public through a court, show that the want of these jewels is more apparent than the possession of them. Minister Figuerola promises, how-ever, convincing proof of the high crime of Crown robbery; and as the jewel reputation has been lost by one or both of the ex-Queens, many Spaniards will venture to believe that



necessity in question is relief to the taxpayers. "Get back quickly to specie payments, sounds well enough. "Fund the debt, sounds not amiss. But these suggestions become as nothing before the demand for re-duced taxation. "Reduce the taxes!" That is the people's cry; a cry not raised by demagogues or echoed by charlatans, but one that originates in the actual wants of the community-in the condition of its trade and industry, in the struggle of both for existence, and in the hardships entailed upon both by the present rate of taxation. The Tribune may point daily, if it so choose, to the "glory" in-cident to the payment of indebtedness not due. The taxpayers do not value that kind of glory-they want relief. They don't care about great benefits in the uncertain future. They heed most their sufferings from taxation as it is, and they insist that that shall be diminished before aught be done towards the solution of other problems.

The demand is rendered the more emphatic and the more equitable by the gradual approach to specie payments and the neces-sity of adjusting things before that result be reached. The Tribune characterizes the remarks that while "values are falling taxes remain the same" as "sheer effrontery." It is in the main fact, nevertheless. And if resumption be brought about without revision and reduction of taxes as a preliminary, the people will not be able to pay them. This, too, may be "sheer effrontery," but it also is as near akin to fact as anything in the future can be. For taxes undiminished in amount, with the values of labor and of all products diminished by resumption, would be practi-cally increased taxation-and that at a time when every interest would be sorely tried.

PARTY ORGANS HERE AND IN ENG-LAND.

From the N. Y. World.

The London Times, in noticing the recent death of the London Star and Morning Herald, attributes it to the fact that they were party organs. The Star was the organ of the extreme Liberals, of which John Bright was the acknowledged leader, and never attained any pecuniary prosperity, The Moraing Herald was a high 'fory organ, and attracted the notice of Americans during our late war by its advocacy of the cause of the Confederate States as against that of the United States. What the Times says may be true, for the manoeuvres of leading British politicians frequently involve such changes of front that a party sometimes finds itself advocating a policy on one day which it had strenvously opposed the day before. A comparatively recent example of this was furnished by Mr. Disraeli, who, when last he was Prime Minister, introduced measures of far more liberal character than his opponents (the Liberals) had dared present. Of course, his party (the Tories) supported him, though right in the teeth of its previously pro-

nounced policy. But it is, doubtless, on higher grounds that the Times sounds the knell of party organs, and its words have an application to such papers in this country as well as to its contemporaries in England. It is true that the day for blind party organs in the United States is passed. And by this term we mean to designate those papers which so implicitly the luxury of exterminating it—thus justify-follow in the wake of their party—approving ing the bitter remark of that veteran politi-

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