## SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals upon Current Topics-Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph,

MR. BLACK'S REPLY TO WILSON.

From the N. Y. World.

The striking article from the Galaxy which we reprinted yesterday is one of the most remarkable specimens of vigorous rhetoric and overwhelming logic which it has been our fortune to peruse for many a day. But we wish that Mr. Black had been content to give the uncolored argument without his vindictive, scathing rhetoric. His reply to Sanator Wilson would not indeed have been such piquant reading if he had dispensed with its warmth of coloring, but it would have been more persuasive, and more convincing to the misguided people who regard the late Secretary Stanton as a model patriot and political saint. Rhetoric has no value except as a means of gaining attention; and Mr. Black's eminent talents and recognized standing would have insured him readers without this extraneous aid. The hardest lesson both for tyros and veterans in argument is to learn the weakening effect of excessive emphasis. He who would convince others must adapt himself to their points of view. The art of doing this is the great secret of persuasive writing.
Mr. Black and Senator Wilson together

have made it very clear that Stanton was one of the most consummate hypocrites and most extraordinary examples of duplicity that ever lived. There is no longer any room to doubt that in the memorable winter of 1861 Stanton acted a disgraceful double part; pretending to President Buchanan and his Cabinet that he was a zealous supporter of their views, and at the same time holding clandestine interviews with the Republican leaders, assuring them that he was devoted to their interests, and habitually betraying to them the secrets, or pretended secrets, of the administration. His role in the Cabinet was that of a staunch and thorough-paced adherent; his other role was that of a spy upon the administration and divulger to its enemies of its secret counsels. Mr. Black produces unanswerable evidence that Stanton acted the first of these parts; Mr. Wilson produces evidence, equally unanswerable, that he acted the second. Now, even on the supposition that he was a truthful spy upon the Cabinet which gave him their confidence, his conduct was ineffably base and disgraceful. But the evidence shows that his midnight revelations were unscrupulous falsehoods. He libelled the Cabinet which gave him their confidence in order to ingratiate himself with those to whom he pretended to divulge their secrets. If there be a lower depth of baseness and depravity, history has not revealed the names of those who have sunk to it.

It must not be forgotten that at the time when Stanton was acting this diagraceful part, there were other men in the Cabinet whose record is as "loyal" as his. General Dix was Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Holt Secretary of War-the two most important positions, at that time, in the administration. These gentlemen were present at all Cabinet meetings; were cognizant of all the Government counsels; had as ample means as Mr. Stanton of knowing all damaging secrets. If the administration was unfaithful, General Dix and Mr. Holt were accomplices, and Stanton's pretended revelations must have implicated them as well as other members of the Cabinet. Who, even among Republicans, believes that they were consenting witnesses and parties to treason?

And yet they must have been, if there was any truth in Stanton's midnight disclosures. It is clear that those pretended disclosures were slanders, invented by Stanton to curry favor with a party which would have offices to bestow during the ensuing four years. He simulated zeal for Mr. Buchanan's administration to insure the office he then held; and he acted the part of a spy upon it, and fabricated slanders against its loyalty, as a means of recommending himself to the party which was about to come into power. How did it happen that General Dix, with equal opportunities and equal zeal for the Union, never discovered the enormous treachery which Stanton made it his daily and nightly business to convey to the camp of the enemy? The explanation is, that the disclosures were not facts, but fabrications.

It is known and notorious that the first month of Mr. Lincoln's administration was modelled on the last two months of Mr. Buchanan's. If there was feebleness and vacillation under the one, it was continued under the other. Mr. Lincoln's inaugural was in the very spirit of President Buchanan's conduct. Mr. Seward, abetted by General Scott, intrigued for the abandonment of Fort Sumter, although President Buchanan had been resolute and persistent in his determination to hold it. The new administration adopted no new measures until the firing upon Sumter aroused and electrified the country. Mr. Lincoln is just as open to accusations of treachery as was Mr. Buchanan during the last two months of his administration, when Stanton was acting the spy and deceiving both the Cabinet and the Republicans—the administration by pretended zeal for all its measures and opinions, and the Republicans by bearing false witness against the men who gave him their confidence.

Mr. Black, in his last article, nails many falsehoods to the counter, but its chief interest consists in the damning light it sheds upon the character of Stanton. If Stanton had died before he was made Secretary of War, there could not be two opinions respecting his disgraceful duplicity and baseness. He was an energetic and unscrupulous administrator, and was so fully supported by the passions of the people in that passionate era, that they would willingly ignore or condone the loathsome treachery of his previous conduct. But history will give its final verdict on the sound maxim, Nihil tle mortuis WHEN VERUM.

THE CRISIS OF THE STRUGGLE IN

FRANCE. From the N. Y. Times.

What may be called the third epoch of the Franco-German war is drawing to a close. The first ended with Woerth, when it was demonstrated that an offensive campaign was out of the question, and that all the available strength of France would be required to defend her own soil. The second ended with Sedan, when the incapacity for this purpose of the empire and its regularly organized army was fully demonstrated. The third will close with the inevitable surrender of Paris, and the more than probable defeat of the thrice-organized Army of the Loire. which has once more been summoned to make a supreme effort on behalf of "Liberty and the Republic." After that, if the war continues at all, it must be in the form of irregularly organized and desultory fighting, by noures

of men animated by no uniform impulse, save | the single determination of saying No! to every demand for submission on the basis of territorial concession. Terrible as have been the hardships of the later phases of the strug-gle, one like this would be far more replete with horrors. Strong as the Germans are, they have not force sufficient for a complete military occupation of France; but, once released from the vast enterprise of besieging Paris, they can isolate in the most complete manner the four great sections of French territory and population from each other; they can prevent any possible government being obeyed over any but a very small portion of the country; they can, in fact, complete the social and political chaos which is already impending over the nation.

The Republican leaders of France-and no other political power need for a moment be taken into account-know this as well as the most disinterested of on-lookers. Yet it by no means follows that universal submission will follow the fall of Paris. They may simply elect, with the possible concurrence of the majority of the people, to allow Germany to work out the problem before her in any way she thinks fit. They may say, "She has got the provinces she wants, let her keep them, but their cession will be formally ratified by no act of ours. While the invader remains on our soil we shall continue to refuse to convene a national assembly, whose sittings would be held under the muzzles of Prussian cannon. Our conquerers want a huge indemnity; the longer they stay the more difficulty they will have in raising it. Let them go on making forced requisitions here and there, so long as they find them repay the cost of collection. Let them continue to spread famine and pestilence as they have already scattered death and ruin, till civilization cries shame, and in very weariness Germany recalls her hosts, and contents herself with occupying what she intends permanently to keep." Such a resolution might be deplorable enough, but no one can say that it is impossible. Come what may, France and the Republic are indestructible, and it is far from impossible that the approaching crisis of the national defence may be only the opening of a new phase of this determined and terrible struggle.

PAUPERS.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The pauper in the body politic threatens to be the one unsolvable problem just now in England and here. Our friends in Philadelphia and the guardians of the poor in London especially appear to find the burden more than they can bear. What business a man who can't work and is not ashamed to beg has to live at all, is a question apparently too hard for these gentlemen. Even the bugs of creation find their uses in mussums, or, cased in amber, may give rise to poetic inquiry as to "how the devil they came there?" But the pauper, they complain, dead or allve, is so much waste matter. Society spews him out. Science will have none of him. This class and order are, alas! but too well known. There is no doubt as to how he got here. He has not only come already, but he keeps coming every year, a gaunt, unweaned army, in swaddling bands; and he claims it to be a religious duty so to keep on coming in perpetuum. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the patience of these guardians of almshouses should wax threadbare, and that they should strive to lessen the weight by every laudable means open to them.

In one of the English work-houses the means embraced the inclosing of contumacious paupers in air-tight cells over night: kicking to death: smoking out women were trying to escape by the infirmary chimney with chlorine gas, the infirmary being filled at the time with sick and dying patients. At St. George's-in-the-East the guardians divide the trade of the almshouse among themselves, one supplying the paupers with boots and shoes, another with liquor, a third being tinker in general for the boilers. The chaplain complaining that the bacchanalian brother kept the paupers not only drunk, but busy stealing to pay for their grog, he was incontinently taken by the nape of the neck and kicked out of the board. One nurse was exported for an uppleasant habit she had of shaking the dying paupers to hurry their exit-the witness apologizing for her, in the last case of the kind, by alleging that "Mrs. Sullivan did take an onreasonable long time

Our neighbors in Philadelphia have massed all their dead weight of pauperism in Blockley Almshouse, and the meetings of its guardians are anticipated in that city of brotherly love by reporters and people as the best of raree-shows. A certain Mr. Parker, it appears, steadily complains that the bread served to the paupers is not to be distinguished in taste or appearance from wet sand; that the wards are fuller and fouler than the Black Hole of Calcutta, and that their inmates are dying like sheep, and certainly with no unreasonable waste of time. The reverend old Quakers who constitute the rest of the board as statedly reply to him not by investigation of the difficulties, but by threats of "kicking him out" and oaths against "jabbering bean poles," calculated to create astonishment in the minds of all who are accustomed to revere Penn and the boasted charities of his grave followers. What truth there may be in Mr. Parker's allegations we know not, but the very language of the guardians increases the doubt we have often expressed of the expediency of placing large bodies of the helpless wards of the State, whether paupers, idiots, or insane, in the care of a few men who naturally soon come to regard misery as a mechanical weight to be overcome by a general hard system and rule. In England the boarding-out system is rapidly coming into general use with regard to their paupers, and, we doubt not, a plan approximating to it will before long be found the most in accordance not only with benevolence but economy in this country.

WHY GOOD PEOPLE DO NOT SYMPA-THIZE WITH FRANCE.

From the London Spectator. In the Fortnightly Review and the Pall Mall Gazette Mr. Frederic Harrison has vigorously expressed his amazement that good Liberals should display any sympathy for what he calls Bismarckism. But the reason is not far to seek. It was set forth in the lecture of Father Hyacinthe last week. At least half of the stern anger with which France is visited by the most moral, most upright, class of Englishmen comes from the fact, not that the gauntlet was thrown down by France, or that her pretext for declaring war was the most transparently wicked ever employed by a great nation, but that she done more than any other country to clothe vice with splendor and grace. People whose Christianity did not drive them away from the side of the Southern States, but permitted them to wink at slavery, look upon France with disgust and vehement passion, because Paris has raised vice to the dignity of a fine art, because the literature of France recalls the license of decaying Rome, and because the moral tone of France betrays a depraved taste revolting to

Germany is a nation of purity, and France a nation of license. They cannot bring themselves to hold with a firm grip the equally manifest proposition that Prussia may now be going as certainly down the abyss of political immorality, as France did on the eve of the war. Or, even if they hold that Germany is doing wrong by seizing Alsace and Lorraine against the will of the inhabitants, they will not face the logical result—that she is doing a deed less beinously bad than the partition of Poland, and that she merits a large measure of the stern judgment which has followed the crime of France. They have but one answer that the French are a wicked people. Nor can it be denied that Mr. Carlyle has a firm substratum of truth for the vehement rhetoric in which he clothes the counts of the indictment. Paris alone would go far to condemn a whole people. London may be only a gradation less wicked, if indeed it be less wicked at all; London may be a sink of vice equally gross and equally hideous in its abundance; but the vice of London is not gilded, or taken under the wing of wit and taste, like that of the French capital. The vice of London is coarsely vulgar, idiotically insane; it does not give a tone to society, nor has it a literature levoted to the celebration of its own infernal fascinations; men of letters do not enlist in what Mr. Carlyle might justly call "the Devil's Regiment of the Line," or sell their souls into his service. Mr. Swinburne has striven hard, no doubt, to erect an English literature of impurity, based on the best models of France; but when the thing was done in plain English, its vileness, its want of manliness, its imp-like orgies filled men of the world with unutterable loathing, which was only intensified by the plaudits of the little clique who placed the young poet in the same rank with Shelley. France, on the other hand, has nourished a large school of letters to which the artistic treatment of vice is the abiding theme. In no other country would such a writer as Theophile Gautier be possible. Here is a man gifted with wit, charming sentiment, a delicate perception of the intricate machinery of passion, tenderness of soul, an easy and melodious eloquence; and all these endowments are employed to teach, so far as art can teach, that the aim of art is to bring back the gilded and esthetic license of Greece. One of Gautier's books, which we do not choose to name, is so full of subtle analysis, so enriched with beauty of expression, and so infernal in its viciousness, that even a man of the world might be excused for calmly and deliberately tearing it to pieces, leaf by leaf, for carefully placing the fragments in the fire, and watching till every fragment of the lazar-like stuff be turned to ashes. The literature of England presents no such phenomenon of genius wedded to a satyr-like depravity. Even Byron, the most flagrant of our poetic sinners, won the enthusiastic homage of the reading mob by the intensity of his passion, by the marvellous force with which he gave utterance to the Philistine craving for freedom from the shackles of a prim civilization, by the intensity with which he reflected the unrest and the weariness that trouble the meanest souls, by powers that might in noble hands have been consecrated to noble ends. The vileness of Byron has not helped him to become the favorite poet of the untutored young, and of what Mr. Matthew Arnold would term the unregenerate middle-class, Germany. But such a protest against the but has rather hindered him from reaching good people does not satisfy the professional the chief place in the Pantheon of Philistia. And the moral taint on such poetry as that of Byron belongs to a different genus from the artistic depravity which easts the blight of a moral leprosy over the lighter literature of France. The typically French school has raised vice to the dignity of a fine art, has crowned it with poetic garlands, and chanted its praises with song: so that if the new gospel has the warrant of truth, it undoes all the Christian teaching of the last two thousand years, and sets us drearily down once more amid the paganism of a viler and less gifted Greece, France has been the corrupter of youth. She has been the evangelist of depravity. Armed with a literature as perfect in form as that of Athens, she has waged war against that purity of tone and principle which is the most distinctive heritage of Christianity, and in comparison with which all the glories of literature, all the graces of art, all the triumphs of our electric telegraph and steam engine civilization are only so much dust

sweet delicacy of an English household. Some of the best men and women resolutely

refuse to look beyond the proposition that

Germany, on the other hand, is not less specially a land of domestic purity than England itself. The Germans are good husbands, good wives, good scus and brothers. Much, it is true, must be raid on the other side. Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, and some other German cities are not the most exemplary in the world. The gambling "hells" which existed at Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden, and some other German places of fashion, until they were found intolerable by the stern Lutheranism of King William, did shock the English sense of propriety. And amid the established gods of morality and religion, the German thinking class wields the Thorhammer of revolution more remorselessly than the most intrepld of the French iconoclasts. German thought has given a new depth to the French instinct for the destruction of the sanctities and the proprieties. Germany can claim half the parenthood even of such distinctively French products as positivism. Germany has done a thousandfold more than France to disturb the quiet of orthodox England, by directly or indirectly sending across her frontiers a crowd of Goths and Visigoths in the shape of essayists and reviewers, Colensos, Voyseys, and the apostolic band of devout atheists who are guided by the one orthodox follower of Auguste Comte, and who find salvation in the commemoration of their grandmothers. All these facts are sorrowfully admitted by the good apologists for Bismarekism. But, in reply, they point to the purity of moral atmosphere in Germany. Immorality is not in the air. The people are too much swayed by the dictates of manly virtue to breed Theophile Gautiers. His masterpieces would excite the loathing of every cultivated man outside that dilettante clique which is characterized by an incapacity for logical thought, and a picturesque hostility to the moral law. He would be "cut" dead by the literary class, which would tell him that, although he might wield the scalpel as remorselessly as he pleased, and might state the results of dissection with the fearlessness of science, he degraded the divinity of intellect by giving an unballowed glory to passion. He would excite the same scorn and disgust as a man of genius who habitually got drunk and rolled in the gutter. He would be classed with Edgar Allan Poe. And it is because Germany sets up a high standard of purity in speech and act, that her triumphs over France have been celebrated with the hallelujahs of many good Englishmen. It is, the instincts which are generated by the on the other hand, because the typical

and ashes.

literature of France is a literature of license, and because her moral atmosphere is murky, that she excites absolute loathing in many English homes which have taken the noble side in all the great contests of recent years, such as the fight to liberate the American slaves, and the contest to free Ireland from the iniquity of the alien Church establishment. The tremendous punishment of France excites such fierce joy as might have fired the spirit of the Hebrews when they heard that the priests of Baal had been utterly destroyed, and the Canaanitish women and children smitten with the edge of the sword. The hatred is so absorbing as to blind the eye to the lines of political rectitude. The unscrupulous intrigues of Bismarck: that barrack-room piety of the King, which thanks God for victories, and cuts Providence in a season of defeat; the barbaric spirit of the squireen caste which is permitted to rule the best instructed people in the world: the detestable military spirit which threatens to make Prussia the pest of Europe; the sanguinary evangel of professors who would set Europe in a flame to make good their own ethnological dogma, that Germany is gifted with a divine right to rule everybody who speaks a German patois; the abo ninable wickedness which has punished the firing of stray shots by setting fire to whole villages and sending innocent women and children adrift on the world-all this display of a dull brutality and a blind fury which history will execrate and God will judge, wrings from many of the best Englishmen the comment of silence or of condonation.

Those literary apostles to the Gentiles who have sat at the feet of the French Gamaliel will sneer at a preference for Germany which is built solely on the idea that the domestic life of the Fatherland is purer than that of France. They will dismiss such a preference with a contemptuous sneer at the highlyorganized irrationality of the British Pailistine. And we certainly offer no apology for the apathy with which a section of the liberal party sees the most caste-bound and essentially un-liberal of all Courts preparing to transfer a million and a half of people from the rule of France to that of Germany, and treating the protests of those people as contemptuously as if Alsace and Lorraine were inhabited by a race of cattle. That many of persons who were on side of the North during the American war should now be singing hallelujahs over the aggressive policy of Dismarck, shows the liberal instinc s even of many liberals to be only skin-deep, and their

moral sense to be at the mercy of their preju-City of London, Saturday, January 28, at 11 A. M. City of London, Saturday, Feb. 4, at 2 P. M. and each succeeding saturday and alternate Treaday, from pier No. 45 North river,

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whom we have in view, when they shut their

eyes to the criminal folly of annexing Alsace

and Lorraine, and to the wickedness of burn-

ing villages full of innocent women and chil-

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or Wedneyday, January 18, at 8 a, M. mosphere of France is less pure than that of despisers of the British Philistine. They exclaim that the morality which can condemn on \_\_\_\_, January \_\_\_, Sor Lading at as low rates as, it davans, the route given to Mobile, Galveston, INDIAN, OLA, ROCKPORT, LAVACUA, and BRAZOS, and to all points on the Missispipi river between New Orleans and St. Louis. Red River ireights reshipped at New Orleans without charge of commissions. the Gautiers must be the morality of Churchwardenism, and must be an far beneath the dignity of philosophical discussion as the political creed of an average Tory squire, or the theology of an average clergyman. Nevertheless, the British Philistine is guided in this instance by a sure instinct, which enables him to detect, in a confused way, day, January 21.
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of those peoples that have accepted the Athenian edition of the moral law. They see that the nation which finds its guidance in that abbreviated code of duty is on the high road to death. And if these are the counsels of Philistinism, as they are contemptuously characterized by some poetical rhetoricians whose peculiarity of mind enables them to exhaust the possibilities of shallowness, it is time for all of us to seek in Philistinism a school. If, on the one hand, the German war has led many good people to forget the principles of liberalism, and utter unduly sweeping judgments on the morality of the French people; on the other hand, it has brought into healthy prominence the detestation with which the best part of the English people regard vice, however gilded

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