

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

THOSE "DISAPPOINTED MEN."

From the N. Y. Herald. The President, in closing his capital St. Domingo message to Congress, says that "he who undertakes to conduct the affairs of a great Government as a faithful public servant, if sustained by the approval of his own conscience, may rely with confidence upon the candor and intelligence of a free people, whose best interests he has striven to subserve, and can bear with patience the censure of disappointed men."

That's true—true as Gospel; but who are these disappointed men? Their name is legion. They are great and small, ten thousand strong, and Senator Sumner is chief among the ten thousand. From the day of General Grant's inauguration Mr. Sumner, in the Senate, undertook the difficult office of director and manager of the President and his policy, foreign and domestic. From the day of the submission of his first Cabinet to the Senate General Grant was made to feel that Mr. Sumner intended to take care of him, and that he would be allowed only a little more line than was given to the unfortunate "Andy Johnson."

From that day down to the removal of Mr. Sumner from the Senate chairmanship on Foreign Relations by the usual action of the Senate in the reorganization of its committees, the "irrepressible conflict" between the Senator and the President had been pushed so far that either the one or the other had to be displaced or disgraced. On the Tenure of Office law Mr. Sumner struggled hard to hold General Grant in the Senatorial leading strings of Johnson; and though finally compelled to give way, the Senate still yielded something to Sumner in a sort of patchwork compromise. On the San Domingo question the Senator, from the outset, undertook the part of dictator and to make the President contemptible before the country. Minister Motley, at London, the special protegee of the all-powerful Senator, in the next place, appears to have been so far emboldened by his backer as to disregard his instructions from the Secretary of State. Hence his recall; and with his recall, it appears, Mr. Sumner ceased to hold any social relations with Secretary Fish and the President. As it was simply impossible that the Executive Department on this footing could conduct the foreign affairs of the government with the Senate chairman on those affairs, the Senate recognized the necessity of his removal, and he was removed. Mr. Sumner, therefore, is chief of the "disappointed men" referred to by the President in this St. Domingo message.

Senator Carl Schurz is another. He considered himself as entitled to the lion's share of the Government spoils in Missouri, and so made his requisition upon the President. But General Grant could not see the matter in that light. So Mr. Schurz bolted with his friend Grant Brown, and between them they made a Republican split which gave the State to the Democrats, and so Mr. Schurz, like the dog in the fable, lost the marrow-bone which was his in jumping at the shadow in the water. The patriotic Schurz, then, as the right-hand man of Sumner on St. Domingo, is another of those "disappointed men" whose heads fit the cap of the President's message on this question. Senator Fenton is another disappointed man. He thought that he had a "little clear" to the New York Custom House and all the fat places and pickings thereof, and put in his claim accordingly. But Fenton, like Schurz, in demanding more than his fair share, lost even that which he had secured. Mr. Fenton's "Mordcael sitting in the King's place" is "honest Tom Murphy" "sitting in the place of the receipt of customs" and as custodian of the feshpots of Egypt to the Republican party of New York, while Fenton is out in the cold.

There are several "disappointed men" in connection with the New York Custom House; two or three in reference to certain "castles in Spain" or elsewhere in foreign lands, and here and there all over the country the "disappointed men" who sympathize with Mr. Sumner are numerous. They are breaking out as "revenue reformers," as independent Republicans, as denouncers of General Grant "up stairs and down stairs and in my lady's chamber," but the Connecticut election, notwithstanding the defection of Grandfather Welles among the rest, shows that General Grant has still the inside track and can afford to "bear with patience the censures of disappointed men."

DESTRUCTIVE TAXATION—MR. GREELY IN A FOOLISH HURRY.

From the N. Y. Sun. Mr. Greeley undertakes to reply to our recent denunciation of the high taxes necessary to maintain at the present rate Mr. Boutwell's preposterous reductions of the public debt. Mr. Greeley's methods are all urgent. He wanted to have a mob rush down pell-mell and take Richmond at the beginning of the war. When it was found we had a tough job on hand, he was equally urgent that we should defeat the Rebels or be defeated instantly. Fight a battle and win or lose, and let the result end the war. Finally, Mr. Lincoln was told that the country would stand its loss longer, and peace was advocated on such terms as would be had, good or bad. Then after the war there was the same impetuous hurry to end every outstanding question. The first imperative demand was to resume specie payments; and the next was to pay off the national debt. This is Mr. Greeley's way of doing things, or at least his way of advocating the doing of things. But looking back, we can very readily see where we should have landed supposing the country had tried to go ahead on his methods. They were, to say the least, crude and impossible. Of the same character is Mr. Greeley's plan of dealing with the public debt to-day. Overlooking the tremendous sacrifices of the war, the enormous sums paid out of the earnings of the last ten years, the payment of such taxes as were scarcely ever imposed or collected of any people before, the amazing resolution of the country in shouldering its gigantic debt and bearing it above the ruins and desolations of the war, keeping faith with the public creditors to the last farthing—overlooking all this, Mr. Greeley sees no nothing but a large debt resting upon the country which ought to be paid. He is as urgent now in his demands as he ever was, and just as unreasonable. The taxation of the country is searching and oppressive in the extreme. It is paralyzing and destroying business, making the poor poorer and the rich richer, and Mr. Greeley's cry still is to keep up these fatal taxes, because we must keep on paying fat instalments on the public debt. And why? Let us consider his reasons:—

I. Because we must pay the debt at some time.

II. Because, if we wait till it is all due, it would be impossible to pay it all at once.

III. Because payment improves the character of the debt.

IV. Because we stipulated with the public creditor to pay one per cent. per annum of the principal of the debt.

V. Because our taxes have been larger than they now are.

VI. Because reducing the debt monthly pleases the shingle-shavers in Michigan, who are just beginning to read the Weekly Tribune.

These are the several arguments adduced by the philosopher in behalf of a grinding and oppressive taxation to pay eight or ten millions monthly on the principal of the public debt.

We believe we have faithfully given every reason offered. And what an assemblage of reasons they are! There is just one among them that has something in it. This is that paying improves the character of the debt, and enables us to fund it at lower rates. This consideration has at least a plausible sound, but of real weight very little. The credit of a nation depends upon the integrity of its dealings, the fulfillment of its promises, and its apparent resources. When a nation is just what it agrees to do, whether it be much or little, it establishes its credit. It is by no means necessary, because a nation has incurred a debt, that it should fall to paying it right away in order to improve its credit. It is not paying to-day or to-morrow or next year that does this; it is paying exactly according to agreement. Who will say that the credit of the British Government has ever depended in the slightest degree upon any reductions of its public debt? That debt has gone on increasing year by year, and generation after generation, till it has attained a tremendous aggregate; and yet England could never borrow money so cheaply, and her credit was never so good, as to-day.

During the existence of the late bastard empire of France, the national debt was constantly and rapidly increasing; but the credit of the French Government was never better, and its ability to borrow money was never greater, and its loans were never higher in the market, than was the case one short month before it exploded. What is true of the English and French Governments is true of every other Government in Europe in good credit. It is true of all our first-class State Governments. It is true of our leading municipal governments. It is plain then that the fact of premature payment is not an element on which credit rests. It rests on other things entirely. These are a high sense of financial honor and integrity in the first place, and evident resources in the second. With these abundantly manifest, reduction in the volume of the debt is a matter of not the slightest consequence.

But Mr. Greeley asks with an air of triumph, Would the Sun fulfil the pledge of paying off one per cent. of the principal of the public debt annually? We have no difficulty in answering that question. We would fulfil with the most scrupulous exactness every pledge given in borrowing. And where would the fulfillment of this promise land us? Why, eight or ten years ahead of the present time. If we should not pay a dollar on the principal of our debt for the next ten years, we might still claim to have discharged every obligation to the public creditor on this score.

The reasons why we should not go on in the present high-pressure process of reduction are simple and conclusive. In the first place, the country has already paid within the last nine years, we may perhaps say within the last seven years, more than one-half of the prodigious cost of the great war. This is as much as this generation ought to be called on to pay. It is our full contribution for this purpose, in a money point of view; and who shall compensate us for the greater untold and unmeasurable sacrifices, of which no future generations can bear a part? Moreover, the taxes necessary to continue the reduction of the debt are drawn from an oppressed and struggling industry, which every impulse of patriotism and every suggestion of statesmanship require us to relieve entirely and without delay.

But the one supreme and all-controlling reason is, that the astonishingly rapid development of the country in its numbers and its resources is day by day diminishing the weight of the debt in the most striking manner. A debt which would have bankrupted the Government forty years ago is a comparatively light debt to-day, and will not impose one-half the burden on the country twenty years hence that it imposes now, even if in the mean time its principal should not be reduced a single dollar.

FALSE SYMPATHY WITH FRENCH REBELS.

From the N. Y. Tribune. A "Social Democrat" complains that we have never conceded the right of the Parisians to elect their own municipal officers and of the National Guards to choose their commanders. We have not felt that we were specially called upon to admit a self-evident proposition which nobody denies. The right was wrested from the Parisians by the Empire, and was not promptly restored by the new provisional government of M. Thiers—a very grave error, as we admit; but it was not irreparable, and in all probability would have been considered in the formation of a new and stable government. We do not deny this right of the Parisians, but we deprecate their violent method of enforcing it.

We have supported the "men of order" because they were the only party of order and of peace in Paris. We have no more sympathy for this fraction of the French people in revolt against their own Government than we entertained for the whole French nation lately in wrong as against Germany; and we shall rejoice as heartily to see the right prevail and injustice defeated now as after Sedan. We have not cared to mince words or conceal facts, though a "Social Democrat" and many other inconsiderate persons have apparently been offended.

Let us consider the facts of this rebellion of the Paris "Reds." When the Germans entered Paris the Communists of Montmartre and Belleville fortified themselves in their districts, remote from the part of the city occupied by the enemy, and loudly declared that their streets should not be polluted by the tread of the conquerors. When the Germans were gone the Communists refused to disperse peacefully to their homes, and their Government, unwisely, as it proved, but with undoubted right, sent a detachment of the National Guards to take the guns from the insurgents.

These made a show of defiance, and the Guards refusing to fire upon citizens fraternized with the mob. Officers who sought to compel them to their duty were shot down and butchered, and two old men, who had served the country in the Republican army, were executed after a sham trial by men without a knowledge of law or sense of justice. In the excitement of the hour the mob, reinforced by the traitorous Guards, expelled the Government officials, seized the public places of the city, and instituted a government which they called that of the people, but which was that of the mob. Its brief rule has been one of bloodshed. It has filled the prisons and depopulated the streets, compelling the hasty flight of two hundred thousand citizens. It has fired upon delegations of loyal people with whom the National Guards showed signs of fraternizing, and it has marched against the loyal army guarding the Assembly and shot down one of its leaders while expostulating with them and offering peace. Its members are inspired by no love of liberty and order, but are intoxicated only with the wish to rule. With them to be a landlord is to be a criminal; to be rich is to deserve death. Blanqui, Florens, Lullier, and others of the committee are ignorant men, who have known nothing of events seen to do just what it agrees to do, whether it be much or little, it establishes its credit. It is by no means necessary, because a nation has incurred a debt, that it should fall to paying it right away in order to improve its credit. It is not paying to-day or to-morrow or next year that does this; it is paying exactly according to agreement. Who will say that the credit of the British Government has ever depended in the slightest degree upon any reductions of its public debt? That debt has gone on increasing year by year, and generation after generation, till it has attained a tremendous aggregate; and yet England could never borrow money so cheaply, and her credit was never so good, as to-day.

The political situation in Paris is not without familiar parallel in other cities—New York for instance. This metropolis is ruled by a municipal government elected by violence and fraud only a little less flagrant and open than that which now aims to control Paris. If the "Reds" seek to inflict on their city such officials as we in New York endure, they deserve no sympathy from us, and not much mercy at the hands of those whom they have forced to take up arms. There is no compromising with such mobs, whether in Paris or New York; and blood-letting there seems to be the only remedy. This, to all appearance, is likely to follow their crimes, and, having provoked it, there will be few to regret the severity of the punishment.

It is not a little singular that the confusion of mind into which a "Social Democrat" has been thrown by superficial study of the situation in Paris should be largely shared by Americans and by American papers. The same confusion led them into false sympathy with the French when they forced the war upon Germany. They are as much in the wrong in sympathizing with the Communists who proclaim the republicanism they do not understand as with the nation which called itself the Republic of France and continued to commit the crimes of the Empire. The Communists of Montmartre are rebels against the Government of all France, not of Paris merely; and their committee represents a mere faction of the capital, whereas the Assembly is the constituted authority of the whole country.

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