

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

Secretary McCulloch's Letter.

From the N. Y. Times.

It is questionable whether Secretary McCulloch has not given to the recent extravagant statements as to alleged frauds in the Treasury Department too much prominence, by writing the letter to the Assistant Treasurer which has just been published. The hostility which could put forth such extraordinary charges would hardly be put down by the Secretary's denial of them, however satisfactory they may be to every unprejudiced man. That hostility will not be silenced by his letter. It will affect to doubt his word, and will probably continue to endeavor to raise up phantoms and bogymen of fraud and peculation and all sorts of rascality; will still speak of suppressed investigations in the face of Mr. McCulloch's declaration that all statements as to such suppressions are groundless; will still endeavor to excite fears, without any ground of knowledge, that there have been enormous overcharges, and intimate that the Secretary is responsible for the frauds which have been committed upon the revenue.

But those who are not actuated by such hostility will know how to estimate the weight of these attacks. They will see from what quarters they come. They will remember that it is the universal resource to which knaves betake themselves against an honest man whom they want out of their way, to charge him with being engaged in the very rascalities which his presence is preventing, and they will satisfy themselves whether a very large portion of the attacks on the Secretary cannot be accounted for as the use of that resource. They will ask themselves what is the feeling towards the Secretary of those who are engaged in the whisky frauds, tobacco frauds, petroleum frauds, and all the other frauds, and whether they are anxious that his hands shall be strengthened, or that he shall be compelled to give place to a successor.

They will ask what were our financial circumstances at the time when the Secretary took his seat. They will think what have been the difficulties of the country since that time, and what progress we have made in the midst of them all. And, thinking of all these circumstances, they will require more than the statements of irresponsible writers—desirous of making a sensation, and careless of the means if they only succeed in doing so—before they join in any outcry against the Secretary, or express any wish to see his charge put in other hands.

Some of these men are bold enough to demand a thorough investigation into the affairs of the Treasury; but we have no idea that such an investigation is what they really desire. We have no thought that such an investigation would result in anything else than in showing before the whole people how ignorant of the facts and how reckless of the truth they have been in their assaults upon the Department.

Watchman, What of the Night!

From the N. Y. Herald.

Revolutions do not stop. He who dares to throw himself as a barrier to stay them sinks before their irresistible march. True genius seizes the helm, rides on the tide, gathers and harmonizes the contending forces, and by the power of intellect guides events more quickly to their resultant. Will Mr. Johnson finally rise to the demands of the situation? Can he? The next few weeks will show us. Judging, however, from past blunders—his apparent desire to embody in himself all political power; to merge into unity the three branches of Government, and call that unit Andrew Johnson; to place himself alone as the exponent which gives the only value to every political equation; to make the people, who have fought for and gained the great battle of nationality, believe that Congress does not represent them—he will fall to take fortune at the flood and redeem himself.

The quarrel between the President and Congress is but a phase in the great march of our revolution. Congress has no more risen to the magnitude of the problem than has Mr. Johnson. Failing to comprehend the great principles that underlie the reharmonizing of the nation, they have let slip their opportunities, dallied with reconstruction, mingled it too much with political ambitions, forgotten that they were legislating for the country, lowered themselves to the narrow scope of a party, and have at last thrown themselves off guard and shown the vulnerable points in their armor. Thus light is breaking in. Now let the President use it. Let him correct his first great error—the retention of the old Cabinet left by Mr. Lincoln; let him brush them away in a body. They were born of other times and other wants. Now comes the demand for new men. Let us have them. Had Mr. Johnson, upon his accession to power, named a new Cabinet and called Congress together immediately, the reconstruction of the South would long since have been ended; for he and the people, through their Congress, would have pulled together in a common purpose. It is not yet too late to restore harmony between the forces of Government. Now, however, is the moment to strike. Let the President, by virtue of the executive right given to him by our fundamental law, suspend the Cabinet, the Senate of the United States, and the House of Representatives, and let the Congress, notwithstanding for that is one of the Congressional blunders; for he has no courage to do this he is not equal to the occasion, and thereby proves that we have no hope of national harmony until his term of office has expired or Congress has impeached him. So rare an opportunity for a man to retrieve himself has never occurred in our political history; and we now look to Mr. Johnson to refute or admit all that his enemies have said against him. We can have no reconstruction of the country until we have had a reconstruction of the Cabinet; for this, by its too ready influence upon the President, has made him a political bat-stick for party purposes.

Besides the reconstruction of his Cabinet Mr. Johnson is master of the best method for the reconstruction of the South, and by a single stroke of his pen may, by virtue of the power which the Constitution gives him, proclaim universal amnesty—amnesty for the white, who was foolish enough to run into rebellion with the idea that he alone was created to govern the country; amnesty for the poor negro, whose intellect is completely unsettled by our political quarrel over him; amnesty for the North, which is heartily sick of paying the bills for these Ethiopian theatricals; amnesty for our commerce, our agricultural interests, our progress as a people; above all things, amnesty for the brains of our statesmen. Let us, therefore, have a new Cabinet and a general amnesty.

Church Rates and English Bishops.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Among the many important questions which the Reform Parliament, to be elected under the Household Suffrage bill which has just passed the British Legislature, will be called upon to deal, that of the connection at present existing between Church and State in the old country occupies a foremost place. If we read aright the signs of the times, it is clear that that connection is destined to be dissolved at no distant day. By a large majority the bill for abolishing church rates has again, during the session that has just closed, passed in the House of Commons. Again it has been thrown out by the House of Lords; but it is significant that every succeeding year it is sent up from the Commons to the Peers with the endorsement of an increased majority of the people's representatives. It is not the amount of money actually involved in the matter which causes opposition to the measure. That is comparatively insignificant, being no more than a million and a quarter of dollars, of which sum a little more than one-half is expended in the ceremonial and extraordinary repairs of the edifices. Considering that the State Church in England includes among its members and adherents the most wealthy and influential classes, nothing would be easier than to replace this amount by voluntary contributions. But the advocates of the State Church feel that to abolish church rates would be the insertion of the thin wedge; and they are right. It is not that the Church cannot do without the money yielded by these rates, but it is that it cannot, if it is to continue a State establishment, afford to admit the principle upon which the abolition of the rates is urged. Let the church rates go, and the abolition of tithes must inevitably follow; in which event the whole fabric of the establishment falls to pieces. The English Dissenters make no secret of their ultimate object in demanding the abolition of the rates. They only begin with this; they have no idea of stopping when they have conquered here. They want perfect religious equality, and they are now in the sure way of getting it. Political equality and religious disability cannot long coexist. The Reform bill, in conceding the former, will prepare the way for the removal of the latter. Among the stoutest opponents of the abolition of church rates are to be found, of course, the Bishops of the English Church. But neither they will be permitted to retain their political functions much longer is very questionable. In an article on Goldwin Smith's lecture on Oliver Cromwell and his Contemporaries, just published, the London Daily News has some very significant remarks relative to this matter. Speaking of the career of the renowned patriot Pym, it says:—"In his time great reforms were made in the Constitution. Then, as now, the House of Lords was more studious about saving their privileges than satisfying the country. Among the bills sent up to them was one depriving the Bishops of votes in the Upper House. This reform was as imperative then as the reform of Parliament is now. The Lords threw out the bill. The country was in an uproar. Petitions were signed by the people, and Pym presented them to the Lords, saying that the Commons 'would be sorry that the story of that Parliament should tell posterity that in so great a danger and extremity the House of Commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone.' On that occasion the Lords wisely yielded, passing the bill with but three dissentient voices. A similar conflict may be imminent. Let us hope their lordships may not provoke a collision whereof the issue will certainly be unfavorable to them, but showing themselves wise in time, will render it unnecessary for a modern Pym to compel their acquiescence in the demands of the country." Language like this—and it is not confined to one section of the English press—forebodes another struggle following closely upon that which has just resulted in Parliamentary reform. Political rights won, the next fight will be for religious equality; for, till the latter is gained, as well as the former, the complement of freedom is not reached. It is impossible to present to say which will be carried first—the abolition of church rates, or the removal of the Bishops from the House of Lords; but either event will be but "the beginning of the end" for the State Church in England.

Secretary McCulloch and the Treasury Department.

From the N. Y. World.

We devoutly trust that the predictions of a thorough reorganization of the Cabinet may come true. Mr. Johnson's Cabinet, as a whole, does not possess the confidence of the country, nor of any political party. This has been the case from the beginning of his administration, and it is one of the chief reasons why the moral influence of the Executive has been so nearly annihilated. Mr. Seward has, for years, been detested alike by Democrats and Republicans; and yet he has been the President's most influential and trusted adviser. The President is happily rid of Stanton, at least for the present; and after Seward and Stanton the remaining members of the Cabinet are without political influence, and most of them without special ability. If the Treasury were not in the condition in which it happens to be at this crisis, we should favor an entire change in the personnel of the administration; but under the circumstances, we must make a reluctant exception in favor of Secretary McCulloch, for reasons which we proceed to state.

The whisky interest, that is to say, the fraudulent portion of it, which is the most powerful and influential, is suffering severely from the stringent measures inaugurated by Mr. McCulloch to prevent frauds and increase the revenue from that source. On July 1 the Metropolitan Revenue Board commenced its operations in this city, and the total amount of the tax collected on distilled spirits drawn from bond for the month of July was \$134,810, against \$51,336 for the month of June, showing the enormous monthly gain of \$83,474, or an increase of nearly three times under Mr. McCulloch's new system. The receipts for the month of August will be about \$175,000, or an increase of three and a half times the average monthly receipts before the Metropolitan Board existed. This enormous increase in so short a space of time has taken place also when a number of the legitimate distilleries are closed, and others are running at only half of their capacity. In plain terms, the whisky interest last month has to thank Mr. McCulloch for the loss of \$83,474, or at the rate of a million dollars per annum, in this city alone, which is just so much gained by Government. The additional revenue gained by Government in this city for the ensuing year will not be less than \$1,500,000 up to \$2,500,000. The active member of the Board is Colonel Messmore. General Hillier, of General Grant's staff, is Chief of the Revenue Agency. As General Grant is the warm personal friend of these two gentlemen, the whisky fraud business may be quoted, in Wall Street phraseology, "dull and heavy, with a downward tendency," just so long as the present Treasury Department arrangements can be quoted "active and strong, with an upward tendency."

A New Cabinet for the President.

From the N. Y. Herald.

We want a new national Cabinet. Therein lies the solution of the whole difficulty between the President and Congress. The time demands live men. Let the fossils be assigned quarters in the Smithsonian Institution. In the Treasury Department let us have either Alpha Sherman, of this city, or John J. Cisco, or Henry R. Stebbins. They are all superior to Mr. McCulloch, who will do very well to manage a small banking establishment in a frontier town.

For the navy let us have Admiral Porter, ad interim, like General Grant in the War office; for an infusion of dash and spirited management into that Department will enable us to show to foreign nations that we still live. It is, however, in the Secretary's office particularly that we require change. The ancient representative of the armadillo family who presides there is too far advanced in his dotage, permits the adoption of no idea that is not born of his own brain, which, having ceased to produce, now leans entirely upon the President. As Secretary, therefore, let us have a man of broad and comprehensive intellect, like John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts, or Daniel E. Sickles, or Charles Francis Adams, or the other Cabinet positions, leaving General Grant to the War office, we give the President liberty to put in any stick he may choose; they are of no account any way.

The Cabinet's Ticket-of-Leave.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The National Intelligencer having at least semi-officially pronounced the doom of the Cabinet inherited by Mr. Johnson, the Herald gives tongue as follows:—

"It becomes evident that Mr. Johnson has resolved to make a fair and distinct issue with the radical party on the question of establishing a policy that would place the 200,000 emancipated slaves of the South in the position of free men, and give them the right to own property, and give influence in the affairs of the Government. While Seward and other members of the present Cabinet have willingly acted as the bottle-neckers of the President in his small link them indissolubly with the negro, and it follows Johnson the whole length of his opposition to the negro supremacy programme of the radical leaders. In such a case no other course is left open to the President than to complete McCulloch, and the rest to follow Stanton and Seward."

We infer that Messrs. Seward, McCulloch, Welles, and Randall are booked for outside seats, and that a full Cabinet of Stanbys and Steedmans is imminent. And—as we are

well known as non-admirers of those who are thus dismissed—some such geniuses as distinguished by the name of Tribune in Chicago, will stand aghast at the hypocrisy of this journal in expressing regret at the return of Governor Seward to private life.

Now we have no idolizing affection for Seward or Stanton, and, of course, affect none. Yet we regret the dismissal of either from the Cabinet at this crisis. Can you ask why? The progress of reconstruction was rapid and general, and the goal plainly in sight. Had the President simply forbore, all would have been consummated long before the next Presidential election. But Mr. Johnson has resolved to stop the good work. He virtually tells the ex-Rebels not to accept the terms prescribed by Congress, but to hold back, and resist, and struggle, in the confident hope that the North will come to their aid. And each removal strengthens and arouses whatever of disloyalty remains at the South.

Whoever regrets "The Lost Cause" will be inspired by these removals to hope that it is not lost—that, in essence and substance, there is yet a chance for its success. So the good work of pacification is to be arrested, while hate and bitterness reign once more at the South, exciting like impulses at the North. Mr. Johnson's desperate expedient will fail; but it will meantime distract the South afresh, and convulse the whole country. Hence we deeply regret the foreshadowed Cabinet changes, not because Messrs. Seward, Welles, etc., are to go out, but because the accession of their successors is a triumph of the baleful influences which are still fanning the embers of our great civil war.

The Next Presidency.

From the N. Y. Citizen.

The President has done one good thing at least, and that is the removal of Secretary Stanton. This is a good thing all round; a good thing for the President, as it shows that he has some backbone, which his friends had begun to doubt; a good thing for Secretary Stanton, for it makes him the radical candidate for the next Presidency; a good thing for Grant, as it makes him our next President; a good thing for Butler, as it bottles him up once more; and a good thing for us all, as it secures to the country in peace the services of the man who saved it in war. It was altogether the boldest and most effectual stroke that has been delivered on either side of the Reconstruction struggle for a long time. Congress has heretofore had the fighting principally to itself; it has pitched in with disabilities and restrictions, and reductions of executive patronage and power, till it had, as it finally supposed, its adversary at its feet, but in this last act it latterly seems suddenly to have recovered his vitality, and to have delivered a settler that knocked the former out of time.

We have invariably defended Stanton when during the war he was traduced and vilified for his firmness, decision, and energy, which his enemies called despotism, impoliteness, and brutality. The country is under a load of gratitude that it cannot pay, and which it certainly will not by bestowing the next Presidency upon him; that goes to Grant, but when he shall have completed the customary second term, and the people shall have settled down into a position where radical views are less dangerous, the great organizer of successful resistance to treason should, in common gratitude, be adorned with the highest honor that can bestow. Stanton has proved himself a thoroughly unselfish patriot during the war. Much as we admire him, we must ask him to sacrifice himself once more for his country's good, by being beaten in a race for the Presidency by General Grant.

Mr. Stanton was always the ablest, and now the President has made him the strongest, of the leading Republican candidates. He has infinite courage, immense vigor, and unsurpassed ability. To him belongs much of the glory of our successes, and still more of our heroism under defeat. He bore the labor and heats of the day of our tribulation; he contended bravely with traitors abroad and contractors at home; his perfect devotion to the cause, and his entire honesty, have never been doubted, and under the influence of the great events through which he has passed, he has become an extremist—as black as Thaddeus Stevens—and that is a greater recommendation to our Republican friends than all the rest. He represents all the nobler sentiments of his party, and is entirely free from its baser predilections. If the country endured a terrific war, he bore his share; if it is burdened with a crushing debt, he has flung no part of it. And when the proper exposures and explanations are made, which his want of time and inclination has heretofore prevented, we are confident that he will come out head and shoulders above any other prominent man in the Republican ranks. If we could vote for a radical—with all his negro superiority and white man inferiority upon his head—we should prefer voting for Stanton to voting for any other that we know.

The further consequence of the removal, in the annihilation of Benjamin F. Butler, is a consummation for which the public should be devoutly thankful. The country has had enough of the hero of the spoons and bottle, of impeachment and investigating committees, and of such a President to his heart's content admitting that he did not pay himself more liberally still. It gave him the command of New Orleans, where he did some good things, and had a good time, and where he was accused of doing a few bad things, and won rather a bad sobriquet. It put him on Congressional committees, and let him pry into every matter except those relating to the government of New Orleans under our military commanders during the war, and the rumor runs that he was not desirous of having those affairs pried into. It has listened to innumerable violent, fiery, and extravagant speeches from him, and let him abuse and insult the President to his heart's content. This should satisfy any reasonable man, and if he is nominated by the Republicans, a large portion of that body will cut him in a brutal manner. How does he compare to Stanton?—like the butter to the head of the house.

By making a martyr of Mr. Stanton—and such a rebellious and positive martyr, too, as will delight those that love to carry ideas to all extents—the President has crushed out the minor aspirants, that entire nest of little reptiles. Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, Ben. Wade, have no such glowing glory to show to the people and glorious martyrdom at its termination. Sumner may be a good man, but he never was much in a fight. Thaddeus Stevens has but one idea that the radicals behold and say "if it is good," and that sentimentality is a "mild measure of confiscation." And as for Ben. Wade, he jumped too far when he took that famous leap forward; in fact, he jumped into a bramble bush that not only scratched out his eyes, but opened those of his constituents. And since then he has never been able to find another bramble bush that possessed the magic power of scratching his eyes open again, and those of other people about. But whatever recommendations of agrarianism, confiscation, or negro-worship these men possess, they are utterly outdone by the superior claims of the hero and martyr of the war.

Lastly, the famous removal is especially beneficial to the nation, as it forces Grant into the candidacy for President, in self-defense. He has committed the unpardonable sin; he has warred against the Holy Ghost of the radical religion; he has set himself up against its high priests—for him the furnace is seven times heated. For him it is Presidency or private life. He must either whip the blacks of the North as he did the whites of the South, by outflanking their batteries, or they will destroy him. His cat has a long tail, but they will cut it off; his longest tail is his Generalship. The law creating this grade the radicals are already talking of repealing, and if the post of honor is the private station, our famous captain will soon occupy that post if he does not take refuge in the White House. War, bitter war, is his lot from this time forth. The tocin has sounded, and already the trumpets call to horse, and the footmen are whispering scandals, the horsemen are preparing political charges, and the artillery are loading their heavy guns with the paper pellets that kill in time of peace.

A glance at the columns of the Republican papers, in spite of the guarded utterances that a want of preparation renders necessary, exhibits the secret purpose. Attacks of all kinds, against his conduct of the war, his management of our armies, his personal habits and mental abilities, are hinted rather than openly declared. It is intimated that he is responsible for the sufferings of our prisoners at Andersonville, for the delays of some of our movements, for an immense and unnecessary expenditure, for an immense and willful sacrifice of lives, and for the present deplorable condition of the Rebels. It is suggested that he never gave evidence of unusual military capacity, that his flanking movements were simple, and that his success was a mere consequence of the exhaustion of the Rebellion. He is merely not openly denounced, but is covertly attacked. He has proved the great stumbling-block in the way of radical schemes, and must be removed at all hazards. Eighteen months is time enough to blast a reputation, and to this the radicals address themselves. Grant's popularity once impaired, the abolition of his office follows of course.

The enemies of General Grant have heretofore admitted his capacity as a soldier, but have denied him sufficient judgment and political knowledge to enable him to fill the position of the head of this nation. His last act in accepting the place of Mr. Stanton has dissipated these doubts, and given him a still stronger hold upon the confidence of the people. The vast majority at the North has been disgusted with the conduct of the Republicans, and dreaded whether their ideas were leading us. We were threatened with a second Hayti below Mason and Dixon's line; the fairest provinces of our country were in danger of being converted into a wilderness, and ignorance was being given a command that the utmost intelligence is required to manage wisely. At this juncture, when we were sick of treason at the South and fanaticism at the North, the General who won a victory that had thrice been attempted in vain, stepped forward and grasped the helm of state. By this act the people, satisfied that he will again restore our fortune and give us a Union such as we fought for, feel that he has proved his fitness for the Presidency, and to that office they will elevate him at the next election. For all these benefits we have to thank Andrew Johnson. Surely we ought to be ever grateful.

An enlightened statesmanship would not hesitate to advise, as regards our Treasury Department, the answer of the French merchants to the great Colbert, when that statesman told them that his Government wanted to do them a favor, "Laissez faire." Let us alone.

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hibits the secret purpose. Attacks of all kinds, against his conduct of the war, his management of our armies, his personal habits and mental abilities, are hinted rather than openly declared. It is intimated that he is responsible for the sufferings of our prisoners at Andersonville, for the delays of some of our movements, for an immense and unnecessary expenditure, for an immense and willful sacrifice of lives, and for the present deplorable condition of the Rebels. It is suggested that he never gave evidence of unusual military capacity, that his flanking movements were simple, and that his success was a mere consequence of the exhaustion of the Rebellion. He is merely not openly denounced, but is covertly attacked. He has proved the great stumbling-block in the way of radical schemes, and must be removed at all hazards. Eighteen months is time enough to blast a reputation, and to this the radicals address themselves. Grant's popularity once impaired, the abolition of his office follows of course.

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