

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

MEMORIAL OFFICERS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The New Phase of the Revolution in Cuba.

Every breath of tidings that comes to us from the "Gem of the Antilles" brings intelligence of multitudes fleeing from the island. Men of wealth are conveying their families and their fortunes to other lands; men of note in society and government are seeking safety out of the vortex of Cuban politics, and men of action are hurrying to and fro preparatory to the coming strife. The latest breathing of the telegraph is that Don José de Armas y Cespedes, the head of the peace commission appointed by General Dulce, the confidant of his plans and powers, after long journeyings and conferences with the revolutionary leaders in the central and eastern districts of the island, has returned to Havana and departed thence for the United States, saying that he is disgusted with the state of affairs. These are not the indications of a return of peace; they are the mutterings of the coming tempest. What this is to be and what course it will take are subjects worthy of inquiry. Perhaps there may be found natural causes that will indicate the probable course of the storm. When Cespedes pronounced in October last at Yara in favor of absolute independence for Cuba, he struck a living chord in every Cuban bosom. The idea spread with the rapidity of wild fire through the Eastern Department of the island, and in a very short time the coast Spanish garrisons were driven to the coast or headed together in a few interior towns. The Central Department quickly followed the lead of the Eastern, and from Cape Mayst to Moron the island blazed with the fires of revolution. The hillsides around the Spanish cities of refuge were covered with insurgents, and panic prevailed in every Spanish bosom. With these achievements one-half of the island was in possession of the new order of things; but here the revolution, without any visible check, came to a halt. The Western Department, the great seat of population and wealth, did not follow its sisters in the movement. Disagreements on questions of greater or lesser vitality to the revolution sprang up between the leaders of the centre and the east. Inaction ensued among the insurgents, and as a natural consequence large numbers of the people, uncontrolled by discipline and wanting in the inspiration of a logically proclaimed and common cause, returned to their homes. The Spanish population of the island took new heart and filled the ranks of the Government forces with volunteers. General Dulce arrived, commissioned with extraordinary powers from the new Government of Spain. Throwing open the prison doors to large numbers of political detainees, he proclaimed a general amnesty, freedom of press and speech, and representation in the Cortes for the island as an integral portion of the Spanish monarchy. Before these sensible measures the revolution began to wane; large numbers of men accepted the amnesty, and the living exodus points to the fact that fears of the future, not the assurances of peace, prevail in the Cuban mind. There is, then, an unwavering if not secret cause for this state of things, and it lies in the logic of events, which is ever stronger than the promise of words. In the first rapid march of revolution its promoters took advantage of all the elements which presented themselves to their grasp, and not a few slaves and contracted Chinese laborers engaged in the files of the insurgents, to the utter demoralization of productive labor. This was the first great fact, and not any effort of the Spanish troops, which prevented the extension of the revolution through the west. Following this came the proclamation of General Cespedes, giving a conditional freedom to the slaves. Though carefully worded and very guarded in its clauses, this was the torch of discord to the revolution. The Eastern Department, with few slaves, and but a limited number of these engaged in agricultural labor, embraced at once the new idea. The central portion of the island, with greater interests at stake, divided upon it, and the western, where the slave investments preponderate over all others, rejected it altogether. Herein lies the secret of the present condition of affairs in Cuba. The pressure of the slavery question the revolutionists changed in character from a war for independence to a struggle for universal emancipation. Nor is the danger confined to the limits of a popular struggle. The pressure of events and ideas in Spain is preparing a new danger for General Dulce, and the political and social system he seeks to establish, in the probable abolition by the Cortes of slavery throughout the Spanish dominions. The conflict which portends is a purely American one, and among the great questions upon which General Grant and his administration will be required to take a new point of departure, that of Cuba and its relations to the Union is one of the most important and most urgent. This island, with a population of a million and a half of souls, lying in close proximity to our shores and along the immediate line of our immense Atlantic coastwise commerce, is to-day the scene of a revolution which will inevitably sweep the island from the dominion of Spain. We say that it will produce an inevitable separation, because Spain herself is on the eve of a civil war which will preclude her from sending to Cuba the forces necessary to triumph over the present revolution, and will consume all the resources she can possibly command for a long period of time to come. Herein lies the true point of view for General Grant and his Cabinet to take. The principle of diplomatic intervention is everywhere when a threatened conflagration in any State portends danger to the interests of its neighbors. It is a logical rule, and holds good in America as well as in Europe. The proximity of Cuba to our shores; the great material interests of our trade, which are affected by her woe; the political combinations which have existed in the past, do now call imperatively for action on our part. To show that this is not an imaginary ail, we need cite only the fact—which is prominent in the family traditions of Admiral Boscawen—that in 1825-30 the United States was forced, in order to protect its own commerce, to follow the pirate fleets of that day into many of the inlets and bays of Cuba, and to burn a pirate steamer. A policy of American intervention is, therefore, imperative to us, and all circumstances and conditions concur to force it upon the immediate attention of our government administration. The first step should be the unhesitating adoption of such a course of action as will at once impress upon Spain the conviction that she will not be permitted utterly to destroy a purely American community because it will not consent longer to be governed under her antiquated sixteenth century notions of public policy. In adopting this course General Grant has the opportunity to lay the corner-stones of the coming great and American party in our na-

tional politics on foundations as broad and as secure as were those laid by Jefferson and Jackson. The tone and temper of the people require such a new party organization, which shall ignore old party lines and be free from old party corruptions. The circumstances of our public affairs, both domestic and foreign, are favorable to it, and General Grant himself has the prestige necessary for its successful accomplishment. President Tyler tried to do this thing, and he failed, because the people were not prepared for it. President Johnson also tried it, and he failed, because he had not the requisite personal prestige. The opportunity is now offered, by a concatenation of great events, to General Grant, and as he resolves or fails to accept his mission will he go down to history as a Jefferson or a Jackson, or as a Tyler or an Andy Johnson. The initial step is involved in the Cuba question, and General Grant should be prepared to give it an early and a prompt recognition.

The Mormon Problem and its Proposed Solution.

From the N. Y. Times. It is felt by many people, and perhaps by none more keenly than the Mormons themselves, that the fate of Mormonism—certainly as a political power, and probably as a religious movement—now hangs trembling in the balance. Postponed by the intervention of our civil war, and again reprieved by the wrangle over reconstruction, the Utah question has not, in clear recollection, been a prominent one. Were there no other considerations at stake, the steady tide of population flowing westerly into immediate contact with Mormonism, and the new transcontinental conduits of traffic and travel on the eve of opening, would make the decision of the problem imperative. Thus it happens that, after eight upon two-score years of strange and eventful history, this extraordinary politico-religious vagary, which has never ceased manfully to grow in strength as it has grown in age, approaches a crisis. It is forty years, save one (namely, April 6, 1830), since six persons formed the nucleus of this widespread establishment, of which it is just to say that it has illustrated, as never did any other organization, the harmonious interplay of religious and secular authority—a perfect union of "Church and State." If we now proceed to "disestablish" the Mormon Church—for that is just about what one Congressional plan at least, contemplates—we have confessed that we are virtually working together, for what? To cripple and destroy the Pennsylvania Central—say Scott, "for short." The Gould maneuver was to get control, in the interest of one or the other of the three allies, of every road by which Scott could reach Chicago, St. Louis, or Cincinnati. Accordingly, the Atlantic and Great Western was secured by Gould; the Ohio and Mississippi by Gould; and the proposed change of gauge stopped; the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago was to be grasped; the Columbus roads westward were to be seized; and poor Scott, thus shut in on all hands, would be deprived of all Western connections. Exactly what the allies would then have done for the benefit of the public, we do not know. The first failure was when the Ben. Smith combination gained the Indianapolis and Terre Haute. Smith had a road from Columbus to Indianapolis, then another via Logansport to Chicago, and with the Terre Haute road, he became a power in the land. Hence the fight for the control of Smith, in which Erie was the ally, Scott and Smith having now joined hands. The new line from this point to Terre Haute will soon give the Pennsylvania a complete route to this city; with the Smith roads it has a complete route to Chicago, and it is now fighting for the control of the Columbus and Xenia and Little Miami, by which it can reach Cincinnati. So far, then, Scott resists all efforts to tie him up. There remained the great Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago road, the best and most natural route to the Northwest, the directors of which are now in the Scott interest. The danger was that the Gould combination would get control of the road. Stock has been bought, proxies have been obtained, agents have been sent to Europe to get control of stock held there, and the boat is openly made for the next election of directors, to be held in March. But the schemers counted without their host. They forgot that Scott not only owns a railroad but also a legislature, for on Wednesday a little bill was introduced in the Pennsylvania Legislature, and passed both houses and was signed by the Governor before noon, which reads as follows: "It shall be lawful for the board of directors of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Company, by lot or otherwise, to so classify the members of the board of directors as may be, shall terminate their official terms as directors. At the first next annual meeting of the board of directors, all vacancies caused by the expiration of the period of service fixed by this act shall be filled by the board." Accordingly, the New York people will be able to elect only one-fourth of the directors this year, if they do get a majority of the stock, and will then have to hold their stock and proxies a year longer in order to get control of another fourth—which puts Scott another point ahead in the game. Meanwhile, a proposition has been made by the Little Miami to lease its road to the Columbus and Xenia, which is soon to be voted on, and that can be done, and the road will be leased to the Pennsylvania Central. Such is the fight as it stands. Gould is sharp, Vanderbilt is strong, and the New Yorkers control a mint of money; but they find it no easy job to kill off of the Pennsylvania Central. And, since competition is the only hope of the public, we are very glad of it, and hope that neither may succeed in crippling the other. "Let us not have peace," but low prices!

The Railroad War.

From the St. Louis Democrat. That man can have no soul at all for a fight who does not take a lively interest in the battle of the railway giants. Thursday's despatches gave us information of a new manoeuvre, and within a short time another great charge will either prove or be repulsed. On the face of things there appear four great trunk lines between the East and West. The New York Central has an interest in the route from Cleveland via Bellefontaine and Indianapolis to St. Louis, and in another via Toledo and Springfield. The Toledo route is unbroken; the Bellefontaine route is broken at Indianapolis; for the Indianapolis and Terre Haute road, after a sharp fight some time ago, was wrested from the control of the New York Central by Ben. Smith, and is now in the interest of the Pennsylvania Central. Therefore, the New York Central has talked, surveyed, and threatened a new line between Indianapolis and Terre Haute. Meanwhile it has its connections unbroken with Chicago. The New York Central will sell Vanderbilts. The Erie, under Gould, has control of a complete broad gauge route to Cincinnati and St. Louis, and is now fighting for the control of routes to Chicago. A little while ago, Gould and Vanderbilts, who have united their interests for a common object. The Baltimore and Ohio, having recently secured the Marietta and Cincinnati road, has a consolidated line to Cincinnati and connections via Indianapolis with Chicago and St. Louis. But the control of the Indianapolis and Terre Haute road was needed to make its line to this city complete, and therefore it joined interests with Vanderbilts to get that road. Beaten by Ben. Smith, it probably has abandoned the projected route. Here, then, are the interests at stake, and, virtually working together, for what? To cripple and destroy the Pennsylvania Central—say Scott, "for short." The Gould maneuver was to get control, in the interest of one or the other of the three allies, of every road by which Scott could reach Chicago, St. Louis, or Cincinnati. Accordingly, the Atlantic and Great Western was secured by Gould; the Ohio and Mississippi by Gould; and the proposed change of gauge stopped; the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago was to be grasped; the Columbus roads westward were to be seized; and poor Scott, thus shut in on all hands, would be deprived of all Western connections. Exactly what the allies would then have done for the benefit of the public, we do not know. The first failure was when the Ben. Smith combination gained the Indianapolis and Terre Haute. Smith had a road from Columbus to Indianapolis, then another via Logansport to Chicago, and with the Terre Haute road, he became a power in the land. Hence the fight for the control of Smith, in which Erie was the ally, Scott and Smith having now joined hands. 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are in duty bound to keep doing so, whether we need their services or not. We do not understand that we presume the laborer to be worthy of his hire. We would pay the officers, not because they need, but because they earn their wages. We do not know that there are too many now on the rolls of the army, though we believe there are. But, be they many or few, we insist that they are to be retained, if at all, because they are needed, not because they are needy. Different rules could degrade the service and dishonor those who follow it.

Universal Extravagance.

From the St. Louis Republican. Only a few days ago the telegraph informed the country that Grant had begun to make inquiries in relation to the traffic committed to the revenue, and that it was his determination to reform that branch of the public service. This certainly must have been gratifying news to the tax-payers of the country. But we need not only a suppression of fraud and peculation; for, great as these are and have been, the extravagance that now pervades all branches of the public service is equally burdensome and pernicious in its influences. Our Government today is the most expensive on the globe. The estimated expense for the coming year is \$5,300,000, more than enough to build our bridge across the river or a railroad from here to Galveston. This entire sum is expended upon the members of Congress, excepting only about \$10,000, which is used for the Congressional Library. Of this sum over \$700,000 is for the benefit of the twenty-two Senators, or about \$30,000 apiece. How this amount can legitimately and honestly be expended is a question for the law-payer. The Congressional printing costs over \$1,400,000, certainly a nice round sum. The balance, \$3,700,000, is used by the House of Representatives, the so-called popular branch of the Government. Thus the public funds are squandered! Is it astonishing that under such circumstances the national debt, instead of decreasing, actually increases, despite the enormous taxation impoverishing the country? When the nation was in debt, and the national exchequer was filled to overflowing, such extravagance might have been pardonable. It is different now, and inevitably leads to financial ruin. The expenses of Congress for the fiscal year of 1869 were \$4,204,000. At the time, this was considered enormous and unprecedented. In the short space of two years, however, our radical legislators have succeeded in increasing the expenses \$1,096,000. If the increase continues in the same ratio, the entire taxes collected will soon be needed to defray the expenses of the National Congress. If we compare the estimates of 1869 and 1861, we discover a still more startling fact. In 1861 the appropriation for the members of Congress was \$1,418,561. This was the first appropriation made for the maintenance of the war, and far surpassed any made under a Democratic administration. Compared with the appropriation of the fiscal year 1869, it sinks into insignificance. Since 1861 the increase of the cost of our National Congress has been \$3,851,039—surely a wonderful and rapid increase. Is this the promised economy of which the radical newspapers and politicians said so much before their advent to power? However, if we look back to the early days of the republic, and compare the expenses of Congress then and now, we will notice a still more remarkable contrast. The cost of Congress for ten years, from 1792 to 1801, was only \$1,578,316. In other words, the expense of Congress for ten years then were hardly more than one-third of the sum now required to support the national legislature for one year. Are not such facts calculated to astonish the people? But these vast expenses of the national legislature are not all paid by the people to their legislators. Every State has a State Legislature, which, of course, on a smaller scale, reflects the condition of affairs in the National Congress. In every State we find cities and counties governed by still smaller legislative bodies, and here also the condition of affairs is the same. Extravagance is the order of the day. Economy is unknown. Is not this condition an evil as great as fraud and peculation? Fraud and peculation are demoralizing in the influence; "for more advancement," and so he has made up his mind to make his Cabinet "a personal staff." This determination the Tribune implicitly applauds, speaking of it with; we will not say reverential awe, but at least with bated breath, quite in the tone in which the semi-official or "official" journals of Paris twenty years ago were wont to speak of the words and measures and the supposed purposes of the Prince-President, then silently preparing himself for his decisive struggle with the Assembly. There is no man in the Parisian Chamber of Deputies, and no man in the National Assembly of General Grant is preparing to organize a constitutional Cabinet after the manner of his predecessors in the Presidential office, it is all but certain that its leading members must ere this have come to be known in political circles. If a Cabinet were a conspiracy, it might well enough be got together secretly as they have done in the Parisian Chamber of Deputies, and in the National Assembly of Louis Napoleon initiated his friends and "personal staff" in the project of the coup d'etat of December, 1851. But there is nothing necessarily shameful or frightful in the consultations of a man who is shortly about to assume the Chief Magistracy of a republic with the men upon whose intelligence and whose experience he is to rely for the assistance necessary to make his administration a success. A President who has a great party back in the land, in a time of peace is not a military commander planning a campaign. The publicity which would tend to disaster in the case of the one personage is a very important element of success in the case of the other. Unless General Grant is ashamed of the men whom he foresees that he will be forced to call into his "personal staff," or unless he has really determined, as the Tribune tells us he has, to make for himself a "personal staff" and nothing but a "personal staff" of his own, the propriety of the ordinary need be no explanation of the ordinary cloud of mystery in which he has thus shrouded his plans that would not be discreditable to his common sense. It has no precedent in our own history, and no precedent in the history of any other country, save in such cases of secret and ambitious plottings after the usurpation of power as we have already cited. The Tribune's absurd allusion to the appointment of a "personal staff" by General Washington as an instance in which the head of the republic selected his advisers on the theory which it now declares to be the theory of General Grant, cannot even be pretended to cover this aspect of the affair. General Washington made no secret of his intention to call Hamilton into his councils. Hamilton entered upon his duties as Secretary of the Treasury in November, 1789; but, months before that, Wolcott and others were recommended to him for office in his department; and the country at large knew very well what the President's advisers would be, even before it had been fully settled upon what their several functions should be. Of course we need hardly add that when Washington called Hamilton to the Treasury he did not "detail him" to duty from his "personal staff," for the very good and sufficient reason that Washington had ceased to have either a military command or a "personal staff" long before he was raised to the Presidency. The truth is that General Grant, properly speaking, is our first strictly military President; he is the first of our Presidents, that is, who, having received a purely military education and won his popularity exclusively as a soldier, has been called to the Chief Magistracy directly from the army. General Washington belonged, by his habits of mind and—if we may use such an expression without being misunderstood—by his caste, to civil quite as much as to military life. He was a country gentleman, familiar as the country gentlemen of Virginia in his time were with civil duties and legal responsibilities; he had served in law-making bodies. General Jackson was a trained lawyer and legislator. He had served the State and become respectable as a judge before he became celebrated as a general. General Harrison was a Northwest-ern politician and a civil official both before and after the epistolical military career which finally commended him as an available person to the Whigs, hungering for a candidate.

General Taylor was an officer of the regular army, but he had entered the army from civil life; he had large interests in Louisiana, which brought him into constant relations with the most serious and instructive aspects of civil life. Even General Scott received his earliest influences, from treaties not on Infantry Tactics and Cavalry Drill, but from Blackstone and Coke upon Littleton. General Grant, still comparatively a young man, was educated at West Point, and passed at once from the Academy into the field. With the exception of a few years of his life, of which it is not necessary for us to speak more particularly than to say that even his most ardent supporters have never pretended to assert that their experiences were of a kind likely to develop in him any special fitness for public office or any extraordinary claims upon the confidence of his fellow-citizens, General Grant has been nothing and known nothing of the world save as a soldier. If we may once more use an exactly descriptive epithet without being misunderstood in regard to the meaning we desire to have put upon it, General Grant is "by caste" a soldier, and only a soldier. His conduct in regard to the office upon which he is about to enter is precisely what might be expected either from a soldier of deep and dangerous ambition, determined to avail himself of the forms of the Government confided to him for the purpose of advertising his foundations and establishing a personal government of his own, or from a soldier of honest intentions but limited civil capacity who finds it impossible to conceive of and to adjust himself to the profound differences between the methods by which executive authority is enforced and maintained in civil and in military life. We leave it to those who are more directly interested in the fate of his administration as the responsible authors of its existence, just now to decide which explanation is the more accurate. When once the secretaries of the various executive departments shall have been "assigned to duty by command of the President," the country in general will have both a keener interest in knowing and better facilities for ascertaining the exact truth on this point.

By Command of the President.

From the N. Y. World. If we are to believe the Tribune, General Grant proposes to administer the Government of the United States precisely as he administers the army. He has discovered the political leaders of the Republican party, the men by whom he was selected as their candidate for the Presidency, to be a set of scurvy and self-seeking incapables, clamorous, uneasy, and eager to say, in the Tribune, "for more advancement," and so he has made up his mind to make his Cabinet "a personal staff." This determination the Tribune implicitly applauds, speaking of it with; we will not say reverential awe, but at least with bated breath, quite in the tone in which the semi-official or "official" journals of Paris twenty years ago were wont to speak of the words and measures and the supposed purposes of the Prince-President, then silently preparing himself for his decisive struggle with the Assembly. There is no man in the Parisian Chamber of Deputies, and no man in the National Assembly of General Grant is preparing to organize a constitutional Cabinet after the manner of his predecessors in the Presidential office, it is all but certain that its leading members must ere this have come to be known in political circles. If a Cabinet were a conspiracy, it might well enough be got together secretly as they have done in the Parisian Chamber of Deputies, and in the National Assembly of Louis Napoleon initiated his friends and "personal staff" in the project of the coup d'etat of December, 1851. But there is nothing necessarily shameful or frightful in the consultations of a man who is shortly about to assume the Chief Magistracy of a republic with the men upon whose intelligence and whose experience he is to rely for the assistance necessary to make his administration a success. A President who has a great party back in the land, in a time of peace is not a military commander planning a campaign. The publicity which would tend to disaster in the case of the one personage is a very important element of success in the case of the other. Unless General Grant is ashamed of the men whom he foresees that he will be forced to call into his "personal staff," or unless he has really determined, as the Tribune tells us he has, to make for himself a "personal staff" and nothing but a "personal staff" of his own, the propriety of the ordinary need be no explanation of the ordinary cloud of mystery in which he has thus shrouded his plans that would not be discreditable to his common sense. It has no precedent in our own history, and no precedent in the history of any other country, save in such cases of secret and ambitious plottings after the usurpation of power as we have already cited. The Tribune's absurd allusion to the appointment of a "personal staff" by General Washington as an instance in which the head of the republic selected his advisers on the theory which it now declares to be the theory of General Grant, cannot even be pretended to cover this aspect of the affair. General Washington made no secret of his intention to call Hamilton into his councils. Hamilton entered upon his duties as Secretary of the Treasury in November, 1789; but, months before that, Wolcott and others were recommended to him for office in his department; and the country at large knew very well what the President's advisers would be, even before it had been fully settled upon what their several functions should be. Of course we need hardly add that when Washington called Hamilton to the Treasury he did not "detail him" to duty from his "personal staff," for the very good and sufficient reason that Washington had ceased to have either a military command or a "personal staff" long before he was raised to the Presidency. The truth is that General Grant, properly speaking, is our first strictly military President; he is the first of our Presidents, that is, who, having received a purely military education and won his popularity exclusively as a soldier, has been called to the Chief Magistracy directly from the army. General Washington belonged, by his habits of mind and—if we may use such an expression without being misunderstood—by his caste, to civil quite as much as to military life. He was a country gentleman, familiar as the country gentlemen of Virginia in his time were with civil duties and legal responsibilities; he had served in law-making bodies. General Jackson was a trained lawyer and legislator. He had served the State and become respectable as a judge before he became celebrated as a general. General Harrison was a Northwest-ern politician and a civil official both before and after the epistolical military career which finally commended him as an available person to the Whigs, hungering for a candidate.

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