NEW YORK HERALD

BROADWAY AND ANN STREET.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT,
PROPRIETOR.

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AMUSEMENTS THIS AFTERNOON AND EVENING.

WALLACK'S THEATRE, Broadway and 13th street.—THE RIVALS.

LINA EDWIN'S THEATRE, 720 Broadway.—PLUTO—LINGARD'S SKETCHES. Matinee at 2.

NEW YORK STADT THEATRE, 45 Bowery.—GERMAN OPERA—LOHENGRIN.

GRAND OPERA HOUSE, corner of 8th av. and 23d st.—LA GRANDE DUCHESSE.

BOWERY THEATRE, Bowery.—ON HAND—THE DUMB BELLE.

FIFTH AVENUE THEATRE, Twenty-fourth street.—JESSEL.

GLOBE THEATRE, 728 Broadway.—VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT, &c.—DAY AND NIGHT—KENO. Matinee at 2½.

BOOTH'S THEATRE, 23d st., between 5th and 6th ave.—THE MARBLE HEART.

WOOD'S MUSEUM Broadway, corner 30th st.—Performances every afternoon and evening.

OLYMPIC THEATRE, Broadway.—THE DRAMA OF HORIZON. Matinee at 2.

NIBLO'S GARDEN, Broadway.—THE SPECTACLE OF THE BLACK CROOK.

MRS. F. B. CONWAY'S PARK THEATRE, Brooklyn.—POOR.

SAN FRANCISCO MINSTREL HALL, 585 Broadway.—SATSUMA'S ROYAL JAPANESE TROUPE.

NEW YORK CIRCUS, Fourteenth street.—SCENES IN THE RING, ACROBATS, &c. Matinee at 2.

TONY PASTOR'S OPERA HOUSE, 201 Bowery.—VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT. Matinee at 2½.

THEATRE COMIQUE, 514 Broadway.—COMIC VOCALISMS, NEGRO ACTS, &c. Matinee at 2½.

BRYANT'S NEW OPERA HOUSE, 23d st., between 6th and 7th ave.—NEGRO MINSTRELSY, &c.

QUADRUPLE SHEET.

New York, Wednesday, April 5, 1871.

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UP IN A BALLOON—Governor English's chances for the democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1872.

IN PHILADELPHIA they fine a man two hundred dollars for refusing to serve on a jury with negroes, which is a very fancy price for a sentiment.

IN THE NEW DOMINION PARLIAMENT yesterday Mr. Carlwright moved an address to the Queen protesting against the withdrawal of troops from the Canadian provinces, in view of the bitter and hostile sentiments entertained by the Fenians in the United States for the British empire. The New Dominion need not be alarmed so long as we have vigilant United States marshals on the frontier. If they insist upon those Fenian raid expenses, however, they must take care of themselves.

THE LATEST ATTEMPT AT BANK ROBBERY.—The details of the attempt to rob the Central Park Savings Bank should warn the directors of similar institutions to take special and continual precautions against such outrages. Bold as at first sight it may seem for three villains to enter the bank in broad daylight, bolt the door, seize and gag the teller and prepare to break open and rob the safe, it must be remembered they had made sure that the teller was a feeble old man, that he was alone in the bank, and nothing but the chance arrival of a director, who smashed the glass of a window and thus frightened them away, prevented the success of their well planned attempt.

THAT WAS A SLY DODGE of the Connecticut republicans in having deputy United States marshals at the polls on Monday last in order to spot New York repeaters, when no New York repeaters were there to be spotted. It was the "Sharpe game" over again.

THE DEMOCRATS in the Legislature found themselves enormously out of pocket yesterday, owing to the odds they insisted upon giving republican members the day previous in their bets on the Connecticut election. Boss Tweed is said to have been the main cause of this severe blow to his country friends. He read a despatch on Monday saying that English was elected by fifteen hundred majority, and upon this hint the rural members booked more bets than they will be able to pay, at the present rate of business in the Legislature, for two or three sessions. It is generally conceded that the Boss misled them unintentionally; but the country members ought to rack their memories awhile and see if they haven't "gone back" on the Boss, some way or other, recently.

The Connecticut and Other Recent Elections—Another Lesson on the Issues of the War.

The result of the Connecticut election, although still somewhat doubtful, has taken the wind out of the sails of the lately jubilant democracy. They gave too large a construction to their unexpected victory in New Hampshire. We told them next morning that as an election gone by default it was "a tempest in a teapot;" but they could see in it nothing less and nothing else than the inauguration of a sweeping political revolution. So they expected to carry Connecticut as by a whirlwind, and in their own expressive expression, "they have come out of the little end of the horn." And how do they account for their unexpected defeat? They say that it is due to the new element of the colored vote and to the vigorous work of republican repeaters. But, although the colored vote was so much clear gain to the republicans, it does not meet the case. As for the repeaters, that is a game in which the democrats are supposed to be as expert as their adversaries. The poets of the *Evening Post* say that "Governor English was defeated because he was too closely allied with Mr. Tweed and the Tammany ring," and that the success of the republicans in electing three Congressmen is due to the fact that their candidates were known as revenue and civil service reformers; but what this classification signifies we do not clearly understand.

Another evening contemporary, the *Commercial Advertiser*, says that this Connecticut election shows that "the democratic reaction has less reality than was claimed for it;" that "there was loud republican thunder on Monday all round the sky," from a State election in Michigan; from municipal elections in Evansville, Indiana; Danville and Harrodsburg, Kentucky; Annapolis and Towsantown, Maryland; and from Cleveland, Cincinnati, Wooster and Akron, Ohio, all of which went republican; and that these elections "dispel the delusion that Grant is dividing the republican party, and that he is forcing a St. Domingo job on the people;" that "the very opposition of Mr. Sumner has proved advantageous," and that "the verdict is against him, and he passes out of the case." These elections justify this view of the subject, and yet they do not cover the ground. Nor do any of the explanations we have recited touch what we believe to be the main cause of this apparent general waking up of the republicans since their New Hampshire defeat.

As the disastrous results of the first battle of Bull run first astounded and then roused up the dormant energies of the North, so this republican defeat in New Hampshire appears to have operated upon this party. But their New Hampshire defeat would have hardly served to divert the rank and file of the republicans from their petty personal quarrels and factious cross purposes, had not the rejoicing Northern democracy, encouraged by their loud crowing the old Southern school of fire-eaters and the Ku Klux Klans, with their outrageous doings, to come to the front. It is notorious that since the New Hampshire election the so-called Southern Ku Klux Klans have been bolder in their lawless operations than they were before. We have evidence of this in the appeal of the Governor of South Carolina to the President for military assistance, and in the proclamation and message of General Grant on the subject, and in the message of Governor Alcorn, of Mississippi, to his Legislature, calling for authority to employ the militia and to levy taxes upon any county afflicted with Ku Klux atrocities requiring the militia to suppress them. These things, together with the outspoken repudiation of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments by Southern fire-eating journals and orators, have told upon Connecticut and in all the widely-scattered elections elsewhere of Monday last. The old issues of the war being revived again, the republicans, sinking all side issues, have come up to the work on the main question.

On Sunday night two weeks ago Mr. Jefferson Davis arrived at Selma, Ala., from Montgomery. The Selma *Press*, in describing his reception, says that, after a levée at his hotel, which was largely attended, and a serenade enlivened with the old music of the Southern confederacy, Mr. Davis was called out upon the balcony and addressed the crowd for about ten minutes. In the course of his speech he declared, "in an exultant tone," that "State sovereignty, although defeated in the late struggle, will ultimately triumph." "He had always been willing to give his life for his people, and now if any Yankee power wanted his blood to atone for any action of the Southern people they could take it." "He never had asked pardon for what he had done, and he never would, for he felt that he had done no wrong." The Selma *Press* attributes the hopeful State sovereignty tone of this speech to the inspiration of the New Hampshire election, and commends its consideration "to that portion of the Northern press and people which has been led to believe that the cause of the rebellion is a dead issue in the minds of leading men at the South."

This speech from Jefferson Davis was perfectly natural under the circumstances, and of itself it means nothing. But here is the difficulty. Davis and most of his Southern confederates look to the democracy of the North to restore them their State sovereignty, with its right of secession, and the Northern democracy are encouraging their old Southern allies in this idea, that the issues settled by the war will be upset with the election of a democratic President and Congress. Do the democracy desire another battle upon these issues? If they do they are beyond redemption. Their only course of safety and their only way to success lies through a frank acknowledgement that they accept and will abide by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

Let these issues of the war be, in fact, reduced to dead issues, and the democracy, on the money question, in all its phases of tariffs, internal taxes, bonds, banks, &c., will have the vantage ground in the coming contest. There can be no doubt upon this point, considering the opposing cliques and factions into which the republican party is divided in and out of Congress upon all these questions. General Grant has wisely resolved to silence Sumner and Schurz on St. Domingo by postponing to a more convenient season that demoralizing project of annexation. It will be perceived, too, that in holding Congress together for the express purpose of some special legislation for the suppression of the Southern Ku Klux Klans General Grant has hit upon a good Northern electioneering movement. It revives the issues of the war, and upon these, so long as the democracy consent to fight them, they can be held as still fighting the old battles of the rebellion. Absurd, too, as the association may appear, the shocking atrocities of the Paris Jacobins are reacting here to the prejudice of the democratic party in connection with these Southern Ku Klux Klans.

We have contended, and still contend, that a general amnesty to the South would do more for law and order and for the administration in that section than all the pains and penalties that could be crowded into a dozen coercive measures. Should Congress fail upon this point the democrats, in accepting the "constitution as it is," can still gain all the South and much of the North upon the platform of a universal Southern amnesty. Again, if this Congress shall fail, as we expect it will fail, to make any material reduction in our general burden of taxations, the democratic party will have another opening for the popular side of this important question. The late elections do dispel the idea that the New Hampshire republican defeat was the beginning of a political revolution; but they do not settle the question of the next Presidency. They leave it open, with a choice to the democrats of the weakest or strongest positions in the field.

WHO KILLED THE CONNECTICUT COCK ROBIN?—Had Tammany anything to do with it?

The Troubles In and Around Paris—Hope for M. Thiers and the Republic.

The news which we print this morning regarding the situation in and around Paris is sufficiently alarming. Paris is unmistakably in the hands of the insurgents; but outside of Paris the government of M. Thiers seems to be in favor and in power. The fire from Fort Mont Valérien on the Communists has given to the "Rouge" rebellion a new character, and is, we think, a new point of departure.

Our special has it that the fire from Mont Valérien was to the insurgents a complete surprise and a complete defeat. Bergeret was first defeated with fifteen thousand men. The cable reports add that the forces of Bergeret and Flourens formed a junction, and that the strategy of the government has placed the united forces almost *hors de combat*.

Another report has it that Flourens has actually reached Versailles. It is manifest that the destructive fire from Valérien was not so decisive as first reports taught us to believe. Colonel Burgoin telegraphed to the Commune that Bergeret and Flourens had formed a junction; that they were marching on Versailles, and that success was certain.

In contradiction to all this it is said that General Flourens has been killed, and that the insurgents, demoralized, are finding their way back to Paris as best they can.

M. Thiers, in a proclamation addressed to the prefects of departments, claims that the insurgents were completely routed. On the other hand, a Communist newspaper in Paris claims that the forces of the Commune gained a victory. No reference is made by M. Thiers to any fighting south of Paris, but insurgent reports speak of positions having been conquered and maintained at Le Bas Meudon, while an unofficial despatch from Versailles announces the capture of a redoubt at Chatillon held by the insurgents. This affair took place yesterday and was a complete success for the government forces, which took two thousand prisoners, including General Henry, previously reported as killed. General Duval, the principal military leader of the insurgents, is also reported shot.

Another report has it that Marshal MacMahon has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the French forces by the Versailles government. The presumption in such a case is that all the soldiers of the imperial army, till now German prisoners, are to be placed under MacMahon's leadership. This report while we write has not been confirmed. If true it promises to give order to France. As we have said again and again, what France wants is a military leader—a man who commands the confidence of the army. MacMahon is the only imperial officer who has come out of the war unstained. Bazaine, Le Bœuf, Trochu and others are rightly or wrongly suspected and distrusted. All the world knows MacMahon bled for France; but no one dare say he betrayed his country or his master.

While we write the news is chaotic. The presumption, however, is that the Thiers government will win, and that in some modified form the republic will be established. The grand assurance of the establishment of order under M. Thiers is to be found in Prince Bismarck, who, like a wall of iron, towers up, bidding defiance to all Communism and all levelling. With Bismarck at his back, with MacMahon as a possible helper and with France outside of Paris more or less on his side, M. Thiers has a field before him which is not without promise of final success.

IT IS STATED that a severe federal "stamp" was put upon a New Haven democratic politician just before the election. That was a bad way of stamping out an opponent.

THE SPEECH of Ben Butler on the Ku Klux bill in the House yesterday is the ablest so far made on that subject in either house. It is not generally known that Butler can grasp a subject in all its fulness, and analyze and dissect it with the skill of a surgeon, and expound it with the acumen of a chancellor, when he bends his mind to it, but he can, and did yesterday. He made the point that the democrats of the North build no schoolhouses in the South, and that the school teachers and the school "marms" who teach the "niggers" are Yankee republicans. There is no denying these facts, and the way Mr. Butler puts them leaves the very strong inference that democracy, as expounded to-day, profits more in the dark Ku Kluxism of ignorance than in the enlightenment of learning.

"THOSE LAUGH BEST WHO LAUGH LAST," is an old adage. It seems to have been appreciated by Boss Tweed when he stated he had had his laugh before the final returns from Connecticut were received.

The King of Spain and the New Spanish Parliament.

His Majesty Amadeus has met the new Parliament of Spain. The members of the Cortes who were returned to serve in the legislative body at the general election which has just been held in the kingdom have assembled in session in Madrid. The King went down to the Cortes hall in state. He was well received by the populace out of doors, and enjoyed a respectful, cordial greeting from the legislators inside, as will be seen from the cable telegram in which we report the scene and circumstances of the occasion. This was really and in truth the first introduction which Amadeus has had to the Spaniards, according to the theory of constitutional monarchical governments. The Parliament speaks for the people, and this Parliament, having been just elected by a free citizen vote, brings the popular national aspect of Spain face to face with the Crown. The meeting, so far as we are enabled to judge by the present despatches, has been of an agreeable character. We have been already informed, indeed, by cable telegrams from Spain, that a solid, sensible working majority of this present Parliament will support the measures of the King's government. Amadeus appreciates the opportunity. He is likely to utilize it favorably for his dynasty. His throne speech presented three most essential points for future legislation and government negotiation, viz.:—The pacification of Cuba, political and financial reforms and the resumption of administrative relations with the Pope. If the King of Spain should be able to elaborate these three points and reduce them to Parliamentary shape and practical application he will have secured a measure of Magna Charta for his adopted country. He appears well intentioned and "plucky," at all events, and not much, if at all, tainted with the enfeebling ministerial demoralizations of the parent stock in Florence. Let King Amadeus have a fair chance.

"WELL DONE, CONNECTICUT!"—Cry the republicans. "Done brown," say the democrats, dismally.

Marshal MacMahon and the Soldiers of the Empire.

The republican government of France has done well by appointing Marshal MacMahon Commander-in-Chief of the French forces. This is a wise proceeding on the part of the Thiers government, and will, we think, strengthen it considerably. Within a short time the armies of France, the disciplined soldiers of the empire, who were taken prisoners by the Germans, will all be returned to France. They have learned obedience to law, are disciplined, and know that their services belong to the government of France, irrespective of its complexion. Whether that government be republican or imperial, it is all the same to them. Their duty is the soldier's duty, and that is obedience to the established government of the nation. With a leader such as Marshal MacMahon as their commander-in-chief they would have every confidence in the future, and would serve the republic with the same zeal with which they devoted themselves to the empire. With the French people, moreover, the Duke of Magenta is popular, and the appointment of the brave old soldier to the position he now occupies is one which cannot fail to give satisfaction throughout the whole extent of the French nation. He issued from the late disastrous campaign with a character as stainless as that with which he entered it, and this fact is not forgotten. The elevation of Marshal MacMahon we regard favorably, and it will prove an acquisition of strength to the French republic.

THE DEMOCRATS gave heavy odds on the election of English. "Vere's the odds so long as you're 'appy?"

Our Correspondence from Paris.

We publish in another part of the HERALD this morning a budget of interesting letters from our correspondents in the city of Paris. The letters treat on the events which occurred on the 17th of March—that dreadful day when the insurgents, following their own bloody instincts, committed the outrages which have since then rendered them execrable in the minds of all peace, law and order-loving men. The murders of Generals Lecomte and Thomas, the indignities offered to General Chanzy, the fierce and brutal cries for the heads of Thiers and of Favre, the killing of innocent persons regardless of age, condition or sex, the opening of the gates of the prisons and the liberation of the criminals confined therein, and the reign of terror which prevails throughout the capital of France, are occurrences which for years to come will stain the reputation of this grand city, which had it in its power to become grander, greater and more glorious than ever until the insurrection which now deals death and destruction with lavish hand destroyed all chance of such a position being realized. Our letters from Paris give details of events down to the latest mails, and contain much that will interest the readers of the HERALD on this side of the Atlantic.

SHAD will soon begin to run up Connecticut river. The democrats have commenced running down.

THE DEBATE IN THE SENATE yesterday on the Ku Klux bill was about as animated as it is possible for a debate to become on so well worn a subject. Mr. Morton arraigned the democratic Legislatures North, notably the New York Legislature, as being worse than black and tan carpet-bag Legislatures South, and instanced Tammany, the controller of the democratic party throughout the country, as a specimen of the unfathomable corruption of the party in general. At this Mr. Casserly, a prominent democratic Senator from California, rose up and said in defence, not that Tammany was not corrupt, but that he was astonished to hear any one say seriously that Tammany was the controlling democratic party of the country. Here's a ruction! Is Tammany the democratic Tycoon of the Western Continent or not? She made the Western men and the Pendleton guards think so in 1868, when she nominated Seymour; but are they rebelling now? Let Casserly be read out at once!

"THE COLORED TROOPS FOUGHT NOBLY"—Republican refrain in the election in Connecticut.

Scan. Mag. Among Our Magnates.

The report recently ventilated in a Cincinnati paper about Washington and the Posey family reminds us that, as a nation, we are becoming sacrilegiously inclined. We no longer revere our honored dead as we should. The youth of America, from the very first cradleful of youth that America bore as a free republic, have accepted that story of the hatchet and the cherry tree, and have felt considerable pride in the fact that the young George had pluck enough to cut down a cherry tree when he liked and was not too much afraid of the old man to tell him of it. But to link the revered Washington's name with the Posey scandal is revolting to the young American estimate of our greatest hero. We have a special claim on the paternity of Washington, and the great republic cannot admit that the Father of his Country was the father of anything else.

But the sacrilegious spirit of the age does not stop with the memory of Washington. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster have been dreadfully maligned, and many of our living statesmen are the objects either of suspicion or direct charges. We need not mention Bowen. He can speak for himself. Even if he cannot, three or four wives have spoken for him already, and many places where he formerly lived are yet to be canvassed. There are numerous others, members of Congress especially, of whom we shall hear scandal as soon as they make a little more noise in the world or excite the enmity of some colleague. It is a fact that many of our Representatives and Senators spend a good deal of the people's time in hunting up disastrous evidence of this sort against inconvenient personal enemies on the same committee, not always for immediate use, but as reserve ammunition in case of any serious affront or opposition. It cannot be said to be a fair thing, of course, for one member to disprove another's assertion that the Ku Klux outrages are all bosh by intimating that his honorable colleague has deserted his wife, or to demolish the attempts of a gentleman on the opposite side of the House to filibuster a land grant out of existence, by producing sworn affidavits showing that the gentleman on the opposite side of the House has one or two more wives than the Gentile law allows. It is outside the province of parliamentary assemblages, and is not fair, but it is done.

Some time ago two members of the Reconstruction Committee had a deadly quarrel, which in the good old days of chivalry would have led to pistols and Bladensburg, two moist bodies, dead or wounded, on the ground, or two frightened bodies shaking hands in reconciliation over their smoking pistols unhurt, and there would have been an end of it. But it is otherwise now. One of the parties to the deadly quarrel we speak of immediately put detectives on the track of the other, had him shadowed until he was shown to be no better than he should be, and then triumphantly waved documentary proofs of his immorality over his head. Can there be a more complete triumph than this—a more crushing vindication on one side or a more overwhelming conviction on the other? It may well be supposed that the cornered member of the committee, seeing the force of the argument at once, kept very shady and followed the bid of his leader very meekly after that; but he did not despair. He fought the Devil with fire. He in turn had his enemy shadowed, and, it is reported, found the same derelictions on his part and shook similar weighty documents in his face. Thus the wager of battle was made equal again, and the fight now goes on for more documentary evidence. Thus detectives and *scan. mags.* have become potent weapons of legislative warfare, and the fate of many an important bill is likely to be settled by the preponderance of scandal heaped on its friends or enemies.

This style of wirepulling will eventually extend to lobbymen. It is already used with great success in the caucuses. When Mr. Butler, for instance, requests his friends in caucus to support a certain bill, and intimates to members who object that he has copies of telegrams in his pocket which would seriously affect their moral character, what can they do but acquiesce? If a polished and suave lobbyman requests a rigid Presbyterian member to vote for a certain land grant bill or patent claim, and insinuates at the same time that he would be very sorry indeed to let the Presbyterian's family know about that little unorthodox scrape of his, how can the Presbyterian resist? The highwayman's pistol and the money bags of Erie are not such potent arguments as these. The railroad corporations of Pennsylvania and the immense monopolies of New York are weak persuaders in comparison. There can be only one remedy. Legislation must go to the deuce or we must elect strictly moral men, who not only have a certified character of that sort, but who can be relied upon to keep moral.

BAD PLACE TO EMIGRATE FROM—The tax office in this city into a Senatorial district in Connecticut.

THE BROOKLYN WHARFAGE BILL, which was intended to reduce the exorbitant charges of the pier and wharf owners in our neighboring city, was taken out of the Assembly yesterday by the request of the Senate that it be returned to that body, which originally passed it. This defeats it. The Senate will never let the Assembly hear of it again. It is a queer sort of legislation at the best; but when a bill is returned to the Senate on request it is at least fair to expect it back again when the Senate is through with it.

A JEWELL OF IMPROVED LUSTRE—The newly elected Governor of Connecticut.

ANOTHER GOOD VETO.—The bill incorporating the Knickerbocker Loan and Trust Company authorized it to do a mercantile, safe deposit, banking and pawnbrokers' business. Such monstrous powers have very properly caused Governor Hoffman to veto the bill. In this instance, as in more than one which has lately called for a veto, the case is clear. But framers of legislative bills have, like the "heathen Chinee," so many "ways that are dark" as to justify the Governor in following the safe old rule in whist—whenever in doubt take the trick.

LOOKED FOR WITH INTEREST.—The forthcoming first annual reports of the different city departments under the new Charter.

The Future of France.

From whatever point we view the future of France gloomy prospects confront us. The war which has just ended left a legacy of misery sufficient to overweight even France's great recuperative powers. Had peace and order been allowed to repair the havoc of war a few years would have enabled her to put on again the appearance of prosperity. Now, however, that civil strife has come in all its monstrous shapes to aggravate the wounds inflicted by foreign swords, all hope of prosperity must be indefinitely postponed. It is difficult to conceive how those engaged in the present tumults can pretend to better the condition of France by stopping the development of her material resources. Trade and agriculture may flourish while a nation wages a foreign war, but civil strife ever disorganizes society so thoroughly that enterprise is paralyzed and industry suspended. This is certain to happen where social animosities are added to political antagonism, and perhaps the gravest feature of the movement progressing in France is the possible conflict of classes. Once let a struggle be engaged in between the social republicans and the upholders of the rights of property, and there can come but one result—a reign of murder before which the scenes of '93 will pale. Such an issue to the present struggle is far from impossible. On the contrary the triumph gained by the socialists at the ballot box in the election of the Commune may encourage them to advance further pretensions which in turn would be followed by other steps toward the social and democratic republic, as understood by the citizens of Belleville and Montmartre, by the rouge men and the socialists, as they have been reported in our columns during the past few days, and as they are to-day. So long as the socialists are content to theorize on the justice of a general division of property the strife of classes may be averted; but should they attempt to put their insane doctrines into practice by force a conflict becomes inevitable. It is by no means certain that law and order would triumph; indeed, the chances are the other way. The mass of the population in France, holding no property, would regard a division of wealth, by which those who have nothing might gain something, without any special repugnance. Even the moderately well-disposed, ruined by the cessation of industry and deprived of their means of living, would be thrown by the sympathy of suffering into the arms of the anarchists. Add to this that the hostility of the *ouvrier* class to capitalists is widespread and deep, while the principles which rule the relations between employer and employed are more studied and better understood among the workmen than can be well imagined. That branch of political economy which treats of the relations of labor and capital forms the staple conversations of the faubourgs and is directly the cause of many of the revolutionary agitations which, at a distance, seem wholly political. In the minds of the ignorant *ouvriers* and their half-informed leaders the destruction of capital is the perfect cure for all human ills. Capital, they argue, has for many centuries oppressed us; let us now revenge ourselves by crushing and destroying capital; and instead of directing their efforts to the improvement of the relations between labor and capital they waste time and energy in preaching a crusade against capital, which, could it be successful, would reduce the world to ignorance and barbarism, resolving society into its original elements. To such as admire "savage grandeur," scant dinners, and have tailors in abhorrence doubtless the change would be pleasant and welcome; but as these compose only a small percentage of the world's population we fear the change would not be generally regarded with favor.

The disordered dreams of the socialists offer the greatest obstacle to the development of rational liberty in Europe and render the name of republic odious. This striving after a Utopia prevents the growth of moderate republicanism, which, equally separated from tyranny and licenses, alone can guarantee liberty with order. After the fall of Paris the moderate republic was established by the consent of all parties as the only form of government which could prevent civil war. The feebleness of M. Thiers and his copartners in power have betrayed the moderate republic to the Red factions, who impose an unbearable tyranny in the name of liberty. Unless France can be saved from the "patriotism" of this faction she must inevitably descend to the position of a European Mexico, torn by internal divisions and a prey to ambitious adventurers. What form the government which shall establish order and maintain it may assume it would be impossible at this moment to decide; but whatever its form it must fulfil the requisite of being strong. Only force, wisely employed, can save France from the armed ruffianism which to-day proclaims liberty, equality and fraternity, while massacring defenceless citizens. The ultimate triumph of what is called red republicanism is impossible, because its doctrines are opposed to the most sacred feelings of mankind. Men who desire the destruction of the family ties can never obtain a firm hold on the reason or the affections of a people. For a moment the waves of insanity may sweep over a nation and incline men to the destruction of those ties which give to life half its charms, and deprived of which this earth of ours would indeed become a "vale of tears;" but the reaction is sure to come with cooler thoughts when the fever of passion has abated. The triumph of the party of disorder can therefore be only temporary, and must in the nature of things be succeeded by some form of government more in keeping with the general conscience of mankind. If society be overthrown and anarchy permitted to run riot generations must elapse before France can reconquer her old position. But if a man bold and wise should arise and, subordinating his ambition to the welfare of his country, accept in good faith the moderate republic so organized as to secure liberty while maintaining order, there is one policy upon which it is possible to unite the whole of France. Empire or republic, the future organization of France, to be secure, must be based upon the policy of vengeance—vengeance upon Germany for the humiliations she has heaped upon France. The red republic cannot secure the future of France; it can neither give peace,