

NEW YORK HERALD

BROADWAY AND ANN STREET.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT, PROPRIETOR.

Volume XXXVIII.....No. 364

AMUSEMENTS THIS EVENING.

WALLACK'S THEATRE. Broadway and Thirteenth street—A MAN OF HONOR, at 8 P. M.; closes at 10:45 P. M. Mr. Lester Wallack, Miss Laura Alexander.

BOOTH'S THEATRE. Sixth avenue and Twenty-third street—KIT, OR THE ARKANSAS TRAVELLER, at 8 P. M.; closes at 11 P. M. Mr. F. S. Chantrau, Miss Bella Pateman.

OLYMPIC THEATRE. Broadway between Houston and Beecher streets—GABRIEL GRUB, at 8 P. M.; closes at 11 P. M. Maj. J. Taylor Family.

BROOKLYN PARK THEATRE. Opposite City Hall, Brooklyn—ENOCH ARDEN, at 8 P. M.; closes at 10:30 P. M. Mr. Edwin Adams, Miss Emily Osborne.

BOWERY THEATRE. Bowery—MISCHIEF MAKING, at 8 P. M.; MOTHER GOOSE, at 9:45 P. M.; closes at 11:15 P. M. Mr. Hernandez Foster, Mrs. Jones.

NIBLO'S GARDEN. Broadway, between Prince and Houston streets—CHILDREN IN THE WOODS. Opens at 11 P. M.; closes at 10:45 P. M. Vokes Family.

WOOD'S MUSEUM. Broadway, corner Thirtieth street—CHERRY AND FAIR STAR, at 8 P. M.; closes at 10 P. M. MERCHANT OF VENICE, at 8 P. M.; closes at 11 P. M. Mr. E. L. Davenport, Mrs. E. L. Davenport.

GRAND OPERA HOUSE. Eighth avenue and Twenty-third street—HUMPTY DUMPTY ABROAD, at 7:45 P. M.; closes at 10:30 P. M. Mr. G. L. Fox.

FIFTH AVENUE THEATRE. FAIR STAR, at 8 P. M.; closes at 10 P. M. PARRICIDE, at 8 P. M.; closes at 10:30 P. M. Mr. George Clark, Miss Fanny Davenport.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC. Fourteenth street and Irving place—MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING, at 8 P. M.; closes at 11:15 P. M. Mr. Bird, Mrs. Pomeroy.

GERMANIA THEATRE. Fourteenth street, near Irving place—LES GOUACHELLES, at 8 P. M.; closes at 10:30 P. M. Mr. Merton, Miss Rindell.

TONY PATON'S OPERA HOUSE. No. 201 Bowery—VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT, at 8 P. M.; closes at 11 P. M. Matinee at 2.

BRYANT'S OPERA HOUSE. Twenty-third street and Broadway—CINDERELLA IN BLACK, NEGRO MINSTRELS, &c., at 8 P. M.; closes at 10:30 P. M.

THE RINE. Third avenue and Sixty-fourth street—MENAGERIE, MUSIUM AND CIRCUS, at 2 P. M.; closes at 4 P. M. Mat. at 8 P. M.; closes at 10 P. M.

METROPOLITAN THEATRE. 655 Broadway—VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT, at 7:45 P. M.; closes at 10:30 P. M.

ROBINSON HALL. Sixteenth street—MAGICAL ENTERTAINMENT AND LAUGHING GASES, at 8 P. M.; closes at 10:30 P. M.

BAIN HALL. Great Jones street, corner Lafayette place—THE PLEASANT, at 8 P. M.; closes at 10:30 P. M.

ASSOCIATION HALL. Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue—LECTURE, at 8 P. M.; closes at 9:30 P. M. Mr. E. Perkins.

DR. KAHN'S MUSEUM. No. 68 Broadway—SCIENCE AND ART.

TRIPLE SHEET.

New York, Tuesday, Dec. 30, 1873.

THE NEWS OF YESTERDAY.

To-Day's Contents of the Herald.

INDEPENDENT CRITICISM AND THEATRICAL MANAGEMENT! THE ADVERTISING TRICKS OF BUCHU SHOWMEN!—LEADING ARTICLE—SIXTH PAGE.

PROBABLE SINKING OF THE VIRGINIA! A WRECK DISCOVERED OFF THE CAROLINA COAST—THE SHENANDOAH OFF GIBRALTAR—FEATURES OF AMUSEMENTS LAST NIGHT—SEVENTH PAGE.

LETTER OF PROTEST FROM THE OWNER OF THE VIRGINIA TO MR. FISH—THIRD PAGE.

THE SPANISH CORTES TO ASSEMBLE ON JANUARY 21! SERRANO TO BE GIVEN CHARGE OF THE NATION! EUROPEAN POWERS PLEDGED TO RECOGNITION, ON THE BASIS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC! SECRET COALITION AGAINST THE "OUTS"—FIFTH PAGE.

CAPTAIN GENERAL JOVELLAR ON CURAN SLAVERY AND THE SITUATION APPEAL TO THE HERALD! EMANCIPATION MUST BE GRADUAL AND AMERICA MUST NOT INTERFERE! THE VIRGINIA CASE—FOURTH PAGE.

EXCITING RECEPTION OF THE VIRGINIA SURVIVORS! EXAMINATION BY THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY! THE MEN'S STORIES—CURAN PRESIDENTIAL AND EX-PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES—FOURTH PAGE.

SERIOUS ASPECT OF THE RAILROAD TROUBLES! NEW ACCESSIONS TO THE STRIKERS' RANKS! RIOTOUS ACTIONS AND FIERCE THREATS—TENTH PAGE.

THE GENERAL OF THE ARMY ON MILITARY REFORM AND COAST DEFENSE! A TEST OF REPUBLICAN ECONOMY—THIRD PAGE.

BOSTON'S REVENUE SWINDLERS! THE TESTIMONY AGAINST JORDAN, MARSH & CO.! HOW TO UNDERSELL THE MARKET—DU CHAILLÉ'S LECTURE—THIRD PAGE.

THAT LAST POLICE RAID! THE PAINTING, SHAMFACED WOMEN DRAGGED THROUGH THE PUBLIC STREETS, IN BROAD DAYLIGHT, ONLY TO BE DISCHARGED AS INNOCENT OF ANY OFFENSE—FOURTH PAGE.

CENTRAL AMERICAN REVOLTS AND POLITICAL UPHEAVALS! A WAR CLOUD AND ACTUAL FIGHTING—BUCHU'S JUDICIAL CHIEF—FIFTH PAGE.

ATTEMPT TO CHECK THE WESTWARD FLOW OF THE GERMAN EMIGRANTS' SUBJECTS! THE AMERICAN EMIGRATION AGENT EXPELLED FROM SAXONY—FIFTH PAGE.

NOVEL CONTEST BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL AT CARBONDALE, PA.! SQUATTERS' RIGHTS—METHODISM AND TEMPERANCE—WESTCHESTER ANNEXATION—ELEVENTH PAGE.

THE SINKING OF THE VIRGINIA in the harbor of Havana by the Cuban volunteers would have created a terrific outcry in the United States. Should the suspicion, which is set forth elsewhere in a special despatch to the Herald, prove well founded, the Virginia has "touched bottom" off Bald Head, North Carolina. If the sunken vessel is the Virginia the people of the United States will not make any outcry whatever, so much difference does it make what corner of Davy Jones' locker she is stored in. To the Cuban volunteers, however, it may cause a series of patriotic spasms, for they naturally have expected the return of the vessel since the ingenious, if not erudite, Attorney General published his "opinion." It will be wonderful how serenely we will bear an outburst of patriotic spleen on the part of the volunteers if the ill-fated Virginia is indeed a total wreck! The Osagee, which was supposed to have had the Virginia in tow, arrived off the Battery this morning without the Virginia. This looks as though the story were true.

Independent Criticism and Theatrical Management—The Advertising Tricks of Buchu Showmen.

Some years ago the New York theatres withdrew the advertisements of their performances from the Herald's columns. It would be uninteresting now to recount the ostensible reason of this action, into which many respectable theatrical managers were coerced through a stupid rule in their society; but the real cause was the disinclination of some of the less prosperous houses to pay the price of a Herald advertisement, and at the same time to be compelled to submit to a just and independent criticism of the amusements they offered to the public. The greater part of our citizens will remember the terrible crusade undertaken by these gallant Crammeles against this journal and the withering anathemas that used to stare out in large capitals from the head of their play bills— "This establishment does not advertise in the New York Herald!" To be sure, we bore the loss of their patronage with becoming patience and without injury, although a portion of our sympathizing contemporaries, while applauding the course of the managers, predicted all sorts of evil consequences to the journalist. Of course we continued to notice and criticize the performances at the several houses as a matter of news and public information, praising where approval was merited and censuring where censure was deserved. But before many months had elapsed the theatrical gentlemen discovered that the absence of their advertisements from the Herald's columns damaged nobody but themselves, and they adopted the wise policy of confessing their folly and complying with the Herald's rules. They have since learned that independent and intelligent criticism is of far more real value to manager and actor than purchased and inconsiderate puffery.

We refer to this piece of personal history at this time because we notice that some of our contemporaries have admitted to their columns an untruthful statement of a matter which bears some slight resemblance to the incident alluded to above, although on a diminutive scale. A criticism recently appeared in the Herald of an adapted sensational play produced at the Union Square Theatre. As the play, translated by Mr. Boucicault, was advertised by the manager as an original drama, it was criticized accordingly, and the false pretence of the Cheap John showman was exposed. The author very properly disclaimed the credit of originality, but the criticism was distasteful to the managing Crammeles and to some of his performers. In accordance with our rule to allow fair play and full hearing to all sides, we published letters from Mr. Boucicault, from the manager and from correspondents, some controverting and others endorsing the opinions of our critic. We even interviewed the strategic dramatist and allowed him the benefit of expressing his own views of his general talents and of this particular drama through our columns. It is immaterial to the subject whether the friendly or unfriendly criticisms were the more just. As a rule, adverse criticism does not sting unless it is felt to be deserved. A Wallack, a Daly or a Booth would not be silly enough to attempt an interference with the criticisms of a public journal, however severe they might be, or indiscreet enough to undertake to prove that his "stage gentleman" was not of the bar-room lounge character by assuming the part of a cowardly ruffian in the public streets. It is enough that we gave both sides a fair hearing, and certainly the controversy that grew out of the original notice of the play was rememorative to the proprietor of the establishment and could not have occasioned any new deficiency in its internal revenue department.

The manager of the theatre, however, thought proper to write an impertinent letter, insolently claiming a censorship over our editorial opinions, and menacing the Herald with the discontinuance of the advertising and bill printing of the house if our criticisms were not more favorable; in other words, unless we would consent to puff his theatre and performances instead of criticising them. Our reply was such as any independent journal would have made. We immediately ordered all advertisements of the Union Square Theatre to be excluded from the Herald and the bill printing of the house to be discontinued forthwith in our job office.

The matter would be too insignificant to require notice so far as this theatre is concerned; but rather than permit any meddling showman to interfere with our criticisms in any manner we would omit from our journal all dramatic advertisements, printing only such notices as we might choose to print as a matter of news or of public convenience. These are the facts in the case. The silly statement of the manager that the Herald refused the advertisements of his theatre because they were not of sufficient length ought not to need contradiction. It is natural enough that such an absurd story should be seized upon with avidity by those envious journals to which the Herald is a nightmare, disturbing their rest and diverting their attention from the proper management of their own business; but no fair and intelligent contemporary ought to have been misled by it. Indeed, we should have but an indifferent opinion of American journalism if we did not feel convinced that all the reputable papers of the country will approve our action, and if we did not believe that they would have adopted exactly the same course under similar circumstances. There are, happily, but few instances in this country, at least among American journalists, in which envy of the superior merit and success of a contemporary would blind a journal to the obligations which honor and self-respect demand of an independent and intelligent press.

It is only justice to the theatrical profession to say that the true actor or the true manager never descends to the mountebank tricks which the management of the Union Square Theatre appears to regard as the perfection of professional smartness. No person would suspect Lester Wallack, Edwin Booth, Augustin Daly or any other genuine actor or manager of scattering free passes among editors, reporters, clerks and office boys in a newspaper establishment and presuming on the strength of these favors to dictate to the proprietor the character of the criticisms in which the paper must indulge. Nobody would expect to find such gentlemen concocting quarrels with journals beyond their reach in order to obtain for themselves and their wares cheap ad-

vertisements in other papers. Such manoeuvres are happily confined to showmen who are neither actors nor managers and who are not recognized as such in any honorable profession. They are the common tricks of quacks of the buchu drama, borrowed from the traditional dodge of the English well-mob at the Derby, who produce a disturbance through a bogus row in order the more easily to pick the pockets of the bystanders. As a rule the public may be sure that the sensations manufactured by these Cheap John showmen are designed to rob them of their money for a worthless show. A well conducted theatre, which deserves public patronage upon the merits of its performances and performers, requires neither to create sensations nor to fill its seats with free passes for the purpose of gulling the public. Indeed, our first class theatres would do well to abolish free passes altogether, as the Herald has repeatedly advised. We have always condemned the free pass system, whether in the case of journalists or of others, and our attacks are under instructions to receive no favors of the kind. If they depart from these instructions they disregard their obligations to the establishment they serve. A Herald employé, whether as editor, critic, reporter or in any other capacity, is expected to pay his way like other individuals, and wherever this rule is departed from the theatrical manager or whoever else may be induced to grant him favors without proper remuneration confers no obligation on this office. A person who seeks free passes of any kind in the name of the Herald may be set down as an impostor. We have repeatedly given this caution to the public. Nevertheless we are constantly advised of adventurers who travel on railroads, live at hotels and pass into places of public amusement on the impudently false pretence that they are attachés of the Herald and as such entitled to consideration. So far as the theatres are concerned, we regard the free pass system to the press as an injustice to the public; for its effect, beyond question, has a tendency to obstruct or prevent honest and just criticism.

We make this explanation in justice to those respectable journals which have allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by the trick of a mountebank and have lent their columns to the justification of an insult to the press which they would have been prompt to resent had it been offered to themselves. At the same time, we fancy that we detect the old familiar presence of the talented Boucicault, like the trail of the serpent, fomenting journalistic quarrels in New York, as at London, for the sake of the notoriety which the dramatist may manage to obtain for himself in the midst of the disturbance. We would remind him, however, that there is a monotony in these stale expedients which makes them uninteresting and ineffective. The most sensational drama grows wearisome and stupid by constant repetition. Boucicault has really established his reputation as a dramatist by the authorship of some agreeable English comedies, and by the adaptation of many still more agreeable from the French, the true comedians of the world. He need no longer continue the mountebank games by which an almost unknown but most industrious writer hastened a notoriety he was certain sooner or later to acquire, and a remuneration he could not fail to eventually secure. He can assume now, if he will, the position of a genuine dramatist. Let him foster the ambition to write good plays, whose merits will commend them to the favor of intelligent men, and not seek to manufacture notoriety for indifferent ones by inspiring expedients to which only quacks should resort, and which no respectable manager would adopt.

THE FATE OF AN EMIGRATION AGENT.— We publish this morning a letter detailing the arbitrary measures of the Saxon Ministry against an emigration agent of the State of Wisconsin, Mr. W. H. Allard. There has long been a decided feeling among officials of the Empire against permitting German subjects to leave the precincts of Germany. It is well known that the young Germans exhibit a growing dislike to the severe military service imposed by the organization of the army, and endeavor to escape it by coming to America to find homes of their own where they will be exempt from a course of life little to their taste. We imagine that this draining of the youth has more to do with the action of the German government than any fear of a general depopulation. It is no doubt a serious loss to Germany to lose, year in year out, large classes of her subjects, who leave with well filled purses and willing hands; but we cannot understand that it is either just or wise to endeavor to keep them at home by the expulsion of officials who, by the rights sustained by international laws, are simply doing an appointed duty, and one which every American will regard as an obligation of his citizenship.

THE RAILWAYS AND THEIR WINTER FREIGHT CHARGES.—The lakes, canals and most of the rivers of the Northern States being locked up by ice for the winter the competing railway companies have put on the screws in the increase of their freight charges, to take effect on the 1st of January. They have been, this time, some weeks later than usual in their winter schedules—a little scared, perhaps, by the formidable anti-monopoly movements of the Western grangers, and perhaps, a little apprehensive of some "regulation" from Congress. But as Congress has not shown any inclination to grapple with our railway kings they have concluded that the coast is clear, that they hold the field, that they can do as they please and that the grangers may help themselves, if they can. What say the grangers? There are half a million of them. Are they really tied hand and foot? We should like to know.

THE SNOW AND THE STREETS.—A great snow in the crowded streets of a great city is a great nuisance. Even a moderate snowfall, like that of Saturday night last, is a serious obstruction to the general traffic of the streets of New York, as was apparent yesterday from the Battery to Harlem. But where is the remedy? In some machine, not for removing the snow or heaping it up, but for melting it as it falls. This is what we want in New York.

CHOKING TOO SOON.—The ice men up the river, who are afraid there will be no ice for them this season. We are only afraid that we may have yet, all over the North, too much of frost and ice and snow before the winter is over.

The Spanish Republic—Serrano the Coming Man.

We print this morning a despatch, special to the Herald, regarding the condition and prospects of the Spanish Republic. The Cortes is to meet on the 2d of January, and such arrangements have been made that Serrano is expected to be placed at the head of the Republic. Serrano's consent, it is reasonable to suppose, has been obtained; and it is understood that the Spanish Republic under him will have a similar basis to that of France under MacMahon. England, France, Prussia, Italy, all are said to be pledged to the recognition of the Republic if Serrano is placed at its head. Minister Layard has his papers all ready, and it is believed that his instructions are to recognize the Republic whenever the opportune moment arrives. If the Reds should rise and oppose recognition it is expected that the Powers above mentioned will intervene against them as well as against the Carlists.

We have long looked for some such intelligence as this from Madrid, and we have more than once indicated that some such solution was the only possible solution of the troubles which are now exhausting the last energies of the Spanish people. Again and again we have said that the political factions were more selfish than patriotic—more intent on the advancement of their own interests than on the advancement of the welfare of the nation. Since the downfall of Isabella Spain has made many experiments; but experiment after experiment has failed, and the lesson which each of the experiments has left behind it is that the one thing needful in Spain is a compromise among the factions. It is our opinion that Prim meant well by the Republic. He did his best to make it a success, and it was only when he found that it was impossible to make the Republic compatible with the unity of the nation that he accepted the idea of monarchy and began to seek out for a new dynasty. All the world knows how Prim perished and how his monarchy fell. The monarchy which he was the main instrument in establishing was as little acceptable as his republic. Since the retirement of Amadeus of Savoy the Republic has had the field very much to itself; but in place of revealing strength and unity it has been revealing weakness and discord, and bringing republican institutions into disgrace and contempt in Europe. The government of Amadeus, although not universally in favor, was strong enough to preserve the semblance of national unity. Under him there were no intrants, and he found it not difficult to put down the Carlists in the north. The Republic has blundered on under a variety of leaders. It was believed that the right man had been found when Castelar accepted the reins of power. Castelar, however, has proved as much a failure as any of his predecessors. Salmeron and Figueras cannot act with him. The Republic is weak and apparently impossible because republicans cannot agree. The fault is not the fault of Castelar any more than it was the fault of Amadeus. The Republic is a failure as the constitutional monarchy under Amadeus was a failure, because Spanish politicians hitherto have not been able to agree to a compromise.

The new departure, if carried out, points to better things. Spain, it is to be hoped, has learned a lesson from France. France is not a monarchy; it is not yet a republic. Under a compromise government France prospers; and in that country the conviction grows that a nation may prosper and be contented with-out Emperor, constitutional monarchs or kings by divine right and the grace of God, and yet not be a republic in the Communitic sense of the word. The compromise principle owes much to the genius and industry of ex-President Thiers; but compromise is incarnated in President MacMahon. Castelar has but feebly enacted the part of Thiers. Serrano is the only man in Spain capable of playing the part of MacMahon. The great defect of the Spanish Republic has been its feeble hold on the army. Its leaders have not been military men. The army knows them not. As MacMahon has the confidence of the armies of France, so Serrano has the confidence of what soldiers still remain in Spain. We have no desire to see another Holy Alliance dictating to and dominating Europe; but no one can deny that the European Powers have been patient with Spain; and if, with the approval of these Powers and the consent of the Spanish people, Serrano becomes to Spain what MacMahon is to France, we know no one who will have any reasonable cause of complaint. As we have said before more than once we say again: If Spain cannot save herself, she ought not to complain if salvation is brought to her by her friends.

The Police and the Dance House Nuisance.

From time to time our citizens are startled by a police revival, which generally takes the form of a raid on some more or less notorious place of resort. It is somewhat of a puzzle to the ordinary citizen why places of illegal resort should be allowed to grow under the eyes of the police to such proportions that it requires a small army of policemen to break up the particular saloon or meeting place which may have fallen under the displeasure of the police magistrates. Nor does there appear to be any rule by which these raids or revivals take place nor any clew to the motives to which they are to be ascribed. We do not understand spasmodic virtue, and when its practice leads to arbitrary and unjust acts we hasten to condemn it. The raids on policy houses, gambling dens, saloons and such like places of doubtful character do no good under the present system of fitful repression. On the contrary, they serve to give them a notoriety that aids rather than discourages their dishonest practices. It is notorious that the action of the police on these occasions when such a parade of virtue is made is often capricious, and it is even suspected that unworthy personal motives influence their action as much as zeal for the public service. We desire earnestly the total suppression of these haunts of vice which exercise such a baneful influence on the morality of youth, but we do not believe that any good can be effected by an unequal and capricious enforcement of the law. We want to see justice done so that it shall command the respect and approval of all order loving citizens. It must be invested with dignity and a character of judicial calmness equally removed from tolerance of vice and the sensational humbug of "raiding." If the law were firmly and justly enforced

there would be no cause, as there is no excuse, for the scenes which accompanied the latest police exploit. It is monstrous that a place of public resort condemned by the law should be allowed to remain open in defiance of the law, and invite the presence of a portion of the public to an entertainment of an illegal character. Many persons must enter such a place without any suspicion that they are violating the law. It is, therefore, monstrous that a mob of policemen should be at liberty to burst in among an assemblage of citizens, which has come together with the tacit sanction of the police authorities, and carry off to prison the innocent and guilty. Such an abuse of power would not be tolerated in the most despotic country having the smallest claim to be considered civilized. It is well known that the city swarms with gambling houses and other vile dens which exist in defiance of the law. These places are well known; the men who thrive on the plunder of the victims are the pals and the boon companions of the police; hence no virtuous impulse overinduces the representative of the law to seize on these enemies of society and march them, in broad daylight, down the chief thoroughfare of the city, to be jibed and pelted at by a mob of idle loafers. Such treatment is reserved in this free city for the poor work girl guilty of the awful crime of dancing on Sunday evening. So long as the present system of repression is relied upon the men who profit by the vices and weaknesses of their fellow men will continue to prosper. The temporary interruption to their profitable business and the losses caused by police raids are more than compensated by the advertisement and notoriety given by sham prosecutions to these illegal establishments. The only effective way of dealing with the evil is by the adoption of a firm and constant policy. The arrest and prosecution of the keepers of such places as come under the ban of the law and the closing up of the resorts themselves would be the simplest and most effective means of suppressing all forms of objectionable assemblage. The police might be deprived under such a policy of many opportunities of proving their virtue, but the citizens would be consoled by the reflection that they were spared many scandalous exhibitions which are a blot on our city and a reproach to our boasted civilization.

Cuba, Spain and the United States—The Long Chetished and Liberal Policy of the Republic Abandoned.

Our special despatches from Washington show that the administration has resolved to abandon the liberal policy the government has pursued throughout the history of the Republic with regard to people struggling for republican freedom on American soil, and that, strange to say, with the pretext of supporting republicanism in Europe. We refer to the appointment of Mr. Cushing as Minister to Spain and the reasons assigned for that appointment. These despatches, if they needed any corroboration, are confirmed by the tone of the administration press, as well as of the Bohemian press, which is understood to be in the pay of Spain. All, in concert, state substantially that the object of Mr. Cushing's mission is to crush the insurrection in Cuba, and that the administration will act here against the patriot Cubans and their sympathizers in accordance with the action of Mr. Cushing at Madrid and the policy it has determined to pursue. Of course some little regard is shown, however hypocritically, to the generous and natural sympathies of the American people, and the pacification and future prosperity of Cuba is spoken of as a result. This pretended regard for the interests of Cuba and for the poor Cubans, who have struggled successfully for nearly six years against the worst and most cruel despotism that ever disgraced modern history, is intended only to cover up the real object. Heartless, unrepentant and impolitic as the course of the administration is to the Cuban patriots, its shallow pretences and cowardice in succumbing to Spanish intrigue and interests must in time do more than anything else to overwhelm it with infamy. All the diplomatic palaver that can be used cannot in the end deceive the American people or destroy their generous sympathies.

Of Mr. Cushing and his great abilities we are disposed to express admiration, as, indeed, we have; but considering his hostility to the Cubans and the prevailing impression, right or wrong, that as an agent of the Spanish government, under the monarchy as well as under the Republic, and having interests which make him inimical to the Cubans, it will be understood generally that the whole policy of the government is to be reversed and that this country is to become virtually the ally of Spain to suppress the insurrection in Cuba. True, American troops may not be sent to the island to co-operate with the Spaniards; but the aid to be given, as indicated in our Washington news, by the administration and a portion of the press, will be no less effectual. This is the most terrible ordeal in prospect the Cubans have to contemplate and prepare for. If they show the courage and determination manifested during the last five years they may defeat this infamous coalition of the republican government of America with their Spanish oppressors. Should they succumb they had better abandon their native island, for they can expect no mercy from the Spaniards or consideration from the existing government of the United States. In fact, the American government, if even it had the disposition to serve them, would be frustrated by the trickery and superior diplomacy of the Spaniards. We regret that, under the circumstances, we can offer them no advice. It is for them, after considering their resources, to determine whether they will fight it out to the bitter end or sacrifice themselves and their native land to the merciless Spaniards.

Heretofore the American government, under the administration of different parties, has followed the generous sentiment of the people, and has morally, if not materially, given its support to every people warring against their despotic oppressors, especially where the object has been to establish a republican or liberal government. We may refer to Poland, Hungary, Greece and other countries of the Old World. Material aid even has been furnished by our people with the sanction or connivance of the government. Nor has diplomatic action been wanting. Other

free nations have done the same, and particularly England, when it has suited her policy. In American affairs, or with regard to the colonies or States of America, our government and people have always manifested a greater interest, and have invariably encouraged the efforts for freedom from European rule and to establish republican institutions. This really was the fixed policy of our country. It is hardly necessary to appeal to history in support of the fact. The Monroe doctrine, so stoutly maintained up to the present time, and the whole policy of the Republic show that. The people have looked forward constantly to the time when all America would become republican and independent of European rule. There was a noble sentiment and natural ambition in this. Then our commercial and material interests were involved in it. But now we have become great—one of the greatest Powers in the world—the Republic has abdicated the role and position held in former and better days. Corruption and selfishness, which have done much to demoralize the people in home matters, have destroyed in a measure that noble sympathy for others struggling against despotism which characterized the public and government formerly.

The Castelar government! The Republic of Spain! cry out the Spanish agents and the government and press under their influence. We must save the Republic of Spain! is their concerted and reiterated cry. Is not the Republic of Cuba more important to us? While we wish to see the Republic in Spain established the prospect is doubtful, and if established there is not the least probability that either slavery would be abolished in Cuba or that despotism in the island would cease. Spanish rule there has been the same under all changes of government in Spain, and will continue to be so. The Spaniards go there to take away the riches of the Cubans and to govern them inexorably, and it will be so always. Castelar may intend well; but he is one man, and powerless. At all events, he is only a Spaniard. Let not the American people and government be deceived. There is but one way to end slavery in Cuba and the endless trouble this country has and would have with regard to that island, and that is its absolute independence of Spain.

A Trade Union of Capitalists—Important Movement Against Labor.

The great struggle between capital and labor in England has developed a most extraordinary organization among the capitalists—nothing less than a trade union of masters who employ over 2,000,000 laborers to resist the encroachments of the employed. That such a combination is possible in England is not surprising, nor would it be more astonishing to find the capitalists in America demanding a similar federation. On the one hand labor in the United States is a republican despotism compactly organized into unions tributary to a general legislative or supreme body. This organization not only controls those who are within it, but also those who are without; and, while there is no doubt that the demands of American trade unions have often been excessive and unnecessary, we are not disposed to complain of their general operations. On the other hand capital has been autocratic also, refusing "on principle" to accede to demands which would ultimately fall on the public and not on the employer or manufacturer. All the strikes, all the wasted industry and drunken idleness, all the bitter recriminations and violent remedies have grown out of the unhappy conflict of these two inelastic, non-yielding copartners; and they are in copartnership, for without one the other could not exist. In England they are trying to produce harmony between these two forces, but as to how far the movement of "The National Federation of Associated Employers of Labor" will succeed we cannot, of course, say. The society is professedly organized to counteract the influence of the trade unions; it will defend capital against the unjust demands of labor, whether by legislation or by strikes. They propose to establish newspapers, watch the proceedings of Parliament, encourage non-unionists, and endeavor "to give to education, intelligence and capital their fair share of influence in the constituencies." Of course, all this means war, organized war; and it is to this ultimatum that the struggle must arrive in America. There is a difference between the English and American laborer always. Here it is safe to say that he is three hundred per cent more intelligent, and a thousand become prosperous citizens where one in England works out of the rut of perpetual, sweaty toil; so that in no case can the future struggle be termed one between "intelligence and ignorance" on this side of the Atlantic. The movement in England will undoubtedly prove infectious; for the organization of one great interest, as opposed to another, is generally followed by a consolidation of power equally zealous and determined. We do not see why it should not come, and then the issue would be squarely made and capital and labor would clearly understand each other. But two such bodies placed in perpetual antagonism would necessitate the construction of a tribunal of appeal, to which the two interests might carry their irreconcilable disputes. By this means the public—that public which always suffers, suffers by eight hour laws, railroad strikes, the stoppage of travel or the inanity of any branch of industry—would find some measure of protection. With the English capitalists an enormous influence surrounds their debut in this their first campaign, and the wealthiest and oldest manufacturers have given the federation their support. Whatever may be the outcome, it is interesting to note that the day of the great tournament is approaching.

The Spanish Side of the Cuban Question.

We publish elsewhere an interesting interview between the Captain General of Cuba and our correspondents. The views of Señor Soler, Minister of the Spanish Colonies, and those of Señor Zulueta, the chief of the Casino Español, have already been placed before the public clearly and fairly, because the mission of a truly independent newspaper is to photograph the daily history of the world without thought of the effect on statesmen or parties. The courtesy shown by Captain General Jovellar to our correspondents, and his graceful recognition of the power and influence of the Herald as the representative of the free