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Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Important Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Reciprocity-How the Question Stands. From the Times.

In what position does the question of reciprocity stand? What is the policy demanded by a due regard to the revenue, the capital, and the industry of the United States? What answershall be given to the wandering diplomatists whom the provinces have sent to renew a bargain for their advantage?

Despite the chronic bitterness of our party conflicts, it is satisfactory to know that upon one vital point connected with this question our leading public men, and our leading journals of both parties, are in the main agreed. Union and Democrat, all concede that the existing one-sided arrangement shall be brought to an end. There may not be entire harmony touching the course pursued in bringing about its termination, but spon the fact that its operation was partial and unjust, and that its continuance sold not be permitted, there is little or no difference of opinion.

The provincial papers, we see, would fain per-made themselves that the feeling against the treaty is the product of some transient cause, and is in part the result of lobby influence. They will discover their mistake in due season. For we are persuaded that upon few subjects outside of the great constitutional issues raised by the Rebellion, has public opinion pronounced a more emphatic verdict than upon this question of so-called reciprocity. Here and there may be found an individual directly or indirectly inte rested in some branch of provincial trade, who demurs to the judgment and pleads for its postponement, if not its reversal. But the exceptions are so rare that they serve to indicate the

Let us briefly recapitulate. The treaty was originally accepted by this country quite as much because of what it was supposed to imply as because of what it actually expressed. Its spirit was deemed more important than its letter. It was held to foreshadow a steady growth of commercial intercourse, and an ever-widening area of commercial enterprise. In these respects our people have been provokingly disappointed. The trade fostered by the treaty incited Canada to the adoption of projects designed to deprive our carriers of the tradic on which they Financial difficulties thence arising were made a pretext for a series of tariff charges. each more inimical to our manufacturing in-

dustry than the onewhich preceded it.

This was bad enough, but it was only the beginning of the end. The imposition of higher duties upon our exports was followed by a change in the mode of levying duties which amounted to virtual discrimination against our importers and in favor of the British trader. The same unjust principle was brought into against our lake shipowners, in favor of English and Canadian interests. In reality, then, Canada herself abrogated the treaty years ago; her politicians trampled on its spirit and disregarded the principle which gave it life; and therefore for its continuance to the present time her people have been indebted to the generosity, the mag-nanimous forbearance of the United States. Apart from the principle involved, it has be-

come apparent that in almost every sense, the treaty, viewed from the American stand-point, has been an unmitigated failure. Under its influence, one of the best features of our trade with Canada has declined steadily, until it has almost ceased to be worth mentioning; and English trade thrives in its stead. We send little that would not be sent, with or without a treaty; we receive little that would not be received were the treaty in or out of existence; the chief difference visible consisting in the fact, that whereas our exports enter the provincial market loaded with heavy customs duties, our imports from the province come into competition with the products of our farmers and lumbermen upon terms peculiarly favorable to the foreign producer. In other words, we give a great deal for nothing. Evon, the yearly aggregate of trade looks much larger than it is, because Canada calculates our exports in greenbacks, while our customs valuation has gold for its basis. Sifted and tried, the whole thing carries upon its face so much that looks like humbug, that the wonder is how we have been induced to submit to it until now

The first point to be noted is, then, that the action of Congress in reference to the treaty ought to be and is irrevocable. There should be no misunderstanding here. The action was entered upon deliberately, in full view of consequences, and by that action we are prepared to abide. The mockery of reciprocity will terminate on the 17th of March, all prayers from Canada to the contrary notwithstanding. The idea of a temporary extension should be scouted as unworthy of notice. We have craved adherence to the spirit of the contract through tiresome years; now we stand upon the letter of the notice.

The course hereafter to be pursued by this country will no doubt be governed by two considerations, always important, but more important now than at any former time. We are quired to protect our revenue, and incidentally term in a controversial sense, or in any relation to the abstract merit of protection or free trade as a principle. We mean simply that masmuch as the necessities of the nation have given birth to a system of taxation which permentes everywhere, and makes itself felt alike on the form in the forest, and in the workshop, we are bound to take care that the products of American labor shall not be exposed to unrestrained competition with foreign articles in no way tributar national treasury. To this extent, probably, free trader and protectionist coincide.

The burdens borne by our own people must be shared, in some degree and some manner, by any other people who would come as sellers into our market. So long as the existing system of internal revenue shall last, so long we should guard American labor, howsoever employed from unequal competition with the products of other countries.

Moreover, it will be the duty of Congress to see that the doctrine of equivalents is more fairly applied than in 1854. There must be a quid pro quo for everything. And there must be a more correct valuation of some of the things preented by Crnada under the guise of consideration. The navigation of the St. Lawrence, for instance, may properly be treated as of only triffing value, partly on account of natural and, therefore, everlasting causes, partly on account of that foreign flag which for the time controls

the commerce of the river. The bonding system, too, is a lever in our hands, no longer to remain idle. It is a system which, in its relation to Canata, yields us barety nominal property. Our carriers have lost their share of the traffic, the bulk of the goods passing through this country to Canada, in bond, entering at Portland, and being carried over a foreign railway thence to Montreal. In truth, the bonding system, as at this moment used by is a contrivance for introducing into the province goods which are afterwards smuggled into the United States. We furnish an instrument which is used to our detriment. The bonding system and reciprocity should, therefore, stand

or fall together, so far as either applies to the neighboring province. It is not our business now to discuss in detail the terms of our inture commercial relations with the British Provinces. The general bearings of the treaty, and the general principles enter-ing into the question, are all we have yet ven-tured to touch. Without essaying the functions of prophecy, or attempting to compete with the wise men of the North in the matter of diplomacy, we may suggest that the time of vague promises and plausible pledges, and the inge-nious magnifying of small things late great. ends with the expiring treaty. Any further bar-gaining must be accompanied with guarantees at every step. This country has learned how little reliance may be placed upon the faith of provincial politicians, or covenants which

end for their efficacy only upon an honorable

interpretation of the spirit that animates them. "Fast bind fast find" should be the governing maxim in our future dealings with provincial

Reconstruction.

From the Tribune. The New York Times sees fit to say that -

"There are certain advocates of negro suffrage who profess to be willing, under certain condi-tions, to see the Southern States restored to their true position in the Union, without requiring m to assent to a general enfranchisement the negro population. Thus, a city journal, published mainly in the interest of the blacks, says:-'Only render it certain that an honest, industrious, thrifty, intelligent negro shall not be proscribed merely because of his color or race, and we will agree to almost anything.' the journal from which we quote-speaking, as it is presumed to do, for a very considerable Radical party—is sincere in proposing a com-promise, there ought to be little difficulty in coming to terms."

-As we do not seem to have made ourselves thoroughly understood by the Times, we will restate our essential position with the utmost pos-

sible lucidity. They are as follows:-I. We regard it as of the highest and most imminent consequence that all political and civil distinctions, privileges, disabilities, or differences, based on caste or color, should be forever abolished. Never intrinsically just, they have by the overthrow of slavery, been rendered glaringly importinent and absurd. While slavery existed they had a certain excuse, if no reason, in the fears of the slaveholding class; now the are obsolete in reason and as much behind the age as the Spanish Inquisition would be in Ohio or Wisconsin. To our apprehension, this issue towers above all others in importance: so that, while we are devoted to the protection and diversification of our national industry, we would gladly postpone this or any other political end, to the complete enfranchisement of the hitherto degraded and downfrodden four millions of our

II. While we require and strive for impartial suffrage, we do not ask nor desire that every man shall be a voter, for we do not think every man ought to be. We hold that no man who chooses to live by theft, or swindling, or beggary, or by pandering to vice-no babitual drunkardno idiot-no lunatic-no professional gamblerhas any moral right to be a voter. And, while we propose no educational test, we are perfectly content to see such a test presented and adopted, even though it should for years preclude the entranchisement of a large majority of the blacks. So long as no harder tests are applied to or required of them than of whites, and no obstacle interposed to their acquiring the knowledge demanded, we waive all inquiry, and agree in advance to whatever criterion of fitness to vote "conservatives" may see fit to propose.

III. We propose no "compromise"—in tact, we propose nothing. What we are most intent

on is such a recognition by the Southern whites of the humanity and actual rights of the blacks as will preclude the necessity of any compro-mise, any higgling, any contention. We should even prefer a partial measure of justice freely accorded by the Southern whites to a complte one imposed on them by the power of the triumpliant Union. Of all the mad blindness now provoking sadness, the blindness which com-pels the blacks to look northward for champions of their rights is most lamentable. The South would be this day richer by billions of dollars if her whites and blacks were thoroughly reconciled and cured of all reciprocal distrust. We do wish the ablest and wisest of the two races would forthwith meet, confer, and agree on a basis of future concord and mutual goodwill—we stipulating beforehand to give our hearty assent thereto, and to consider their accord the end of controversy on the subject. And we hope Congress may hold the matter of reconstruction in abeyance until it can be seen whether the manifest and rapid increase and diffusion of goodwill between whites and blacks at the South may not seasonably result in some such understanding and reconciliation between

IV. As to what Congress should or should not do with regard to negro suffrage, it depends so clearly on the temper and action of the Southern whites, that whatever might be wisely said of it to-day may have become obsolete and unfit two weeks hence. It those whites shall see fit to cherish a disloyal, inimical, rebellious spirit, and shall be moved thereby to annoy and persecute Unionists, white or black-as in some localities they notoriously have done-then we should judge that they are not yet fit to be "re-constructed" at all. If they are bent on evading and nullifying the anti-slavery Contitutional Amendment, then Congress ought to take effec-tive measures to defeat that purpose and secure the freedmen against all forms and degrees of oppression. But if, on the contrary, the Southern whites incline generally to deal fairly by the Southern blacks, then we would have Congress touch the matter very lightly-as lightly as possible. We have faith that the Joint Committee will fairly, searchingly investigate and report the essential facts, for the guidance of Congress

and the information of the country. -Such, bruly stated, are our views of recon struction, whether the Times deems them "sin cere" or otherwise. We trust they, at any rate are not hard to be understood—at least not by those who wish to comprehend them.

Reconstruction-The Power of Congress and the Schemes of the Radicals.

From the Herald. The Southern armies are disbanded: the Southern politicians acknowledge that their attempt to destroy the country was a grand error, and all resistance to the Government from the side of the South is given up. Still civil war rages, and perhaps with more bitterness than it did when the whole country was in arms. The country is torn by dissension that is civil in a double sense, and its best interests are imperilled by a war more bitter and savage than the former war was, just as the nature of the politician is more acrimonious and vind ctive than that of the soldier. The political extremists of the North
—the radical—have in simple fact now taken
the position lately held by the soldiers of the
South. They are the savage and desperate ene-

Not only do they embarrass to the utmost all the attempts of the Executive to fulfil the duties of his office, so far as relates to the restoration of civil authority in all parts of the country, but it is their firm purpose to stop such restoration by any and every means, and to prevent in Con gress the legislation necessary to pacify and settle the country. They assert that their object in this is to secure the rights of the negro; that they fear a too rapid reconstruction will leave the negro in fact a slave, though nominally free; and that they desire to prevent reconstruction only till they can secure a guarantee for full jus-tice to all classes of the Southern people. They make this specious assertion to secure their posi-

mies of the Government, the country, the Union,

tion before the country.

In truth, the negro is a pretext, and their philanthropic devotion to his rights is a sham. The evidence of this is the fact that it lies with these radicals to pass through Congress a law that will give the negro all the rights that any one has ever claimed for him. They can do it; but they will not, simply because by so doing they would restore the country to its normal position and prevent the political anarchy which heir leaders, Stanton and Stevens, count to lift them into higher places than they now

Under the Constitution as it now stands the negro is in the hands of the National Legisla-This is the point to which the growth of the spirit of freedom, contending always against property interests and prejudices, has brought us. We began on this continent, in the colonial times, with different systems of slavery. The negro was a slave, the Indian was a slave the white European emigrant was also a slave. Religious freedom was the freedom that the settiers sought here, because it was in religion that they felt the Old World tyranny. But with the progress of ideas social and political freedom also came to be discussed; and when the war of the revolution began the Liberty party, in the

Declaration of Independence, laid down a plat-form of broad principles that looked to the wip-ing out of all political distinctions between man

On that platform they won the great fight; but in the hour of victory they were compelled to abandon certain of those principles. This was to secure a harmony between the States that was deemed worthy the sacrifice. The pressure of material interests was too great, and the founders of the republic, in framing the Consti tution, agreed that the original platform was impracticable to a certain extent. So the Constitution secured less than the Declaration had claimed; but it secured a great deal. Our torefathers compromised on slavery as it was left with the more readiness because, flercely as the material interests held to it, it was then believed by men of the best judgment that it was a doomed institution-that it was dying out. It did die out to a great degree, and just as it seemed at its last gasp the growth of cotton and the invention of the cotton-gin gave it a

But there was a great spirit at work in the world all the time. We had in the old struggle lighted up men's minds by our example, and started the great battle for freedom in Europe We set France in motion, and France, carrying our own ideas further than we had done, shamed us by showing the point at which we had stopped short. So slavery was forced to a defined frontier, at which it chose to fight us. We fought it, and it went down forever. The white European emigrant, ceasing to be a slave, had been placed by the Constitution in the hands of Congress, Congress was empowered to settle his position by a naturalization law. It is now empowered to do the same with the negro. distinctions between the two races were based on the fact that the negro was in slavery. Slawiped out, and all those disanctions go with it. The late slave is now an agricultural laborer, a farmer, a mechanic, new to Southern laws, just coming under their influence as the emigrant from another land does; and it lies with Congress to settle his position by a naturalzation law, which is a suffrage law.

Congress, which the radicals control, thus has the power to do just what they pretend is neces-sary—just what they declare they are delaying reconstruction to secure. Why, then, do they not pass the law they want? Because all this fuss over the negro is a pretense. Because what they really want is anarchy. Because Stanton and Stevens, the chosen leaders, like a Danton and Marat, fear tranquillity and peace, and nope for dominion in a strife of extermination against the South. Hence their Committee on Re construction—which is only another Committee on Public Safety—another Jacobin club—to give irection to all the violent and unscrupulou elements—to make the proscriptions. The President, in virtue of the nearly dictatorial powers which the war power clothes the Executive, began the restoration of the States in the proper way. His Provisional Governors, and the calling into being the dormant political vitality of the people by conventions, were all

General Jackson's Earlier and Later Opinions.

From the World. The Tribune evades our arguments, and makes a superfluous addition to the innumerable illustrations it has given of its characteristic want of precision. We dealt with the Coleman letter as an argument, remarking incidentally that it could have no weight as authority, since General Jackson subsequently changed his opinion. It is evident, however, that the Tribune attaches importance to it chiefly as authority for the letter merely repeats the stock arguments of the protectionists, long ago trite. The fact that General Jackson came, in a few years after wards, to perceive their fallacy, makes it absurd to invoke his name as lending any support to the protectionist cause. We called the views ex-pressed by General Jackson in the Coleman letter (as he himself afterwards considered them)

crude and immature. To this the *Tribune* replies that they must have been the mature views or his ripest judgment. since General Jackson was, at that time, fity seven years of age! As it the maturity of a man's judgment on any given question depended on his age at the time of forming it, and not on the completeness of his investigation. What would be thought of a writer who should quote from Sir Robert Peel's speeches in favor of the Corn Laws, made in Parliament at the age of fity-seven, as evidence of Peel's mature opinions on that subject, in the face of the fact that the Corn Laws were afterwards repealed under premiership and by his efforts? The Tribune might, with as much sense, quote from Washington's letter to a British officer in 1774, to that Washington (then forty-four, and in the maturity of his faculties) ought to be ranked by posterity as an opponent of American inde pendence.

The Tribune, as if it had a glimmering con sciousness of the absurdity of this argument. supports it by a statement still more remarkable.

To which we answer: - General Jackson was over fifty-seven years old when he wrote this letter. had been a prisoner of war more than forty years before, and had entered Congress nearly thirty years before. Napoleon Bonaparie, bora two years atter him, had run his memorable career and died three years before. If General Jackson's opinions on the tariff question were "crude" when he was nity-seven years old, it is most unlikely that they ever became "maure." And in fact, though party exigencies somewhat monified his attitude in after years, there is no evidence, and no probability hat he ever renounced the opinions set forth in tals

Supposing the editor of the Tribune rather misinformed than insincere (which is the more charitable view), he figures before the country as one of the hardiest blunderers that ever hazarded ransom assertions in print. The two things on which he values himself are political economy and American history; but though he has a jumble of ideas on both, he seldom puts his pen to paper without proving that he has no exact knowledge of either. The want of early discipline or an incorrigible looseness of thought renders him incapable of precision. presidential election of 1828, the great issue was he tariff; John Quincy Adams, supported by Henry Clay, being the taruf, and Andrew Jacksop, the anti-protectionists' candidate. In 1832, the tariff and the bank were the two leading issues; Henry Clay being the candidate of the bank-tariff party, and Jackson of the opposite. What a consummate political hypocrite General Jackson must have been, if, as the Tribune alleges, he never renounced the protectionist opinions he held in 1824!

It may seem superfluous to add positive proofs to the irresistible presumption founded on General Jackson's leadership of the anti-tariff party during the whole period of his presiency; but a willingness to confound a charla tan and "bray him in a mortar," leads u leads us to unnecessary if we were dealing, not with a crocher-breeder, but a man of sound judgment. Will the Tribune concede that Mr. Bancroft is the peer of its editor in a knowledge of American history? Here is what Bancroft says (Miscellanies, page 467) of General Jackson's revised

opinions on the tariff question :-The discharge of the public debt brought with it a great reduction of the public burdens, and brought of necessity, into view the question how far America should follow, of choice, the old restrictive policy of high duties under which Europe had oppressed America; or how far she should rely upon her own freedom, enterprise, and power, delying the competition, seeking the markets, and receiving the products of the world.

The mind of Jackson on this subject reasoned clearly, and without passion. In the abuses of the system of revenue by excessive imposts, he saw evils which the public mind would remedy; and inclining with the whole weight of his energetic nature to the side of revenue duties, he made his earnest but tranqual at mean to the independent of the needed. quil appeal to the judgment of the people

Letting this extract from Bancroft pass for what it may be worth (in our opinion, very little) we proceed to cite more decisive authorities. Either Daniel Webster was, or the editor of the Tribune is (we keep to our charitable hypothesis of his honesty) an egregious blunderer and ignoramus. In his speech at Worcester (se "Works," vol. 1), just previous to the presidential election of 1832, Mr. Webster arraigned General Jackson as an out-and-out, root-and-branch anti-

protect onist, and sustained his accusation by rresistible proofs. We make the following quota-And first, what are its principles, and what its policy, respecting the tariff?

Is the present Administration for, or against, the tariff? The principles of the Administration, according to

its most recent avowal of those principles, are adverse to the protestive policy, decidedly bostice to the whole system, root and branch; and this on permanent and alleged constitutional grounds.

In that compound of executive opinion contained in the veto message, the whole principle of protec-

in the vote message, the whole principle of proceed tive policy is plainly and pointedly denounced. Mr. Webster then proceeds to quote General Jackson's own language. "The message," he said, "in unveiled allusion to the protective policy of the country, holds this language:"-

(FROM JACKSON'S VETO MESSAGE.) (FROM JACKSON'S VETO MESSAGE.)

Most of the difficulties our Government now encounters, and most of the dangers which now impend over our Union, have sprung from an abandonment of the legitimate objects of Government by our national legislation, and the adoption of such principles as are embodied by this act. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by act of Congress. By attempting to gratity their desirs, we have, in the results of our legislation, arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against section, interest against interest, and man against man in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the founcations of our Union. It is time to pause in our foundations of our Union. It is time to pause in our career, to review our principles, and, if possible, revive that devotes patriotism and spirit of compromise which distinguished the sages of the Revolu-tion and the inthers of our Union. It we cannot at once, in justice to interests vested under improvi-dent legislation, make our Government what it cusht to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, against any prestitution of our Government to the advancement of the low at the expense of the many, and in favor of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy.

No reader of this extract will dissent from the justice of the remarks which follow it in Mr. Webster's speech. He said: "The plain meaning of all this is, that our protecting laws are founded in an abandonment of the legitimate objects of government; that this is the great source of our difficulties; that it is time to stop in our career, to review the principles of these laws, and, as soon as we can, make our Government what it ought to be. No one can question, Mr. President, that these paragraphs from the last official publication of the President show that, in his opinion, the tariff, as a system designed for protection, is not only impolitic, but unconstitutional also. They are quite incapable of any other version or interpretation. They defy all explanation and all glosses."

Now let the reader estimate the indescribable ignorance (or, if he chooses to take the other hypothesis, effrontery) of a political controver-sialist, who, when hard pushed by an opponent, evades the body of that opponent's reasoning and fastens on its skirts, with such a result as this, Considering that we were challenged, over and over again, with an air of insolent bravado to meet him on this fround, we supposed, when we at last accepted, that he would, at least, show more skill in flying! Why need he have taken refuge in such a position as that in which he has exposed himself to this pitaless When he makes another equally skilful retreat. "may we be there to see!"

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