# THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH.-PHILADELPHIA, THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1866.

### THE NEW YORK PRESS.

From the Times

quietly

From the Times.

difficulty

Mesars, Stevens, Sumner & Co, were in great

danger of measuration; that Andrew Johnson was the grand traitor of the age; that Henry

Ward Beecher was a poor weak sister, whose virtue was not proof against official blandish-

ments; and any quantity of such bunkum non-sense. Having voluntarily buried himself more

than a year ago, why cannot Mr. Garrison rest

quietly in his tomb, covered with the radiant glory of his life-work? Wny undignify and be-

little the character of martyr by creeping from his sepulchre to wrangle with his executors? It

revisit the glumpses of the moon and make night hideous.

The Fishery Question-Breakers Ahead.

In its report on the Reciprocity Treaty, issued

last year, the New York Chamber of Commerce

declared the question of the fisheries, embraced

within the treaty, "one of great importance,"

with the further remark that it "has always

been considered such by our most distinguished

public men." This is undoubtedly the case, as

every one must admit who is familiar with

former negotiations with Great Britain upon the

subject, and with the delisate and dangerous issues to which the question gave rise during

the period preceding the enactment of reci-

procity. The Convention of 1818, negotiated by Messrs.

Gallatin and Rush, can hardly be pronounced

very creditable to American diplomacy. John Adams, writing in 1814 to President Monroe,

observed that he would continue the war with England "forever, rather than surrender" "one iots of our fisheries, as established by the third

article of the treaty of 1783." But Messrs, Gal-latin and Rush, while obtaining recognition of our right to fish on the coasts of Newfoundland,

and the privilege of certain entrances elsewhere,

for shelter and repairs, renounced, for this

country, the right to take or cure lish within three miles of "the coasts, bays, harbors, and

creeks of the Provinces," excepting, however, Newtoundland, Labrador, and the Magdalen Isles. The concession was a very serious one,

and has been the source of grave and irequent

Until 1841 the interpretation placed upon the

arrangement was sufficiently liberal to prevent trouble. Both England and our fishermen held

that the "bays" from which the latter were ex-cluded, simply meant what Mr. Derby describes

as "the small bays to which the fishermen re-

sorted for shelter and repairs." In 1841, how-ever, the authorities of Nova Scotia rendered

line beyond which our tishermen should not be

permitted to pursue their calling is a line to be

drawn from one seadland to another. This construction received the sanction of the law

flicers of England, and was thencefor ward up-

held by the mother country and the Provinces

jointly, so excluding our fisher men from the Bay of Chaleurs, in which for twenty-three years they had to led unmolested, from the Strait of

Cause, through which they had passed in "huge

ficets" season after season, and generally from the rich fishing grounds of New Brunswicz, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Canada.

ferers. Openly or clandestinely, they were not

Such a proceeding could not but be hazardous to the peace of both countries. Our fishermen, driven from grounds to which, as we maintain, they were by right and long usage entitled, were

term in another sense, maintaining that the

is a breach of faith thus in complete steel

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

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Main Question-Partial or Perfect

Peace. From the Tribune

In the telegraphic synopsis of the debates in Congress on Monday, we read as follows: --By Mr. John Sherman of Ohio, in the Senate:

"While he (Mr. Sherman) was anxious to see a mode adopted by which loval men itom the South might be admitted to Congress, he never would con-sent to the admission of any mas who had taken part in the Rebillion, and he never would vote for the repeal of the test-oath."

By Mr. Jack Rogers, of New Jersey, in the House:--

"We have a map (at the other end of the avenue) who is the embodiment of civil liberty. We have a man who believes that the Government was made for the benefit of the white men and white women of the country, and not at all for the benefit of negroes or negro wenches."

-These declarations-antagonistic in spirit and purpose as they seem-do nevertheless conspire in scope and effect: that is to say, each of them, while urging restoration and fraternity, does yet contemplate an incomplete, partial, one-sided restoration, which, in our judgment, would be worse than none. Most anxiously desiring the earliest possible reconstruction of the Union, so that it be thorough and just, we yet say, better wait a year or two than have such a restoration as either Mr. Sherman or Mr. Rogers propounds. Let us consider them separately. Mr. Sherman wants the Southern States repre-

sented in Congress-represented now-but insists that no person who has taken part in the late Rebellion shall be admitted to a seat. Now, notoriously, nearly all the white people of those States have taken part in that Rebeliion, and so are excluded by the terms of the existing act and of Mr. Sherman's programme.

Now we object to that programme that its success will not concluste, nor tranquillize, nor satisfy the South, and that it ought not to do so. It is all very well to insist that the South must be represented by "loyal men"—nobody disputes that. But to say that they must always have been loyal-that Georgia, and Mississippi, and South Carolina must send to Congress no man who ever willingly aided the Rebellion-is to mock her with a semblance, yot deny her the reality of representation -is to tantalize, and irritate, rather than tranquillize and conciliate the South. What earnest Unionist wants to see Alexander H. Stephens denied the seat in the Senats to which he has just been elected, and some insignificance, who represents only his own audacious aspirations, admitted in his stead? Depend on it, "the South" is not to be satisfied, nor even "restored," by any sham representation. Mr. Sherman means well; but his plaster is too small for the wound, and will rather inflame than heal it. We are confident we express the general feeling of the Southern whites when we say that they prefer to be kept out of Congress rather than admitted, if, when admitted, they are allowed to send to Congress only representatives who can swear that they never voluntarily aided the Rebellion.

-And now let us look a moment at the alternative proposition of Mr. Jack Rogers:--There were in the fifteen slave States, in 1860,

There were in the fifteen slave States, in 1860, no less than 3,953,760 slaves, with 258,346 free colored persons, forming a total of 4,212,106 blacks in those States, whose total population was 12,315,372. In other words, more than one-third of the entire population of the South, in-cluding Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia, were of the colored race. And if to-day, that section has twelve millions of inhabitants-(a high esti-mate, considering the waste of civil war, with the many thousands of white and black refurees the many thousands of white and black refugees from its hardships and terrors)-certainly not less than one-third of them are blacks, who con-stitute a decided majority of the entire popula-tion of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Loui-siana, and who fall but little below a majority in several other States.

These tour millions are Americans-natives of little disposed to acquiesce in a construction of the agreement by which they were serious sufour country-tellow-Christians-for the most part, agricultural laborers or rough mechanics inured to toil from infancy-and experienced

not destroyed. If they do not," he adds, "we may well expect the fishermen who have been South under Farragut to follow the advice of General Dix, if any one attempts to haul down the American flag." We have no fear that our A Voice from the Grave. Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, on the publication of President Lincoln's death-knell to Government will be found unprepared for the occasion, or in any particular unequal to its Slavery, wound up his Liberator, and, in the words of the first martyr, exclaimed, "Now responsibilities; but we should nevertheless be glad to see the danger averted, and the difficullettest thou thy servant depart in peace," etc. The more ambitious of his compeers, such as tles which produce it overcome. Wendell Phillips & Co., insisted upon carrying the war not only into Africa, but away beyond

There is yet time for Congress to revise the decision of the Committee of Ways and Means, and to consider on its own account the proposi-tions submitted by the Provincial delegates for even to the uttermost limits of the unknown sea. Yet, after this formal and mortal abdica-tion, Mr. Garrison returns to the earth, and on the renewal of commercial intercourse on an equitable and comprehensive basis. Ware the negotiations so abruptly broken off a month ago Tuesday night entertained a large audience in Brooklyn with a vi.uperative harangue against President Johnson, in which he displayed all resumed, we suppose that the complications incident to the present aspect of the fishers question might be meanwhile prevented. Is not the situinment of such an object worth an effort? his wonderful powers of objuration, and all the artful use of circumstances for which he was, in his former life, notable. It will surprise no one that he suggested that

Secretary Seward's Trip to the West Indies Explained.

From the Herald.

The mystory which has for a long time surrounded the journey of Secretary Seward to the tropics has at length been removed. One of our Washington correspondents, in a letter published elsewhere, furnishes some very interesting facts, which explain the object of that journey more fully than anything which has yet been given to the public. We were at first informed that the veteran Secretary had become wearled writing volumes of essays to foreign diplomats, and had taken this journey by way of relaxation, to in-yigorate both mind and body, and get himself in the proper trim to prepare several more volumes of his essays. This idea was circulated until it became a little threadbare, when another version was put in circulation, and we were in-formed that he had left his post to get rid of being bored by members of Congress on the Mexican question, or to gain time to carry out his schemes with regard to Napoleon. He finally returned, and the recognition of the Republic of Dominica was at once proclaimed, and everybody supposed that they had discovered the secret of his mission. The establishing of friendly relations with that republic, and thus making that Government our ally, was an im-portant step, and one that will be of inestimable advantage to us in case of a war with any of the European Powers which have colonies in the West India islands.

While this may have been in part the object of Secretary Seward's journey, it seems by our Washington advices that it was only a portion, and by far the most insignificant portion of his mission. It came in, no doubt, incidentally, but it appears that the real object was to secure a naval station among those islands where our vessels of war can rendezvous, obtain their supplies, and prepare for any emergency in the event of complications with foreign Powers. The temper of the present Congress is such that there is no probability of their making any appropriations to repair or construct fortifica-tions along our Southern coast. Should the enforcement of the time-honored Monroe trine-which the people all demand shall be adhered to, and the Administration as well as Congress is instructed to maintain-lead us to a war with the monarchical Governments which are interfering with affairs on this continent, the whole sea-coast of the Southern States would be open to them to operate upon

Those Governments having convenient harbors in the West Indies to obtain their supplies, would have a decided advantage over us in a naval conflict. They would make their base of operations near our shores, while we would be forced to the necessity of operating from a Northern port. To provide against this emergency, Secretary Seward pays a visit to the Island of St. Thomas, and enters into a nego-tiation with the Danish authorities for that harbor, which is said to be the finest in the West Indies, and well suited for this purpose We are informed that his mission was sucesstul and that its objects were accomplished. Taking this to be the correct version, the public cannot fail to commend the skill of the Secretary of State in thus throwing an anchor to the wind ward, to be ready for any storm that may arise, I owever much the people may condemn the neglect of Congress to provide for the protection of our Sonthern harbors, they cannot fail to regard this move of the Administration as a wise

one under the circumstances. We would have greatly preferred that the

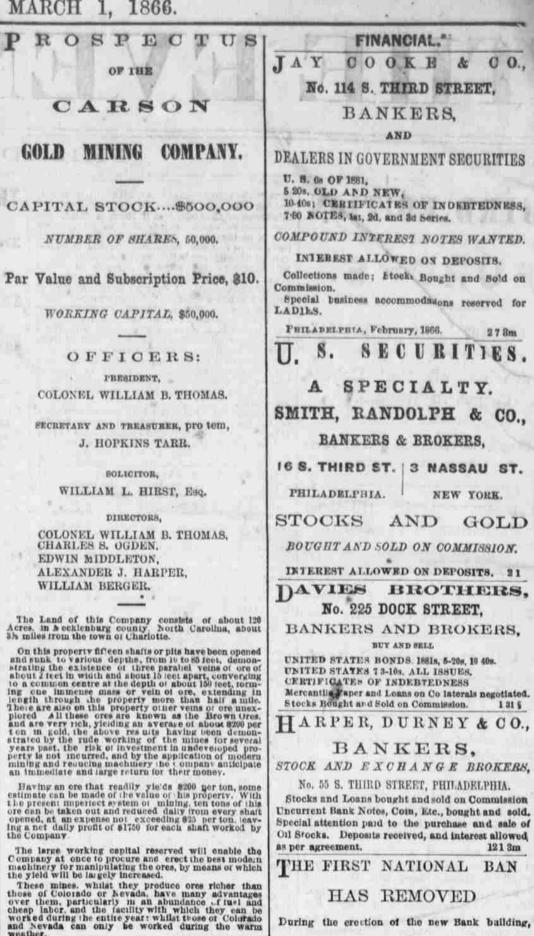
son's veto and speech afford encouraging ground for their sanguine hopes! The only wonder is, what is to be the basis of a compromise which is to give such golden satisfaction. The Presi-dent holds that any other Freedmen's Bureau than the transient one which now exists, is needless and dangerous. Three-fourths of the Republicans of the House, and nearly two-thirds of these of the Senate are strongized to the add of those of the Senate, are strongly of the ad-verse opinion. The President holds that the Senators and Representatives from the recon-structed States are entitled to immediate admis-sion; the Republicans of both Houses scoff and repudiate the idea. He is opposed to any fur-ther amendments of the Constitution; they deem certain amendments vital. They are for forcing nearo suffrage on the South; he is strenuously opposed to it. What compromise is possible between these irreconcilable opinions President shows no symptoms of yielding; and if they yield to him, what excuse or apology can they offer for all they have been doing since the beginning of the session? In good truth the radicals cannot succumb in this crisis without the most abject political

numiliation. Besides, they would sell themselves for nothing. They can never to expect to find grace with the President. Like the fallen angels in "Paradise Lost," they have nothing to hope from repentance. Mr. Johnson is certain to bestow no offices on them. Having nothing to gain from submission, they will oppose the policy of the President to the end of the chapter. The Democrats desiring no offices from Mr. Johnson, and the radicals being certain to ob-tain pone, there is opened before the so-called tain none, there is opened before the so-called conservative Republicans the most encouraging prospect ever offered to a political minority. They are in a jair way to monopolize all the patronage in the gift of the President. Fewer in number than the Democrats, fewer than the radicals, the chance of each aspirant for a good office is five fold as great as in a united and homogeneous party after success in a Presiden-tial election. We accordingly expect to see this wing of the Republicans rapidly reinforced and if they assume to read the radicals out o the party, they will thereby promote the split which is demanded by the interests of the

Union The consequence will be that the President's policy will prevail; the Union will be restored; the Democratic party, by the accession of the Southern vote, will outnumber both of the Re-publican factions together; and, by keeping aloof from all entangling alliances, it will be free to adopt any course of action thereafter. which the interests of the whole country may seem to require.

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in that department of our national industry (cotton-growing) which promises the amplest immediate returns. They are docile, imitative, and plastic to all good influences, eager for education, and living in close association with the landholders and planters-a class conservative by position and instinct, whose influence over them, since they have been placed in just and beneficent relations to each other, must always be controlling. These blacks have been trie and tempted in our late struggle, and have nobly endured the ordeal.

They never concealed their desire and expectation of freedom as its natural result; no one could doubt that their sympathies, as a race, were on the side of the Union; many of them enl sted and fought bravely in its detense; yet all the predictions that they would take advan-tage of their masters' absence in the field to rise in insurrection and cut the throats of their de feuseless wives and children, were utterly, signally falsified. And the kindred but later prognostications that they would refuse to work-that they would keep no faith with their employers-would choose to wander as vagrant thieves and beggars until they perished from off the face of the earth—have seen quite as em-phatically dissipated. We doubt that there were ever more blacks faithfully at work in the South, or working more efficiently, than to-day

We appeal, then, to the Statesmen of the outh-and she still has statesmen-to take Southground boldly for a comprehensive and complete reconciliation-one that shall include every class in every section-tnat shall leave no discontents no heart-burnings, no chances of future insurrections and civil war. ALL RIGHTS FOR ALLis our platterm; which does not imply that every man shall be a voter, but that color shall not be a perpetual disqualification—that every rational youth or man may confidently aspire and hope o become a member of the body politic by faith fully endeavoring to quality himself therefor. 'No taxation without representation" is a sacred principle, justly urged in favor of the early admission to Congress of representatives from the Stales lately in revolt; we heartily accept sisting only that it shall operate in favor of that portion of the Southern people which was not, well as that which was, willingly involved in the Rebellion. Agree that every tax-payer shall be a voler, and that there shall be no impediment of law or policy to the blacks becoming tax-pavers, and we stand ready to insist on the repeal of the test-oath and the present admission of representatives from every State in the Union. And we teel very confident that a ma-

jority in Congress feel as we do. Let it be distinctly understood that if the whites of the South are not represented in Con-gress, it is because they deny all right of representation or power of self-protection to the blacks. Show us a single State which admits her blacks to vote on a like intellectual, educational, moral, and pecuniary basis with her whites, and we will urge the instant admission of the chosen representatives of that State, though they be all ex-Rebei generals of the most obnoxious type. And so long at the late Rebals shall demand that they alone be represented in Congress, while their steadfastly loyal neighbors shall, because of their color, be denied all politi-cal franchises, and even the most essential civil rights, they will not be commiserated by the just and generous throughout Christendom.

It is at the option of Southern statesmen to ally ally themselves with our Jack Rozerses, and (perhaps) win their way into Congress thereby. They may make theirs a "White man's govern-ment," and be ruled, after a little, by the thieves, blacklegs, blackguards, and idlers who will soon flock in to fill and swell their cities, instead of the docile and thrifty laborers on their own plantations, educated under their eye, and identified in sympathy and interest with themselves. It they have decided, or shall decide, to fight for representation under the Jack Rogers standard, we shall cerialnly regret it; but our loss by their mistake will be far less than their own.

seldom violators of the regulation which England and her Provinces declared themselves re solved to enforce at all hazards. When caught, their vessels and cargoes were confiscated by the Provincials. An unpleasant feeling grew up on both sides. England sent out ships-of-war to protect the Provinces in their claim; and the Provinces in their turn equipped miniature na-vies to watch and punish American transgress-Our Government, again, unwilling to leave its citizens at the mercy of foreign authority, stationed war yessels to assure American fishermen of protection within the law. But as no attempt was made to gainaay the construction nameted upon by the Provinces as to the dividing ine, our fishermen derived little practical benefit from the presence of their country's flag in those waters.

Thus matters went on, our fishermen year after year waxing more impatient under a restriction from which they were heavy losers; the Pro-vincuals and their imparial protectors, on the other hand, becoming more and more vigilant in their watch, and more and more firm in the nforcement of confiscation, when American vessels were found in the prohibited waters. At that period an accident might at any moment have precipitated us into war. The Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack were there, flying in provoking proximity, each with guns loaded and matches lighted, to assert the rights and honor of the countries they respectively repre-A little extra bot-headedness on either ented. side-a little extra determination on the part of an American fisherman, or a little extra zeal on the part of a Provincial functionary-would have rendered hostilities inevitable.

From this position, irritating and perilous, we were relieved by the Reciprocity Treaty. Our takermen were allowed, of right, to enter the intest fisheries of the hemisphere, and most ener-getically have they profited by the opportanity. An important interest has been lostered. A large and lucrative industry has been cultivated. But the treaty in virtue of whica these privi leges have been enjoyed draws to a close. On the 17th of March reciprocity will come to an end; and with its termination will come a re-vival of Provincial exclusiveness in the matter of the fisheries, and the enforced denial to our fishermen of liberty to labor in the localities most certain to yield profit. In the language of the report of the Chamber of Commerce, they will be "driven out of the Bay of Chalcurs and other teoming inlets, which are within the for-merly prescribed limit of three miles." All the misunderstandings will recur. There will be aggressions and reprisals. Our citizens, accustomed for the last ten years to fish in the most productive waters, will submit but sullenly, if at all, to the exercise of Provincial authority adversely to their interests, and even to their rights, as they understand them. "This is a "point to be considered," our Chamber of Commerce has said, "as bearing directly on the subject" of the expiration of reciprosity. That the provinces are preparing promptly

and energetically to visit upon our fishermen the penalties of commercial non-intercourse may be interred from the action already an-nounced by the Government of Canada. A telegraphic despatch published on Tuesday informs us of the issue of a proclamation setting forth that after the 17th proximo "no vessels owned and manned in the United States of America can pursue the inshore fisheries' withn the territory of Canada, "without rendering themselves liable to the confiscation of their vessels, and such other penalties as are imnosed? by Canadian 14w. We must therefore make up our minds to meet the resne, and provide for its attendant difficulties, We are justified in assuming that these diffi-

cultics are not remote, and former experience points to the supposition that in their nature they will be complicated and important. In they will be complicated and important. In his report to the Treasury Department, Mr. Derby, in view of this contingency, suggests that "the Government should despatch a squadron to the fishing grounds, to set that our ves-erls are not molested, and that our asheries are

United States should take possession of the Island of Cuba, which by nature belongs to us, but St. Thomas will answer for the present. The Spanish Government can now quiet its fears, and rest in peace, as long as it behaves itself for having secured the harbor at St. Thomas, we have no use for Cuba. But that Government must bear in mind that it must keep itself on its good behavior, as far as the affairs of this continent are corcerned, or we may find it to our interest to secure additional naval stations in that quarter, and to take them without formal negotiations, as in this case. The harbor of St. Thomas having been secured, we trust that Con-gress will make a liberal appropriation to place it in a condition to carry out the object for it was secured. Our only regrets are that it was not in our possession during the late civil war. It would have been of inestimable advantage to us during that period, as a rendezvous for our blockading and cruising squadrons.

## The Political Crisis.

#### From the World.

The sharp conflict which has arisen between President Johnson and the Republican majority in Congress, is a conflict in which Democrats feel a keen interest; but it is not the interest of participants, but of spectators. We not only do not wish, but carnestly deprecate, any alliance or coalition between the President and the Democratic party. It would misbeseem the dignity of a President elected oy one party to go over to the other. If he is constrained to differ from the party that elected him, it is consistent with decorum for him to rise above par.lsansnip, and throw himself on the good sense of the country and in such a case, honest men should support

The position of the Democratic party, in this crisis, is that of an army of observation. We have a greater interest in the complete restoration of the Union than we can have in any other result whatsoever. We are ready to do or to forbear anything of which the doing or the forbearance lends to expedite the restora-tion of the secended States to their old relations to the Federal Government. We do not think that a total separation between the President and the party that elected him would facilitate and the party that elected thin would facilitate this result. His close identification with the Democratic party would probably consolidate the disintegrating Republicans, and as the radicals form a mage majority of that organiza-tion, it would block restoration for a long period. We are glad of the split which has been precipitated by the President, and trust that he and the two Republican factions may be left to fight it out among themselves. We teel no uncasiness, but great encourage

ment, at the attempts making in Washington to heal the breach by some sort of a compromise, if that is the proper name for an acco in which the concessions must all be made by one side. Nothing could give us sincerer joy than to see even the radicals surrendering to the President; for the moment his policy prevails, leven States, sure to vote with the Democratic party, resume all their political functions. But the support of his policy by the radicals is a po-litical impossibility, and its carly success de-pends upon how large a segment of the Republi-can party will cleave off by the shock of the present conflict. We therefore rejoice in the attemut of Security 2000 and 20000 and 2000 and attempt of Secretary Seward, Senator Sherman, and others of that stamp, to understate and be-little the difference between the President and Congress, and to furnish excuses to Republicans for adhering to Mr. Johnson. We sincerely wish these attempts all the success possible more than they are likely to attain. Meanwhile the Democratic party stand on guard, keeping their organization compact, and giving a dism terested support to the policy of the President. We congratulate the buoyant Republicans of the rese-water school on their auddenly dicovered pro peet of a compromise. Mr. John

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PHILADELPHIA, JADUARY 27, 1866.