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Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Import lant Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH

International Telegraphy.

From the Times. A measure which involves questions of grave national importance is now under consideration by the United States Senate, in the bill reported by Senator Morgan, to encourage telegraphic communication between the United States and the Island of Cuba, and other West India Islands and the Bahamas. Permission is asked of Congress to allow certain citizens of the United States the exclusive privilege for a limited number of years to lay a telegraphic cable over or upon a specified part of the coast of the United States, with a view to connection with the West India Islands. From the debates in the Senate on this question on the 26th ultimo, we find that this privilege is asked to protect American in-terests which are now jeopardized by an exclu-sive grant given by the Government of Spain to certain Spanish subjects to open telegraphic communication between the United States and

We also learn that a French company, with exclusive privileges for one hundred years, has been heavily subsidized by Napoleon III, and that the privilege for this company to land on our shores has been the subject of diplomatic correspondence. It is to insure the protection of American interests against foreign monopo-lies of this nature that the Senate Committee on Commerce has acted in reporting this bill. If we concede that the effect of such an enterprise would be desirable, is it within the power of Congress to make such a grant? Is it such an element entering into the commercial busi-ness of the people of the United States in their relations with the rest of the world, that it is legitimately a subject of regulation under the eighth section of the Constitution?

We think that both these questions might be answered in the affirmative. Telegraphing is of such comparatively recent discovery that any reasoning upon its relations to the Government must be by analogy rather than from precedent. The law cedes territorial ownership of the land on the coast between high and low water marks to the several States, and vests the dominion in the United States to a distance from the shore of a maritime league, or the range of a cannon-shot. The United States, then, have clearly the right to say—a right which has never been disputed—that no foreign nation shall establish a battery within the waters of such marileague. This being the case, has the General Government the right to forbid the laying of a telegraphic cable the fundum within this limit? ew of the fact that a telegraphic cable might be made as dangerous to the safety of the nation as the erection of a battery, we think the power is equally unquestionable. Upon the right and duty of self-detense the whole principle of the exclusiveness of the maritime league rests. Under the power incident to this dominion the general Government can declare that the War or Navy Departments might exclusively lay and use these cables over this particular territory for the safety or convenience of its military posts or navy yards-a power which might be delegated to certain of its own citizens primarily, for its own convenience, and secondarily, for that of the general putthe, so far as its capacity extended beyond their own needs, thus excluding foreign nations from occupying the coast line by a an agency so potential for good or evil as a telegraphic cable This point does not touch the question of the power of Congress under the eighth section of the Constitution to regulate commerce with toreign nations. There may be some difficulty here, but less, perhaps, than appears at the first view of the subject,

It will be admitted that the telegraph is now fully incorporated into and has become a part of the modern commercial system of the world; but it has uses other than commercial, and features unlike any other element entering into that comprehensive word commerce—an element making it quite neces-sary that the Government should exercise some control over it. Swift as thought, voiceless while speaking, in an instant a cypher message may pass from one continent to another which might gravely affect the interests of a whole people. The grantees having first procured the riparian rights, as well as the State grants, the consent of the general Government to lay the cable within the limits of the maritime league beyond is essential. It would seem that the most constitutional government in the world should assume in some way to regulate such an agency as this-at least to see that it is in the hands of its own citizens.

Petroleum a Business, and not a Speculation.

From the Tribune.

The Report of the United States Revenue Commission on "Petroleum as a Source of National Revenue," recently submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury, together with the novel and long-matured project of the Hon. C. V. Culver, now representing the Oil District in Congress, for building the metropolis of the petroicum region, has excited a new and healthy interest in the wonderful business of petroleum. The fitty closely printed pages of the Commis sioner's Report, heavy with computations, and chemistry and science have an interest of their own. We see how the wilderness of an almost unknown district of Pennsylvania has become the centre of one of the first staples of commerce

and manufacture,
The customs tables tell us that American seamen now carry petroleum to a hundred ports— to absorbing Antwerp, which took 4,149,821 gal-lons in 1864; to China and the Indies, that were contents with 34,338; or the new world in the Pacific seas, which received in 1865 nearly 1,000,000 gallons. Where ten years ago were scraggy lands, bordering narrow streams, luctant to yield a harvest, has gushed forth a stream of wealth more abundant than any that ever came from the golden Bocky Mountams, and giving every prospect of as great per-

The petroleum business has been a subject to the fluctuations of every business that is based upon sudden and unaccountable developments of wealth. Men became crazy with the fever of sudden gain, and for five years, yearning, hungry madmen have been leading a tarantula dance among the mountains and ravines of Venango. Shrewd moncy-changers traded on panic, and so largely profited by it in organtzing "companies" upon the system which Mr. Dickens made memorable in his history of Mr. Montagu Tigg, that a feeling of repugnance arose in the minds of the people against petroleum, and men ruefully recalled the history of the South Sea Bubble, or Law's Mississippi schemes, or England's recent railway freuzy, as schemes, or England's recent railway frenzy, as they thought of their real money sunk in imaginary wells. Every Venango adventurer who talled to sink his thousand-barrel well returned home in despair. Those who remained were burdened by a Government tax which injured the free development of the Petroleum trade. The effect of this tax upon a new and growing industry is shown by the Government

blould the change in the tax suggested by the Revenue Commission be made, the reaction now taking place in the petroleum development of Venango will make it a business and not a speculation. Whether Mr. Culver will succeed with his Reno experiment or not, he certainly de-serves the credit of having made a grand attempt. He has attracted around him in his present ea-terprise men of reputation as financiers and merchants. Under proper and systematic management there is no reason why petroleum should not be made as successful a business the mining of silver, coal, iron, or gold. It has suffered, heretofore, from irresponsible com-panies, which had only the effect of destroying confidence in one of the most important American interests.

From the Herald,

While the Fenian agitation gives the British Government some trouble and puts it to some expense, the astute and far-seeing men who are at the helm of affairs will manage to turn the event to their own purposes. They have no fear of the Fenians dismembering the British empire or even of revolutionizing Canada, if that should be the purpose. They know their own strength too well. A great deal of the tuss and noise about the Fenians is made, undoubtedly, by the Government steelf and by the aristocracy, to divert attention from other questions and to enable them to accomplish other objects. This is a common game which the statesmen and politicians of Europe play, and none more adroitly and successfully than those of England.

The question of electoral or Parliamentary reform has been agitated some time in Eauland. The mass of the people were never satisfied with the Reform bill of 1832, as they had reason not to be, for they were excluded from its benefits. After a great deal of agitation and great promises at that period the reform mevement ended in a limited exemsion of the suffrage. The aristo-cracy were compelled to make some concession to popular demands, but they yielded as little as possible, and were smart enough to control the movement. The Prime Minister of England to-cay, Earl Russell, was one of the prominent leaders of referm, but when the measure was passed he declared that it was final—that the elective franchise could be extended no further. For this he was dubbed by the disappointed retormers "Finality Russell."

During the thirty-lour years since the Reform bill passed, the question of further reform—that is, to give household suffrage or something approaching that to the people—has been kept before the public mind. The new reformers have been gaining strength every year, until finally the matter was pressed upon the Government so far as to obtain a recognition of the necessity of reform. Of course a Government of which Earl Russell is the head would only give the smallest modicum of that popular article to the country. Still, the prospect was that something must be conceded, and when the present Parliament assembled expectation of reform was high. Nothing but great outside pressure could induce the Russells, the Derbys, the aristocracy and privileged classes to grant this, and they were quite ready to selze hold of any pretext to

gnore or postpone it.

They will consequently use the Fenian agitation to divert public attention from reform. Not being aired of anything very serious coming out of it, they can afford a little expense and trouble if they can realize the object they always have at heart. To hold in check the tendency to democracy, to limit the suffrage as much as pessible, and to allay the popular clamor for reform without granting it, is of far more importance in the view of the English aristocracy than the annoyance or trouble of Fenianism. This agitation, therefore, will give them a capital pretext for postponing reform, and they will nurse it as long as it serves that

Another object it will serve is that of affordng an opportunity of settling the difficulty of the Alabama claims and other matters with the country. Under the scare of Feninusm the ministry will be able to lower its tone, and make an adjustment which it could not do so well otherwise. If there were no domestic or other serious troubles to engage the public mind the people would not be so ready to sacrifice their national pride as i to do justice to the United States. But when the Covernment can make them believe it has its hands full of culties they will be more numble and con-siderate. In this point of view we think the Fenian excitement arords a good opportunity to settle up all outstanding matters with the United States: and if we may judge from tone of the British press and Parhament the same impression is gaining ground to Eugland. Just now the United States is a very great country, its Government very magnanimous, and we are a very amiable people, in the estimation of England.

But there is still another important purpose which the Fenian agitation is expected to serve. The British Government has been coaxing and pushing the colonies of North America to form ration. The colonies have been averse to this, believing their existence as separate governments more conducive to their independ-ence and welfare. There appeared to be little prospect of this royal consolidation scheme being carried out a short time ago. It is supposed the ulterior object is to place all these colonies under a vice royal government-to create, in fact, a quasi monarchy, or, may be, a monarchy on our border. This, it is believed, would strengthen England's hold on America, make a government strong enough to sustain itself without much cost to the mother country and be a check to the growth of republican in-

The scheme originated at the same time with the French invasion of Mexico and the Span sh assault on the other republics of this continent, and looks very much like a secret European combination against this great republic. The confederation project did not seem to take, as we observed, and there were signs of abandoning it; but the Fenlan fright, or pretended fright, has given new life to it. The Government eagerly seizes hold of this to push the project, arguing that self-defense against the Feminis demand such unity among the colonies. Thus, we see, that while the British Government has no fear of an Irish republic or successful revolution in Canada, it is using the Fenian agriction for other ends. But it is a dangerous experiment it is playing with fire. The Feniae movement, if tampered with for political purposes, may go further than expected, and it may ignite revolu-tionary fires in England itself and throughout the continent of Europe. We may be thankful, however, if it be the means of sticulating a prempt settlement of England's difficulty with

Satan and Sanche Pauza Combined in Congress. From the Herald.

The absurd speech of Mr. Thad. Stevens in Congress last Saturday reads like a chapter from the famous novel of Cervante's. Mr. Stevens is the Sancho Panza of the radical faction, as Senator Summer is its Don Quixote. Although these two representatives travel the same road in company, their characters and their peculiarities are essentially different. Sumner is the knight; Stevens is the esquire. Summer looks upon the negro race as a colored Dulcinea to be relieved, while Stevens trudges along with an eye to fun and trolic, and a mouth ever open for the loaves and fishes. Sumner is rather moody and melancholy; much study of old books has made him mad; he renders himself ridiculous by attempting to carry out impracticable theories in this practical,

workaday age. Stevens has studied nothing but men, and only falls in with his master's chivalric notions when they promise to lead to good fare and fat offices. Summer is ambitious of becoming the champion of the most ultra interpretation of the great principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality. Stevens sighs only for creature comforts and remunerative patronage, and cares more for the next election than for any abstract principle ever enunciated. The one is a lumatic philosopher, and we pity him while we laugh at hire. The other is a shrewd, unscrupulous poli-tician, full of broad humor and fond of rough

jokes, and we are equally ready to roar at him whether he is drubbing somebody or being soundly thrashed.

The Congressional Don Quixote and Sancho Panza might log along together in appropriate companionship, causing mirth in all observers and happening upon all sorts of ludicrous adventures, without the slightest objection from any quarter, if it were not for the last that Stevens, unlike his great original, has a spice of Satan in his composition. Don Quixote Sumner is safe enough in the Senate. Dixon, Doo-little, Cowan, and a score of other sousible men are there watching him, and they will prevent

The Fenian Agitation and the Policy of funtastic performances. Then, if the worst-comes to the British Government. and unhorse this theoretical knight, this incarnated snachronism, with a veto measage that sends him sprawling in the mod even while he

is shouting the batile-cry of negro equality. But Sancho Panza Stevens, with a majority of the House of Representatives obedient to all his whime, is not altogether laughable. There is a streak of deviltry in some of his proceedings which ments a decided rebuke. His speech last Saturday, for example, is capital as a more piece of humer: but when we consider that through the subservient good nature of Congress he was allowed to put upon official record the vilest Copperhead slanders against the President, and when we also remember that all his arrant false heods, humorous as they were when delivered in the House, are calculated and designed to deceive the Pennsylvania Dutch voters when translated into German and circulated as a campaign decement, we at once see the torked tail o coublet. Nor are the marks of the Saturio sence less evident in the new scheme for subjurating the Southern States recently adopted by Stevens and his triends,

The theory of Den Quixote Summer in regard dead States and territorial Governments seems to be abandoned by Sancho Panza as flat, stale, and unprofitable; and it is now proposed to held negro conventions at the South, elect pegro delegates to Congress, and admit them in diance of the President and of public sentiment. The idea of negro representatives, first satirically broached in these columns, is quite seriously idepted by the Radicals. They are determined to act as the French Convention did in relation to St. Domingo, and their course can produce only similar results. Of course the whites of the South will not submit to be thes oussed from their rights; a negro insurrection will casue, and the President will have to inter-

This latest scheme of our Saucho Panza is, therefore, by no means tunny, and is not in keeping with the character which he otherwise assumes very well. Fertunately, however, the South is still under martial law, and any movements towards negro conventions may be promptly suppressed. The President proved by speech on the 22d of February-which was no joke, all assertions to the contrary not-withstanding—that he understands Sancho Panza Sievens thoroughly, and is ready to cast the Salan out of him at the proper opportunity. When this is done—when all the devil sh sprit is gone, and only the wit, the humor, and the shrewd common sense remain, we do not know a Congressman whose retirement from public life will be more sincerely regretted by all lovers of laughter than that of the notorious member from Pennsylvania.

The Guarantee Section of the Constitution. From the World.

Henry Winter Davis, a few days before his death, wrote to a gentleman in New Jersey the following letter, just published:-

My Deer Sir:—The case re erred to is Luther vs. Borden, 7 Haward, S. C. Rep. 1.

1 did not say that the States were out of the Union in law by rebellion, or in fact b. the result of arms. On the contrary, 1 said the S ate Government ceased to exist in one by renouncing the Constitution, and

Note the diversity The States are in the Union, or else we are not bound to guarante them republican gate in al. They have not republican returned and that alone gives Congress the right to control the vestoration under the power to guar-

Summer is getting right on this point. tengres looks firm; but it must be wise as well as firm. It we go before the people next fail on a negative tease, leaving Johnson's government in possession of the kintes, and simply refuse to admit them to Congress, we will have tably be beaten. Congressmust annual Johnson's governments, formally prescribe universal suffrage as the condition sine quantum of transmitting and proposed a mend that for non of recognition, and propose to amend the Con-stitution, making it the sum me law of the land for all states, and so to the country on these measures, or, the needs will accept Johnson's governments as a solution and send representatives to admit their representatives. Sincerely yours.

H. WINTER DAVIS.

Baltimore, Md , December 21, 1865. This letter evinces a lucid perception of the hinges. Its argument that the Southern States must be regarded as in the Union to make the tional guarant e of republican government applicable to them, is conclusive. estimate of the conflict between Congress and the President does credit to his perspicacity. He clearly saw that a mere refusal to admit the Southern representatives would, in the end, amount to nothing, unless Congress should "annul Johnson's governments," and set up new ate governments in their place. But this nullification policy having been eneckmated by the veto power of the President (not supposed posible in December, when this letter was ar. Davis' sagacious prediction will be julfilled. that "the people will accept Johnson's govern ents as a solution, and representatives to admit

or representatives. The only way which remains open, even in leary, to "annul Johnson's governments," is be desperate conspiracy to which the Radicals ave resorted of setting up new governments v the spontaneous action of the Southern regrees and purchased whites, and almitting that representatives by the separate action of each House; which may be done by a mere macity. But a conspiracy to overthraw the are governments to Federal protection, which he President has ample authority to render, sing the army, or the militia, to any extent he may dears necessary. The law, in clothing him with this power, makes him the sole judge of the extgency, and his discretion the sole limit as to the amount of the military force he will

employ. The new phase this controversy has assumed readers it even more important than before that the country should have a clear understanding ti at part of the Constitution sometimes called the guarantee section. Congress have professed to act under it, in their attempts to t up new State governments in the South; m it is also derived the authority by which the President will protect the existing governments from destruction, it the Radical conspir-racy for their overthrow is persisted in. The grantee section is in the following words :-

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature or of the executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, against demostic violence."

Nething occurred in our political history to call for a very attentive sitting of this important section until the Dorr rebelsion in Rhode Island, in 1842. In connection with that disturbance is was obscussed with as much ability as has ever been brought to the consideration of any constitutional question. A long and exhaustive letter on the subject by Mr. Calhoun, in 1843, Mr. Webster's argument before the Supreme Court, in 1848, and the opinion of the Court itself, pro-nounced by Chief Justice Taney (the case reterred to in the beginning of the above letter) are the expositions which best deserve to be studied, both because we have never had three minds better qualified to handle such a subject, and because their substantial agreement on the main point is in itself no slight presumption of the soundness of their common view. Where men of pre-eminent apility who looked at the Constitution from such different standpoints agree in opinion, their joint conclusion is not likely to be shaken by subsequent examination. We will not follow the ample range of those var ous discussions, but merely indicate a few evident conclusions which follow, without any legical respensents, from the language of the

rection. The combining of three distinct guarantees in that single section shows that, in the estima-tion of the framers, they are related, and are calculated to throw light on each other. Each is designed for the protection of the States, and taken together, they guarantee protection ngainst every kind of danger to which the States can be exposed. The only dangers which a State is not competent to meet unaided are in-vasion from without, rebellion against its Govenment from within, and esurpation by its rulers, who may wield us Government against the liberties of the people. Against each of these im from doing any harm to the country by his | dangers the section provides a guarantee.

It will conduce to clearness to consider these guarantees in an order the reverse of that in which they stand in the Constitution; that order being merely rhetorical, for the purpose of bringing the long and qualified clause last. The qualifications by which this is limited grow out if the nature of the evil against which it guards. The "demestic violence" which it contemplates is violence against the State government; and that government is made the sole judge of the existency, in order to take away all pretext for Federal intermeddling in the internal affairs of State under color of supporting its government. The State Government is to be, in every case, the sole judge of its ability to protect itself against internal disturbance. It a State government needs assistance against domestic violence, it is capable of knowing it, and has the appro priate official organs through which to ask for Neither Congress nor the President can interfere for this purpose unasked.

The guarantee against invasion is not qualified; the obligation it imposes is absolute. Invasion necessarily comes from outside, and all the expernal relations of the States belong to the jurisdiction of the Federal Government Under this clause, it is bound to expel and drive off intruders without waiting to be called on, but it can do nothing more. When the invasion is repelled, the Federal Government has nothing to do; and even during its continuance all the internal affairs of the State remain under the exclusive jurisdiction of the State Govern-

The guarantee of republican government also requires to application on the part of the State, for reasons founded on the nature of this guarantee, which is intended to protect the State against the usurpation of its rulers. In this case it would be absurd to await the application of the State Government, for the State Government is the very thing against which the State is to be protected. The usurping rulers would, or course, never apply to the Federal Government to aid the people.
If the usurping State Government should esta ish a monarchy or an oligarchy, the Federal authority would wait for no invitation to in terfere. The important question under this guarantee is, what is the standard of republican government? It is by departure from, or conformity to, this standard (whatever it may be) that the Federal authority must estimate its duty of interference or forbearance.

It may safely be assumed, as an incontro-vertible position, that no State Government violates the republican standard by any practice for which there is a precedent in the Governments of the original thirteen States. It is absurd to suppose that the Constitution intended, or that the States accepted, a standard which would have permitted the Federal authority to set aside any of the State Governments then existing, with which the States entered into the Union, as, it was first formed. Whatever was consistent with republicarism in any State on its first entrance into the Union, can be no bar to its continued existence in the Union as a republican State. To held the contrary would be to suppose that the men who framed, and the States which originally adopted, the Constitu-tion did not understand their own meaning. Advancing from the general discussion to

present applications, we may lay the guarantee against invasion out of view, as having no relevancy to the present state of affairs. Both of the other guarantees are closely connected with pending questions. The important point to determine is, which of the two guarantees is now applicable? In other words, is it the existing State Covernments that are to be protected, or is it the people of the Southern States that are to be protected against these Governments? If the existing State Governments are republican in form, the guarantee against domestic violence insures them protection against overthrow, whenever they find it necessary to ask for such

protection. Any attempt to "annul Johnson's Governments" is clearly unconstitutional, urless it can be shown that they are not republican. But, to prove them anti-republican, it must be shown that they differ, in some essential particular, from all the Governments of the original thir-teen States. It is claimed by the Radicals that universal suffrage is the test of republicanism. But none of the original thirteen could have stood this test. Had it been insisted on, the Union could not have been formed. Surely, States cannot be turned out of the Union for reasons which did not prevent their original admission. It is clear, therefore, that the guarantee which protects existing State Governments against overthrow is the only one which applies to the present condition of the country

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PHILAPELPHIA, February, 1866.

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