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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS FROM CURRENT TOPICS—COMPARED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The English Reform Bill—The Last Debate in the Commons.

We have printed a letter from the pen of our special correspondent in London, giving an account of the last great debate in the House of Commons on the occasion of the final reading of the Reform bill. The description of the House will be accepted as that of an eye-witness, and the epitome which is given of the debate will be admitted to be faithful and just.

It is evident from the letter of our correspondent that while the Tory party, with a few exceptions, is jubilant, the once so-called Liberal party is crushed with that worst of all sorrows—the sorrow that comes of disappointment and defeat. Disraeli is the hero of the hour, the object of the praises and the homage of the proudest and most cultured aristocracy in the world; and he assumes the attitude and uses the language of a conqueror who can point to the triumph which enables him to seem indifferent to the means by which it has been achieved.

Crabtree and Lowe are prophetic of coming ill. Gladstone, with becoming dignity, is silent. Bright is nonplussed, and knows not what to say. The one weak point in the debate, as it appears to us, was the anxiety manifested by sections of both the great parties, particularly by Disraeli on the one hand and Bright on the other, to claim the paternity of a measure which the one party, though it dislikes it, has had the honor of passing, and of which the other party, though it rather likes it, has been robbed of the laurels. The bill is now safe in the Lords, and such unworthy trifles might have passed in silence.

For politicians to quarrel about the credit of having originated or proposed or carried the measure is absurd. Reform in England, like emancipation in the United States, has been the result of circumstances, not of any settled political policy, and has been carried by the people, not by the politicians. Mr. Disraeli has been to the bill what President Lincoln was to the emancipation—the executor, not the originator. He has been forced along, step by step, as President Lincoln was, and he has displayed his wisdom, not in leading the people, but in obeying them.

Like President Lincoln again, he has been successful mainly through his jokes. How many a puzzling question did one of Lincoln's stories make plain during the doubtful days of our recent war? and how many a dangerous division have Disraeli's rollicking speeches tided safely over during the long reform debates? Different in many respects, Lincoln and Disraeli are also in many respects alike, and especially in this—that, almost by accident, their names have been indissolubly connected with measures which will change the future fortunes of their respective countries. Lord Cranborne and Mr. Lowe were perfectly right in predicting that the change in England will be radical and revolutionary. The agitation which Mr. Disraeli defies is preparing for him. Besides is already a candidate for the Reform Parliament, and others such men will be elected. They have all prerequisites; they care nothing for privileges; they are insatiable for more reform. Bright, who now talks like a conservative, and Gladstone, who dares not speak at all, for fear of showing how strongly he is opposed to this bill, remind one of Greeley and Seward, who were once considered very radical, but are now left far behind by the Chandlers and the Wades. The English masses are not yet satisfied, and never will be so long as they have to pay tithes to a State Church, and take off their hats to titles. The who would like to see old England must go there within the next two years. Old times are passing away, and another England, modelled somewhat after America, is being rapidly prepared. Cranborne and Lowe were correct in prognosticating this transformation, but wrong in opposing and dreading it. Individuals may lose their titles, their large landed property, or their political influence; but the change will be very beneficial for the country generally, sweeping away stupid precedents, musty traditions, and effete formalities, and giving to the new England a young, fresh, and vigorous life.

President-Making by Guess.

From the Tribune. Fifteen months hence the people of the United States will be called to elect their President and Vice-President for a term of four years, commencing on the 4th of March, 1869—almost two years hence. Meantime, we have to deal with the great and difficult problem of the restoration of ten States, still but partially solved; we have to reconcile local self-government with the permanent sway of nationality and loyalty; we have an immense national debt to care for, clamors for the repeal of the cotton and other taxes to consider, and the ever-present peril of an irredeemable paper currency to guard against and, if possible, overcome. These problems may well tax the best resources of statesmanship, and ought to secure general attention. In full view of their immensity, a few politicians by trade are intent on opening the Presidential canvass, bringing forward General Grant as their candidate.

We neither affirm nor deny the fitness of this choice. There are features of General Grant's character which incline us to regard him with favor, especially his magnanimity towards the ex- Rebels. This may prove that he is the man for the place; but that question cannot now be determined. We need to understand more clearly the issues on which that election is to turn, and the views of the rival candidates relative thereto.

The people are not in the mood for trying any grab-bag experiments. They will insist on having a President who fully knows his own mind with regard to the political situation, and who has not essentially another mind from theirs. They have once or twice taken candidates on trust, and have not been encouraged to repeat the venture. And, when they see that General Grant's name is the Shibboleth of a number of the most discredited of the camp-followers and shoddy patriots of the late war, who harked at the heels of the sorely bested republic whenever it was constrained to take a step forward in the course which led through emancipation to triumph, they will be more strenuous in their demands for light than if the General were not cursed by such backers.

Many things are forgiven to a party which has not outlived its ideas and its work; but one thing is never forgiven, and that is distrust of the correctness and value of its own principles. The Whig party was badly beaten in the defeat of Clay by Polk in 1844—solely to its own amazement and grief; yet its vitality

was so little impaired that it elected the next House of Representatives and the next Governor of New York. Four years later it succeeded with General Taylor, but lost the House of Representatives chosen along with him, was beaten out of sight in the next one, and never recovered its vitality. And the reason was that in its contest for Mr. Clay's election it boldly proclaimed and defended its convictions, asking a verdict thereon; while in the contest for General Taylor it rather concealed and evaded a distinct issue of principle, trusting for success to factious appeals and clap-trap instrumentalities.

Let us repeat, to repel misrepresentation, that we do not call in question the fitness of choosing General Grant as the Republican candidate for President. We will consider that point in due time. What we do say, is that the Republican candidate must represent and embody Republican principles, and be neither afraid nor ashamed to avow his faith in them and his willingness to stand or fall by them. His personal qualities and popularity are important considerations; but his fearless, explicit devotion to Republican ideas is a primary and essential requisite.

Red, Yellow, and Black.

From the Times.

There is no other part of the world that presents the spectacle seen in America of diverse races living together in equality, so far as their several natures permit, or that offers so many solutions at once of the question—What becomes of a weaker race brought into close relations with a stronger one? Coming as Europeans, we intruded on the aborigines, introduced the African, and are now admitting the Asiatic, gathering all varieties of men in one field of activity under one form of government. To be sure, under that Government the Indian is an anomaly, the Chinese a novelty, and the Negro a puzzle; but for a long time that was busy in laying its own foundations that it was almost left to accident to harmonize the three colors, and fix the place and care for the rights of each separate people. But when negligence was found at length to work so ill that civil war forced us to choose between destruction and justice to one of these races, the warning was not lost bidding us give more heed to our dealings with the others.

A strong hand is now needed to check the brutal eagerness of frontiersmen for a war of extermination against the Indians. The appointment of Commissioners to treat with the remaining tribes for their settlement in selected localities away from the intended three-fold track of travel across the Continent is a step in the right direction, and will go far, if faithfully carried out, to atone for the long series of violence and impositions that have made the management of the Indian Bureau a disgrace to the nation. Even if compulsion must be used, it is better that they should be forcibly kept at peace than slaughtered in war. The Indians understand our power—they have long felt the rising tide from East, West, and South forcing them back to the mountain fastnesses. It is not probable that they will reject the solemn embassy of the nation, and choose rather to be destroyed in detail than to remain tranquil in regions wide enough for nomad existence during their lives, whatever may become of their posterity.

The aborigines can never rise into a very useful or valuable part of our population. The experiments heretofore made with success in domesticating them, to use a phrase suggested by their half animal nature, have been applied to limited numbers, closely surrounded by the whites, and under the near supervision of State Governments. The Western tribes, numerous, remote, and settled in regions wide and wild enough for the continuance of their roving habits, will never be anything better than Bedouins. Even on the supposition that they can learn to refrain from war among themselves, passing from the hunter condition to the pastoral state, they are not likely ever to own much taxable property, especially if the present legal exemption of their lands from taxation be continued, still less to contribute by agriculture or industry to the wealth of the nation. Whether they are left to enjoy their own rude modes of government, or are made individually responsible as citizens to the general laws of the land, their nature will remain the same. Producers never, however, our highest success in controlling them will be to prevent their laying hands on the property of others, and restrict their consumption to the game that nature still provides in those parts which the dominant race can spare them of the land over which their wasteful range was once unlimited. At the best, they will become a kind of half-breed hangers-on to civilization, and a genuine stoic of the woods will be as rare a sight to the next generation as a pale face once was among the aboriginal forefathers. The first to possess this continent, they will be also the first to disappear from it.

The Chinese immigration is an unlooked-for phenomenon. An ancient empire, whose steadiness was the reflection of the quiet and unenterprising temper of its subjects, crowded to the point of starvation, but never before overflowing, so settled in Oriental pride and stagnant isolation as to own nothing in common with the progress of modern days, and to disdain any share in their improvements, suddenly pours eastward a multitude which reverses the accustomed current of migration, and exchanges the oldest for the newest form of national development. These new-comers are singularly patient, industrious, and manageable; as laborious as the Irish, and more ingenious than the Germans. They are far less likely to do than exposed to suffer wrong. Their personal qualities will supply certain elements in the formation of the Pacific communities which the lavish, impetuous American nature would have left out. As our direct Cathayan commerce, now just born, grows to maturity, their interests and connections will aid immensely in strengthening it. The home merchants of China are among the most princely merchants of the world; they are kindly disposed towards Americans, who have never drugged nor bombarded them much, never sacked their palaces like the French, nor called their rebels Christian brothers like the English. Many of them are men of vast wealth, and of controlling influence throughout the East Indian world. These are the merchants who, acting through the establishments of their countrymen on the Pacific coast, will pour the wealth of Tomate and Tidore into the lap of San Francisco, and perhaps unequal for us the reservoirs of coined silver that have been accumulating for ages in China, to return thus, by a strange circuit, to the region whence it came.

Yet the Chinese will never be absorbed into this nation. They will remain among us, but not of us, as Ah-wang, the cigar-vender, after ten years' wear of Bowery costumes, is still as distinguishable as on the day he landed from his junk. There is an instinctive repugnance between the Western and Mongolian races, very quaintly insisted on by De Quincey, which may be occasionally got over in the case of the very pretty Canton damsels on the sampans or lower-boats, but which will prevent any practice of intermarriage. For, in spite of the disgusting rhapsodies of philoso-

phic sensualists, there are repugnances of race, plain to sense and conformable to decency. And these Chinamen bring the women of their country along with them, and bring, too, a powerful, unchangeable passion for returning, after moderate accumulations, to their native land. Even after death, superstition draws them, as a magnet, to it. The funeral expenses of a Chinese settler always include the transportation of his remains back to his country, which is cared for by burial societies, expressly organized and profitably employed in this wholesale work of disposing of bodies as Charon did of souls. The Chinaman grudges his skeleton even to the New World, much more his living frame, and the progeny that springs from it. So that the continuation of that race among us will be kept up by the succession of new individuals, not by any incorporation of families with our own.

It is an easy task for legislation to protect immigrants to the Pacific land on our Western shores, and one which the local feeling, at least in the well-settled parts of California, seems disposed to aid. But late instances have occurred of evasions of the acts of Congress restricting the importation of coolies into the Southern States—instances of most unwise competition with home labor that is cheap and abundant. We want no modified slavery introduced where we have just done away with its legalized form. We have enough to do in the guardianship of the blacks, without taking a new class of wards upon our hands. The forms into which that guardianship will settle, the regulation of its details, the share which the several States shall take in it, and above all the diffusion of that education which alone can terminate it and emancipate the negro race from its minority, are subjects that will engage the anxious thought of the nation for many decades. They are subjects too large to be more than touched upon here—subjects which concern the honor and welfare of our people more than any other questions of race. For the negro will share the continent with us and be a part of our people so long as we are a people. We shall eliminate the Indian—we shall not assimilate the Asiatic—but the African was imported, as we Europeans were imported, to become an American. His naturalization patent came from Providence, like our own, and he has the right to look to us to help him to his true place and hold him in it, on our common continent.

President Johnson's Alarm.

From the Herald.

The President is troubled with patriotic fears. He has, as every one knows, the greatest solicitude that the reconstruction of the Southern States should go forward rapidly, if it will only go forward in his particular way; and now he sees, or thinks he sees, a dreadful danger ahead—an interruption of this happy progress; an interruption that may be greater than that hitherto caused by the interference and obstinacy of Congress, which, like the eleven jurors of stubborn and happy memory, refused to listen to the one man who could have told them exactly what to do. This interruption is likely to arise from President-making. The President is alarmed lest "the great struggle for the Presidency" should turn the eyes of the country and Congress away from the necessity of re-establishing the Southern States in their natural relation with the rest of the country—lest the interests and welfare of the Southern people should be overlooked and forgotten in the intrigues and turmoil of the great quadrennial strife. He sees the nation laboring under many troubles—reconstruction, an Indian war, the national debt, Mexico, and the contest for the Presidency. The greatest of these is the last, and the greatest danger of this is that it may arrest the progress of reconstruction.

This fear is honorable to the President. It shows his sincerity; it furnishes, indeed, the most indubitable evidence that the President is not self-willed and over fond of his own opinions on reconstruction, nor desirous to carry out plans of his own to the exclusion of the plans of the nation; for surely if the President did desire, as has been charged, to have his own way with reconstruction, to build up refractory State Governments, and put the South once more into the hands of whipped Rebels, what could he wish better than that Congress should have its attention distracted by Presidential games, so that he could be left to manage the South as he chose, unimpeded and unobserved. Did he desire these things he would have no such fears as he now expresses. But, lest he should have sleepless nights with this honorable and patriotic alarm, we beg to reassure him there is no danger. The people will choose a President and keep an eye on the Southern States also. There never was a time when President-making had so little danger in it as it has now; when there was so little to divide the nation and give rise to a factious spirit. Indeed, Grant is already chosen by the universal acclaim of the people, and we have only to go through the formalities of election. The consideration of these facts will relieve Mr. Johnson's anxiety.

THE PRESIDENT IS TROUBLED WITH PATRIOTIC FEARS. HE HAS, AS EVERY ONE KNOWS, THE GREATEST SOLICITUDE THAT THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES SHOULD GO FORWARD RAPIDLY, IF IT WILL ONLY GO FORWARD IN HIS PARTICULAR WAY; AND NOW HE SEES, OR THINKS HE SEES, A DREADFUL DANGER AHEAD—AN INTERRUPTION OF THIS HAPPY PROGRESS; AN INTERRUPTION THAT MAY BE GREATER THAN THAT HITHERTO CAUSED BY THE INTERFERENCE AND OBSTINACY OF CONGRESS, WHICH, LIKE THE ELEVEN JURORS OF STUBBORN AND HAPPY MEMORY, REFUSED TO LISTEN TO THE ONE MAN WHO COULD HAVE TOLD THEM EXACTLY WHAT TO DO.

THE PRESIDENT IS ALARMED LEST "THE GREAT STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESIDENCY" SHOULD TURN THE EYES OF THE COUNTRY AND CONGRESS AWAY FROM THE NECESSITY OF RE-ESTABLISHING THE SOUTHERN STATES IN THEIR NATURAL RELATION WITH THE REST OF THE COUNTRY—LEST THE INTERESTS AND WELFARE OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE SHOULD BE OVERLOOKED AND FORGOTTEN IN THE INTRIGUES AND TURMOIL OF THE GREAT QUADRENNIAL STRIFE. HE SEES THE NATION LABORING UNDER MANY TROUBLES—RECONSTRUCTION, AN INDIAN WAR, THE NATIONAL DEBT, MEXICO, AND THE CONTEST FOR THE PRESIDENCY. THE GREATEST OF THESE IS THE LAST, AND THE GREATEST DANGER OF THIS IS THAT IT MAY ARREST THE PROGRESS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

THIS FEAR IS HONORABLE TO THE PRESIDENT. IT SHOWS HIS SINCERITY; IT FURNISHES, INDEED, THE MOST INDUBITABLE EVIDENCE THAT THE PRESIDENT IS NOT SELF-WILLED AND OVER FOND OF HIS OWN OPINIONS ON RECONSTRUCTION, NOR DESIRIOUS TO CARRY OUT PLANS OF HIS OWN TO THE EXCLUSION OF THE PLANS OF THE NATION; FOR SURELY IF THE PRESIDENT DID DESIRE, AS HAS BEEN CHARGED, TO HAVE HIS OWN WAY WITH RECONSTRUCTION, TO BUILD UP REFRACTORY STATE GOVERNMENTS, AND PUT THE SOUTH ONCE MORE INTO THE HANDS OF WHIPPED REBELS, WHAT COULD HE WISH BETTER THAN THAT CONGRESS SHOULD HAVE ITS ATTENTION DISTRACTED BY PRESIDENTIAL GAMES, SO THAT HE COULD BE LEFT TO MANAGE THE SOUTH AS HE CHOSE, UNIMPEDED AND UNOBSERVED. DID HE DESIRE THESE THINGS HE WOULD HAVE NO SUCH FEARS AS HE NOW EXPRESSES. BUT, LEST HE SHOULD HAVE SLEEPLESS NIGHTS WITH THIS HONORABLE AND PATRIOTIC ALARM, WE BEG TO REASSURE HIM THERE IS NO DANGER. THE PEOPLE WILL CHOOSE A PRESIDENT AND KEEP AN EYE ON THE SOUTHERN STATES ALSO. THERE NEVER WAS A TIME WHEN PRESIDENT-MAKING HAD SO LITTLE DANGER IN IT AS IT HAS NOW; WHEN THERE WAS SO LITTLE TO DIVIDE THE NATION AND GIVE RISE TO A FACTIOUS SPIRIT. INDEED, GRANT IS ALREADY CHOSEN BY THE UNIVERSAL ACCLAIM OF THE PEOPLE, AND WE HAVE ONLY TO GO THROUGH THE FORMALITIES OF ELECTION. THE CONSIDERATION OF THESE FACTS WILL RELIEVE MR. JOHNSON'S ANXIETY.

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