## THE DAILS EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1869.

## SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

## RDITORIAL OPINIORS OF THE LEADING JOUENALS PPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAT FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

A Bull Against the Comet. From the N. Y. Tribune,

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Lord Sydney, Chambarlain of the Household, in the exercise of his right as guardian of the theatrical morals of London, has issued a decree which is certain to excite the liveliest emotions among the clubs and the coulisses, although its practical result is, to say the least, doubtful. In a circular he admonishes the managers of the metropolis that the costumes of the ladies whom they employ are becoming "a public scandal," and intimates that while they are inordinately attractive to a large majority of the community, they will not bear the critical inspection of the grave, the decorous, and the refinen. Under these circumstances he is compdiled to call "serious attention to the subject," and to invite "observations and auggestions" from the managers themselves-with what special view he does not disclose.

This is a mild way of dealing with a mild topic. To any ordinary person, familiar with the pantomimic and barlesque displays of London, the idea of connecting suspicions of Impropriety with the costumes worn by the young women isiludicrous. To the objections of dulness and artistic vulgarity the pautomimes are always open; but it requires an intellect quickened by the elevated atmosphere of the Lord Chamberlain's office, of which that high conservator of morals, Viscount Willoughby d'Eresby, is a distinguished ornament, to detect in them any quality of inde-cency. The fact is that England, being as we all know an unprogressive country, has not yet acquired that looseness of theatrical taste which characterizes some older and some younger nations. If by any chance some of our recent New York exhibitions could be transferred to a London play-house, and if Lord Sydney could be persuaded to witness them, we can well imagine how his noble eyes might wink, how he might go rattling down without delay to St. James', and with what virtuous fury he might cancel with a few strokes of his pen the licenses of the reckless managers who had attempted so daring an innovation. But London is not New York, and, in this respect, is not likely to be for some time to come. And therefore we find that Lord Sydney, impelled apparently by some influence outside of his own inclination, has approached the subject in the tenderest possible manner, and far from issuing a positive remonstrance or prohibition, simply suggests a species of purifying consultation between himself and the managers.

Why the movement, such as it is, should be made at this particular time, it is difficult to conjecture, excepting upon the principle laid down by Macanlay, that at stated periods English virtue becomes outrageous, and will not be controlled. After repeated seasons of popular admiration lavished upon Miss Menken; after the aristocratic jubilees with which the most brazen of French troupes have been welcomed year after year, it seems odd enough that the very moment when certain managers are making serious efforts to introduce a more reasonable order of drama should be chosen for a demonstration of this sort. Possibly the anxious spirits of the metropolis, having observed the slight tendency to reaction in theatrical affairs, and being averse to the idea of any change without their interference, have hit upon this plan for securing, through their official representative, the credit of a partial reform which seemed already inevitable. But whatever the motive, the result will be unimportant either way. If the managers have any "observationf or suggestions to offer," these will probably be to the effect that the mass of the theatrical public prefers pantomime and burlesque to any other form of entertainment; that, as a rule, by pantomime they can live, whereas by the "legitimate" they must starve; that if, as the Lord Chamberlain asserts, "many profess themselves unwilling to permit the ladies of their families" to visit the theatres, there is nothing in the British Constitution to prevent them from staying at home; and that, if any serious suspicion of indelicacy is entertained, informa-tion may be applied for to the leaders of fashionable society, the Prince of Wales at their head, whose chief public enjoyment is derived from performances of this class. The Chamberlain's circular is essentially a false alarm. English morality has nothing to apprehend nowadays from English pantomime. To what extent the costumes overstep decency may be seen any evening at either of the Broadway theatres where English actresses are now performing. They fairly represent what is done in the way of burlesque in their own country. Artistically and intellectually considered, it is the poorest, feeblest, most drivelling show that ever beguiled a public of its dollars; but indecency is not one of its errors.

lish gullet. At all events he "let himself out" account of race, color, nativity, property, eduat the little town of Luton, the other day, to a greater extent than ever before, and he anoceeded in startling some of his hearers into the suspicion that he was laughing at them. Some buildings intended to serve as a Corn Exchange and Plait Halls at Luton, in Bedfordshire, were opened with much ceremony on the 18th of January, and Mr. Johnson, being one of the invited guests, made there two addresses-one in the morning and one in the evening at a dinner. In the first of these speeches, he sang the praises of the great republic in a strain which would have warmed the cockles of any American heart, and showed very plainly that, if Great Britain knew what was best for her, she would soon fashion her political institutions after the pattern of our own. "We are as free as you are," said Mr. Johnson; "we are perhaps more free than you. We have a larger share in our Government than you had in the past or have now in yours; but, if I read the signs of the times aright, it will not be long so." The town of Luton has no representation in Parliament, and Mr. Johnson did not fail to remind the Lutonites that, if they lived under a republic, they would enjoy legislative representation. Universal suffrage, he declared, was the law of nature; and nature intended that intelligent men, and intelligent women also, should have a voice in the making of the laws under which they live. There could be no danger in this, he added, since "nature never inculcates doorines from which mischief can result." Mr. Johnson proceeded to draw a comparison between our Government and that of Great Britain, pointing out the immeasurable superiority of the former. It was a great error, said he, to suppose that a monarch was as powerful as the President of the United States as an exeoutive. Queen Victoria reigned, but she did not govern, her ministers being dependent on the will of Parliament; whereas the President and his Cabinet were wholly independent of "Can the Queen do anything Copgress. save exhibit the virtues which give a charm to private life?" asked Mr. Johnson, trium-phantly, not to say tauntingly; and then. turning to Earl Cowper, who sat near him, he demanded:--"Can the House, my lord, of which you are an honored member, stand out long against the public voice? I do not know what it may be able to do in the future, but it has not done it in the recent past." Earl Cowper treated the question as a conundrum, and gave it up, without retorting on Mr. Johnson. as he might have done, with a few questions about the Tenure-of-Office act. And at the after-dinner speech, Mr. Johnson reverted to the same theme, and poured in oil and wine upon the wound he had made in the morning. I said in effect to-day," he remarked, "and do not know how your lordship liked it, that perhaps the House of Lords exists only in name. But if so, what a name it is ! What authority does it not carry with it! What associations does it not recall !" The associations which it recalled to Mr. Johnson's mind were the glories of Chatham, and especially his proclamation, at the outset of the American revolution, "that the Americans were right and the throne was wrong," and his last appearance in the House of Lords, "wrapped up in his flannel, and protesting against your acknowledging the independence of the colonies"-neither of which associations can be supposed to be particularly pleasing to the English mind. But this was not all. Mr. Johnson did not

content himself with drawing comparisons between President Johnson and Queen Victoria, to the great disparagement of the latter, nor with congratulating her subjects on the prospect of their soon becoming something better than subjects, nor with speaking with thinly veiled contempt of the sovereign and the lords of the realm, in their politicel capacity. He was resolved that the English should not be allowed to imagine that, in a single instance, they were better off, or as well of as we are. The Earl Cowper, smarting with the sting of what Mr. Johnson had said concerning the House of Lords, had said in reply something to the effect that at least Great Britain had the advantage over the United States, inasmuch as she had a lady to rule over her. But Mr. Johnson cruelly robbed him of this small comfort. "Don't delude yourself, my lord," said he, "by supposing that we cannot have a lady to rule over us. 'I have read the Constitution of the United States more than once, and there is nothing in it that draws any distinction between the sexes in that particular. I know it has been said that occasionally we have had an old woman over us; but we have never yet tried the experiment of having a young and beauti-ful woman elected our President. However, in this age of progress, when strong-minded women are abroad, who can tell what is going to happen? If it should happen, my lord, that we elect a beautiful, charming, intellectual woman, don't delude yourself by the belief that we shall not cherish her as much as you cherish your beloved Queen. And don't believe, either, that our executive authority will not be administered with the same wisdom as that with which your Queen may exercise her authority." Clearly, there is very little toadyism in all this. One would call it, on the contrary, the "most grave and temperate" irony on a subject of high English solemnity. Mr. Johnson may not be suffered to remain much longer in Eugland. That is unfortunate for the English. If he were kept there and allowed to spend his leisure time in making good Democratic speeches throughout the kingdom, he would soon inspire the English with such a hearty contempt for everything of their own, and such an ardent admiration for everything of ours, that they would throw Queen and Lords overboard and ask for annexation, even like unto the San Domingans.

The House proposition, it will be seen, is limited to the suffrage, concerning which there is general agreement among the Republicans. That of the Senate, on the other hand, operadds an affirmation of the negro's eligibility to office, about which there is nothing ike agreement; and, moreover, takes from the States the power of determining in any degree the conditions of their own government, whether in reference to the franchise or the qualifications incident to office.

For a change in the laws regulating suffrage the country is to a large extent prepared. While conceding to the States their full contitutional control over the subject, the desirableness of secur ng substantial uniformity on a basis harmonizing reconstruction has forced itself upon the Republican party. The ability to justify negro enfranchisement throughout the South depends somewhat upon the readiness of the North to abate its own hostility to negro enfranchisement. There can be no propriety in insisting that the blacks shall have their full share of power in States where their numbers make them formidable, so long as we refuse them the privilege in States where their political influence must always be insignificant. Having made the freedman a citizen, we cannot without gross inconsistency deny the fitness of his race to participate in the ballot.

The reasoning which conducts to this conclusion is, however, satisfied with an assurance of general political equality. It does not require the universal enfranchisement of the colored people; it only declares that they shall be subject to no condition in respect of voting which does not equally apply to white citizens. Impartial suffrage meets the equity of the case-obliterating the distinctions originating in the slave system, and at the same time leaving the suffrage question still in some measure subject to the States. It makes the black man politically the equal of the white man-which certainly should satisfy the special friends of the former; but without offending needlessly State pride, or necessitating the abandonment of qualifications which some States have established in the interest of their people.

But the Senate amendment travels over new ground, dictates terms for which the country is not prepared, and goes far towards extinguishing the vital forces of State authority. It deprives the States of the power of regulating qualifications for local office, and declares that neither on the ground of color. nativity, education, or property shall a citizen be debarred admission to the highest positions of trust and distinction. The interference is rendered more flagrant by the fact that the limitations of the Constitution touching Federal offices are allowed to stand. The Senate does not object to the qualification applicable to its own naturalized members, or the exclusion of foreign born citizens from the Presidency. It proposes to take from the States authority to enact conditions akin to those which it is willing to perpetuate in the Federal Government, and to reduce their exercise of self-rule to the smallest possible dimensions. This sweeping project, too, is gratuitous. It aims at objects to which public attention has not been directed, by means which will provoke the most formidable opposition.

The House amendment, if now submitted to the States, may receive the approval of the requisite number. It is designed to satisfy the national sense of justice, without any wanton violation of State rights. The Senate amendment, even if concarred in by the Hoase, will assuredly be rejected by the States, which will see in it an attempt to revolutionize the character of the Government, and to make important local concerns subject to the will of Congress. A suffrage amend-ment thus incumbered with odious provisions would not have the slightest chance of ratifi-



But the trick did not succeed. The conscript fathers were in no mood to adopt new bantlings, particularly of the hybrid breed. They had recently been trying to bring in a large black family as members of the body politic, to which the Northern mind exhibited unmistakable signs of reluctance. The big dose of Sonthern niggers was yet to be swal lowed in the shape of a constitutional amendment, and it was thought best to see how that would affect the public stomach, if it could be digested before proceeding to other measures of hybridation. So the joint resolution was laid under the table to await the effect of our own colored experiment, and to see if the body politic could assimilate the large influx of black blood.



## Reverdy Johnson on the Stump Diplomatic. From the N. Y. World.

One of the stock objections advanced against Mr. Reverdy Johnson's peculiar manner of making himself at home in England has been that he is inclined to fawn upon and "toady" the British people. Nothing could be more unjust than this accusation. Mr. Johnson has delighted the Eoglish by telling them what fine fellows they were, but he has invariably tempered this by reminding them that the Americans were finer fellows still. If he has praised British Institutions, he has at the same time good-humoredly pointed out the imperfections and faults which existed in those institutions, and has called attention to the kindred ones in the United States, wherein the most keen-sighted observer would fail to find a single spot or blemish or any such thing. If one chose to search for it, he might find running through the whole of Mr. Johnson's speeches in England a subtle vein of sarcasm and irenical praise; and, if the Eoglish have been conceited and stupid enough not to detect this, they have only themselves to blame. He seems to have resolved to amuse himselffirst, by overturning and setting at naught all the traditions of diplomacy, and shocking the nerves of the entire corps diplomatique by ex-hibitive to them the spectacle of a foreign minister publicly interesting himself in and discussing the domestic affairs of the government to which he was accredited, criticizing its institutions, and drawing comparisons between them and those of his own country; and secondly, by ascertaining how great was the capacity of the English stomach for the sugarceated pills which he knows so well how to compound and administer-pills of which the basis is the incomparable superiority of England over all the world except America. If all this has been good fun for Mr. Johnson, it has afforded amusement to observers here who saw the game which he was playing; and this amusement is not lessened, now that it appears that the English themselves begin to suspect that Mr. Johnson may, after all, be only poking fun at them.

Perhaps Mr. Johnson had grown somewhat weary of his little game; perhaps his great success at it had made him careless; perhaps he was resolved to see if no pill which he could prepare would be too large for the Eng-or in the right to hold office in any State, on

The Suffrage Amendments in Congress. From the N. Y. Times.

The controversy which has arisen between the Senate and House on a question affecting the alleged rights of the latter will not expedite the adjustment of differences in regard to the suffrage amendment. Too much feeling has been aroused to render probable the immediate restoration of very cordial relations. The averaion entertained by a powerful party in the House to the pretensions of the Senate may be expected to take the shape of a refusal to surrender the essential features of the amendment as in the first instance adopted. It is quite possible that the larger scope and aggressive character of the amendment presented by the Senate may be the means of smothering the whole subject for the present session.

The amendment as reported by the Reconstruction Committee and passed by the House is simple and moderate. It is merely a declaration that

"The right of any citizen fo the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State, by reason of race, or color, or previous condition of slavery, of any citizen or class of citizens of the United States.

The Senate amendment is sweeping enough to justify the charge of being revolutionary preferred by Mr. Conkling and others, who, nevertheless, voted for it. The terms used 81e:-

On this subject, then, the House appears as a conservative body; the Senate as the author of an aggressive and centralizing policy. The anomaly is pregnant with peril to the Senate itself. Its own continuance on the present basis of State equality will not long be possible when the States shall have been deprived of the attributes of sovereignty which are assailed by Mr. Wilson's amendment. If the balance of power wielded by the States, speaking through the Senate, is to be preserved, the right of States to regulate the conduct of their local governments must be respected.

The Approaching Struggle in Europe. From the N. Y. Herald.

Europe is just now under conditions which have had no parallel since the time when the States system began to struggle into that pe-culiar kind of existence which, with certain modifications, has lasted for some centuries. The first Napoleon disturbed it for a brief period. But the first Napoleon rose and fell, and Europe was not so different after his fall as Napoleon believed it would be. Time has rolled on. Europe has undergone changes. A new Napoleon has appeared, with new thoughts, new plans, new purposes. The new Napoleon has been compelled to admit the existence of forces which are not in perfect harmony with his own. For the last twenty-five years the armaments of Europe have been growing. They have now reached a point which has no pa-rallel in the history of the past. Over five millions of men are now under arms on that continent. France, it is said, has an army of one million three hundred and fifty thousand. North and South Germany combined have an army of one million two hundred and thirty thousand. Austria has an army of one million and fifty-three thousand. Russia has an army of one million four hundred and sixty. seven thousand. Italy has an army of nearly five hundred thousand. We have not spoken of Spain or Portugal, or of Denmark, or of Sweden, or of Holland, or of Belgium, or of Greece, or of Turkey. But from what we have said, it will naturally enough be inferred that Europe has "seldom in her whole history bristled with arms as she does now.

What does it all mean ? It can only mean that Europe is in no settled condition, and that an appeal to arms at no distant day is regarded as inevitable. The truth is Europe has come under entirely new conditions. The railroad and the telegraph have made the people impatient of the old-fashioned boan-dary lines. Why should the nationalities remain what they are? Why should the great future be stayed simply in the interests of nationalities? No one can answer these questions in favor of the present order of things. The peoples are gradually emand-pating themselves. They are no longer entirely at the mercy of the dynasties. The press generally, but particularly the newspaper, has given a voice and an energy to public opinion which public opinion never had before. This growth of a common sentiment, limited not by nationality, by language, or by religion, but world-wide in its rauge, is one of the most prominent and also one of the most hopeful characteristics of the age. But the power is yet in the hands of the dynasties. These immense standing armies are numis-takable proof of this. The thrones are propped by bayonets, and the prestige of an-cient and nary on the prestige of ancient and parvenu houses alike can only be maintained by the pomp and circumstance of war. The European nations are already at

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