SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon Current Topics Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION AND THE COOLIE TRADE.

From the N. Y. Tribune. So much discussion has taken place upon this subject and so much special interest is felt in it in various quarters of the country, that a correct statement of the points involved will at this time be of value to our readers and the public. In the first place, it must be understood that Chinese immigration and the Coolie trade are entirely distinct in their character, conditions, and consequences. The latter differs in no material respects from the African slave trade, and the horrors of the middle passage have been repeated over and over again upon the Coolie ships bound to Cuba and Peru. Nearly all civilized nations have denounced this trade and established penalties against it. Its seat is Macao, a port which has been for over two hundred years in the possession of the Portuguese, and which at one time was highly prosperous. The occupation of Hong Kong by the English, and the advantages of its position and harbor, gave a deathblow to Macao, and it has degenerated into a slave mart and a depot for opium to be smuggled into China. From this Coolie trade a large Government income is derived. while those engaged in it have accumulated fortunes. The money paid to those who are entrapped into slavery is very frequently lost in the Chinese gambling-houses of Macao, and these are licensed by the Government.

The coolies secured and shipped from this port are among the most degraded of the Chinese population, and are mainly drawn from the southern provinces of China by fraud and treachery. Under the influence of opium, or through the slavery of gambling debts, or by deceitful yet alluring promises. they sign certain papers nominally required by the Portuguese authorities, and then are removed to the coolie ship, lying from three to six miles from shore, where they are retained until a crowded cargo is secured. A Portuguese gunboat lies near to prevent a revolt, which is always threatened, and often occurs. For a brief time some degree of consideration is observed towards them; but from the day of sailing they are treated as slaves and brutes. The tragical revolts which have occurred upon these coole ships at sea tell a tale of cruelty and wrong which can scarcely

Chinese emigration, on the contrary, takes place mainly from Hong Kong, and it is surrounded by guards and checks on the part of the colonial authorities for which they are entitled to great credit. The number of passengers is limited by the capacity of the vessel; the ships must be supplied with abundance of water: Chinese cooks sufficient to answer the requirements of passengers are regularly shipped; fuel for cooking is furnished; and a Chinese physician accompanies each vessel. A full list of the names of the emigrants is furnished to the Harbor Master; and before departure the ship is regularly inspected by colonial officers, the list is compared, and the supplies of food and water are examined. The greater number of these free emigrants sail for California and Australia: but they also pour out from Hong Kong to Saigon, Singapore, Manilla, and Batavia, and numerous Chinese colonies are found at all the trading ports in Eastern Asia.

be surpassed.

The United States law of 1862 was undoubtedly aimed at suppressing the Coolie trade: American vessels, to their disgrace, having largely participated in its profits and horrors. But that law, by its provisions, placed an effectual guard upon Chinese emigration. It provided that no Chinese emigrant should be received on board an American vessel unless bearing a certificate from the American Consul at that port that he was a free person, and not bound to service and involuntary labor. Upon intelligence of the passing and approval of the law referred to, the American Consul at Hong Kong informed the masters and consignees of vessels of its provisions. From that period, after due examination, through an interpreter, the permits required by the law were duly given to all Chinese emigrants. The name of the emigrant was inserted in the permit, and, under the seal of the Consulate, it was certified that each was a free person, and not bound to service within the meaning of the act of Congress. These names were afterward compared with the list of the Harbor Master, and the permits were then given to the master of the vessel, with his ship's papers, when clearing from port.

It may be asked, Are these emigrants free persons? There is no doubt of it. They are often persons of learning, enterprise, and capital. There are in California, in Australia, and throughout the East large numbers of Chinese merchants, the equals of Europeans and Americans in all that makes business honorable and profitable. It is true, as to large numbers of these emigrants, that their passage money and expenses are frequently paid by Chinese companies, largely engaged in business and trade in California. There are, in many cases, engagements entered into for the return of these disbursements, and for certain shares in the profits of their labor. These contracts are often indorsed by the father and family of the departing emigrant, who expect to reap, and often do reap, great advantages from his enter-They are simply contracts for his removal to a remunerative field for labor: and they derive all their vitality and force from the desire of the Chinese to fulfil their obligations, obtain a moderate competency, and return to their native land. Under our laws. these contracts are not binding when made for a longer period than one year, and, even when they are held by the person as sacred, they can in no sense be said to form a condition of servitude. The advantages of this emigration, notwith-

standing the prejudice against it, have been great and manifold; but the proposition to renew the Coolie trade, under the plea of a want of labor at the South, is monstrous, and ought to meet the stern and uncompromising opposition of conscientious men. The Chinese are an active, industrious, and economical people, eminently fitted to be of service in a free community; but, on the other hand, they are unused to the conditions of slave labor, and rapidly perish under its requirements. They are gregarious, and full of habits and customs which demand freedom from restraint. At home their punishments are sometimes cruel and their poverty is extreme; but they are comparatively a free people, reverencing their family altars, and fond of rites, ceremonies, and observances, inconsistent with the brutish Labor for which the cotton and sugar planter is searching. Take from them the hope of acquiring a moderate competence with which to return to their native village, their ancestral hovel-perhaps their wives and children -and they would become valueless. Wherever they go freely, they are valuable as laborers and servants; and wherever they go virtually as slaves, they die out with a rapidity which is startling. Such is the uniform tes- high rate we never let a day go by without through the interposition of the United

In the autumn of 1865 an attempt was made by certain parties in New Orleans to obtain authority for the importation of Chinese coolies, and a correspondence took place be tween them and the Commissioner of Immigration at Washington. In this corresponlence, the Commissioner took the ground that such importation of persons bound to service and labor on the plantations of the South would be clearly in opposition to the spirit and intent of existing laws, and really injurious to the interests of the planter. This letter was approved by Mr. Seward, to whom it was submitted, and for a time it closed the agitation of this subject.

The solution of this question is an extremely simple one. The United States Government should give to the inhabitants of China the rights to which they are entitled by treaty stipulations. Under these treaties, they are entitled to free immigration here, and to protection in their persons and pro-Their immigration hither may be regulated by such laws as that passed in 1862, and by the regular Passenger acts in force but cannot be restricted beyond this without a violation of obligations entered into in good faith, and the disregard of which will give the Chinese good ground for refusing to observe their part of the stipulations. No part of these treaties binds us to allow an immigration of persons bound to service and labor under conditions which virtually establish a system of slavery. The whole policy of our Government is against it; and nothing could be more inimical to the permanent well-being of the country. We feel satisfied that Congress and the Executive will unite to prevent this great wrong from being committed.

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS DEFENDERS. From the A. Y. World,

The Times would persuade people that President Grant has accomplished great results during the five months of his administration, and that he will "cipher up such a year's work" as to prove that he is neither "neglecting their interests nor his duty" in being, during the heats of summer, 'this idle, cigarsmoking horse-jockey of a President" that, as the Times informs us, to its regret, he is by some journals described to be.

It is a mark of human nature, high and low, which newspapers do not feel especially bound to forget, that the movements of emi nent personages are followed with interest by the eyes of those in their vicinity, and are heard and read of with interest by persons at a distance. On the one hand, we must admit the Mike McCoole the latest prize-fighter, Cyrus Field an undaunted entrepreneur Daniel Pratt the great American traveller, and General Grant the President of the United States, have been able to draw as large crowds to gaze at them, the one as the other; and, on the other hand, it must be confessed that persons exist who would never dream of opening a window-blind or walking a rod to see all four of them in a carriage, with Mr. Greeley on the box, and General Dent behind as footman; yet this would only show that a small class of persons are indifferent to some kinds of eminence, and that a large class open their mouths and eyes at any

Numberless persons have witnessed the movements and behavior of President Grant during his summer jaunting, what sort of occupations have filled his time, what persons of what kind and what character have enjoyed his intimacy, and, of course, the newspapers have reported all this with more or less minuteness to the numberless persons at a distance. We undertake to reply to the Times that these reports have been characterized by a fidelity in their minuteness which is usual in the journals of this country. Reporters and readers alike may have been de-ceived. General Grant is the man which these reporters have seen him to be, have described him to be. The anthropomorphic streak in us is not, in one sense at least, a belittling one. And had they done so foolish and so bad a thing as to describe him with their photographic literalness otherwise than as he is, they would have ensured their own detection and lost both reputation and em-

The slight opinion of General Grant, which is now scarcely veiled by the leading men and journals of either party, is not shared, it appears, by the Times, which attributes to his wisdom and capacity the "great results" generally attributed to Secretary Boutwell.

These alterations in the public condition are no more justly to be credited to President Grant than to Secretary Boutwell. They arise, as we have before shown in the case of the head of the Treasury, from causes quite beyond his control. They have been equally beyond the reach of President Grant-cer-

tainly from no fault of his. In the Presidential canvass last fall, Democrats pointed to the fact that over \$1,600, 000,000 had been received into the Treasury in the three years and a half following the close of the war. We demanded to know what had become of so enormous an amount of money. Everybody remembers how Mr. Atkinson, backed by Commissioner Wells, came to the rescue with the reply that in the three years and seven months following the war the public debt been reduced \$800,000,-000. Republicans never opened their heads to say anything else but that, before the next November. Even Mr. Greeley, who is now diversifying his labors as an essayist in political economy with instruction in "journalis tic amenities," of which he is equally a master, forgot for a while to call all men liars. He, too, and the Times kept telling people daily that the public debt had been reduced more than \$800,000,000 in three years and seven months.

This reduction of the fiscal year, as estinated by Secretary Boutwell, or as asserted by the Times in behalf of President Grant, is flea-bite compared with that enormous reduction. Will the Times tell us why General Grant deserves of it any more praise for this little than it gave President Johnson for that much? But for the \$800,000,000 debt reduction Republicans gave President Johnson no

credit at all. The increase in our customs revenue is due to increased importations of foreign goods, since the tariff has not been reduced. were not aware that General Grant is an importer, that he should have credit for this, But neither he, nor Congress, nor the party which elected them, deserve credit that these revenues are what they are. They should be much larger by abolishing all duties on the four thousand articles now on the tariff list, and by reducing the rates on the dozen or fewer suffered to remain. That which is done is no credit to anybody—that which is left un-

done disgraces him and them. The increase in our internal revenue from whisky, which the Times attributes to General Grant, was due in no respect to him. The World forewarned the Republican party and the country of the certainty that diminished revenues would follow an increased rate on whisky, and increased rates would follow its reduction. During the continuance of the

timony of those familiar with the subject. The coolies taken to Peru and Cuba never return to China. falling returns. At last Congress was flogged and driven into doing its duty, and reducing the tax on whisky. Of course receipts at once began to rise. With a lower rate they would rise higher still. We are not aware that General Grant was anybody's ally in that practical revenue reform.

With the closing up of some sources of expenditure, which would have reduced this car's surplus, General Grant has had as little to do as with the increased returns from customs and internal taxes. Such, for example as the \$23,649,157 last year paid out of the Treasury in additional bounties to soldiers. of which President Johnson's Secretary of War recommended in his December reporthat no more claims should be considered after March 4; such as the Freedmen's Bureau waste, the Alaska purchase, and the Pacific Railroad bonds, to say nothing of the discontinuance of costly military government in seven States, or the rapidly diminishing pension list.

As to these things, therefore, in which the Times claims that General Grant's work and recreations prove so advantageous to the country, it turns out that his work has had no effect whatever, and his recreations none. except the cost of his junketing in the Tallapoosa, which did not belong to him, But then the great heart of the nation will never grudge that to such a receiver of every

THE CABINET MEETING TO-DAY-WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

From the N. Y. Herald, We learn by telegram from Washington that a Cabinet meeting will be held to-day, at which nearly all the members are expected to be present, and when the most important subject for consideration will be the Cuban question and our relations with Spain with regard to it. Considering that the President and the members of the Cabinet are away from the seat of government in different directions, taking, as the rest of the world takes at this season, some recreation, there is reason to believe this sudden return and holding a full Cabinet council has some unusual significance. The question naturally arises, what does it mean? What new movement about Cuba and Spain? It is said the call for the meeting has special reference to

this subject.

The removal of Admiral Hoff from the command of the United States squadron in the Gult and around Cuba immediately miter the seizure of the Spanish gunboats which were under construction in this country, indicates a change of policy relative to Cuba. We do not know what the nature of the instructions to Admiral Hoff were since he was put in command of the Gulf squadron, and he may have been only doing his duty under them; but we do know that our fleet was doing service for Spain more than protecting American citizens or American interests. If there be a change of policy, therefore, on the part of the Government about Cuba, as there seems to be, it is consistent and proper another officer should that placed in command of the Gulf squadron. The most suitable man, probably, for that important post just now is Admiral Porter. In connection with these movements, we may notice the language of the Secretary of State in his address at Newburg on Saturday, implying that he was prepared to recog nize and follow public sentiment. Mr. Fish said, "If the people of my own State and of the United States will be pleased to bear with my infirmities, I shall in all things defer to their better judgment, and believe that their judgment has confirmed them in the right." It is not known certainly whether the Secretary had or had not in his mind Cuba, and the fact that public sentiment is strongly in favor of the Cuban cause; but as this is the most prominent subject now engaging the public mind, it is reasonable to suppose he had. At any rate he emphatically recognized the justice and right of popular opinion, and his duty to conform to it. In a word, the Secretary proclaims his faith in the old doctrine of vox populi vox Dei. If by his infirmities he means his shortcomings heretofore on the question of Cuba, the people will be prepared to forgive him, as he desires, should he from this time forth follow public sentiment

and conform to the public will. Looking at the action of the Government in seizing the Spanish gunboats, we cannot doubt that it is to be followed up by more decided and vigorous measures with a view to aid, indirectly at least, the Cuban patriots, so as to secure ultimately the independence and annexation of Cuba. The pretext for seizing these gunboats is good enough for all diplo matic purposes, but there must have been another motive or arriere pensee for the action. We do not suppose the Peruvian Minister was much afraid of these vessels going round Cape Horn to attack his country or that the administration really apprehended such a contingency: but it was fair enough to seize them on this pretext, and will answer all the purposes of diplomatic palaver. However, the American people understand that it is a movement in favor of Cuba, and so it will be understood by Spain and the world. The administration, then, is committed to the cause of Cuba. It cannot go back without humiliation and the contempt of the world. It must go forward, for if by any chance the Cubans should fail to secure their in lependence through the timidity or inaction of the United States, after our Government has taken this step, we should be laughed at for our weak-

ness by all nations. It is said that the Cabinet council to be held to-day will also discuss the question as to what further instructions should be sent to our Minister at Madrid. If the recent news from Spain can be relied upon, to the effect that the Spanish Government had set its face against parting with Cuba on any conditions further instructions on this matter to General Sickles would be useless. We hope, however, the Government of Spain is not so blind to what is transpiring in Cuba and to the impossibility of holding that island much longer. Cuba can never more be useful to Spain as a colony if even the insurrection could be put down, which is not at all likely; while as an independent State or as a portion of the United States she might have a considerable trade with the island. The United States have been far more valuable to England in this respect than they would have been as colonies. But, however wise or unwise Spain may be with regard to Cuba and to the efforts of the United States to stop bloodshed and the ruin of the island, our Government has but one course to follow, and that is to act in accordance with the almost unanimous sentiment of the country. Cuba must be free, and, if necessary, through the action of this republic. Spain would not be so insane as to go to war with us, and would yield to necessity if the Government should follow up boldly its present course. On this question the administration can make itself popular, as all parties are for Cuba. The press of Europe even acknowledge that the independence or acquisition of the island

States is the only solution of the difficulty. Will the Cabinet council to-day decide to go forward in this matter or to stand still? That is the question. We think it will see that its duty and interest lie in acting in conformity with public sentiment.

CHURCH AND STATE. From the N. Y. Times.

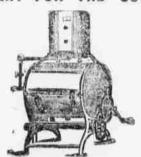
Another step has been taken in the Cheney case at Chicago. Judge Jameson has refused to dissolve the injunction he lately issued against the Ecclesiastical Court engaged in rying Mr. Cheney for omitting the ritualstic word "regeneration" from the baptismal

The victory thus far in this famous suit is Mr. Cheney's. It is a victory, however, won outside of his Church organization rather than within it—a technical and legal triumph, not a doctrinal or ritualistic one. What the rector of Christ's Church has accomplished is to show to the satisfaction of a secular court that his ecclesiastical judges did not in the trial follow the rules and canons of their own Church. That, by taking exceptions on these points, and carrying them to a civil tribunal for determination, Mr. Cheney would gain his case, has long been probable: but informalities and errors of op Whitehouse's court are of very little general interest compared with the broader question whether the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church are henceforth to use as much and as little of the prescribed forms of worship and prescribed forms of administering the sacraments as may suit their "conscientious convictions" or their individual convenience, We are aware that a difference of opinion exists regarding the importance, and indeed the very object, of the Church organization, one party viewing the Church chiefly as a school for discipline and instruction in the Christian life, and the opposite extreme valuing it mainly as a voluntary association of persons who have been justified by faith. so that to the one class formulas of worship may seem very binding and sacred, which to the latter might appear chiefly "made to break." The main question in Mr. Cheney's case, however, is, as we have said, not necessarily one of "religious liberty" against "ecclesiastical despotism;" but whether a minis ter of that church should revise, on his individual authority, the Book of Common Prayer

for public use in his parish. Nevertheless, as the decision of the Supe rior Court shows, this main question has not been decided. What has been decided is, not that Mr. Chency did not disobey the rules of his Church in a matter of substance, but that Bishop Whitehouse and the Ecclesiastica Court disobeyed them in matters of form. Judge Jameson has a good reputation for legal ability. He laid down very bluntly the doctrine that in the United States any reli gious society whatever stands before the law is a mere voluntary association, "like a base ball club, a lyceum, or an organization for the construction and operation of a railroad. How, then, does the civil court get jurisdic tion over this case? Because material interests of the petitioner are involved in it-namely. his salary of \$4500 per year, and the rental of his parsonage; and, having thus acquired, as the Court holds it did, authority in the premises, and finding-in a clear violation of the Church canon committed by Bishop White house in his proceedings in convening the ecclesiastical judges—good cause for enjoin-ing the latter against taking away the peti-tioner's living, the injunction was served.

But whether "regenerate" be or be not equivalent to "born anew" in the baptismal service: and whether because it is or is not so equivalent, it shall therefore be read or omitted at the discretion of the minister; and whether "liturgical revision" is to be secured on Bishop McIlvaine's plan of a convention, or on Mr. Cheney's plan of each rector "revising" to suit himself-these, which are the main points of the controversy, are no nearer settlement than ever. The case goes up to the Supreme Court in January.

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