# THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1869.

## SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

J. ROSS BROWNE ON CHINA. From the N. Y. Herald.

It appears by a telegram from San Franthat Mr. J. Ross Browne contradicts the statement that came by the way of Lon-ion, to the effect that the Chinese Government had rejected the treaty made by Mr. Burlingame with the United States. We expressed our doubt at the first of the truth of the report. He now says the ratification of the treaty is deferred until the return of the Embassy. So far, then, our ex-Minister to China has been misrepresented. But there can be no question as to what he has written and published over his own signature on China and the Chinese. He thought proper to ventilate his ideas, and we fear his prejudices as well, in a letter addressed to certain British merchants at Shanghae. He has committed a grave mistake in thus assuming an attitude of hostility to the policy of his own country-the country that he was sent to represent in China. His conduct is more reprehensible, too, for having made these foreigners, the British opium traders, who are the bitterest enemies of China, the medium for his publication. Whatever views he might have entertained or wished to express should have been expressed to his own government alone, especially as the policy he tiscusses and condemns was inaugurated at Washington and followed by a treaty made with the United States that formed the basis of similar treatics with the powers of Europe. Such conduct may seem bold and independent, but it is unwise, indiscreet, and unpatriotic.

His letter, though smoothly and carefully written, lacks grasp of thought. Admitting even what he says to be true, that the Chinese Covernment does not desire progress or a more free intercourse with the people and nations of America and Europe, and that the object of the Burlingame mission is to preyent such progress rather than to promote it, the cordial reception of the Embassy and the broad and liberal treaties made with it cannot result unfavorably. This was the true policy. for the great civilized nations of Europe and America to pursue. It remains to be seen if China will reject the treaties lately made with this and other countries. We have yet to see whether the Chinese Government has reselved, as Mr. Browne intimates, on falling back to its old policy of exclusion and retrogression. We are inclined to think it is not so, and hope it is not. It appears to us that the present government of China has shown too much good sense and liberality to justify the opinion that it would venture to trifle in such a manner with all the great powers of the world. It would be the height of temerity and folly. Prince Kung and the high mandarins that surround him must know such a course would raise a storm of indignation throughout America and Europe not easy to be allayed, and that must in the end be very damaging to China. The Christian nations of the civilized world would do well to try the peace policy with the Chinese. It is magnanimous, broad, liberal, and in accordance with the spirit of the age. If, as Mr. Browne thinks, the Chinese fail to appreciate this, and should resolve to evade or reject the policy of peace and progress, the alternative of war can then be evoked. All Mr. Browne's talk about paganism, pagans, and Christianty smacks very much of the old missionary and opium traders' prejudices, and is outside of the real question at issue. The civilized world of Europe and America will not be trifled with, nor do we think the Chinese Government so stupid as to imagine such a thing. Surely it has seen and felt the power of the great Christian nations too sensibly to make such a mistake. The liberal peace policy inaugurated on the arrival of the Burlingame mission is the true one, if that be practicable. Let it be tried fairly, and then, if it should fail, the great powers can at last resort to force. We must wait the result of present efforts for peace and progress, and are not without hope, notwithstanding Mr. Browne's opinions, that they may prove successful.

a message to Congress to urge that we should join in an international convention which they proposed to hold at Panama, and we recognized their independence and made treaties of friendship with them. All this did not bring Spain to declare war against us, though she was then stronger and we were very much weaker than now. Is it likely that she will attempt to revenge herself upon us in 1869 for an act of less importance than others that she quidtly bore with forty or fifty years ago?

But the real question is not whether we ought to be afraid of war with Spain or not. What the people of this country have to decide, and what in their hearts they have already decided, is this .- Is it right for us to help the Cubans? and is it politic? If it is right and politic, we ought to do it, whether or no it leads to a petty war with a second rate European power, struggling with bankruptcy, and in the crisis of civic convulsion. Let us state the reasons which we think are conclusive on this subject:---

I. It is right for us to aid the Cubans be cause they are trying to free themselves from the oppression of a distant, alien European monarchy, and to assert the American principle of the right of self-government.

II. It is right to help them because they are fighting to abolish slavery and the Afri-can slave trade, and to establish human rights in place of the infernal atrocities and wrongs of the slave system.

III. It is right to help them to establish epublic in Cuba because we also obtained elp from abroad in the hour of our struggle That fact imposes upon us an obligation to lend our own aid to a neighboring people fighting like the men of Cuba to realize for themselves the benefits of republican independence and democratic self-government.

IV. It is politic to help the Cubans. Cuba belongs, by her geographical position, to the political system of the United States. For half a century our statesmen have perceived and have maintained that we cannot permit that she should pass into the hands of any other power. Indeed, she is destined to become a part of the American Union.

This being so, ought we to stand lazily and cowardly by and see her devastated by a civil war which we can arrest by a word? Ought we to consent that she should be made a desert, that all the work of modern civilization shall be annihilated on her plains and hill sides, as a preliminary to her annexation? We can't see it. On the contrary, it is our duty rather to protect her against the useless barbarism of her enemies, to avert the further destruction of her homes, her mills, her plantations, and to bid the ferocious Spaniard depart from her shores with the whips and fetters of his slaves, and all the apparatus of his odious and intolerable tyranny. Her sons have proved that their autagonists cannot conquer them; and every consideration that should influence statesmen having sense and courage enough for their situation, requires that the Government of the United States should decisively interfere to stop the civil war in Cuba, and maintain the rights of her people without any longer delay.

THE BURLINGAME TREATY. From the N. Y. World.

"We trust the report is incorrect, which comes to us from Hong Kong, to the effect that the treaty negotiated between this country and China, with such pomp and circumstance, by Mr. Burlingame, has been rejected at Pekin."—Buffalo Courier.

the treaty which was so freely expressed by our contemporaries before the publication of nated them, denounce as intolerable, has Ross Browne's despatch contradicting the report of its rejection. According to Browne, the treaty has not been rejected by the Chinese Government, but its ratification has been postponed until the return of Mr. Burlingame and his embassy. Its fate is really of little consequence, for it is a string of empty verbiage without pith or substance. We should indeed be rather sorry to see Mr. Burlingame's wings clipped and his vanity mortified; and in the fact that the ChineseGovernment is no hurry to ratify his treaty would seem to indicate that the gushing demonstrative confidence that led to his appointment has undergone some abatement. Diplomacy of the oratorical, festive order does not, this year and last, seem to be attended with very good luck. Mr. Reverdy Johnson is an able man; he was sent to England on a mission of real importance; in all his dining and complimentary speech-making he never lost sight of the business side of his duties; the treaty he negotiated was a business-like document, which, had it been ratified, would have settled an important controversy. His festive oratory, however unfortunate in its results, was subsidiary to a more solid object, and intended to promote it; whereas Mr. Burlingame's treaty was subsidiary to the display part of his mission. It had no other intelligible purpose than to convey an impression that so much diplomatic cackling was not unaccompanied with the deposit of an egg. It is the emptiest and most meaningless treaty (as we showed on its first publication) that was ever negotiated. Its ratification by the Chinese government would bring no gain; its rejection no loss. The regret felt in this country at the reported failure of the Burlingame treaty was merely a regret that so much ostentatious festivity and glorification should have borne no fruit. It certainly was not regret at the oss of any advantages which would have been secured by the treaty; for there is not a man in the United States who recollects, or can state, any advantage, of any kind, which would have resulted to this country from its ratification. The treaty, indeed, consiste 1 of eight articles; but none of the eight had any meaning that was worth the paper on which the draft of the treaty was written. As for the fuss and festivity, we got the value of that in the enjoyment of it. Like virtue, it was its own reward. We can recollect no recent instance in which fuss and festivity, on an international subject, have realized the hilarious predictions of the after-dinner speeches and effervescing newspaper lea lers y which the bubble was blown. When the whole nation gave a wild welcome to Kossuth, it fondly and generously dreamt that it was making a great contribution to Hungaian independence; but not a dollar of the 'material aid" given by our enthusiastic citizens to Kossuth ever found its way to Hungary, and the hopes of independence soon after went into a total eclipse and obscuration. In the autumn of 1860, our countrymen, with characteristic ardor and enthusiasm, ran into a frenzy of generous welcome on the arrival of the Prince of Wales. Our orators and editors were pretty unanimons in the opinion that the exuberant hospitality which we lavished on the heir-apparent of the British crown, during those sunny autumn days, would knit the two countries together in bonds of the closest friendship for the residue of two reigns; but before the next spring had put forth its blossoms in our tardy climate, the Queen's Government made haste to recognize the Rebels as belligerents; and from her ports were fitted out the cruisers that destroyed our commerce,

States. We sold them arms, men sailed from | are, as yet, neither satisfied nor in a fair way our ports to help them, President Adams sent | of settlement. Our experience of great explosions of impetuous friendliness should make us a little cautions how we attach to them any other value than belongs to the transient glow and gratification of generous, hospitable feelings. The Burlingame blaze, like so many others, was too much of the tarbarrel order to serve any other purpose than mere festive illumination.

The text of Mr. Burlingame's treaty is all that is needed to show that he had no policy; no errand of a business-like character; no bjects to accomplish which were capable of being embodied in specific stipulations be-tween China and the Western nations. The trenty provides for the opening of no new ports, for the removal of no obstructions to trade, for nothing to which our merchants engaged in the China trade attach any importance. It is all the same to them whether the treaty is ratified or rejected. One of its articles stipulates that China may send consuls to this country-a right which she had before, and which there is no probability that she will ever exercise. Another article stipulate, that the educational institutions of each country shall be open to the inha-bitants of the other! Another stipulates that the inhabitants of neither country shall be forcibly abducted and taken away-a purely imaginary danger as regards citizens of the United States; and if the coolies are in danger of being kidnapped, Congress had already, long before the treaty, passed a law to meet this case. The treaty requires nothing of us on that head which we had not already voluntarily given, and it is ridiculous for the Chinese Government to bind itself by treaty to protect its own subjects. One article of the treaty stipulates for the protection of all religious persuasions in the Chinese empire: but as the treaty of 1858 protects all Christians in China, the people of the United States can feel little interest in Mr. Burlingame's supplementary stipulation. His treaty makes this toleration reciprocal-as if any treaty were necessary for securing religious freedom in the United States! The whole treaty is made up of stipulations equally stupid or nugatory. It permits schools by foreigners in all the parts of China where foreigners are permitted to reside-a privilege which has been conceded and exercised for the last twenty years. There is nothing in the whole draft on which a practical man can lay his finger and say that it is of the stightest consequence; much less that it justifies all the jubilant parade which Mr. Burlingame has made of his wandering embassy.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NORTH-ERN AND SOUTHERN DEMOCRACY. From the N. Y. Times.

The Chicago Times, whose right to be called Democratic none can dispute, propounds an inquiry, which we hope to see frankly answered by some adherent of the same faith:---

"If the Democracy of the North shall adhere to the dead issues of the past, how can the Democratic party remain a national organization, since the whole body of the Southern while people have aban-coned the dead issues, and accepted the situation as

The question is apposite and significant. The Democratic party of the North is at variance with the majorith of those who have heretofore constituted the Democratic party of the South-judging of both by their formal action. Changes that are accepted at the South are made a subject of contention We do not share the regret for the loss of in Ohio and Pennsylvania. What Packer and been quietly accepted by their old friends in Virginia and Mississippi. Negro suffrage and the other measures incident to reconstruction by which the Southern people, who experience their operation, have declared their readiness to abide, are made vital issues by Northern Democrats, who suffer nothing from their effects. The matters which furnish pretexts for agitation in these latitudes, and which are always paraded as in the interest of the South, are discarded as of no further moment by the people of that section. With what propriety can that party claim to be national which in one locality denounces and threatens to overthrow what in another locality its own friends accept and promise to sustain? This, in effect, is the question of the Chicago Times, and it is justified by circumstances. The case might be stated yet more trongly. Southern Democrats do more than accept the situation as it is; they refuse to join the Northern Democracy in the attempt to make the situation otherwise. To this rule there are exceptions. In Georgia and other of the reconstructed States a few violent journals object to the continuance of the alliance which elected Walker in Virginia and Senter in Tennessee; they urge the revival of a Democratic organization proper, and profess a deep interest in the cause of which Packer and Pendleton are consistent representatives. These appeals, however, go unheeded. We had testimony from Mobile, lately, ouching the collapse of the ancient partisan ship at the election in that city; and the major portion of the Georgia press, directed by men who stood by the "lost cause" as long as they had an inch of ground to stand upon are earnest in their condemnation of the movement. They declare plainly that the South feels no interest in the effort to gal vanize the dead issues about which Northern Democrats choose to fight. The Macon Jour. and the Augusta Constitution are conspicnous in this attitude. They insist that the South shall devote its energies to the at tainment of practical objects, and deride as preposterous the proposition to localize a party organization whose managers are unmindful of the lessons of the time. From Kentucky proceeds similar counsel. The disposition of Tennessee Democrats to enlist under the standard of Andrew Johnson, and make havoe generally, is manifested in various ways. Talk about repudiation is one of them; the proposal to reject the fifteenth amendment is another; an inclination to revive discrimination against the negro is a third. Indeed, generally, the Democrats of Tennessee are threatening mischief, and the better to accomplish their purpose they are discussing the expediency of forming distinct party organization. Against this tendency the Louisville Courier-Journal protests. No one will suspect it of indifference on the subject. But it has learned to calculate consequences, and to appreciate the folly of reliance upon "bygone epithets," with "a trifle of ancient leaven and a great deal of downright buncombe." The spirit which prompted the query of the Chicago oracle partially animates the Louisville newspaper: --"There is no victory in dead issues. Nothing short of the Napoleonic will put the South at the front again. None of the old fixities are models. We want 'new vigor-not a new party --fresh ideas and vital energies, with something positive to offer in room of that which we propose to displace. Above all we cannot afford to stand still, for this is a moving age, and the people will not submit to be bored with platitudes about dead issues." "Dead issues !" The outery is against them as applied to the South. And the Northern and occasioned the claims for damages which Democracy, by inscribing them upon the

banners of the fall campaign, not only con-fess their failure to appreciate the force and direction of popular currents, but separate themselves from the Southern people, and reduce their party to a mere sectional organization.

Against this blunder General Rosecrans now remonstrates. His letter to the Ohio committee describes an ideal Democracy which is, by comparison, the severest possible condemnation of the course pursued by the leaders of the party in that State and Pennsylvania. He would have his party make the most of the existing situation, and abandon the desire to upset it. He would maintain inviolate the public credit, and on divers other points would appropriate the Republican policy. It is not surprising that the Ohio managers withheld the letter as long as they could. It is a repudiation by the man whom they declared their first choice of the principles on which, and the manner in which, the canvass for Pendleton is conducted. Regarding Rose crans as the type of a numerous and influential class of Democrats, it is not easy to escape the conclusion that the party must revise its programme and amend its tactics if it would retain its vitality. "Dead issues" inspire few worshippers,

#### ALIVE OR DEAD?

From the N. Y. Tribune,

The question now arresting the attention of the public-"Is the Democratic party alive or dead?"-is susceptible of opposite answers, according as it is understood. It is the old perplexity of Giles Scroggins, on awaking from a season of alcoholic obfuscation:-"Now, be I Giles Scroggins or ben't I? If I be Giles Scroggins I have lost four good oxen, if I ben't, I have found a cart.'

No doubt there will always be a party called Democratic, which will hold conventions, and nominate tickets, and sometimes elect them. But the main question is not, "Will there hereafter be a party called Democratic?"-but, "Will it be in principle and essence the party hitherto known by that title?" And this question is not answered by proving that a party will survive that calls itself by the Democratic name.

This party has lately installed some new leaders, who are verifying the old a lage, "New lords, new laws." Mr. John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, is one of the readiest of these new counsellors. He virtually tells his fellow partisans that the blockheads who want to keep them forever on what we may distinguish as the Nasby platform are en-tirely behind the age—that, if they wish ever to regain power, they must pitch overboard the negro-hate and kindred anachronisms to which they have hitherto been stupidly clinging, and construct a new platform out of free trade and free run. General Rose-erans writes them from California that they must quit butting against the national debt, if they don't want to expose the hollow under their skulls where brains ought to be, and present living issues based on generous, progressive ideas. Finally, the Southern "conservatives," having tried keeping underfoot for years, and found it not to pay, have resolved to court the blacks instead of proscribing them, and thus win elections instead of contriving to lose them. And the Northern file-leaders, who were accustomed to take their cue from the South in the well-remembered days of their

pride and power, have called a halt, and are evidently perplexed as to their future course, On the whole, we judge that the Democracy of 1872 will remind the country of that of 1868 by contrast rather than by similarity. It will evince a youthful friskiness an contempt for old fogyism, and insist is thoroughly posted as that it to the time of day. surprised to find it nominating a colored Vice-President and clamorous for a conciliation and fraternization of all races and castes. There are no more zealous Christians than are made of veteran reprobates when they do get converted; and we expect to see the Republicans left away in the background whenever Democracy shall see its account in a zealous and sweeping assertion of the inalienable rights of man. And, so far from objecting to this, we shall only insist that they do not claim that they abolished slavery and put down the Rebellion, overcoming the most strenuous resistance of the Republicans. That would be going a trifle too far; but anything short of it we shall endure with sincere patience and bland equanimity. LOOKING GLASSES, ETC. ESTABLISHED 1795. A. S. ROBINSON, FRENCH PLATE LOOKING-GLASSES, ENGRAVINGS. BEAUTIFUL CHROMOS, rates.

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LUMBER.

#### THE COWARDLY COUNSELS OF THE NEW YORK "TIMES."

From the N. Y. Sun.

The Times urges that we must not recognize the Cubans as belligerents for fear that Spain may make war on the United States ! Here is its reasoning:---

"The Cortes will assemble at Madrid on the 15th of September. Whoever is chosen King, and some one probably will be, his first act probably would be a declaration of war, if any decent presext offered A concession of beiligerent rights to the Cubans would furnish such a pretext. It would rally every Spaniard around the new monarch; it would thril through the nation; it would hush feuds and sup-press local resentments and contention."

Considering that Spain has been making war on the Cubans for the past ten months; that she has exerted her utmost strength to put down a small colony without military or political experience, without arms, without organization, without preparation for fighting, without skill in warfare, without transportation, without a commissariat, without one of the requisites of a successful war, except a just cause, and courage, and heroic devotion, and that, without having fought a single important battle, she is now far less able to subdue them, far weaker and more hopeless than she was at the beginning, we must say that the bugbear with which the Times endeavors to scare the people of the United States is one of the most absurd and cowardly bugbears that pusillanimity ever invented to terrify a great nation from the performance of its duty.

Has the Times forgotten that within the past six months the Spanish Government has been obliged to contract a new loan, and that the utmost it was able to obtain for tifty millions worth of bonds was fourteen millions of dollars? And this it realized only by appealing to the patriotism of the Spanish people. who gave the money magnanimously, order that their revolution might not go out in nothingness before it had even tried to establish a government. Since then the financial condition of Spain has grown worse and worse, just as its internal order and its military power have deteriorated and become less and less sure and available; and a new issue of Spanish bonds would to-day hardly bring more than ten cents on the dollar. How, in such a state of pecuniary collapse, and with conspiracies and insurrectionary movements in all Spain, can any possible Governrife ment of that country declare a war against the United States that will be anything more than merely nominal and contemptible? The empty phantom of such a war may fill every soul in the Times office with panic, but it cannot alarm anybody else on this continent.

Besides, is it at all probable that Spain would respond by a declaration of war to our recognition of Cuban belligerency? There is no real reason to suppose it. One by one. between 1810 and 1825, the Spanish-Amorican colonies revolted from the mother country and gained their independence. Every one of them had the sympathy of the United .

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