THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1870.

SFIRIT OF THE FRESS.

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

MIGRATIONS OF SOUTHERN POPULA-TION.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

An army officer who has for some years held chief command in one of the Gulf States has been engaged in making observations and collecting facts regarding certain noteworthy movements of the elements of population that have latterly been going on in the South. It appears from the notes of the General that both the whites and the blacks of the Southern States have begun shifting very extensively their localities the movement of the two races not being in the same direction, but towards different regions.

The white emigration from the old slave States lying on the Atlantic coast, and stretching to the Mississippi, has attracted the attention of the General. There is a great stream of laboring whites moving from these regions to the West, to the Arkansas and Red rivers and to Texas. At many points on the Mississippi the boats have not been able to put them across fast enough. It has seemed of late as though South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama would be depopulated of that element which formed the only link between the dominant white and the laboring black. The General says that, a short while ago, he travelled through Eastern Alabama with a large body of white emigrants; and he has come to the conclusion, after careful observation, that not less than 20,000 whites have left Georgia and Alabama within the year for Arkansas and Texas. The General accounts for these movements thus:-The white man, having at last discovered that he must work, is going, with all his household gods, where land is cheap and grain plenty, and where he can own the soil.

In regard to the freedmen of the Southern States, the General has observed that there is a very extensive movement of the colored population to the "black belt"-that belt of counties reaching from the Sea Islands in South Carolina, westward through Middle Georgia, Middle and Southern Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. He says that the place of the whites departing from that region will be filled by the blacks who are moving in that direction, and whom he regards as the "only real emigrants" thither. He believes that if the colored people were educated so that they could write to their friends and represent matters to them, there would be an exodus of these people much greater than what has yet been seen from the more northerly parts of the Southern States to what he alternately designates as the "cotton belt" and the "black belt." As it is, the exodus is as yet limited, though it is none the less certain and definite. By reason of these movements now in progress-the movement of the laboring white westward and the colored freedman southward-the General believes that there will be a great change in the elements of population in certain parts of the Southern States. It appears to him assured that the status will be this: the old slavemaster will be face to face with his old slave, now a freeman; and the negro will inhabit the black belt, and control it.

In so far as the observations of the General indicate facts that have come under his own notice, we recognize their value and importance. In so far as he indulges in speculation, it is not necessary that we should assent to them all to admit their interest. Some of the statements have been confirmed in a remarkable manner by advices we have received and news we have published, from time to time, from other sources. We have had correspondence from the far South alluding to the westward emigration of the poorer classes of whites; and the reason generally assigned for this emigration has been the same-the difficulty which poor men find in becoming landholders in the older States of the South, and the facility with which they can acquire land in the newer States of the nouthwest. The southward movement of the colored population has also been fre-quently referred to in our letters from the more northerly parts of the old slave States. Only a few days ago our Washington correspondent sent us some interesting news from Virginia on this subject. By this it appears that the active demand for negro labor in the far South is showing itself by the extraordinary efforts that are being made to secure colored emigration from Virginia. There are labor agents there representing whole communities of planters in the Gulf States. In the principal cities of Virginia they are doing an active business in hiring hands for the cotton and cane plantations of Missiasippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. One of these agents advertises for negroes by thousands at from \$15 to \$22'50 per month; and in some cases additional inducements are offered, such as separate houses, rations, garden-patches, privilege to raise pigs, fowls, etc., and free transportation by rail. It certainly is not wonderful if," with such attractions, there should be a rapid growth of the colored population of the Gulf States, and a rapid decrease in Virginia and other border States. The subject, in all its incidents and bearings, is one of very great importance. We hope to obtain such additional information about it as will enlighten us concerning its consequences. Particular pains, we hope, may be taken by the superintendent of the forthcoming densus to gather all possible facts on the various features of these movements of population.

Twain's self-concert and self-glorification-bo say nothing of his indifference to right and wrong-are something miraculous. Nothing exceeds them but his falsehood. It is false that the Cubans have conducted

their war with barbarity. They are not a base, a cruel, nor a treachcrous race of peo-ple; and no instance can be demonstrated in which they have gone beyond the bounds of legitimate civilized warfare.

It is false that they have committed murder, assassination, rape, matricide, or the other crimes which this literary mountebank

It is false that they have been ready to sell their principles or their cause, or are now ready to do so. If they could have been bribed, the revolution would have been ended long ago. If they could be bought up now, it would not last a week longer.

It is false that they massacre their prisoners

It is false that they mutilate the blind and helpless Spaniards who fall into their hands. It is false that the Cubans are half-civilized, ignorant, brutal, swaggering semi devils. We have known them long and well; and gentlemen of better principles, higher honor, more genuine cultivation, more civilized and refined manners, cannot be found in any country. We have never had the plea-sure of beholding Mr. Twain, either in his ordinary costume or when dressed to appear as a clown in the ring; but he must be much more of a man than he has ever shown any sign of being, to bear comparison with those he so recklessly belies.

We are happy, however, to say that in one respect Mr. Twain does not depart from the fact. He says that the Cubans are "fantastic in costume," and this is true. Without organization, military education, experience, or resources, they have been waging war for fifteen months against an organized enemy possessing all these things, able to supply arms, am-munition, and clothing in abundance to all his soldiers, and with a numerous fleet, which the United States have just trebled, to guard the Cuban coasts and keep the patriots from re-ceiving supplies. Under these circumstances the Cubans have necessarily fallen off very much in the completeness of their wardrobes. For instance, most of them have no shoes; most of them have very poor hats, if they have any at all; most of them are in rags; most of them are without medicines when sick or wounded; and this interferes with their personal appearance. In short, they are in as bad a condition as was Washington's army at Valley Forge. But they do not complain of these inconveniences, for they possess what is of more value than fine clothing-an honest hatred of the intolerable oppression of Spain, and a firm resolution to make their country free and independent. If their costume is fantastic, their hearts are right, their purpose deserves the sympathy and applause of all good men, and their cause is sure to triumph in the end.

We say their cause is sure to triumph, and our confidence is based not merely on its justice, but on one of the reasons for which both Mr. Fish and Mr. Mark Twain honor it with their disapprobation. We refer to the fact that the Cubans have not fought nor attempted to fight a great and decisive battle. Such battles are no doubt more showy than the guerilla warfare which they have adopted; but with their small forces-they have only 40,000 men armed with guns to cover all their vast territory-and with their limited and precarious resources, they are not sure of being able to get any more guns or ammunition-it would be criminal folly, insanity, for their leaders to peril all upon the issue of any single conflict. Their only safe policy is to wear out their enemy by constant alerts and harassments, and not attempt to crush him by any grand operations. They cannot afford to run any risks, and we are glad to be able to report now, as we reported a year ago, that their wisdom is equal to the exigency of their situation. Spain sends a new army of 20,000 men to make good the losses of the last campaign, and there is but one proper way to deal with them. If the Cubans could obtain an unlimited supply of arms and other material of war, if they could arm a hundred thousand men for active campaigning, they could make shorter work of it; but that is out of the question. They must proceed cautiously, taking no chances that they can avoid, and keeping always in view as their object, to use up their opponents without ever giving them a chance to use up the revolution. This is a tedious method, and not satisfactory to soldiers on the grand scale like Mr. Twain and Mr. Fish; but it is eminently satisfactory to all who wish for the emancipation of Cuba, because it is the only way that is sure to win.

with that of the Pharisee who "stood and prayed thus with himself:-God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men." Mr. Twain's self-concert and self-glorification-to North Germany would swallow them up; and if Russia protected them against both, their country would be but a province raled from St. Petersburg. Moreover, the Bohemians are not five millions in all, and among the three millions of Czechs reside two millions of Germans, who, in the event of an insurrection, would to a man side with their countrymen against a race whom they regard as radically inferior. The Czechs are admitted to all political privileges, send up their full complement of members to the Reichsrath, are taxed as all other Austrians are taxed, have, in fact, but a sin-gle grievance—common to them, and all German, Spanish, and Italian-speaking people within France, that no effort is made to keep up, far less to cultivate, their language. Their nationality, they say, as the Welsh say, is dying slowly out. Nevertheless, so little have the Germans, with all their resources, and their culture, and their belief in themselves, succeeded in subduing or conciliating the Czechs, that they are agitating for "repeal," that is, for the concession of further powers to the local Diet; and they press for a revision of the electoral law, in order that they may send up only Czechs, and so influ-ence the Reichsrath on behalf of federalism. The old difficulty of the empire, the struggle between the unitarian and the federal principles, appeased for a moment by the concession of dualism, has revived again, this time within one of the co-ordinate powers.

The success or failure of this movement in, Bohemia, and in many places similarly situated, will depend upon a very curious question, which the most thoughtful politicians will be the most reluctant to answer prematurely. There can be little doubt, in spite of the American war, of Sadowa, and of a very diffused tendency towards the agglomeration of great States, that civilization does exercise a cortain seperating influence among races. As they advance, they perceive the differences between them more keenly, recognize more clearly the breaks in their interests, their habits, and their civilizations. Ireland is not nearer in sympathy to Britain, Poland to Russia, Naples to North Italy, Bohemia to Germany, Hungary to Austria, the Turkish States to Constantinople, than they were a century or two ago; but if anything, rather less near, rather more conscious of separate existence. Is that consciousness a temporary or a permanent feature in modern politics? If it is temporary, the world may go on without immense changes in the existing distribution of politi-cal power; the nations, as we call them, may last intact for centuries; but if it is permanent, they must sooner or later fly to pieces, and the world be recast as regards its foreign politics. On the whole, and with extreme diffidence, we incline to believe that the movement is not permanent, but it is the result, first, of the temporary disuse of one centralizing influence, physical force; and, secondly, of the immense increase in the apparent volume, as distinguished from the mo-mentum, of all political movements whatsoever. Nations rebel more than they used, because rebellion is very much safer. If a nationality propounded claims of its own as against Rome, Rome swept it out of existence, and the sovereigns of modern Europe, till lately, have not been much more merciful. If Ireland had wanted a new tenure or Bohemia cried for autonomy a century ago, both would have been held down by force, their cities fired, their people slaughtered is heaps, until they had either abandoned those indiscreet wishes, or postoned their realization to the day when all things will come right. Now the highest penalty which falls upon them is a solemn lecture on the impropriety of their conduct, or, in extreme cases, an increase of a garrison which attacks nobody and nobody need attack. Supposing the disposition to separatism to be no stronger than before, this new facility of expression would make it seem stronger: and the seeming strength is indefinitely increased by the multitude of voices, once incapable of speech, now just sufficiently developed to join in chorus. The Irish kerne hated us just as much as the Tipperary Fenian, but he had not the power to send up a political prisoner as his chosen representative. The Bohemian serf fought far more desperately against Austria than the Bohemian peasant, but he had not the same idea of swelling the cry proceeding from a few isolated leaders. The armies of disaffection were always there. They are, we believe, no stronger, but they have a power of combined shouting which does not increase the difficulty either of negotiation or coercion, but only compels the General Government to negotiate with the people instead of a class, or to coerce through popular armies instead of a small trained force. MEXICO DURING GRANT'S ADMINIS-TRATION. From the N. Y. Herald. In reviewing the history of Mexico since the restoration of President Juarez to power. and more especially the history of her finances, it cannot fail to be observed that notwithstanding the labored and unsuccessful effort of Mr. Payno, her eminent statistician and ex-Secretary of the Treasury, to prove, in an immense volume published by the republican authorities in 1868, that Maximilian had left an unfortunate and disastrous financial record, still the present administration in that bedridden country is doing sadly worse than the executed Emperor-apparently oblivious of the fact that there is a condition which a people may reach more destructive than bankruptcy. With reference to the policy of President Juarez or Mr. Romero in failing to pay for the arms and munitions furnished to the republic of Mexico in her late struggle against imperial intervention, it may at least be said in its favor that while it strikes a blow at the national credit, it yet has the single redeeming feature of rendering it difficult for any revolutionary party to purchase material of war with which to overthrow the Government. The revenues which have accrued to the nation, as shown by the reports of Mr. Romero for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1868, and June 30, 1869, have furnished barely sufficient funds for the meagre support of the civil employes of the nation and of a standing army of twenty-five thousand men-the latter being absolutely necessary for the existence of any semblance of a government in Mexico for a single hour. Native and foreign creditors of the nation see no prospect of a speedy or distant payment of principal er interest, and foreign capital has been leaving the country for investment within more hospitable shores. With such a condition of commerce and public credit, the revenues, which in 1868 reached only about twenty millions of dollars and in 1869 eleven millions of dollars, promise in the year ending June 30, 1870, not to exceed eight or ten millions-scarcely sufficient to sustain the Government, and with the English and Spanish creditors clamorous for their interest money, now anpaid for about three years, to say nothing of the

holders of the American loan of three millions of dollars, and a further obligation of magnitude which promises to become a national debt, with the United States as the creditor. resulting from the labors of the Mexican commission now in session at Washington.

While these complications are accumulating and becoming more or less aggregated, the in-dications are that the internal and political disease of the country is becoming most alarming and perhaps fatal. The desperation of that portion of the liberal party which is not in accord with President Juarez is becoming marked, and there are rumors that it threat ens a fusion with the old Church party, with the view of overturning the Government be-fore the end of this Presidential term. Pretexts for such a measure will be abundant. The ambition of Mr. Lerdo, President Juarez's Secretary of State, it is believed, is driving the former to grasp after the Presidency, and, although professedly less talented than his brother Miguel, he desires to hand his name down to posterity by having his portrait hung among those of the Presidents of Mexico. The positiveness with which this Mexican statesman assumed the front on the occasion of the recent banquets given to Mr. Seward in the halls of the Montezumas, thus sparing Mr. Romero from the attacks of his enemies and the vituperations of an opposition press, is characteristic of the man; and that act and the comparative quietness of Mr. Romero confirmed the fact that Mr. Seward was a guest of the nation, and not of Mr. Romero. Mr. Lerdo is fearless as well as ambitious. He will most likely find pitted against him for the Presidency General Portirio Diaz, and should the contest wage too warmly, it is not unlikely that President Juarez may consent to be nominated as a third candidate, and possibly may be elected. . This election is to be held about the time of the rising from its session of the "Mexican Commission," and bids fair to be the signel for the sword and the firebrand. Should such a condition of things ensue, then, or earlier, as is most probable, the administration of General Grant, representing a nation which has already assumed responsibilities in the affairs of Mexico, may have it in its power, and may feel it to be its duty, to invite Mexico to "have peace," through the medium of a loan properly secured to our Treasury, by which the Government "on the throne" in Mexico may at least subdue its restive people for a while, or, if refused, through the medium of "moral suasion" vigorously applied.

THE TAXES AND THE DEBT. From the N. Y. Times.

The cry still is, "Reduce the taxes!" The trading class is literally a unit in favor of reduction. The farmers are compelled, by falling prices, to pray for it as a measure ab solutely necessary. The mechanics and la-borers, who bore the hardship of high prices without a murmur while they were incident to a great national struggle, protest against that continuance of high prices which proceeds from exorbitant taxation. On no other subject are the people half so united or half so decided. They complain of the taxes as a burden beyond their strength. They know that much of the depression which afflicts industry, and much of the bitterness and peril of the trial which every branch of trade endures, grow out of the present system of taxation. We are sustaining the fiscal strain of war in a period of peace. We are paying the penalties of war years after the necessity for their exaction ceased. Hence the depth and universality of the demand for relief. East and West, North and South, insist upon it as a measure of justice and expediency-of justice, because this rate of taxation is in excess of the legitimate requirements of the Government; of expediency, cause a diminution of the load is essential to the safety of great and varied interests, entering into the sum of national prosperity. The journals which oppose the demand are for the most part advocates of monopoly; they would withhold relief from the people for the ag-grandizement of special interests, and the promotion of a policy that would precipitate resumption of specie payments at any cost. The mistake of Mr. Boutwell's policy is that it aims at concentrating effort upon the reduction of debt long in advance of its maturity, regardless of the suffering and loss which that effort entails upon commerce and industry. It is persisted in, moreover, with strange indifference to the fact that the nearer we approach resumption the heavier existing burdens become, and that if resumption were effected the collection of these burdens would be simply impossible. Values are falling, but taxes remain the same. The farmer receives less for his products, the merchant less for his goods, the workman less for his labor, while the exactions of the Government continue unabated. Supposing specie payments to be restored without previous reform in the matter of taxation, the result would virtually be an increase of taxation; for though the rate remained the same, the available means of the taxpayers would be reduced. The effect of such a condition of things cannot be doubted. Such faxes in such circumstances could not be collected. There would be a falling off in the revenue at a time when its prompt and full collection would be of the highest importance to the credit of the Government. It is not more certain that a return to specie payments is a work of years than that its accomplishment must be preceded by a large, well-considered, and eminently just reduc-tion of taxes. Ne prudent financier dreams of hurrying resumption. Charlatans may talk of its feasibility, and interested classes will, for reasons of their own, foster the delusion; but practical persons, who have studied the experience of other countries, and know the difficulties which beset the trade and industry of the United States, are content to await the influence of time upon the national resources, and the operation of natural laws upon all the elements of productive wealth. Theories are worthless in such a case as this. Departmental or legis-lative declarations in favor of immediate resumption are mere legerdemain. The thing cannot be hastened without imperilling vas interests. But it may be facilitated by thrift and prudence on the part of the Government, and the country may be prepared for its action by lightening the load of taxation. The Secretary of the Treasury fails to comprehend the course of public opinion if he imagines that the story of what he is doing with the debt will reconcile the people to the burden he would perpetuate. They are in earnest in the cry for reduction of taxes. And if there is not to be reduction, large and immediate, the country will hold a Republican administration and a Republican Congress responsible.

JANUARY 4, 1870.	
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ANOTHER GREAT STATESMAN AGAINST CUBA.

From the N. Y. Sun.

Mr. Mark Twain favors the public with his views concerning the Cuban revolution. They seem to be of about the same tenor and value as those which Mr. Secretary Fish has occasionally avowed. We quote the summing up

as those which Mr. Secretary Fish has occa-sionally avowed. We quote the summing up of Mr. Twain's opinions:— "In his self-sacrificing struggles for his country's freedom the Cuban patriot makes valorons use of every method and every contrivance that can ald the good cause. Murder, theft, ourglary, arson, assassination, rape, poison, treachery, mendacity, fratricide, matricide, hundelde, particide, and all cides out suicide are instruments in his hands for the salvation of his native land; and the same are instruments in the hands of the 'oppressor' for the damnation of the same. Both partics, patriots and Government servants alike, stand ready at any moment, apparently, to sel, out body, soal, and boots, polities, religion, and principles, to anyody that will buy; and hey seem equally ready to give the same away for nothing whenever their fives stand in pent. Both sides massacre their prisoners; both sides are as proud of burning a deserted plan-tation, or conquering, capturing, scalping, and skin-ning a crippled, blind idiot, as any oivilized army would he of taking a fortified city; both sides make a grand school-boy pow-vow over it every time they ing thall day long, and kill a couple of sick women, and disable a lackass; both sides the, and braz, and betray, and rob, and destroy; a happy majority of both sides are familistic in costaine, grotesque in mamer, half-civilized, inwashed, ignoriant, bigoted, selfish, base, cruei, brutal, swaggering, plantation-both and rob, and destroy; a happy majority of both sides are familistic in costaine, grotesque in mamer, half-civilized, unwashed, ignoriant, bigoted, selfish, base, cruei, brutal, swaggering, plantation-barting sach other up until there isn't enough that an all-wise. Providence will permit them to go on eating sach other up until there isn't enough that an all-wise. The spin discustion is identical quest on. Amen

The spirit of these observations is identical

BOHEMIA AND IRELAND. From the London Saturday Review.

Great Britain is not the only country in Europe with an Ireland. Every race except the Italian has made the effort to assimilat some population different from itself under more or less favorable conditions, and every race, except, indeed, the French, has failed The exception is no doubt an extremely noteworthy one. The Frenchman, who cannot colonize, who never sympathizes with another race, and who has never been able to conciliate dependent peoples, can and does absorb men of many races, languages, and creeds so perfectly that in a generation their descendants talk and act as ardent Frenchmen. There has not, since the Revolution, been a serious insurrection in France based on a desire for independence, and Napoleon can rely on a Strasburgher or Savoyard as fully as on a Parisian or Norman. The Dane, however, with every advantage of title, of position, and of race, failed utterly to reconcile the Holsteiners; Prussia has rather superse led than conciliated the Poles of Posen; Russia has been defied by Poles when defiance was so hopeless as to resemble lunacy; and Austria in vain endeavors to conciliate or even to negotiate with races who have obeyed her implicitly for centuries. The speech deli-vered by the Kaiser to the Reichsrath is full of half-concealed fear lest the populations of the German side of the Leitha should ask terms inconsistent with the existence of the constitutional empire, and it is thoroughly understood that these fears are not the product of his own imagination. Everybody in Austria is demanding repeal at once. The Hungarians have actually got it, and might, The one would think, be content, but they are carrying nationality to lengths which make even alliance an almost impossible arrangement. They are bound to assist the empire in all wars, and they have not violated the obligation, but their assistance in Dalmatia is neither liberal nor cor-They say Dalmatia is theirs, dial. which may or may not be right, and they do not want to reconquer it except for themselves, which must be wrong on any view of their importal obligations. The attitude of the Bohemians, or rather of the Czech population of Behemia, is, however, the most extraordinary. From the geographi-

