## THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1871.

# SPIRIT OF THE FRESS.

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

In a little day of the second second

THE GRANT-SUMNER QUARREL. From the N. F. World.

The feeling which has been excited in Washington, and extends to all places in telegraphic communication with the national capital, in consequence of President Grant's attempt to degrade and disgrace one of the most important members of the party by which he was elected, is a noteworthy sign of the times. In this heated Republican quarrel Democrats take no part. They are mere spectators. But in such an unseemly fracas, bystanders are the coolest judges; and in the present case, Democrats are more likely to do instice to both factions than they are to do justice to each other.

As between the comparative qualifications of Mr. Sumner and Mr. Cameron for the chsirmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the question is ridiculous. In domestic politics Mr. Sumner is, to be sure, a fanatic; but a sincere fanatic is a more respectable character than a notorious corrup-tionist. On foreign questions, Mr. Sumner is extremely well informed, whereas Mr. Cameron has no more knowledge of foreign politics than every man catches up from the newspapers. Mr. Sumner has a personal acquaintance with many of the leading statesmen of Europe; he has always taken a keen interest in European affairs; and being thoroughly conversant with recent European history, and with the motives and secret springs of modern diplomacy, his qualifications for the position which he has held for the last ten years cannot be disputed by any of the servile supporters of the President. If his place could be given to another Senator equally intelligent and accomplished, the change would not provoke much comment; but an exchange of Cameron for Sumner is so preposterous in point of fitness that the country would look on with amazement, if it could be amazed at any absurdity perpetrated by General Grant.

What is the excuse offered by General Grant's sycophants for supplanting a tho-roughly equipped publicist like Summer with an ignoramus in foreign affairs like Simon Cameron? The excuse is that Mr. Sumner differs, on some points of foreign policy, from President Grant and Secretary Fish. Such an excuse is a grosss insult to the Senate. It is an arrogant attack on its independence. It assumes that the Senate has no right to differ from the President on questions of foreign policy; whereas, by the Constitution, the Senate is entitled to sit in judgment and review upon the action of the Executive, and ratify or reject its measures according as Senators may or may not think the Executive has acted wisely. The Constitution makes the Senate a restraint on the foreign policy of the President, and autho-rizes its own independent judgment in approving or rejecting his measures. But General Grant insists that the revising Senators shall be his servile tools. He denies their right to any judgment which differs from his. He requires that the Senators shall be, not his judges, as the Constitution makes them, in que foreign policy, but his echoes. In other words, he is engaged in an attempt to break down the restraints imposed upon the foreign policy of the President by the Constitution, and to make his own will supreme in questions of that kind. His demand that the Senate shall not dissent from his views, and that its Committee on Foreign Relations shall tamely accept whatever he chooses to dictate, is a claim to be emancipated from constitutional restraints and to exercise au absolute control over the foreign policy of the Government. By the Constitution the Senate has a right to differ from and control him; has a right to reject his treaties and overrule his foreign policy; and is as free and independent in its own sphere of action as the Presi-dent is in his. It is a piece of insufferable intermeddling and domineering arrogance for him to dictate whom the Senate shall appoint on its committees, and to demand that the Committee on Foreign Relations shall be packed in subserviency to his personal views. He has no more right to say who shall be chairman of that committee than the Senate has to say who shall be Secretary of State. Nay, he has less right; for the Senate can refuse to confirm a Secretary of State whom the President appoints, but he has no shadow of a title to interfere in the organization of the Senate committees. Yet this is what General Grant has been doing; and it is no wonder that his intrusive, intermeddling arrogance provokes warm opposition. One pretty certain consequence of this quarrel will be the defeat of the President's Santo Domingo job. There was only five majority against Sumner in the Senate caucus, and those Senators who opposed the wishes of the President in caucus will have as little hesitation in voting against his scheme in the Senate. A treaty of annexa-tion, which requires two-thirds of the Senate to ratify it, would be defeated by superfluous votes; and if an attempt should be made to carry the project by a joint resolution, the Republicans will be so divided that the Democratic votes may turn the scale against it. But a defeat of General Grant now will be a personal and political humiliation, whereas, if he had not provoked this quarrel, the failure of the Santo Domingo project would have little significance. Another consequence of this quarrel will be an organized opposition to the renomina-tion of General Grant as the Republican candidate for President. The contempt in which he has long been held by intelligent Republicans who are best acquainted with him, has now found a good excuse for atter-ance, and from this time forth the Republican party is divided into a Grant faction and an anti-Grant faction. With the enormous an anti-Grant faction. With the enormous patronage he wields he will probably secure a renomination; but if he does, there will either be an open bolt by his bitter Republi-can enemies or secret conspiracies to defeat his election. This quarrel will become so envenomed that there can be no reconciliation; and as Grant is destitute of political talents, his Republican enemies are pretty sure to get the better of him. In view of the hatred and animosity which have grown up against him in his own party, Democrats have every reason to wish that he may be the Republican candidate.

shores, is now under consideration before the High Commission, we beg to offer a

Our colenial friends have some valuable bituminous coal mines in Nova Scotia and New Branswick, only partially worked, owing to want of a market. We think well of admitting their coal free of duty. But there is so much objection to a repeal of the existing tariff on this commodity, that the duty still stands and is likely to stand. Suppose now the High Commission, while it is on this branch of its business, should make the proposition to offset the duties we now collect, against the right of fishing everywhere. Let us fish wherever we like and we will admit Nova Scotia coal free of duty.

This is a fair bargain; and if anything is to be paid for a privilege that really belongs to us now, we insist it shall be no more than this. And we cannot help believing such an arrangement would be satisfactory on the British side. The right to fish on the ocean is a right belonging to everybody, and it is sheer impudence to undertake to restrict it. In former times, when it was the fashion to keep convenient pretexts for war always on hand to be used as occasion required, this fishing question held a prominent place. If England and France, during the long years when they were contending for mastery on this continent, were ever at a loss for a quarrel, this question, in some one of its Protean forms, could always be counted upon to furnish the desired provocation.

The present agitation of the subject is but a relic of a past tradition. It is an absurdity from beginning to end. Why should not any man and every man traversing the open be at liberty to cast a line and catch a fish when and where he will? The sea is the highway of nations, and whatever swims therein is the special property of not one of them, but of all. The ocean is but one vast common, where all have equal rights and all should roam at will. The idea of there being any private or national property in its hidden finny tribes is simple presumption. It was only when England claimed to own and rule the seas that such a pretension could be endured for an instant. But that day has forever gone, and now let all the rubbish of such a claim perish with it.

If nations desire to preserve the threemile line from the actual configuration of the coast, by way of a convenient skirt to their jurisdictional limits, so be it. But let the claim be construed to cover cases of substantial consequence only, such, for example, as the conflicts of belligerents. For every peaceable purpose, let the use of the open seas, wherever they are navigable, be free and unabridged to all the world. We should be glad if the High Commission would break from the traditional follies of the past and assert this principle as their guide. Let them not try to erect anew the starch and buckram fences which have been put up on the ocean in the past, and which guard no-body and guide nobody, and serve only as traps to the unwary mariner who extorts his scant subsistence from the treacherous depths of the sea. These technical and supposititious boundaries, which cannot be seen, are but a snare in the hands of the idle wicked to catch the laborious poor. They deserve no consideration from men who are representatives of the people, and not mere instruments of arbitrary Governments, as negotiators of old in too many cases were apt to be.

In proposing the compensation we do for the relinquishment of an unfounded pretension, we think we go far enough. We protest against that superfluity of generosity which would go further and pay money for a claim intrinsically not worth considering, and which, at best, is but a convenient pretext to extort concessions which can be neither claimed nor obtained upon any fair grounds whatever.

tude, nor can it give that attention and em-phasis to questions of political economy and finance which the public good imperatively requires. Pledged by all its glorious past to inflexible and paramount fidelity to the rights of man, it cannot, while these are assailed and imperiled donate much attention to the and imperilled, devote much attention to the policy of raising or lowering the imposts now payable on the importation of iron, or fabrics, or sugar. And, in the absence of such attention, there is great danger that unwise and injurious changes in the tariff may be made, which, if their nature and bearings were fully understood, would be condemned and defeated.

What we would ask of the Democratic managers-we trust, without presumption-is simple frankness. They act on the offensive, and have the right as well as the power to choose their point of assault. They may take the ground pioneered by Frank Blair in 1868, and proclaim the anti-slavery amendments of the Constitution frauds and nullities, and negro suffrage a Federal usurpation, to be crushed out by "the Southern people"—that is, the late Rebels—so soon as they shall have resumed control of the Government. Or they may (as some of them do) say, "All this is bygone. The three Republican amendments are a part of the Constitution; the negro is a citizen and a voter; we cannot ando this if we would: so we accept, and will try to make the best of it." We only require of them that they eschew concealment or equi-vocation, and tell the country exactly what they mean.

If the wishes of the majority were to prevail, we know that the next Democratic platform would reiterate the party's approval of the sentiments of Frank Blair. Negro-hate and sympathy with the late Rebellion are the animating impulses of at least two-thirds of those who voted for Seymour in '68 and will vote for his lineal successor in '72. But the leaders of a party do not always allow the mass of their followers to dictate platforms, even when their own real sentiments are embodied therein. Doubtless, the Democratic National Convention of 1864 proclaimed what the Democratic masses believed and felt when it pronounced the war for the Union a failure and demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities; yet McClellan's chances of election were thereby blighted. So the great hody of the Democrats of 1868 were delighted with the idea of paying the national debt in greenbacks; but that plank in their platform cost Seymour (who did not believe in it) a great many votes. A party under the weather cannot always embody all that it would like to do in its platform; it must consider how others will regard a proposition, and whether it is or is not calculated to repel many whose support is essential. This was not done at Chicago in 1864 nor at New York in 1868, and the consequences were disastrous.

"Give me but light !" said Ajax. Only let the Democratic platform be outspoken and candid, and the next Presidential canvass must prove a long stride towards the final settlement of questions whose early solution is essential to the nation's well-being.

REPUBLICAN PROSPECTS IN FRANCE. From the N. Y. Times.

Paris is possessed with its old frenzy again. The overshadowing danger, in presence of which party clamor was stilled, has passed, and a vague unrest, born of a despairing consciousness how impotent has been the sistance to a relentless enemy, seems to taken held of the populace. In default Prussians, the "Reds" want somebo



#### A SUGGESTION TO THE HIGH COMMIS-SION.

From the N. Y. Sun.

Since it is declared, with some show of probability, that the question of compensation to our Dominion neighbors for the right of our fishermen to ply their vocation without restriction, either within or without the imaginary three-mile line from the colonial

#### DOES THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ACCEPT THE CONSTITUTION AS IT IS?

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Another Presidential election is in sight. It rests with the party now in opposition to determine the issues to be therein decided. If that party shall see fit to say, "We accept and will obey and enforce the Federal Constitution as modified by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments," the country may safely regard the issues raised by secession and the consequent civil war as closed, and proceed thereupon to the para-mount consideration of economic and financial questions. This is the shape which (we judge) most intelligent and patriotic citizens prefer that the next canvass should take. We have been mainly quarrelling about slavery and negroes for the last twenty years. If only for variety's sake, it is high time for a change of topic. Slavery was a weighty theme in its day, but slavery is dead, and its death involves logically the clearing away of all the wreck and debris of the late ardnous struggle. The negro is no longer a slave; what can he be henceforth but a man? And, if a man, why should he not be accorded the rights, privileges, franchises, responsibilities, and obligations of manhood-no less, no more? The Kilkenny cats having demolished and devoured each other, is it necessary that their tails should keep up the scratching, spiting, and caterwauling?

As a Republican, we have no right and no wish to direct the future course of the party to which we shall at any rate stand opposed. If that party shall see fit to challenge us to fight over again the battle of 1868, we shall of course take up the gage with great and well-grounded confidence of success. We have no fear that the American people will reverse in '72 the verdict they recorded in the election of Grant and Colfax. In a purely partisan aspect, we should consider this our "best hold."

But there are other considerations of grave moment by which that of party advantage is counteracted and overborne. It seems at least probable that, whenever the late Rebels shall have been thoroughly convinced that the negroes are to be henceforth their fellowcitizens, sharing fully and equally every franchise and immunity of citizenship, they will stop killing them. It is the hope of paralyzing with terror large portions of the Republi-cans, white and black, of the South, as those of Georgia and Louisiana were paralyzed in 1868, that inspires the Ku-klux atrocities now rife in several Southern States. These cannot be incited by any rational expectation that the Republicans will be exterminated; the calculation evidently is that killing some will awe the rest into a surrender of their rights as essential to the saving of their lives. In short, the present Ku-klux demonstra-

tions at the South are simply a more cowardly phase of the Rebellion. They are a fulfilment of the Rebel menace that the civil war could and should be prosecuted for twenty years after the overthrow and dispersion of the Rebel armies. Its object is to "Let the nigger know his place"-which, now as ever, in the Rebel conception, is under the heel of the white man.

Until this skulking warfare, with masks instead of banners and torches in place of grenades, shall have been somehow terminated, the Republican party cannot change its atti-

wreak their vengeance on. France above all, Paris, has suffered a great and a great humiliation, and yet nobod be found on whom to lay the blame. At deaux the people have been voting away provinces and indemnities that will absorb spare earnings of a generation, but the no talk of impeaching anybody, unless haps, the Emperor, who is already as go dead; there is no new oath of the tennis by which the popular deputies should, time, bind themselves to remain in se till means were devised for taking re upon the foe-who seems to the mind much less formidable now that his field lery and his intrenchments are no l contracting the circle of fate round the The suppressed fury of the *proleturiat* o capital has, therefore, begun the far series of fitful outbursts, which, unrestr by a strong hand and a vigorous will lead to revolution and chaos again.

Fortunately for France, the patrio Montmartre and Belleville cannot jur work any serious mischief. The Govern is strong in resting upon the delil choice of the people, and in being back a large majority of the representatives provinces, who are tired of the dictati Paris, and many of whom are prepar support the proposal of removing the cal capital somewhere else. They are strong from the fact that a sincere des maintain republican institutions is visit all their measures. Could M. Thiers at colleagues be convicted of plotting monarchy, a revolutionary protest won intelligible, and might be exceedingly cult to deal with. But all their ac which we have any record, show a pu ous desire to maintain republican forms an honest determination to give p government a fair trial. M. Thiers in upon the insertion of the word "republ the resolution of the deputies which the warrant of his office. He retains republicans in his ministry, who would hold office for a single day were they required to assist in an Orleans restorat

By some such reasons as these, empha no doubt by a reference to the readin his cannon, General de Palladines ma on Thursday to bring the mutinous offic the National Guards of Belleville to re-France has shown her willingness to be by moderate counsels, and the sooner reaches a similar resolution, the more re will proceed the peaceful reconstru which the country so urgently needs. time that Frenchmen recognized the that, grievously betrayed as they have they have suffered chiefly because they untrue to themselves. For two gener neither Conservatives nor Radicals have capable of compromise or of gradual ref The political life of the nation has thus nated between repression and license, has been devoted to the worship of every sible idea-Legitimist, Orleanist, Repub and Imperialist-to the exclusion of the of true liberty. Evidences are not was that France has profited by sad experi and that the Thiers Ministry embodie attachment to practical results in prefe to vague aspirations, to republicanism respects the rights of all in preference regime that gives either a man or a m irresponsible and absolute power.

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