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SATURDAY EVENING, FEB. 11, 1882.

BLAINE'S DIPLOMACY.

CONSERVATIVE VIEWS OF IT. The Administration and South America. Harper's Weekly. Whether it was intentional or not

there is no doubt that the tone of Mr. Blaine's instructions to our ministers in South America, which have been recently published, is dictatorial and offensive. If the minister of England or of France at Washington should take such a tone in representations to this country at the close of a successful war, he would be sent out of the country within twenty-four hours. Nothing is so justly offensive in internanational and diplomatic Intercourse as the peremptory and dictatorial manner, which is the air of a bully. The era of "manifest destiny" politics has been very disagreeably and vividly suggested by the South American correspondence which has been published. The assumption throughout is that victorious Chili must make such terms of peace as we please, or take the consequences. The intention of such a demand may not not have been to supply a pretext for armed intervention in the dispute. But if such had been the purpose, it is not easy to see how it could have been more adroitly and effectively

furthered than by such dispatches.

It is remarkable also that the conduct

of the most delicate and difficult affairs, in which errors and precipitancy would lead to the most serious results, was left to a minister who had shown himself to be entirely destitute of discretion and of the simplest sense of the proprietics in his position. This is one of the most perplexing facts in the whole business. Be-fore General Hurlbut left upon his mission to Peru he was in correspondence and conversation with the agent of the Peruvian company, and received from the company an offer of a large interest in its claim. This was on the 2d of June. But apparently this transaction was not known to the secretary of state until the 3d of December, and on the same day the secretary reproves General Hurlbut severely for consenting to become trustee of a Peruvian railroad. The complete evidence of the unfitness of the minister for his post would seem to have been in possession of the state department, and it is impossible to see why he was not recalled. The key to the whole correspondence is found in the ex-secretary's explanation. He considered that the commercial ascendency of the United States upon the western South American coast was in question, and that it would probably be lost if the action of Chili could not be controlled in the supposed interests of the United States. Chili was believed to be under ASTRICH BROS, the influence of Great Britain, and unless the United States to assume an attitude of dictation towards the South American the United States could arrange the set- of dictation towards the South American tlement between Chili and Peru, Great Britain would be the dominant power upon the coast. It is undoubtedly the province of diplomacy to maintain by ne-gotiation and friendly representation the interest and influence of one nation among

others. It is especially desirable that the United States shall be the friend and counsellor of other republics upon this continent. And if we understood the instructions of Secretary Frelinghuysen to Mr. Trescott to imply any unwillingness to aid the other government: with our friendship and impartial good offices, we should certainly condemu them, and so undoubtedly would the country. So far as sympathy is concerned the feeling of the United States is naturally with Chili, the most intelligent and orderly of South

American republics, and not with Peru, which is a country of a very different FOR THIS WEEK,

In diplomacy manner and method are of vital importance. It is a suggestive criticism of our late diplomacy which is implied in a remark of Lord Granville to Mr. Lowell. "Lord Granville," says Mr. Lowell. "Lord Granville," says Mr. Lowell, "was as usual exceedingly courteous and friendly, but made no remark except that the publication of No. 270 before an opportunity was given him of refore an opportunity was given him of re-plying to it 'seemed to him, to say the least, unusual.' 'In a very much stronger and objectionable sense it may be said that the tone of the instructions to Mr. Trescott was to say the least, unusual. It was in fact, belligerent and hostile. It was a very distinct threat. The dispatch was a very distinct threat. The dispatch of Secretary Freylinghuysen corrects this tone, but it does not decline to take interest in the question between Chili and Peru. Secretary Blaine instructed Mr. Trescott that if the arrest of Calderon by Chili should not be disavowed as an act of resentment against the United States is at peace with all the nations of the earth, and the president wishes hereafter to determine whether it will conduce to that general peace, which he would cherish and promote, for this government to enter into negotiations and the United States, he should as-ure Chili that such an act would be regarded with selected friendly nationalities withby this country as justifying a suspension of diplomatic relations. Secretary Frelinghuysen revokes this discretion, and linghuysen revokes this discretion, and reserves to the president the decision whether there is cause for offense. Meanwhile the Chilian minister in Washington has expressly disavowed any unfriendly feeling for the United States in the arrest of Calderon. The president in the Fredinghuysen instruction distinctly disclaims linghuysen instruction distinctly disclaims tions between two independent American republies, while he would gladly extend his kindly offices to all of them. Here is no surrender of the interests or policy of the United States, but a humane and wise and pacific course which is worthy to be called American. It is not a question of "Half-breeds" or "Stalwarts," but of patriotism, and there is no doubt that the

policy of the administration in this matter

so far as developed. Blaine's Assault on the President. TRIMMINGS,

Mr. Blaine's is one of the perturbed spirits that will not rest. In his published formal interview of January 20th, five days before the date of his recent letter to the president, this question to him is reported: "How do you account for the president's change of policy?" To this he replied: "How do you account for the president's change of policy?" To this he replied: "How do you account for the president's change of policy?" To this he replied: "How do you account for the president's change of policy?" To this he replied: "How do you account for the president is none of my business. It is the undoubted right of the presidant, as it is of a private citizen to change his mind." Conceding (what does not yet appear) that the president had changed his mind, this utterance of Mr. Blaine importative, he soon drops the "if," and before he gets through he speaks of it as an "avowed fear" of European powers. That's the way Mr. Blaine jumps when he has made up his mind to have a row.

It would have been a plainer and much more creditable interpretation to Mr. Blaine, if he had read, with an open mind. his mind, this utterance of Mr. Blaine will commend itself to sensible men as a sensible reply. But that which Mr. Blaine disclaimed on the 29th of January, as none of his business, he makes his business between then and the 3d of February and meddles with in very offensive form. Mr. Frelinghuysen's letter to Mr. Trescott of January 9, was before Mr. Blaine on January 29, just as it was on the 3d of February and it was no more Mr. Blaine's "business" to insult the president about the sentence which says: "The principles controlling the relation of the republics of this hemisphere with other nationalities may, on investigation, be found to be so well-established that little would be gained at this time by reopening a subject which is not novel." Weighing this with the words "jealousy and ill-will," in the preciding sentence, he might have seen the time of the requirement. New Hamburg Edgings business" to insult the president about that the "jealousy and iil-will" were not Dats for sale at Leaman Place at all times it on the latter date than on the influences that the United States need at market prices. Also, former. Like any other citizen he might have talked about it, interviewed newspaper men, spoken of it on the stump or "hired a hall;" but he had no such "business" with it as to warrant writing to the massidant about it in the limited States need fear, but that might operate to the injury of those Mr. Blaine had, in a fit of his aggressive patriotism, invited to his feast.

"Upon such wretched premises as those that the clinted States need fear, but that might operate to the injury of those Mr. Blaine had, in a fit of his aggressive patriotism, invited to his feast.

> if he fails to comprehend it now. There is room for the belief that Mr. making enemies of the American govern-Blaine was worse put out by other mat-

ters in Mr. Frelinghuysen's letter of Jan. ment;" and of making "voluntary humil-9 than he was by the phrase "jealousy and ill-will" (among other nations), on which fear "of European powers. There could he rings so many changes in his letter to the president. Mr. Frelinghuysen had revoked (and this revocation brought to the public gaze) a most offensive passage in Mr. Blaine's instructions to Mr. Trescott, dated Dec. 1, 1881. Here is the passage member that the author of this scandal-Mr. Frelinghuysen recalled : Referring to the deposition and arrest by the Chilian military authorities of Calderon, acting as

provisional president of Peru-Mr. Blaine instructed Mr. Trescott as follows : "You will say to the Chilian government that the president considers such a proceeding as an intentional, unwarranted offense, avowal to the government of the United States, with the assurance that it will be regarded by the government of the United IT is the height of falls. regarded by the government as an act of such unfriendly import as to require the immediate suspension of all diplomatic intercourse.' This instruction was based upon the as-

sumption that the treatment of Calderon was a "resentful" affront to the United States by the Chilian government-an assumption that pervades Mr. Blaine's first of December dispatch, although there is a thin veil of profession that Chili could hardly have meant to be so ugly. That is Mr. Blaine's way-to assume a thing, to suggest that possibly it may not be so, but act upon it all the same. We shall see something more of this later on. The passage is fairly open to the suspicion that Mr. Blaine was seeking cause for opes quarrel with Chili. The whole tenor of the dispatch warrants the suspicion, for it contains a threat of what the United States would feel free to do if Chili pursued a certain course of action. No one, not seeking entrance to a quarrel, could have assumed that Chili intended to put a marked and deliberate affront upon the United States. It was selfabasement in an American minister of state to entertain such a supposition; and it now turns out that the Chilian minister at Washington has disclaimed any such

thought by his government.

Mr. Frelinghuysen's revocation of that offensive instruction, and its consequent exposure to the public eye, is one of the real causes of Mr. Blaine's outbreak, although he makes no reference to it in his letter to the president. There is another in the same dispatch of January 9th. Having in mind Mr. Blaine's unfriendly lecturing, and hectoring tone and attitude towards the Chilian government, which pervades the whole of his December first dispatch, which as published closes with the menaco already mentioned-Mr. Frelingbuysen points out to Mr. Trescott that the president wishes him to keep clear of any controversy between Chili and Peru as to what indemnity should be asked or given, as to any change of boundaries, or as to the personnel of the government of Peru. Mr. Blame had pronounced on ale these. Mr. Frelinghuysen then goes on to republics" [this is what Mr. Blaine made the state department do towards Chili], " even for the purpose of preventing war, the greatest of evils, or to preserve the autonomy of nations, it must be prepared by army and navy to enforce its mandate, and, to this end, tax our people for the exclusive benefit of foreign nations."

That's what hurt Mr. Blaine worst. In

its moderate and statesmanlike phrasing in its plain statement of a self evident proposition—it exposes the reckless manner in which Mr. Blaine had rushed the United States into a position it had no call to take, and from which, if the Chilian authorities stood firm in their demand for territorial indemnity, as they did-the United States would have to ingloriously back out, or else maintain Mr. Blaine's false position by war. That, we repeat, is what touched Mr. Blaine on the sorest spot. He doesn't mention it any more than he does the revocation of his truculent message to the Chilian government. He is too "cuuning of fence" for that, but passing over these, which are the real springs of his anger, he seized upon the three words "jealousy and ill will" in the same 9th of January dispatch, as the pretext for the most offensive portions of his letter to the president. Those words occur in the following paragraph, and the whole of it requires to be read to get an understanding of the subject; they refer to the proposed Congress of American governments, which the president desires a little time to look further into with other eyes than those supplied by Mr.

government to enter into negotiations and consultations for the promotion of peace would be gained at this time be reopening a subject which is not novel. The presig dent, at all events, prefers time for delib-

In beginning his complaints about the words "jealousy and ill-will" as they ocwords "jealousy and ill-will" as they oc-cur in the above paragraph Mr. Blaine says: "If I correctly apprehend the mean-ing of these words it is that we might offend some European powers if we should hold in the United States a Congress of the "selected nationalities of America." Thus he starts with an "if," which to those who read the sentence next follow-ing that in which the "jealousy and ill-will" are suggested, will appear to be a probable perversion of the meaning, as we general sense of the country approves the

a letter to the president about it in the we have set forth, Mr. Blaine publicly manner and form as he did. He will arraigns the sident of the United States understand that before a great while, even as pursuing a course than which none could be devised "more effective for

ous epistle was but recently the American secretary of state. Mr. Blaine himself has put himself on a "bad eminence."

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