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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Republican Party in the South—The Danger Ahead.

From the Herald.

The Republicans of Congress are evidently resolved to make sure work, in a party view, in the reconstruction of the ten excluded Southern States. On Monday evening last, a party caucus of the members of both Houses was held upon this important subject, from the reports of which it appears that the Congressional Executive Committee, of which Mr. Schenck is chairman, had collected some seventeen thousand dollars for Southern electioneering purposes; that the bulk of this sum had been so expended in the employment of white and black stump speakers and organizers, and in the circulation of political documents and speeches; that some sixty colored men and a considerable number of whites are now engaged in organizing Republican clubs and in disseminating Republican ideas in the excluded States; and that for the more vigorous prosecution of this work the caucus agreed to raise a fund of one hundred thousand dollars, towards which fifteen thousand were subscribed on the spot.

This looks like business; and yet all this is only an item in the resources and forces of the Republicans in the South. First, they have Congress itself, with its absolute powers, and the emancipated blacks in an almost unbroken phalanx on the side of Congress, comprehending say five hundred thousand voters. Secondly, they have the War Department, the General-in-Chief of the army, the five commanders of the five Southern military districts, their numerous subordinates, and all their powerful moral, material, and financial aid to back them. Thirdly, the Freedmen's Bureau, with an agency for the distribution of bread to the destitute whites and blacks in almost every county in every one of these ten excluded States, is an active, zealous, and powerful Republican electioneering institution. Lastly, the freedmen's schools, involving an annual expend ture of millions of money, collected from Northern societies, are all active supporters of the Republican party. Against this formidable array of official agencies, Treasury appropriations, Northern societies, Congressional committees and organized clubs, with the nucleus of the mass of the Southern blacks and considerable fractions of the white population to start upon, how stands the opposition? It stands without organization in any State, without recognized leaders, and without electioneering agents, because it is without money; and the opposition elements, moreover, are so far divided in opinion and so demoralized that they appear to have given up the battle in advance. Thus, from all the developments and signs of the times, we cannot resist the conclusion that, after passing through the appointed process of reconstruction, nearly all, if not all, these ten outside States will be reinstated in Congress with a Republican delegation in both houses.

This will be done through a party organization embracing the blacks almost *en masse*, and sufficient detachments from the whites to give this combination the balance of power. The States, however, which will thus be gained to the Republican side will be in truth black Republican States, inasmuch as this dominant mixed party therein will be controlled by the black vote. And herein lies the especial danger of speedy reaction against the Republicans, resulting in the disruption of the party. While Hayti and Jamaica furnish abundant evidence of the incapacity of the African race for self-government or political ascendancy according to any of the forms of modern civilization, we have in the history respectively of the mixed breeds of Dominica, Mexico, the Central American and most of the South American States, enough to warn us of the danger of negro political ascendancy in the South. The results of this ascendancy will probably be, from Virginia to Texas, more or less such a conflict of races, such a state of disorder, anarchy, and bloodshed in the reconstructed States, as to bring about a revolutionary political reaction in the North, demolishing the party in power, North and South. Indeed, the Republicans, upon the Southern negro vote, are venturing upon an exceedingly dangerous experiment, and unless they manage it with extraordinary skill the consequences to them will be disastrous, and a warning against all such experiments for ages to come.

We are satisfied that the Congressional plan of Southern reconstruction meets the approval of the great North, and will now be quietly acquiesced in by all classes and parties in the South. Copperhead malcontents may denounce this system as horribly despotic, and the five Southern military commanders as the five monarchs, the five pro-consuls, the five viceroys, the five satraps, the five Turkish pashas, or the five Chinese mandarins, each with three tails; but this will not change the facts nor the powers that be. It is said that General Sickles is the Great Mogul of Charleston; that in his royal coach, with his four shining black horses, he is the admiration of the darkies, who love display and finery, but that his coach and four produce anything but pleasing reflections to mourners for the Constitution. But does not the executive head of the Democratic party make an equal display with his coach and four at Newport, and is he not a stickler for the Constitution? All this sort of cant and claptrap goes for nothing against any of these five military commanders, so long as they faithfully and zealously execute the laws of Congress. We believe they are thus doing their duty, and that henceforward, under the directions of General Grant, it will be plain sailing for them. But when they shall have finished their work with the reconstruction of the States concerned, then will come the crisis of life or death to the present Republican organization; then the elements of discord and disintegration will appear, and then will begin a reconstruction of parties and sections and factions, and perhaps a Northern revolution against the excesses of Southern black Republican political ascendancy. This experiment is under full headway, and the point of danger will soon appear. Whether the party in power, with General Grant as their champion, are to walk over the course in 1868, like Monroe in 1820, or are to be broken up in a scrub race like that of 1824, will most probably be determined by the results of this experiment of negro suffrage in the South.

Territorial Expansion—Mexico and British America.

From the Times.

If it were an immediate political object for the Government and the people of the United States to labor actively with a view to territorial expansion, there is ample opportunity. Nothing in the position of Mexico since the fall of Imperialism indicates aught else than that the country has once again been formally surrendered to the rapacity of rival factions; that the republican Government, as it is called, is a disgrace to civilization; that those who momentarily control it are violent, bloodthirsty adventurers; that they aim to place themselves above the opinion of the outside world; that they hold in contempt the ordinary laws of honor and good faith; and that their acts invite such intervention as should make them amenable to a higher court than their own savage instincts.

Were the United States to-morrow to step in and reduce every province of Mexico to a condition of territorial subjection, the leading powers of the world would hold themselves largely our debtors. That fact, however, would not prove the expediency or the justice of such a step at the present crisis. Unless it were first proven that the dominant faction in Mexico had resolved to insult our Government; to carry out the threats of Escobedo against foreign residents, including American citizens, and to dishonor our flag, we should want the plea for any forcible intervention which could be fairly and fully justified.

Events have first to develop themselves in a clearer light as to the actual relations we sustain towards the *de facto* Government of Mexico, before we could honestly judge of the obligations which rest upon our Government to do more in the way of interference than it has done, and is doing. A hasty conclusion to make any demonstration of a warlike character, even under serious provocation, ought to be deprecated by every responsible citizen, whether his sympathies are for or against the so-called Liberalists. And beyond all things, the Government has to see to it that its authority in maintaining peace or in declaring war is not surrendered to filibusters, under whatever name or guise they appear.

Aside from considerations of dignity and self-respect, we are admonished to have regard to the fact that we have a political task on hand here at home which is taxing the energies and resolution of Congress and the Government and the industry of the whole community about as heavily as can well be borne. We are not, at the moment, pressed for want of room. We have territory enough to last the present century out, if it is well worked. If we want more there are the Pacific colonies of Great Britain, all but ready to seek release from their connection with the parent State, and thereafter admission into the Union. We have republished in these columns some of the earnest appeals of their principal journals against a continuance of the colonial connection. These appeals, too, grow stronger every day. The latest wail comes from a loyal and devoted subject of the Queen resident in Vancouver's Island, who writes to the Montreal *Gazette*, one of the leading journals of the new Dominion, in this strain:—

"A strong expression of opinion in favor of annexation to the States has been prevalent here, induced principally by a long depression in trade, partly by dissatisfaction with the political condition of things and the financial embarrassment of the Government, and partly by a desire for any change. It is felt that England has given little material help to this her youngest colony, and the one most in need of assistance—consequently the sentiment of love and attachment has grown weak. Should a war arise between England and America—or should the island of San Juan be given up, either through ignorance of its importance, or as a sacrifice to impending trouble—this colony would become an immediate and helpless prey."

This is the general feeling of all but office-holders in British Columbia and Vancouver's Island. The tide of opinion might be partially turned were there a way opened for the Pacific colonies to come into the Canada Union. But without the opening up of railroad connection by way of the Red river, British Columbia finds no more natural attraction in Canada than in Denmark or Sweden. There is besides within the Dominion *already* a revival of all the former sectional bitterness which preceded the act of union. Before anything is known of the policy of the Government formed provisionally, to give effect to the scheme of confederation, all the old faction cries are renewed; all the old sets of agitators are at work again. The principles of the Confederate Government are not assailed, but its individual members *are*. The pending general election is to be conducted precisely as others have been for twenty years or more, upon no broad ground of public policy—upon no careful survey of the new responsibilities or the new obligations which the *status* of the Dominion implies. Such great questions as this, of winning or losing the Pacific colonies, finds less consideration than the question of cutting up the contracts for some Government building, canal, or railway. The Opposition is doing its utmost to disgust the people with their new system, and the natural if not the avowed tendency of their agitation is to hasten annexation to the United States. There can be but two parties in the Dominion—that which works for the Union of the Provinces, and that which works for their severance, and their early absorption into this republic. As we are in no haste to enlarge our boundaries, as we have sufficient territory to occupy our best energies and our wisest efforts, we can look on while our neighbors with their brand-new charter are solving the question whether it is better to belong to themselves or to belong to somebody else.

Santa Anna in Vera Cruz and Sisal.

From the Tribune.

Mexican affairs are assuming more and more importance to us day by day. With a conterminous boundary of fifteen hundred miles, this cannot be otherwise. It is as true of ourselves and of Mexico now as it was of the Northern and Southern States in 1861, that, as President Lincoln then expressed it, "They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them." Recent events tend to bring us more immediately into contact with Mexico. Her policy (unwise as our readers well know we regard it) in putting Maximilian to death has had the effect of detaching her, in a measure, from European sympathies; and this, in the end, if Mexico act wisely in the future, will have the effect of drawing closer the bonds between that country and ours. Under these circumstances we are glad to perceive that our State Department has acted carefully and prudently in a recent case, in which lack of care and prudence might have embroiled us at once with our southern neighbor. A "memorandum" from Mr. Seward, already before our readers, discloses the facts. Santa Anna has been playing the fool and the knave. Mr. Seward informs us that the ex-Dictator "on more than one occasion made application to the President of the United States for confidence, sanction, material aid, and assistance to enable him to carry on belligerent operations in Mexico;" that "inquiries were made by the United States which resulted in declarations by the Republican Government of Mexico that Señor Santa Anna was an enemy of the Republic;" that thereupon "the United States persistently refused to hold any correspondence or communication, personal or otherwise, with Señor Santa Anna or his agents, and has constantly enjoined upon its civil and military agents vigilance and energetic proceedings to prevent any unlawful expedition by Señor Santa Anna from the United States against Mexico." When we call to mind that this man, some time after an Imperial Government had been declared in Mexico, approved, in the most fulsome terms, the usurpation, tendering his services in support of it, and that he was repelled only by General Bazaine's imperative order that he should instantly leave the country, the impudence of such application to a Government that has always protested against the Imperial usurpation appears in glaring colors. Disappointed in this, Santa Anna, in May last, chartered a merchant steamer of the United States, the Virginia, and landed at Vera Cruz on June 3. At that time but two Mexican cities, the capital and Vera Cruz, remained in possession of the Imperialists, Maximilian being already a prisoner. Negotiations were in progress for the surrender of Vera Cruz. On the 2d of June, after repeated solicitations on the part of the Maximilian Commissary in that city to the United States and British Consuls, these two gentlemen proceeded to the camp of the Liberal General Benavides, then besieging Vera Cruz, they being authorized by the said commissary to accede to certain terms that had been proposed on the part of the Liberals, and to express to General Benavides the desire of the Imperialists to surrender Vera Cruz, its castle, and fortifications. The Consuls returned the same afternoon with a complete ratification of the original terms proposed by the Imperialist Commissary, and General Benavides suspended fire from his batteries. The Commissary, acceding at once to the terms, asked a little time to reconcile his officers to them. At this juncture, the marplot Santa Anna having arrived and communicated with the Commissary, that functionary changed his tone and informed the Consuls that he (Santa Anna) "brought letters from President Johnson and the United States Government authorizing him to assume the charge of affairs in Mexico," and that "a squadron of ships was ordered to sustain him, and troops were also on the way to Vera Cruz." We quote literally from the despatch of Commandr Roe, of the United States steamer Tacony, then lying in the harbor of Vera Cruz. The United States Consul fully corroborates this statement, and it is confirmed by the report forwarded by that officer to the State Department of the proceedings of the Council of War held upon the proposals of Santa Anna at Vera Cruz, which report of proceedings is certified by the officers composing the said Council of War. Santa Anna's agent, G. Naphegyi, denies this, but the above evidence shows that our Consul's statement is substantially correct when he says, "That Señor Santa Anna entertained him with a long discourse as to his plans, and said that, after interviews with President Johnson and Secretary Seward, at their solicitation he had come to Vera Cruz; that they had offered him men and money to sustain him; that Maximilian had offered to deliver the situation of the country to him," etc. etc.

The true character of the transaction is thus summed up by Commander Roe:—"The attitude of Santa Anna was this:—He was on board of an American ship, under the flag of the United States, in a city besieged by the Government of Mexico, declaring and fomenting the civil war against that Government, with which the United States are in friendly relations, under an assumed authority from the United States; and while he claimed to be under the protection and shield of their flag, he prevented the act of the surrender of Vera Cruz after the terms of that surrender had been agreed to and accepted by both parties." Nor was this all. Commander Roe received news from the shore that a revolutionary conflict was on the eve of breaking out in Vera Cruz in favor of and against Santa Anna, who, it was supposed, had been appointed by the United States Government to supersede Juarez and others. It was under these circumstances that Commander Roe required Santa Anna, with his interpreter and body servant, to go on board the Tacony for the night, and he was next day put on board the Virginia, and so required to leave Vera Cruz. Mr. Seward's decision, made after review of these proceedings, is equally just and unequivocal. He says:—"In this view of the subject, this Department not only does not disallow nor censure, but it approves the proceedings of the United States Consul and of Commander Roe at Vera Cruz."

There is a sequel. The Virginia, instead of returning to the United States, proceeded eastwardly, and entered the port of Sisal, on the north coast of Yucatan. There the Mexican plotter continued to act in the same spirit which he had evinced at Vera Cruz, writing to General Taboada, commanding in that city, that he (Santa Anna) hoped to return thither in a war steamer, and meanwhile seeking to intrigue with General Peraza, Governor of Yucatan, against Juarez. The allegation is that Santa Anna was forcibly seized on board the Virginia by the Mexicans; but even this appears to have no foundation in truth, for in a second letter of his to Peraza, quoted by Mr. Seward, are these words:—"While I was awaiting your answer, Colonel Medina, the Military Commander of this port (Sisal), presented himself to me on board, and informed me that you invited me to land. I immediately began to get ready, and commenced by shaving myself. The captain of the vessel (Captain Deaken) informed me that I could not land, as his orders from the American war steamer (Commander Roe) were that I might land on neutral ground, but could have no pretext to set foot on Mexican territory. * * Finally the captain yielded, and I was allowed to disembark, not, however, without protest. * * Now I am at your disposal, and I hope I shall soon see you." Thus it appears that Santa Anna landed at Sisal, not only voluntarily, but contrary to the express instructions of Commander Roe, and against the protest of the captain of the Virginia. What becomes of the loud complaints that Mexico in this matter has insulted and violated the American flag? It is Santa Anna who has insulted our President and our Government by pretending to be their emissary, authorized by them, in defiance of all international law, to incite a revolt against a friendly Government. It cannot be said that he has not merited the worst that may befall him.

Mr. Seward winds up his "memorandum" as follows:—"The Mexican nation seems at last to have triumphed over all its internal and foreign enemies, and to have reached a crisis when, if left alone, it may be expected to restore tranquillity, and to reorganize itself upon permanent foundations of union, freedom, and republican government." This is not only the hopeful but, we believe, the just view of the case. The Mexicans did not stand the test in the first excitement after victory, smarting under recent wrongs; few nations do; in our case, when similarly situated, there were loud cries for vengeance against the instigators of the rebellion. But popular indignation in Mexico will gradually subside, and will, we trust, be replaced by wiser thoughts and better feelings. Juarez has been a pupil in the best of all schools, the school of adversity. The future may show that he has profited by its lessons.

Do the Excluded States Remain States?—Their Public Debts.

From the World.

President Johnson's raising the question whether Congress assumed the debts of the Southern States by extinguishing their State Governments, has already had a beneficial effect. It is admitted by everybody intelligent enough to have an opinion on such subjects, that the only escape of the nation from liability for those debts consists in the fact that they continue to be States. Even Senator Sumner places the obliging of those States to pay their public debts on the ground that they are States. A message which extorted that admission from him must at least be regarded as dexterous, whatever may be thought of the soundness or unsoundness of its suggestions. Mr. Sumner, it will be recollected, has for years publicly and persistently held that, by the fact of rebellion, those States were blotted out and became as States non-existent. It is unfortunate for the reputation of a public man when his advocacy of a grossly untenable doctrine becomes fixed in the public memory by some terse descriptive phrase originated by himself, which causes the doctrine to stick to him like a burr. Such is the famous "State suicide" theory of Senator Sumner, which he has so often and so elaborately defended. But now the summary of his remarks sent by telegraph from Washington represents him as saying: "As a question of law, nothing could be clearer than that the Rebel States were responsible for all their just debts and obligations. The States still existed, and their just obligations inhered in them and could not be evaded."

In point of law and of logic this is most undeniably sound; but it is quite remarkable coming from such a quarter. The whole reconstruction legislation of Congress is inconsistent with the idea that the Southern communities remain States; and the foremost advocates of that legislation now suddenly turn a short corner, and put forward the fact that those communities are States as the foundation of their continued obligation to pay their just debts. Their continued liability for their debts can be maintained on no other ground. It will be seen, therefore, that the President's message is a hot shot fired with admirable dexterity and precision into the very magazine of the radicals. It has exploded the "State suicide" doctrine, and the "right of conquest" doctrine, and all the other wild, unconstitutional theories on which Congress has been so recklessly legislating.

The State suicide doctrine being thus publicly renounced by its author and chief apostle, and all parties at last agreeing that none of the States have lost their Statehood, the question necessarily comes up, "What constitutes a State?" and what are the rights and immunities that appertain to Statehood? A State, in our political system, surely differs from what we call a Territory; but Congress is asserting and exercising over the Southern States a jurisdiction as complete and exclusive as it has ever exercised over any Territory. It being at last admitted that the Southern States are not Territories but States, the apologists of Congress are bound to show in what the distinction consists. It would puzzle them to tell; but if they were to return the question upon us, and ask us to point out the distinction, we should feel no difficulty at all. We should go directly to the Constitution for the answer, and find it written there in broad, unmistakable lines. As soon as any community ceases to be a Territory and becomes a State, it has an indefeasible right to two Senators; to at least one Representative, and as many more as corresponds to its population; to its proportional share of Presidential Electors; and to the independent management and control of its strictly internal and domestic affairs. But the Southern communities are stripped of every right which appertains to a State, of every right by which a State is distinguished from a Territory. What then do the late advocates of the "State suicide" theory mean when they pretend to have given up their doctrine? They are forced to admit Statehood, as the only means of evading the obligation to pay the Southern debts. What, then, is Statehood? Where, but to the Constitution, shall we go to find out? But if the Rebel communities remain States in the sense of the Constitution, all the Reconstruction acts are gross usurpation and oppression. It will not do to admit that those communities are States in one breath, and straightway deny it in the next. Their State existence has either been destroyed or it remains. If it has been destroyed, it is incontestable that the general Government succeeds to their liabilities, and is bound to pay their debts. If it remains, it is impossible to justify the recent legislation.

We therefore consider the President's message as a very adroit specimen of the kind of argument called a dilemma. By one or the other of its horns Congress must be sadly gored.

THE AMENITIES OF MARRIED LIFE.—In the Divorce Court in London, last month, the case of Forth against Forth, was a suit by the husband for divorce on account of the wife's cruelty. The parties were married in 1857, and their life since then seems to have been made up of violent quarrels. Mr. Forth was called, and stated the various acts of cruelty of which he complained. Among them was an attempt to throw one of the children by the first marriage into the fire; throwing candlesticks at the petitioner; scratching his face; throwing the contents of a milk-jar over him, and then pitching the jar at his head; burning the nose of his eldest child, and also burning his own face with a lighted paper, and singeing his hair; laying his forehead open with the heel of a boot; throwing a baking-dish with a fruit pie in it at him, the contents going all over him; burning his sermons, papers, and books; breaking his furniture, and threatening to burn the house. The judge pronounced a decree of judicial separation.

A FRENCHMAN'S ENGLISH.—The following is a copy of a placard affixed to the breast of a figure in a suit of grey plantaloons exhibited at the Paris Exhibition:—

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SENSIBLE.—The carpenters and builders of the Potteries and Newcastle have, instead of striking or locking-out, adopted the sensible plan of submitting their difficulties to arbitration—one arbitrator chosen by each side, with Mr. Forbes, architect, as umpire.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.—During the Cambridge academical year which ended on Friday week, four doctors of divinity, two doctors of laws, one doctor of medicine, two hundred and twenty-six masters of art, and eight masters of laws have been made.

BOOKSELLERS IN TROUBLE.—Actions of damages, laid at £100, are to be brought against several Glasgow booksellers for selling photographs and foreign engravings of copyright pictures, such as "The Order of Release," by Millais, and "The First Step," by Faed.

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