That this sense has almost totally died out at the South, and that it will need some years of order and security to restore it, the occurrences of every week show more and more clearly. The abstinence of the leading whites from all participation in politics under the new constitutions, thus permitting the government to pass into the hands of those among whom they denominate as "carpet-baggers," "scalawags," and ignorant blacks, followed by incessant talk of appeals to arms, deputations to Washington to apply for military protection, the formation of secret associations, the practice of assassination as a political remedy, and the issue of irritating denunciatory manifestoes directed against the black population with whom they have to live, and on whom they are dependent for their prosperity, are all striking proofs of the political inimicity brought on the Southern mind by the long absence of an opposition. Men with the political sense in a healthy condition would have held on tenaciously to every scrap of power they could seize or retain, would, if possible, never have let the negroes get from under their influence, and, above all, would never have allowed them to realize the possibility that the State could be governed by carpet-baggers and ignoramuses. The exposures recently made by the Democratic Club at Charleston of the composition of the South Carolina Legislature under the new régime are, even if true, simply consequences of their own folly, and, indeed, have a striking resemblance, as pieces of self-stigmatization, to the manifestoes and declarations which the French emigrés used to issue from the banks of the Rhine against the vulgar French republicans. A politician who talks and sneers and refuses to act, does not simply confess that he is powerless, but that he is a fool.

The Ku-klux Klan, let us add, is nothing new. The South before the war was one vast Ku-klux Klan: every man was a member of the organization, and the State governments made no attempt to interfere with it, and its victims were rare because discoverers from the popular crowd did not enter the South. What makes it seem so novel now is that the State governments are in the hands of the dissenters, and there is a large section of them in every State, and they are simply the application to the new state of things of the old Southern mode of expressing differences of political opinion. The great question of the day to Southerners is still the status and rights of the negro, and they bring to the consideration of it their old practices. If a man gets up on the stump and preaches negro equality, they do not get up on another stump and preach white superiority, and rely on time and their own exertions to show that his preaching was idle talk, but they go home and take a solemn oath to "keep an eye" on the orator, and if he does the like again to shoot him or carry him into the woods and whip him—in other words, about what the Montenegrins would do if a preacher made his appearance amongst them to propagandize Mohammedanism and cullogize the Turks. When Forrest and others like him throw the blame of the present state of things on the Radicals, they either deem them to be too powerful, or are trying to deceive others. In the account he gave the other day of his plans and those of his associates to the correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial, he simply said that they were going to adhere to the old Southern mode of extirpating holders of disagreeable opinions; and his threats seem alarming simply because the holders of disagreeable opinions now are likely to resist. Formerly, they never thought of such a thing.

There can be no doubt that it is a misfortune that such some disposition should not have been made at the close of the war of such persons as Forrest, Toombs, and Cobb as would have ensured their abstinence from politics. After the report of the Congressional Committee on the Fort Pillow massacre, the release of Forrest on parole was a great scandal; even after his parole had been accepted, it ought to have been returned to him by the Government, and the alternative—exile, or a trial before a military commission—have been offered to him. With regard to the others, however much opposed we may be to political vengeance, there is nobody who will deny that men who have made themselves conspicuous in instigating an appeal from the ballot to the sword ought to be compelled, after defeat in the field, to hold their tongues for the remainder of their days. Civil war is too dreadful a thing to be tried by agitators unless they really mean it to be the last thing they will ever try; but the mild view taken of their performances by the Northern
public not unnaturally causes the Southern leaders now to treat the rebellion as merely one of the legitimate means of attaining political ends, the failure of which ought to entail no more inconvenience on the vanquished than defeat at an election. These men are now trying to be as insidious as ever; and there is only one remedy for their talk, and that is, the forcing them to listen peaceably to other people's talk. This cannot be done in a year, but a great deal may be done towards it in four years. Whenever the time comes when the spectacle so common at the West—a spectacle, let us add, which indicates, no matter how coarse the manners or low the intellectual culture of a community may be, political development of the highest order, and the possession of the political sense in the utmost activity—of the candidates of the opposite parties traversing the country together, and haranguing the same audiences on opposite sides of the same question, will be witnessed at the South, its regeneration will for all practical purposes be complete, but not till then. Until we see this, emigrants will avoid it, life and property in it will be insecure, and the minority, or the blacks, will be in constant peril. The process of education, as we have often said, has been begun. Every time a Radical gets up in any Southern State, and says "shocking" things, and is not murdered for them, the work is advanced. It ought to be the main business of the North now to see that it is not interrupted until there will be no corner of the country in which a man cannot make a fool of himself, on the stump or in a newspaper, without fear of other penalty than having his folly exposed. Southern society will then be placed under the dominion of public opinion, which, in a healthy condition of things, is the fundamental guarantee of peace and security.

THE CHINESE TREATY.

A portion of the English press—and we are sorry to see so candid a journal as the Spectator among the number—began to put a bad construction on the Chinese treaty recently concluded at Washington the minute it reached them, and fancy they have detected in it proof of a design on the part of China to enter, with American aid and countenance, on a retrograde policy. The comments of the Saturday Review on it are in the worst style of that paper, nearly all conclusions about the treaty being really, and in fact undisguised, deductions from the Saturday Review theory of American character; and it has actually constructed a Mr. Burlingame out of the depths of its moral consciousness—for it evidently knows nothing about the man himself—to fit into its explanation of the treaty. For instance, in order to make the clause about the construction of railways bear the appearance of a cunning bid for a job on the part of American contractors and iron dealers, it has to have a kind of flashy entertaining "bagman" of the George Francis Train style for the ambassador, and accordingly Mr. Burlingame is dressed up in that character, and a thist for "New York applause" made the mainspring of his actions. It would seem as if a very small share of the sense of decorum would have been sufficient to prevent hostile comments on the mission or its objects before it presented itself in London, for it must be remembered that it is accredited to England as well as to the United States, and it will be time enough to accuse Mr. Burlingame of using his functions to secure a monopoly of advantages for his own country when it has been seen what kind of treaties he makes or offers to make with others. The theory of the Spectator that the Burlingame mission is a suddenly devised contrivance of the "Empress Mother and Prince Wen-siang, a really able politician of the high-tory sort," for cutting off the Chinese from intercourse with foreigners, has all the marks of one of those curious hallucinations about foreign politics, and especially about very distant politics, to which journalists may be said to be liable to fall in the direct ratio of their earnestness and honesty—just such an one, for instance, as the Spectator occasionally falls into with regard to American affairs, merely from overeagerness to see deeply into things. It is certainly not display of any due distrust of our contemporary's accuracy to say that we fear its testimony as to the designs of the "Empress Mother" is not to be received without considerable caution. In fact, we feel perfectly satisfied there is no European or American whose opinions of the exact part played by any Chinese court lady in Chinese politics are worth repeating. Moreover, even if the Empress Mother and Prince Wen-siang be playing the part the Spectator assigns them, it is absurd to claim the credit of astuteness for them, as the Spectator does. Chinese politicians who, desiring to close their territory to foreigners, employ a foreigner to take charge of an embassy from them to all the other nations of the civilized world, and, surrounding him with native diplomats, send him off to make a diplomatic tour, every one placing China under the restraint and obligations of the body of usage, as it were, and all this with great pomp and uproar, and with the certainty of attracting more barbarian attention to China than has ever been fixed on it before, and of exciting more expectations of trade and other intercourse with it than have ever previously existed, and of contracting obligations towards nine or ten powers with which they have hitherto had nothing whatever to do—may be very deep and cunning, but they have a very odd way of showing it.

We believe, on the contrary, that the account we gave of the origin and objects of the embassy when the news of it first arrived last February was substantially correct: that it is not intended to be a means of getting back to a retrograde policy, but is in reality one more step in a really progressive policy, a measure intended not to restrict but to promote the foreign intercourse, in the interest of what any body who was not in search of hidden mysteries would take it to mean, and what nobody would have the hardihood to deny that it meant if it was sent out by any power with which we were well acquainted. Here is what we said on the 20th of February last as to the policy of the present Chinese administration, and this was not written here, but in China, by a competent and well-informed observer:

"But, on the death of the Emperor, his brother Prince Kang and Wen-siang, two men who appreciated and accepted the new situation, gained control of the regency by a brilliant coup d'etat, and inaugurated a progressive policy. Its first-fruits were an acquiescence in the residence of foreign ministers at Pekin, and a willingness to profit by their advice so far as the distracted condition of the empire would allow. Their attention was next directed to the foreign trade, in which most of the natio

In various places they have established arsenals under foreign superintendence, where arms are manufactured to equip their foreign service and navies. They are making gradual improvements in the manufacture of cottons, and are rapidly reducing the rice price which has been their curse. They have issued wise pilot regulations, and appropriated funds for light-houses where the need is most urgent. Wharton's "Treaties on International Law" has been translated into Chinese, and they have adopted some book—understandingly, too, as they proved when a Prussian frigate violated the neutrality of their waters in the last Danish war. In Pekin itself a college has been established for the instruction of native in Western knowledge by the ablest professors that could be procured, and there can be no doubt of the benefit that will almost immediately flow from this substitution of positive sciences for the dead husks of the Confiscian classics."

Nothing can be more natural than that men who have done all this should seek closer, more direct, and intelligent relations with the great family of nations, whose laws and learning they are adopting, no matter how distasteful the whole barbarian polity may be. That an American should have been selected to fill the first place in the embassy, if any foreigner was to be selected, is the most reasonable thing conceivable, both from the fact that hitherto America has had but little trade or intercourse with China, and that she is hereafter likely to have a great deal. The very largeness of the English trade with China, on which the Spectator dwells with so much satisfaction, and the unpleasing antipathy, to use a mild word, which has attended the growth of that trade, disqualified England for the position of medium of communication between China and the rest of the civilized world. Neither the Chinese nor the other nations could have had much confidence in an agent with so large a pecuniary interest in Chinese doings, and with such a hearty contempt for Chinese morals and understandings, as Great Britain has. When a retailer comes to town with a view of extending his relations amongst the wholesale dealers, he does not naturally put himself in the hands of one who has previously had a monopoly of his custom, and who has several times sold him out for slight shortcom-