THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23, 1869.

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UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

DISGRACEFUL REPUBLICAN DIPLO. MACY. From the N. Y. World.

If any proof be needed to satisfy sober and serious persons of the utter inability of the Republican party to manage wisely, or even respectably, the foreign affairs of the United States, it is furnished in a small volume of some sixty pages, just published in London, and containing copies of the correspondence respecting the Alabama claims between this Government and that of Great Britain.

By the Republican party, in this connection, we mean that party as organized and expressed in the Federal Government-the men it places in the executive and legislative branches, in the Cabinet, and in the Senate. to control foreign affairs, and the influences which, as a political organization having the responsibility of administration, it throws around its representatives.

A political party, soliciting and obtaining the reins of power, is as much responsible for the harmonious working of its common agents in the Cabinet and Congress as it is for the doctrines it fabricates and places upon the statute-book in the form of laws or treaties. And if that party puts one of its mem-bers in the Department of State, for example, and makes another to be Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Senate, and the two cannot, or will not, labor together in harmony for the general good of the re-public, it is evidence of the inability of the party to wisely and successfully conduct that branch of the public business.

The volume before us demonstrates that the treaty repudiated by the Republican party, through the Senate, contains the substantive propositions, and no others, demanded of England by the Republican party through the executive branch of the Government. There is no possibility of dispute or misunderstand-ing on this point. What Mr. Seward, as Secretary of State, and Mr. Evarts, as Attortorney-General-two among the more intelligent of the Republican party, and two in the Cabinet chiefly responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs-invented, formulized, and reformulized, as a proper adjustment of our English differences, and induced Great Britain to accept, upon the representation that it would be satisfactory to the treaty-making power of the United States, Messrs. Sum ner, Fessenden, Anthony, Trum-bull, and all their Republican associates in the Senate, indignantly disowned and spit upon. The evidence furnished by this volume is not only that Mr. Seward caused the London Foreign Office to be assured that the draft of the convention signed in January, 1869, was acceptable to the President and his Cabinet advisers, but would be ratified by the Senate. This is clearly to be implied from Mr. Seward's conversation with Mr. Thornton, which the latter transmitted to his own Government, under date of November 30, 1868, as an inducement for throwing overboard the treaty of the previous November, and arranging a new one on the basis proposed by Seward and drafted (as rumor in this country has it) by Mr. Evarts. was clearly the threatened rejection by the Senate of the November convention, and the promised ratification by the Senate of the January convention, which obtained the latter from Lord Clarendon.

It therefore becomes material to inquire by whom and where Mr. Seward was authorized to make the representations he did to the English Government in respect to the forthcoming action of the Senate. To what Senators did he submit the proposed modifications of the November convention which Lord Clarendon subsequently accepted? It is not possible that he made the representations to Mr. Thornton without conference with his Republican party associates in the Senate. "Consent to some modifications of the (November) convention which would render it acceptable to the Senate !" That is the language of Seward to Thornton. This representation involves the whole excentive department, because Seward says to Thornton not only that Mr. Reverdy Johnson had, in concluding the November convention, disobeyed his instructions, but that "the President and his (Seward's) col-leagues" were of opinion that the November treaty would not, but the proposed modifications would, meet the approval of the Senate. And right here is touched a very important point in this business, and one that certain Republican journals have much exploited, which is, that a foreign government, in negotiating a treaty with our executive, is bound to take warning of the constitutional control the Senate has over treaties. Lord Clarendon did take warning, and obtained assurances that the work he was doing would be ratified by the Senate. Could the London Foreign Office go beyond or behind the statements of the American Secretary of State in this matter? Could he assume that he was dealing with persons whose accuracy or integrity could not be relied upon, or who were not trusted by their own government? Could he utilize the *fact* that the Republican party, in full Federal power in the United States, was then, as it is now, broken up into roving, quarrelling, pillaging bands of bandits, with out coherence, sense, or shame enough to stand together in the face of a foreign nation? Does any one up to this hour know specifically what Grant's administration wishes or seeks from England in respect to the Ala-bama? What are Mr. Motley's instructions? Read the leading Republican journals in this city, and decide if you can ! We confess that the perusal of the volume before us, together with the recent speech of Lord Clarendon-so calm and clear, so precise and sure in expression, so firm and dignified and yet so friendly, so indicative of the breeding of a statesman and a gentleman, in which respect it contrasts so sharply with the bold language of Sumner-makes us doubt if it be possible for the Republican party to safely, wisely, and honorably adjust our pending differences with England. Nothing could exceed the friendly disposi-tion of the British negotiators in their arrangements with Mr. Reverdy Johnson. In fact, we had our own way throughout. Seward not only dictated the treaty, but re-vised it when made. Negotiations seriously began between Lord Stanley and Mr. Reverdy Johnson on the twentieth day of October of last weer Wine days thereofter the latter last year. Nine days thereafter, the latter presented the basis thereof, as received from Seward by cable. After a lapse of eight days more, the proposition of Seward, with no substantial modification, as Mr. Johnson thought, was put in treaty form; and November 10 the convention was signed. Two days later, Mr. Reverdy Johnson writes to Lord Stanley to the effect that he had "just re-Stanley to the effect that he had fust re-ceived a telegraphic message from Mr. Seward, naying:-'Claims convention entirely accepta-ble, except as to the place of meeting, and and that it is essential to its approval by the

Senate that the place be Washington and not [London." To this suggested change Lord Stanley

This being done, Lord Stanley writes to Mr. Thornton:-"I was under the impression which was also shared in by Mr. Johnson that the convention which had been signed being in accordance with his instructions a construed by him, would meet with the approval of the United States Government. Before long, Mr. Seward comes to the con-

elusion that the "claims convention" is not entirely acceptable. What induced the change of opinion ? He so writes to Mr. Reverdy Johnson, and transmits the desired modifications, and Lord Clarendon concedes, for a second time, substantially everything Seward asks, under the implied if not express under standing that it would meet the approval of the Senate. The new treaty was signed in January of this year, and the instrument rejected by every Republican vote in the Senate! Messrs. Seward and Evarts could not secure a Senator for the convention they had caused the English Ministry to believe would be ratified by the Senate. But this is not all, nor the worst! In

March last, after President Grant had taken power, and before the convention was acted on by the Senate, Mr. Reverdy Johnson sends a note to Lord Clarendon, from which we make this extract:-

"My Government belleves, as I am now advised "My Government believes, as I am now advised, that it has a claim of its own upon her Majesty's Government, because of the consequences resulting from a premature recognition of the Confederates during our late war, and from the fitting out of the Alabama and other similar vessels in her Majesty's ports, and from their permitted entrance into other ports to be refitted and provisioned during their particle cruise."

Here was a third amendment to the much amended convention; but before it could be considered, news came in London of the rejection of the wholeinstrument.

If anything exists in the books or in the tradition of diplomacy more disgraceful to a nation than this conduct of the Republican party in power in its treatment of a foreign nation is to the United States, we are yet to know what and where it is. It will be impossible for a high-toned American to read, without emotions of anger and mortification. this record, as given in the volume referred to, of the disgraceful selfishness, personal rivalry, bickering, jealousy, and absence of all sense of national honor among the Republican politicians then in power, and who were charged with the management in the Cabinet and Senate of our foreign affairs.

MILL AND BUSHNELL ON FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

From the N. Y. Times.

It is a fortunate thing that the discussion of one of the most serious questions of the age has at length been taken out of the hands of platform spouters and rather weak young women, and has been carefully taken up by two of the leading spirits of England and America.

Stuart Mill is now confessedly the foremost intellect in the field of both abstract and economic investigation in Great Britain. No one has done more in Europe to clear up to the popular mind the science of political economy, and no living writer has better analyzed the proper functions of government. His researches in philosophy and metaphysics have aided to form a school of thought which exerts now a prodigious influence over the intellect of England. His recent career as a practical legislator and reformer has increased the popular interest in whatever he writes or says; and his well-known profound sympathy with our Union and with all that is first in America makes him listened to even more attentively here than in his own country.

He approaches, however, in his present The Sub ction of Women, theme. ject on which he has thus far contributed but little to the thought of the age. It is one, also, not entirely adapted to his genius. It is doubtful if he has studied the influence and interplay of social and personal forces, as he has economic or metaphysical principles. Nor is the study of the historical derivation of the institutions and customs of this day as much his field as many other branches of investigation. He enters on the matter, however, with a zest and fire which alone will make his book read wherever the question of woman's position and rights is even thought of, and he treats it, it need not be said, with a style as limpid and clear as is his usual current of thought. His opponent, Rev. Dr. Bushnell, is a clergyman well known among religious thinkers through both England and America. Though not a logician, like Mr. Mill, he has the intuition of genius, and often sees at once conclusions which the slow reason of investigators is long in reaching. His field is especially the analysis and comprehension of personal character, of the profound moral forces of human life; his magination is one of the highest and purest which has ever been shown in theological and religious writing, and his style, in our judgment, is unequaled by any American sermonizer. "Fortunately for his treatment of this subject, he has a wide and liberal estimate, possessed by few clergymen, of the social power which may be wielded by women, both in dress, art, literature, and society. He enters on the subjec, t too, with a profound interest; and his title is as bold as his antagonist's "Women's Suffrage, or the Reform against Nature."

from the true history of law in making woman's subjection in marriage a relic of slavery; it is, as is well known, rather a relic of tutelage, or the patria patistas-the father's power. After his opening, however, the great English philosopher's presentation of his theme is exceedingly subtle and powerful. His account of woman's position in marriage under English Common Law is one of the most vigorous statements ever made of this matter. The relations of the man and woman under the "subject theory" are analyzed with remarkable skill, and the picture of man given—especially of the British husband will startle American readers.

His reasons for allowing absolute equality to women under law and custom and politics are exceedingly strongly put, so that the grand case of women's suffrage seems now fairly laid before the jury of the civilized world by these two great advocates.

THE CONFUSION IN OUR POLITICAL PARTIES-SIGNS OF A PRESIDEN TIAL SCRUB RACE.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The signs of the times foreshadow a Presidential scrub race in 1872. The Republican party is falling to pieces, like the empire of Alexander after his grand winding-up course of carousals in the debaucheries of Babylon. The Democratic party, seedy and bewildered. is adrift, and all the isms of the last forty years, with some new ones, are coming into the foreground. The old Republican party which came into power with Jefferson, flourished say a quarter of a century, when (in 1824), having no longer a regular oppo sition party to fight, it was broken up in the Presidential scrub race between Adams, Jackson, Crawford, and Clay. So the Repub lican party of the present time, which first distinctly cropped out in the anti-slavery third party vote which defeated Clay and elected Polk in 1844, we may say has fulfilled its term of twenty-five years, and having done its appointed work is falling into decay and dissolution.

The parallel will hold good in another rela tion. As the administration of Monroe was "the era of good feeling," so the administration of Grant is "peace"-"let us have He goes for peace at home and peace. abroad; he is not ambitious for another term, and he has no choice for the succession. He is content with his good fortune; he has done the best he could do for his party; he will execute the laws of Congress; he will not trouble himself with the hazards of any startling enterprises; he will "jog on-jog on" in a quiet fashion, enjoy his cigar when he can by the wayside, and leave Congress, his party, and the succession to take care of themselves. If called upon to serve another term, he will not decline; if called upon t: give way, he will gladly do so. He does not care the toss of a copper whether it is to be Grant, or Colfax, or Sumner, Butler, or some new man not yet dreamed of, for 1872. And so various radical leaders and aspirants are beginning to lay their pipe, and mine and countermine for the succession. The donothing and care-nothing policy of the administration makes it "a free fight," and the weakness of the Cabinet leaves the balance of power among the party leaders in Con-

But having nothing to rally upon, no stirring battle-ery, no new issue touching the public pulse, the dominant party is beginning to dissolve, and all sorts of queer things are showing their heads or sprouting up in this stagnating morass of party politics. The women's rights people are forming a disturbing political faction; the temperance people are organizing for independent political action; the anti-Masons and other anti-secret ining as if society reformers are comb for another effort like that under William Wirt. of 1836; and there are not wanting signs of religious Protestant coalition against the Catholics, somewhat analogous to the Know Nothing movement of fourteen years ago, which, culminating in "Live Oak George "went up like the rocket and came down like the stick." Then, again, behind Mr. Sumner there is a Republican movement afoot to cap ture the Irish vote on the Alabama claims while in this city there is an active clique at work to capture the German vote on lager beer. But in numbers the most powerful the movements of the trades unions towards political combinations of labor against capital are the most ominous. These trades unions have been wonderfully multiplied and extended within the last two or three years and the Eight-hour law of Congress in regard to Government workmen is a recognition of their political strength. They hold to-day the political balance of power in this country. and, from present appearances, they are drifting into hostility to the negro equality pro gramme of the administrrtion. All these movements are operating to the demoralization of the Republican party, and the Democrats, convinced of their own weakness, are looking hopefully upon these disor-ders in the enemy's camp. Some of the old Copperhead leaders of the West, moreover, made wise from sore experience, are proposing to cast their dead men and dead issues overboard, and so to enlarge their articles of faith as to take in half the Republican party. In the South they are out-bidding the carpetbaggers for the negro vote, and in the East they are ready for anything which promises the overthrow of radical despotism. At the same time Chief Justice Chase, in his tour of the Southern States, is gaining golden opinions from all the anti-radical Southern elements, and, plank by plank, is building up a strong Democratic platform for 1872. It is possible, however, that his good work in this direction will result rather in breaking up than in consolidating the Democracy of the North, and in giving us two or three Presidential candidates instead of one from that side of the house; for in the great Tammany Convention the fatal objection to Mr. Chast was that his nomination, even if followed by his election, would be the dissolution of the party We have yet, however, three years to run to the next Presidential campaign, and the chapter of events in the interval may so change the grouping of the kaleidoscope as to render the success or defeat of the adminis tration party a moral certainty. From the signs of the times, however, the two great parties will be broken up into factions, and the isms will be conspicuous among them, and factions and isms will be mixed up in the most amusing and ridiculous scrub race in all the ins and outs and ups and downs of American politics.

Mill seems to have somewhat wandered | display their mutual, implacable hate, and | struggle for each other's annihilation. These truths are so palpable that all admit

and the great majority insist on them. toLat. us have peace !" said the President; and so say one and all. But how ? us have peace !'

There are those whose panacea is Andy Johnson's since discarded countersign-"Loyal men, white or black, must rule America." Just disfranchise and proscribe every one who rendered aid or comfort to the late Rebellion-let none of them vote or hold even the pettiest office-and let those who were faithful throughout to the Union rule everything and have everything, and per-fect peace, with general thrift, will be assured.

Others would enfranchise all the Rebels and disfranchise all the blacks, putting the latter completely under the heel of the former. Only give the South fully over to Toombs, and Forrest, Harry Hays & Co., let them carry their several States with a rush, as they carried Georgia and Louisiana for Seymour and Blair, let them suppress the negroes as they did the Louisiana Convention in '66, or expel them from all civil trusts, as they did from the Georgia Legislature in '68, and we shall have peace-such as we had from 1830 to 1860. To this end it is only necessary that the Republicans should allow their foremost men to be butchered, as Henderson, Dostee, etc., were in New Orleans, or pitched out of office, neck and heels, as Turner and others were last year, at Atlanta, and we may grow cotton at the rate of millions of tons per annum, re-store the balance of trade, chd swim in a sea of wealth and luxury. Our programme differs radically, as is well

known, from either of the foregoing. It is summed up in four words-Universal Amnesty; Impartial Suffrage. We proclaimed it directly after President Lincoln's assassination, when it cost us many friends; we have stood by it through evil and good report, bating no jot of heart or hope when its adoption seemed impossible, and never losing faith in the "sober second thought" of the American people. And now, when our platform has received the approval of Governor Brownlow on the one hand, and prominent Rebels on the other, have we not ample reason to thank God and take courage?

Yet there is still trouble at the South, and more in Georgia than in any other State. The root of bitierness is the expulsion of the colored members from her Legislature last year. or, rather, the spirit which impelled that expulsion. The Rebels there are quite as willing to be enfranchised and rendered eligible to office as we are to have them; but they want the blacks under their feet, and repe all peace which does not involve that consummation. In other words, they still cherish the fundamental idea which made them disunionists and Rebels in 1861. We do not mean that all who were once Rebels do so, for many of those realize that there was a Gettysburg in 1863, an Appomattox in 1865, and that this is 1869; but enough remain untaught and unteachable by the logic of events to keep the South in turmoil and rob the country of the natural, legitimate results of the Rebellion's conclusive overthrow.

The last Legislature of Georgia, at a time when Seymour and Blair's election was confidently anticipated, expelled the colored members of either House. The few blacks who held executive offices were thereupon cited before the courts to show why they should not be ousted as constitutionally ineligible. The litigation has at length been carried up to the highest State Court, whose judgment upholds the eligibility of the blacks. Such a case is not appealable to the Federal Courts: so here is the end of it. What next? The Augusta Constitutionalist says, Never

give up ! The highest court having affirmed Constitution makes the blacks citi-

the Cuban republicans may furnish Lord Clarendon with an argument for repudiating Mr. Sumner's sentimental rule of consequential damages in the Alabama case. But that rule has already been repudiated by the great majority of the American people, and we trust that our State Department and Mr. Motley are too wise to dream of trying to enforce it; and to any argument of the British Secretary drawn from this source it would be sufficient for our envoy to reply, in diplomatic phraseclogy, that it is none of your business what the American Government and people think, say, or do in regard to Cuba, for that subject does not belong to the matters we now have in hand. The administration should retrace its steps in this Cuban business. Leaving our people to express their sympathies towards the strug-

gling patriots in such proper modes as they see fit, General Grant should await the opportune moment for active intervention in behalf of the republican cause in that island, and should avail himself of it with decision.

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JOHN F. OHL.

FOR LIVERPOOL AND

Singularly enough, the logician does not show as much art in the first presenting of his case as the clergyman.

Mr. Mill, who evidently writes under strong personal feeling, is too hot in the beginning and plunges at once into his conclusion, calling women immediately "slaves, and alluding to them as "slaves" in repeated instances, so as rather to offend the unbiased reader, by being forced to a conclusion for which he is not at all prepared. Dr. Bushnell, on the other hand, with more rhetorical skill, admits the many wrongs and injustices practised against women, avows his readiness to give them under marriage all and entire possession of their property, and protect them in it, and is quite willing that they should enter many professions and pursuits now closed to them. But all this he allows, in order to give more force to his conclusion, of the and terrible great damage threatened to society from admitting them to the right of suffrage. We have not space here to give the points of his argument. They are certainly most serious and weighty; powerful, however, mainly as profound and deep-reaching statements rather than logical arguments. They rest mainly on the point which Mr. Mill most contests, or at least maintains is not proven, "the subject nature of women," not an inferior nature, but such a constitution as unfits her to govern. Dr. Bushnell dreads, most of all, the unser ing woman by this reform, or stimulating her ing woman by this retorm, or stimulating her unnaturally, so as to destroy her charm, and tend to weaken marriage. Mr. Mill, on the other hand, maintains that no legislation can change nature, and that we do not know yet what woman's nature is; and that her higher intellectual and pelitical position will tend to make marriage what in the most civilized countries it now is rapidly approachingpartnership between equals.

TROUBLE IN THE SOUTH.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The primary need of our whole country peace-no mere armed truce, no whitewash ing of unhealed sores, not simply a transfe of the civil war to new fields for its prosecu tion by less destructive weapons, but genuine pervading, unbroken, enduring peace. If the United States are to be thoroughly prosper-ous, to rejoice in bounteous harvests, general plenty, and a rapid increase of intelli-gence, efficiency, and wealth, they must cease to be the arena, whereon embittered factions

zens, while the Code declares all citizens eligible to office, the Constitutionalist asks:-

"What is to prevent the Legislature from repeal-ing that part of the Code which invests all citizens with a right to office, and then passing a law prohibiting the negro from holding any State office?"

A legislative body, as all know, is the final judge of the election and qualification of its own members, hence the Constitutionalist makes these deductions:-

beyond dispute, and Georgia still stand as a State governed by white men, Brown and McCay to the contrary notwithstanding."

-This is very childish, but it is also very mischievous. We must hope that the Georgia "Conservatives" have better guides than the Constitutionalist, and that their action will prove it.

THE MISTAKE OF THE ADMINISTRA-TION.

From the N. Y. Sun. The works of supererogation which the administration is now performing to aid Spain in restoring her despotic rule in Cuba, impart new force to the considerations often urged in these columns.

Spain is now in the throes of a protracted revolution. Though her ancient institutions have been overthrown, and her old dynasty driven into exile, nobody can conjecture what system of government will be finally set up in their stead. Is there any fundamental principle of international law which forbids a large foreign dependency of such a crumbling power to follow the example of the so-called mother country, to throw off its feeble though galling chains and choose a government for itself? Especially this republic ought not to intervene to compel Cuba to link her destiny to the sinking fortunes of a European despotism, whose tradi-tional jealousy of this country has ceased to be dangerous only because the nation which cherishes it is no longer formidable. Both Cuba and the United States would be

benefited by the admission of the former to the American Union at the earliest suitable moment. We have long had an eye upon the Gem of the Antilles. It lies right under our lee, it is the key of the Gulf, and we need it as a station for our navy and our commercial marine in the West Indies. The chief reason why in years past our people have not unani-mously demanded that their Government should embrace every fair opportunity to take possession of this island, was our sectional controversies over negro slavery. That stum bling-block to unanimity of sentiment on this subject has been swept away forever. The path is now clear, and national opinion demands that the United States move forward and extend their beneficent sway over Cuba so soon as a majority of its inhabitants invoke it. Meanwhile our traditional policy and a decent respect for free institutions, for-bid that the leading power in the Western Hemisphere should put forth its mailed hand to crush a people struggling to throw off a

hated foreign yoke. Beyond all question, it is the mismanaged Alabama imbroglio which is driving the ad-ministration into a false position on Caban affgirs. Mr. Fish is afraid that sympathy for

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