THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY, AUGUST 3, 1869.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon Current Toples Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

JUSTICE TO THE UNITED STATES. From the N. Y. World.

It is a coincidence which will strike every observer of the politics of more than one nation, that at the very moment when Mr. Gladstone has carried through in triumph, and with undiminished majorities, his Irish Church bill, another Fenian invasion of Canada gets on foot. That bill was trumpeted up and down all England as a great liberal mea-sure which would vindicate the capacity of the Liberal party to do what the Tory party had never done—satisfy England and appease Ireland. Ireland is unappeased. The cry was raised and the elections were carried with it-"Justice to Ireland." Unhindered by the Lords, Mr. Gladstone has administered to Ireland his "justice;" members disperse to their summer shooting or to the Continent; a near prorogation is announced; but before the painters and the charwomen take possession of the House of Commons, or even Mr. Gladstone can get away for his vacation, the old spectre rises, stern of lineament and gauntdiscontented Ireland-beckoning the Ireand that has crossed the seas, as the spectre of the Brocken beckons to its other self, on to another invasion of Canada.

This invasion may succeed, or it may fail. It may soon be attempted or be postponed. It may be repressed by the warning voice or by the preventive arm of General Grant's administration; but, whatever happens or is likely to happen (and we know nothing more of the matter than Minister Thornton has already told to Lord Clarendon), is it not now plain to Mr. Gladstone that he cannot well or wisely defer what he has postponed for his "Justice to Ireland," namely, Justice to the United States ?

Mr. Gladstone understands as well as every publicist on this side the water that Mr. Sumner's conception of justice to the United States is but his own. However it may have suited the surface irritation of our people to hear such extravagance uttered by some one who could command a hearing in England, it did not satisfy the latent and strong sense of justice which is the best part of the American character. That sense of justice would as little be satisfied by preposterous demands upon Great Britain for having proclaimed a neutrality which it was her right to proclaim, as it is with the wrong and the damage of an as it is with the wrong and the damage of all imperfect neutrality which, to her shame, she inflicted upon us. But that sense of justice will not be satisfied with nothing, nor will it be satisfied with anything which is long post-poned. Permitting time to elapse may, indeed, make reparation for the wrongs done us in the Alabama and kindred cases much easier for Great Britain to offer; but the misfortune is that pari passu her reputation will be deprived of its profitable uses to herself or us. Several months ago, the World suggested the sending to Washington of a special and distinguished embassy, headed by some Liberal like the Duke of Argyll, eminent in his own country, and known to us for a better friend of ours than Mr. Gladstone himself was, in the dark days of the Republic-an embassy to be charged with the renewal of negotiations on this and every outstanding difficulty. In our judgment, that may still be commended to Mr. Gladstone as a felicitous inauguration of a mission sufficiently difficult in its essen-

tials to require every ancillary help. Several weeks ago, the *World* contributed to the discussion of the Alabama question some suggestions as to the maxima of England's concessions and the minima of the United States' demands, which, on further reflection, appear to us no less pertinent now

and continuously made. It survives the fail ures of protocols and the rejection of treaties. It is not, like England's, hastily, pe remptorily, and imperiously made; yet the wrong which has been done us is perfectly understood by every American, and the spirit which will not leave it unredressed is quite as firm as if ours were a seven-day demand.

Will Mr. Gladstone soon betake himself to plans of "Justice to the United States?"

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN VIR-GINIA.

From the N. Y. Times.

For the first time in the Virginia contest. the Wells section of the Republican party has gained a moral advantage over the supporters of the Governor-elect. It has exhibited itself in the attitude of a section anxious for the restoration of cordial party relations with the Republicans from whom it separated in the election. It has taken the first step towards reconciliation and reunion. And the chairman of the Walker Committee has erred in not responding cordially and affirmatively to the proposition submitted by the executive of the Wells organization.

The Republicans of Virginia are divided, and the question to be answered is, Shall the division continue, or shall it be healed, and party unity restored, now that the exciting causes of mischief have passed away? No-thing can be gained by belittling the differences, or by pretensions to superior ortho-doxy on either side. That which challenges attention is the fact of division, the responsibility for which must be borne quite as much by those who perpetuate it as by those with whom it originated. It began with the Walker Republicans, and they can scarcely afford to assume the odium incident to its continuance.

In the first instance, as this journal has steadily maintained, Mr. Walker and his Republican friends were justified in protesting against, and in striving to defeat, the nomination of Wells and his associates on a proscriptive platform. There could be no genuine reconstruction if the State Constitution were ratified in the form adopted by the convention. And when the adherents of Wellconstructed a ticket involving the ratification of the Constitution in its entirety, test oath. disfranchisement and all, a second Republican nomination became a necessity. The election of Walker was the result-an election all the more satisfactory because effected on a platform in harmony with the known views of the President and the conciliatory policy of the Republican party in other States. The gratification afforded by the event has been strengthened by the judicious declarations of the successful candidate. He has availed himself of more than one opportunity to assert the agreement of his purposes with those of the administration. He has avowed a determination to adhere to its policy, and to uphold in good faith the results of reconstruction, regardless of the efforts of the former enemies of both. By adopting this course he dispelled many fears, and awakened a friendly interest in his future as Governor of the State. Whatever confidence he has excited has, however, been predicated upon the supposition that he will act in harmony with the Republican party. He cannot claim identification with the administration and at the same time cultivate fellowship with its active opponents. His title to the support of the party whose policy he professes to approve will become invalid

with the execution not merely of a domestic law, but with the fulfilment of an inter-national obligation perfect if no law existed. The justice of our demand, or at least the wrong done us, in the case of the Alabama, has lately been admitted by the leaders of both parties, though disputed once, and it is universally conceded by the English press. Our demand for reparation has been steadily and continuously made. It survives the failed opponents; and in the interim it involves antagonism where unity is desirable, and a series of coalitions in and out of the Legislature, as

demoralizing as they are dangerous. Mr. Walker owes to himself, to the Repub-licans who sustain him, and to the adminis-tration with which he claims affinity, some better treatment of the Wells overture than has yet been accorded to it. He ought not to forget that the course before him and his State is still beset with difficulties, which will probably be aggravated or abated in proportion to the good faith with which he and his friends act towards the Republican party.

INDUSTRIAL PARTNERSHIP. From the N. Y. Tribune.

Co-operative workingmen in England have lately turned their attention to the manufacture of cotton, flour, iron railings, and wirework, files, lithographs, etc., with success, and have even bent their energies upon coal mining with excellent results. The system of co-operation in its numerous characters demands an immense amount of printing, to supply which industrial partnership printing concerns have been introduced. They are found to yield handsomely, furnish steady employment to shareholders, and additional encouragement in pro rata dividends. The best partnerships of industry-those which seem to produce the most satisfactory results to the members in common-are often small. They differ widely from the ordinary system, being social and not in the least niggardly. place the co-operator on a footing of independence, and elevate him to a point of dignity above the caprices and bratality of foremen and directors. No arbitrary will can enter a co-operative manufactory. The existence of tradesmen is too often made miserable in outside manufactories through the unreasonable and brutal assaults upon them by insolent foremen who ingratiste themselves with their masters by urging, driving, and brutalizing their men. There is, perhaps, no more prevailing misfortune to which poor workingmen are subjected than this. Denied the right of a hearing should they attempt to complain, not independent enough to leave and search work elsewhere, and too much the lovers of peace and morality to avenge themselves by pen retaliation, millions of mechanics are hus ground down. What are the tendencies of such a deformed state of things? They are. first; to stereotype impressions of revolt and loathing against labor itself. They operate most forcibly upon the most valuable classthat which possesses keen susceptibility and genius. Another class is aroused to remonstrance, made effectual by means of Trades Unions, one fundamental aim of which is, in England, to compel masters to accord a fair hearing to all similar grievances, and, by a secret and shrewd system of manipulations, to effect the discharge and humiliation of obnoxions tyrants. Great strikes, with all their wasteful concomitants of stagnation in trade, and famine among families, often originate in the brutality of a foreman. But most important of all are their tendencies to create industrial partnerships. In Sheffield the file masters once sought to humiliate a file cutters' union by employing a set of these ob-noxious foremen. The union being too weak to cope with so formidable an organization, and disgusted with the unpleasant treatment it was forced to suffer, called a meeting, turned its funds into an industrial partnerheme, appropriated \$68,000 due time created and registered the "Society of the Sheffield File Cutters," which has, since its foundation in 1864, attained an annual sale of \$47,600. Co-operation and trades unionism are thus made to blend their interests for the common object of pro rata dividends, certainty in position, and protection from the tyranny of superiors. Industrial partnerships have already undergone the severest tests, and have proved themselves in most instances sound and practicable. In the manufacture of flour Rochdale has taken the initiative, and its noble mills are grinding 560,000 pounds of flour weekly. These mills, driven by steam, work 16 run of stone, and cost co-operators nearly \$100,000 before they reached a paying basis. At Sowerby Bridge is another ex-tensive co-operative flouring mill, which is considered a model of system. In Halifax 2298 persons own a mill, the cost of which \$72,800, and the total receipts of which for last year were \$119,000. It has 18 run of stone. is driven by two fine beam engines of 80 horsepower each, and is considered one of the finest and most successful specimens of industrial partnership in the world. Mr. John Holmes, who conducted a large co-operative mill in Leeds, has published a pamphlet setting forth the advantages of co-operation in figures. He was, by means of sure sales, the disuse of carting, the wholesale purchase of wheat, and the displacement of manual labor by machinery, enabled to reduce the working expenses three per cent. below those of the great Glasgow mills in Scotland, which were considered the most economically conducted of any flouring establishment in Great Britain. There are numerous co-operative cotton factories—such as the Cobden Memorial Mills, the Halifax Weaving Mills, etc.—all of which have reduced the system of production down to the nicest science. The manner of creating an industrial partnership is simple and may be imitated by any body of artisan-in this country. A number of working people consisting of say 500 weavers, spinners, machinists, carpenters, laborers, etc., join together and adopt certain rules, which they themselves have drawn up and approved Each individual subscribes for one or more \$500 shares, according as he is able to spare out of his earnings. These shares are payaable in instalments of fifty cents a share weekly. When the society has thus received a fund of about \$5000, sufficient to warrant a beginning, the erection of a cotton factory is begun, and the business of building and furnishing it often affords excellent work for the co-operatives themselves. Thus encouraged, they keep on pay-ing their weekly subscriptions until the mill is completed. Often a sum equivalent to the funds thus subscribed is borrowed, the creditor having security on the property. The object of this is to hasten the completion of the work. As soon as the mill is finished and set in operation, the receipts begin to reimburse the members for the money thus subscribed, beside giving nearly all employment for life. Here begins an era of independence and thrift for which many a non-co-operating workingman vainly sighs and longs a lifetime. The system of co-operation in industrial partnerships is the only means of effecting a just and pure dis-tribution of labor's yield. All the surplus or profit accruing from such manufacture which

ordinarily streams into the hands of single proprietors, producing inordicate wealth and pride, is divided, pro rata, at regular intervals, and the masses receive an encouragement, protection, and power of redress unknown to the prevailing usages of industrial management.

HEREDITARY LEGISLATORS _ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

From the N. Y. Sun.

A thoughtful antiquarian has said that the tendency of families, whose founders were great or brilliant, is to dwindle and fade when exposed to the storms and heats of a long series of years. In a recent attempt to test this theory by a reference to the British House of Peers, we by no means meant to insinuate that family decadence was peculiar to Englishmen, or to an assembly of hereditary legislators,

Among the wild projects afloat at the close of our Revolutionary war was a plan to make the United States Senate an hereditary body. If this notion had been reduced to practice. Washington, Adams, and Jay would have been provided for by making them President. Vice-President, and Chief Justice respective ly. To have filled the twenty or thirty Senaorial seats, resort would of course have been had to conspicuous actors in the great drama of the Revolution. The army would have furnished Knox, Schuyler, Greene, Hamilton and Gates; and had the current set strongly in that direction, it might have swept in Light horse Harry, Swamp-Fox Marion, Old Put,

and Mad Anthony Wayne. From the civil ranks New England would have supplied Sherman, Hancock, Ellsworth, and George Cabot; the Middle States, Franklin, Rufus King, Burr, Carroll of Carrollton and Robert Morris; while the South might have contributed Jefferson, Patrick Henry. the two Pinckneys of South Carolina, both of whom were run for the Presidency by the Federalists, and Madison, called the father of he Constitution.

Following the English example, the twenty ears immediately succeeding the adoption of the Constitution would have seen some fresh blood infused into our republican House of Lords. In New England, Pickering, Fisher, Ames, and Samuel Dexter could not have been overlooked: and the Middle States would have doubtless secured baronial honors for Gallatin, Gouverneur Morris, Kent, and Samuel Smith of Maryland, who served nearly forty years in Congress, and whom Benton prenounced one of the wisest of American statesmen. The South would have obtained coronets for Monroe, Marshall, Gaillard, who was President pro tem, of the Senate for fifteen years, and Farmer Giles, the idol of Jefferson; while the West, then rising into notice, might have been content with John Breckinridge, the founder of the Kentucky family, and Joseph Anderson, whom Tennes see kept in the Senate from 1798 to 1815.

During the next period of twenty years, from the inauguration of Madison in 1809 to the advent of Jackson in 1829, more fresh blood would have been needed, not only to keep up the vigor of the Senate, but to keep pace with the increasing number of States. In allotting lordly escutcheons east of the Hudson, John Quincy Adams, Webster, the classic Everett, John Holmes, as a reward for services rendered to Maine in the Missouri struggle, and Jeremiah Mason, who served New Hampshire in the Senate, who successfully defended the Rev. Ephraim K. Avery for murder, and whom Webster pronounced the greatest lawyer of his acquaintance, must have been made recipients.

In the Middle States we should have had De Witt Clinton; Decatur, our chief naval hero; William Pinkney, the eloquent lawyer and accomplished diplomat; Wirt, and Van Buren; and the South would have received titles for Calhoun, Crawford, Macon, Mr. Speaker Cheves, and General Scott, the hero of Chippewa. The West would have bestowed her honors upon Jackson, Clay, and Benton, and, the country being hard up for military chieftains, very likely upon General Harrison, whom the Democrats used to call by the fond name of "Granny," and upon Colonel Dick Johnson, who was at one time charged, though we think unjustly, with having cut short the earthly career of Tecumseh. We will not come down any later, lest we tread on delicate ground. The fifty or sixty names we have presented were, in their several eras, vocations, sections, and parties, the most eminent and conspicuous in the country. Omitting three or four obvious exceptions, which will occur to every reader, and without reference to original members that would have been added to the Senatorial rolls since the commencement of Jackson's administration, we ask what sort of an Upper House should we have had to-day if its chairs were filled with the first-born heirs of the great historic characters we have enumerated? With three or four exceptions, the descendants of those distinguished men are so obscure and uninfluential that, in regard to most of them, even well-informed persons hardly know whether there are any such descendants or not. When brought home to ourselves, and viewed in the light of our American experience, this system of a hereditary Senate appears exquisitely absurd. Is there any reason why it should work less absurdly in England ? In a word, if "blood will tell," why doesn't it?

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than then.

These suggestions, more fortunate than Mr. Sumner's speech, which no British journal republished, were given circulation in one of the most popular English journals, exceptionally distinguished for its handling of in ternational politics, the Pall Mall Gazette, and their effect was apparent in the tone of subsequent discussion in the English press. They contributed to the result which Senator Grimes in good part accomplished by his letter to the London Times-the exhibition of the real backing, or rather the lack of it, to Senator Summer's speech. They contributed still more to deepen the impression which not even Senator Sumner's speech made too distinctly-the impression of our profound resentment of England's violation of that neutrality which was our right and her dutythe settled determination of the people of the United States in both of their political parties to receive the amende honorable in any diplomatic but explicit form, payment en bloc of some stipulated sum for the Alabama's damage done through that defective neutrality, and fair negotiation upon other claims on either side.

The Duke of Argyll, conducting such an ombassy, might insure to it the most cordial reception from the Senate and the Executive, and good-will from all classes of people; he might assure to its negotiations an easy success, and restore at once to these two Englishspeaking peoples "a smiling and unforced accord" that would be the best possible preparation even for real justice and a lasting peace to Ireland-by some such frank and friendly admission of and apology for the wrong done us in the case of the Alabama, at the outsetsay in the diplomatic note renewing negotia-tion—as has been irresponsibly made by numberless leading men of Great Britain in the government and in the press.

Mr. Gladstone puts in peril the peace of the two countries by leaving open and exposed to the chapter of accidents and the nologic of events these our unredressed grievances. We have no desire to see England humiliated. She has in her day fought a good fight for civil, religious, and individual liberty, and the blessings of her victories form no small part of our inheritance. The ties which unite ns have been the staple of the festive eloquence of our stump, even when we have been selebrating the anniversary of the day of our independence of her. Indeed, the strength of those ties as well as the magnanimity of the people of the United States, though it come from conscious strength, is witnessed to-day by the patience with which they have waited and still wait for the justice which is their demanded right. But how long ?

We were divided and weak, and England was strong, when she gave our Government but seven short days in which to disclaim and reverse the action of a single naval officer who had seized the Trent, and to restore the captured Rebel ambassadors. Her domand for reparation was instant, peremptory, and imperious, though the rightfulness of Wilkes, capture of Mason and Slidell was maintained by lawyers of the highest distinction, and though the justice of her demand was not all nnquestionable if finally admitted. England's conduct in the Alabama case was the responsible conduct, not of a single officer off upon the high seas, but of a ministry harged with the government, charged with the maintenance of the perfect neutrality deplared in the Queen's proclamation, charged

come at he with a line, here's for Classers,

the moment he proves indifferent to the guarantees of its endurance, which only Republican unity can afford.

The ground gained by Walker since the election was gained at the expense of Wells and his adherents. Wrong in the construction of their platform, wrong in the position assumed during the canvass, the leading friends of Wells put themselves still further in the wrong, first by impugning the popular verdict, next by threatening its reversal on the floor of Congress. Their action in this respect seemed to reveal an intolerant factiousness, which made us more grateful for their defeat. But wiser counsels have within the last few days prevailed. The newspaper exponent of the defeated ticket, yielding perhaps to the almost unanimous judgment of the party throughout the country in favor of Walker, suddenly modified its tone, and in a quiet way accepted the situation. It became evident not only that there would be no further factious opposition on the part of the Wells men, but that they were preparing to abandon their separate organization and consolidate anew with those from whom they had been temporarily separated.

This purpose, prudent and honorable, as itseems to us, had expression in letter addressed by John W the Jenkins, Chairman of the Wells Committee, to Dr. Gilmer, Chairman of the Walker Committee. In this communication Mr. Jenkins attributed the division to difference of opinion as to men rather than any substantial variance as to principles. Believing, as most of us do, that the future prosperity of the State depends upon the organization of its government "in harmony with the administration of General Grant and the policy of the Congress of the United States and the great Republican party of the country," he suggests the propriety of uniting the two wings of the Republican party, "and establishing a liberal Republican organization, in whose ranks all who really love the Union may join, whether they may have been buttoned in the grey or the blue." With the view of effecting this con-solidation, he proposes practical measures, and invites the concurrent action of the other committee. All this is admirable. The object sought is as creditable as the temper in which it is approached. And speaking in be-half of more than a hundred thousand Republican voters, the weight attaching to Mr. Jenkins' proposition cannot be questioned.

Dr. Gilmer's response, we regret to say, is much less satisfactory. Ignoring the hundred thousand voters for Wells, every one of whom is a Republican, he "cannot admit that the party is divided!" He insists "that the Grant-Walker party is the National Republican party of Virginia, representing the policy of the President and of Congress, and as such has no division to heal." He alludes to the indorsement of Republican principles by the white men of the State, and complacently invites the Wells wing to swell their ranks without more ado. We cannot applaud the attitude thus assumed by Dr. Gilmer. It is in effect a rejection of the proposition submitted to him-a proposition, be it remembered. for a reunion of two sections of Republicans, and the formation of a "liberal Republican organization," the policy of Congress and the national administration being, as we under-stand it, the basis. What is the inference? Are we to conclude that the Walker Republicans prefer dependence upon Democratic support to the support which a reunited Repub-



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TAMMANY HOUSE, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., delightfully located on NORTH CAROLINA Ave-nue. is now open. ELIAS OLEAVER, Proprietor-MONROE COTTAGE, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., ATLANTIC Avenue, first block above United States Hotel, Terms, Sill per week WILLIAM MONROE, Proprietor.

THE "CHALFONTE," ATLANTIC CITY, for the reception of gaests. ELISHA ROBERTS, Proprietor.

HEWIT HOUSE, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., will open July 1, and will be kept as formerly. A. T. HUTCHINSON, A. T. HUTCHINSON, MAGNOLIA COTTAGE, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. a First-class Private Boarding-house (Penn-sylvania avenue), is now open for the reception of boardors. A. P. COOK, Proprietress. MANN'S COTTAGE, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. (Pennsylvania avenue), unexcelled as to location, comforts, conveniences, and the furnishing of the house, is now open for visitors. C. C. THORN, Proprietress. THE CLARENDON HOUSE, VIRGINIA Avenue, Atlantic City, N. J., is now open. JOSEPH JONES, Proprietor. T H E A L H A M B R A, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., is now open for the reception of guesta, R. B. LEEDS, Proprietor. C E N T R A L H O U S E, antLaNTIC CITY, N. J., now open for the reception of guests. LAWLOR & TRILLY, Proprietors.

CHESTER COUNTY ATLANTIO CITY, N. J. J. KEIM, Proprietor. EA-SIDE HOUSE, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

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