THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN

PARTY. From the N. Y. Times.

Mr. Dawes' reply to General Butler, not to speak of Mr. Farnsworth's, as well as the frequency with which the Republican party in both House and Senate has of late split its vote on several important questions, ought, we think, to suggest to the more ardent members of the party, and everybody who believes, as we do, in its usefulness, the propriety of abstaining from attempts "to read people out" of it. Formal excommunications have never been of any great service to either Church or party. They were not of much use to the Republican party even in the days of excitement after the close of the war, and they are likely to be still less serviceable just now, when the bonds of discipline are relaxed, and the questions which have for some twenty years held it together are nearly settled. The Cincinnati Commercial asked the other day, apropos of the conflict in the Senate between Messis. Trumbull and Sumner, whether this discussion did not reveal the existence of a division in the party ranks which would henceforward be found irremediable. The Evening Post treated the inci-dent as one of the indications visible in various parts of the country that the regular party engineers are losing the control of the machine; and there is no doubt that a feeling more or less deep seated prevails that the work of the Republican party, properly so called, ends with the adoption of the fifteenth amendment. Now, it is quite true that the special cause

which called the party into existence will have ceased to operate as soon as that amendment is passed, but then the general reasons for its existence will be nearly as strong as ever. The work of the Republican party will never be over until the Democrats have frankly announced their acceptance of the legislation of the last ten years. This the Democrats have not done, and show no sign of doing. A day never passes in which they do not in some quarter or other proclaim their intention of treating the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution as void, because imposed on some of the States by force, or else announce their wish to do something to the public debt by way of repudiation. Sometimes they are for taxing the bonds, sometimes for paying the debt in greenbacks, but always for treating the public creditor as in some sense the public enemy, and depriving him of a portion at least of what he believes to be his due. In short, whatever they may do in the future, they have thus far shown no sign of having any affirmative policy of any kind. Their mission they proclaim to be the undoing, at the earliest possible moment, of all that the Republican party has done. They had a chance of taking some kind of middle ground, that is, letting bygones be bygones, but adopting a different line of policy in the future by nominating Mr. Chase in 1868, but they deliberately refused and chose a pair of "irreconcilables" to head their ticket. Since then they have given indication of having repented or changed their minds. Several tolerably good articles in the way of a policy-such as free trade-have presented themselves, but they have been all rejected. Nothing will do them but the upsetting, in some way or other, of the system of society and government established by the reconstruction process at the South, and the restoration to the whites of their old supremacy, and with it, of course, the means of working their own sweet will with regard to the blacks.

There can, of course, be no doubt that it is this which keeps, and is likely to keep, the Republican party in existence. The mass of those who have served long in its ranks for the purpose of achieving certain results, will not leave it as long as these results are endangered, and as long as the opposition offers nothing new, or original, or construc-tive for their acceptance. But then it must not be forgotten by those who have, or think they have, it in charge, that the excitement which called the Republican party into existence, and enabled it to achieve its victories, is rapidly dying out, and that the excitement gone, the number of stragglers and deserters will naturally be greatly increased. A greater or less number of its members are growing lukewarm; others are losing or have lost their interest in politics altogether; others have their attention diverted by State affairs, or purely financial affairs, and it must be remembered that the Republican majority has not in any State, except in one or two of the critical years of the war, been sufficiently large to hear reduction. Just now the party barely holds its own in several States. It has lost the control of this, and with what mischief to the public interests yet remains to be seen. It is, therefore, hardly safe to be overstrict in exacting uniformity of opinion amongst its members on all points that may come up. We think it was very unwise, for instance, to attempt to force its members into agreement as to the propriety of adding to what has been already done in reconstruction in the case of Virginia. The conditions imposed on that State after so much fuss are a sorry compensation for the bitterness of feeling developed un the course of the discussion between the two wings of the party. It would be still more unwise to insist on a general adhesion to any financial doctrine, if for no other reason than for the very simple one that it cannot be obtained. Nothing is gained, too, in strength or cohesiveness by expelling obstreperous members. The spirits of those they leave behind are not apt to be improved by the spectacle, because the members who are most impatient under party discipline, and are most apt to form and hold opinions of their ewn, are almost always the ablest men; and a party which has got rid of its ablest men, no matter what its numerical force may be, is not far from dissolution. Of the value of brains to party organizations, and of the danger of getting rid of them, the Democratic party is to-day a melancholy example.

THE COLONIAL CRISIS.

From the London Saturday Review. If there is something to regret, there is much that is satisfactory, in the discussions that have recently taken place on colonial affairs. The official mind has shown itself, as usual, incapable of grasping a large idea, and the self-constituted advocates of the colonies have not been altogether judicious in the conduct of their campaign; but, on the other hand, there has manifested itself a deep and pervading resolution not to let the colonies be driven from us by the apathy of states. men and the perverse unpatriotism of Americanized politicians. It is always a misfortune when great matters fall to be dealt with by small men, and as yet this has been the fate of the colonial problem, on the adequate

politicians is to produce elever small men; and we say this not the less though the party is led by a statesman whom not even his enemies would call small, and who, when he gives his mind to the colonial question, may be trusted to deal with it generously and nobly. But Mr. Gladstone is where he is and what he is by the strength of the rank and file of the party, and more in spite of than by the favor of the class of prominent Liberal politicians, of whom a large section of his Cabinet is formed. The clever men of this school pride themselves on their scientific statesmanship, and their highest effort is to take a theory confessedly based on assumptions which are only approximately true, to shut their eyes to the existence of every force but that of selfinterest, to work out the consequences of their assumption with diligent and unfailing logic, and then to make themselves mere passive instruments of a necessity of their own creating. Wanting in sympathy and devoid of imagination, they can see in the world no-thing but a theatre on which to demonstrate the experiments of a crude and tentative, though servicable, science. This is the temper in which the relations of England and her colonies have been approached by many of our leading politicians, and by none more conspicuously than by Earl Granville, of whom better things might have been hoped. The most fatal aspect of the case is the fanatical sincerity with which the Colonial Minister evidently believes that his narrow view of a great crisis comprises the whole range of possible truth. His predecessors in office have unequivocally protested against the tone even more than against the substance of his despathes. Impatient colonists have chafed at his polished indifference, and the sober opinion of all reflecting men, with the exception of those who are political economists and nothing more, has condemned the levity with which he has trifled with a question which in a very few years must become the gravest which English Ministers could be called upon to consider.

The very terms in which Lord Granville repudiates the charge of seeking the dismem-berment of the Empire show how incapable he has made himself of even seeing what it is that renders his policy and his language so mischievous. He tells the colonies that he really does not wish to sever their relations with what they will persist in calling the Home country, but blandly assures them in the same breath that, if they should happen to be discontented at any time with English policy, it will always be open for them to terminate the connection without fear of any compulsory interference on our part. This kind of taunt would, under any circumstances, be impolitic and indefensible in a Colonial Minister, but it is doubly mischievous now, when it is recognized as the symbol of a party-the party that avowedly aims at severing the bonds that unite this country and her colonies. In spite of all disclaimers, it points to nothing but separation. Why is it that we hear this same phrase repeated day after day? No desire for independence has been manifested for many years by more than the most insignificant section of any of our colonies. No one anticipates a request to be relieved from their allegiance from any real colonists, whatever mock petitions may be got up by American interlopers. Foolish Irishmen have yelled for independence, and rightly enough the cry is not listened to. The colonists have never asked for it, and vet they are daily insulted by the assurance that whenever they think fit to do so we shall be most happy to let them go. It may be that, if ever the emergency arose, it would be right and wise to abstain from coerhow does this excuse a statesman for persistdeclaration of indifference to their alliance? It is generally perhaps wiser to let a runaway wife go than to reclaim her by force, but a husband who daily assured his spouse that if she desired to leave him he would put no obstacle in her way would be credited by men of the world with a very decided anxiety to get rid of her. The official tone has not even the consistency which belong to the extreme school of Mr. Goldwin Smith's disciples, who avowedly desire to bring about the dismemberment of the Empire, and use precisely the same language which Lord Granville employs to prove the absence of such a wish from his mind. Unfortunately the mischief done by the authoritative adoption of the language of the separatists is not easily to be undone, and there is little prospect of modifying the future policy of a statesman who is, or professes himself to be, incapable of comprehending the tendency of his own

And yet even those whose only wisdom is the worship of political expediency might be expected to see the plain interests of England, however unable they may be to sympathize with the aspirations of the colonies. should not be altogether beyond the power of statesmen to look forward twenty or thirty or fifty years. Mr. Gladstone has thought it important to take stock of our probable supply of coals a couple of centuries hence. Is it of less moment to count the numbers and reckon the wealth which our colonies are certain to attain within a few decades? No one doubts what the result must be. In a period very, very short in the life of a nation one or two generations, at the most-England, instead of a great dominant State, surrounded by comparatively, insignificant provinces, will, if she does not throw away her opportunity, be the centre of a system of confederated nations each more populous and richer than herself.

THE NEGRO SENATOR FROM MISSIS-SIPPI.

From the N. Y. World.

Some of the Republican journals in the West are discussing the question whether Hiram R. Revels, the colored Senator elect from Mississippi, is entitled to a seat in the Senate, in view of the declaration of the Constitution that no person shall be a Senator who shall not have been nine years a citizen of the United States. The Supreme Court decided, some twelve or thirteen years ago, that negroes were not citizens within the meaning of the Constitution. The four-teenth amendment was proposed by the radicals for the purpose of removing the bar to negro citizenship. It declares in its first sec-tion that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States." If the Supreme Court correctly interpreted the Constitution in 1857, negroes first became citizens at the date of the ratification of the fourteenth amendment, and no negro is eligible to a seat in the Senate until nine, nor to a seat in the House of Representatives until seven, years shall have elapsed

since the ratification. Conclusive as this argument seems, we have no expectation that the Senate will admit its force. In the first place, the Republican small men, and as yet this has been the fate of party has always strenuously denied the the colonial problem, on the adequate validity of the Dred Scott decision, and olution of which the future fortunes of the scouted the idea that it had any binding

English race so largely depend. The whole | force. They are not likely to change their tendency of the creed in fashion with Liberal | opinion of that decision now. In the next place, they formally disregarded it in the civil rights bill, which they passed before the fourteenth amendment was ratified; a bill which declares the negroes citizens, although Congress had no authority to pass such an act if the Dred Scott decision was correct, and persons of African descent are excluded from citizenship by the Constitution. The ground which the Senate will take in Revels' case will be, that when the fourteenth amendment says that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens," it means that persons naturalized in the United States are citizens from the date of their naturalization; and persons born in the United States, citizens from the date of their birth.

This doctrine is hardly worth contesting, inasmuch as the question has no permanent interest if it be admitted that the fourteenth amendment has been duly ratified. If the ratification is null, the negroes will lose all the privileges of citizenship, including eligibility to Congress among the rest; but if the fourteenth amendment is to stand, the seven or nine years is not worth disputing about, considering that the Republicans will not declare any election to Congress void by reason of negro birth, so long as they remain in power. By the Constitution, each house is made the sole judge of the election and qualification of its members, and if the Senate admits the Mississippi negro, there is no con-stitutional process by which he can be ousted. With the known committals of the Republican party, the question has at present only a theoretical or speculative interest.

The nine and seven years' citizenship required of Senators and Representatives have not always been strictly construed, even by the Democratic party. When we annexed Texas we at once admitted her into the Union as a State, "on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever." As an equal State in the Union Texaswas entitled to Senators and Representatives; but her citizens had been foreigners up to the date of annexation. Was she then to wait nine years before she could be represented in the Senate. and seven before she could be represented in the House? No such question was raised, although it might have been raised with great ' plausibility. Her Senators and Representatives were admitted to seats without any reference to the length of time they had been citizens of the United States. If we should ever annex Canada, we should have the same thing repeated. The Canada Senators, instead of waiting nine years, would be received immediately after the dissolution of their allegiance to the British crown. There would be a necessity of violating the Constitution in one respect, and its minor requirements would yield to the major. The right of the State to two Senators would overrule the nine years' citizenship. But in the case of the Southern negroes there is no such overruling necessity. The Southern States have abundance of duly qualified citi-zens from which they can select Senators and Representatives; but the negro Senator will nevertheless be admitted, in order that the Republicen party may preserve its consis-

THE PRINCE-A NICE YOUNG MAN. From the N. Y. Sun.

Nobody could behave any better than Prince Arthur behaves. He is a nice, modest, unassuming, quiet young gentleman. That he was born a prince is something for which he cannot justly be censured. It may be a misfortune, but certainly it is not his fault. He was born at too early an age to be held responsible for the circumstances.

We are sorry to learn that the Prince was cion, as many people in the United hissed by a few ill-mannered people at Niblo's States thought it would be right and wise to Theatre. No doubt, however, that Mr. A. T. hissed by a few ill-mannered people at Niblo's acquiesce in the secession of the South. But | Stewart, who owns the theatre, made the proper apologies for this rudeness. The ently throwing in the teeth of the colonies his | Prince will find the young men in this city more cultivated and better dressed than the outre gawks whom he saw about Washington.

More sorry than for the hisses are we for the marked insult put upon the Prince by so old a man as Moses H. Grinnell. We are as ardent as anybody in our republicanism, but we do not on that account feel that we should be justified in offering an affront to unoffending members of the British royal family. Mr. Grinnell is in error if he thinks it was incumbent upon him as Collector to insult Prince Arthur, just because he was passing through the city.
What did Mr. Grinnell do? Why, he sent

the Prince an invitation to a ball, to be sure; but then in doing so he took particular pains to intimate to the Prince that he did not consider him anybody, and that it was not on his own account that he was invited. In the next place, he insulted all the royal

families of Europe by saying to the Prince that he was invited because his mother was a respectable woman-just as if it was a very uncommon thing for the mother of a Prince to be a decent woman!

Finally, Mr. Grinnell insulted the memory of the late Prince Albert by saying to Prince Arthur that it was to testify respect for his mother only that the invitation was given. In other words, because the Prince had one respectable parent, clearly implying-inasmuch as the Prince must have had two parents-that the other could not have been worthy of respect.

We are not partial to monarchical institutions, but we think this republic is strong enough to let a broth of a boy, even if he be a prince, pass through the city of New York without being insulted.

Signed to the letter of Mr. Grinnell are ome most excellent names; but every one knows how hurriedly and carelessly signatures are affixed to letters after they are once drawn up. These gentlemen are among our solid citizens; but they will do well hereafter to criticise more closely documents drawn up for them to sign by Mr. Grinnell.

The Prince must not infer from the manner in which he has seen a few persons make fools of themselves at Washington, that the American people are all fools; or that most of us have not too much respect for ourselves, as well as for him, to insult him as Collector

Grinnell has done. We are pleased to learn that the Prince is to visit the Hon. G. S. Jenks, at the Brooklyn Club. The Prince will have an opportunity to see in his accomplished host a regular John Bull in person, on whom are engrafted all the splendid improvements of the American character.

WANTS. TO THE WORKING CLASS.—We are now prepared to furnish all classes with constant employment at home, the whole of the time or for the spare moments. Business new, light, and profitable. Persons of either sex easily earn from 50c to \$5 per evening, and a proportional sum by devoting their whole time to the business. Boys and gir s earn nearly as much as men. That all who see this notice may send their address, and test the business, we make this unparalleled offer:—To such as are not well satisfied, we will send \$1 to pay for the trouble of writing. Full particulars, a valuable sample, which will do to commence work on, and a copy of the Propic's Lineary Companion—one of the largest and best family newspapers published—all sent free by mail. Reader, if you want permanent, profitable work, address E. C. Allen & CO., Augusta, Maine.

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SPECIAL NOTICES.

DO OFFICE OF WELLS, FARGO & COM-PANY, No. 84 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, December 28, 1822.—Notice is heroby given, that the Transfer Books of Wells, Fargo & Company will be ULOSED on the 19th day of JANUARY, 1870, at 3 o'clock P. M., to enable the Cempany to ascertain who are owners of the stock of the old Ten Million Capital. The owners of that stock will be entitled to participate in the distribution of assets provided for by the agreement with the Pacific Express Company.

The Transfer Books will be opened on the 22d day of

JANUARY, at 10 o'clock A. M., after which time the \$5,000,000 new stock will be delivered. Notice is also given that the Transfer Books of this Com-pany will be CLOSED on the 25th day of JANUARY, 1870, at 3 o'clock P. M., for the purpose of holding the annual RLECTION OF DIRECTORS of this Company.

The books will be RE-OPENED on the 7th day of FEB-RUARY, at 10 o'clock A. M. 12 31 tF7 GEORGE K. OTIS, Secretary. DOS" OFFICE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD

COMPANY.

NOTICE TO STOCKHOLDERS. The Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of this Company will be held on TUESDAY, the 15th day of February. 1870, at 10 o'clock A. M., at the Hall of the Assembly Buildings, S. W. corner of TENTH and OHESNUT Streets, Philadelphia.

The Annual Election for Directors will be held on MONDAY, the 7th day of March, 1870, at the Office of the Company, No. 238 S. THIRD Street, 1 25 3w JOSEPH 1 JOSEPH LESLRY, Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE FREEDOM IRON AND STEEL COMPANY, No. 230 South THIRD

Btreet.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 17, 1870.

The annual meeting of the Stockholders of the FRREDOM IRON AND STEEL COMPANY will be held at
the Office of the Company, No. 230 South THIRD Street,
Philadelphia, on THULSDAY, February 3, 1870, at 12
o'clock M., when an Election will be held for Thirteen
Directors to serve for the ensuing year.

The Transfer Books will be closed for fifteen days prior
to the day of said election. to the day of said election.

1 18 14t CHARLES WESTON, JR., Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE BELVIDERE MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

BELVIDERE, N. J., Dec. 8, 1969.

Notice is hereby given to the stockholders of the BELVIDERE MANUFACTURING COMPANY respectively,
that assessments amounting to SIXTY PER CENTUM
of the capital stock of said company have been made and
payment of the same called for on or before the eighth
day of February, A. D. 1870, and that payment of such a
proportion of all sums of money by them subscribed is
called for and demanded from them on or before the said
time. By order of the Board of Directors. 12 St 6w S. SHERRERD, Secretary.

PHILADELPHIA AND READING RAIL-ROAD CO., Office, No. 227 S. FOURTH Street. PHILADELPHIA, Doc. 22, 1869. DIVIDEND NOTICE.

The Transfer Books of the Company will be closed on FRIDAY, the 31st instant, and reopened on TUESDAY January 11, 1870.

A dividend of FIVE PER CENT, has been declared or the Preferred and Common Stock, clear of National and State taxes, payable in CASH, on and after January 17, 1870, to the holders thereof as they shall stand registered on the books of the Company on the 31st instant. All payable at this office. All orders for dividend must be witnessed and stamped. S. BRADFORD,

PHILADELPHIA AND TRENTON
RAILROAD COMPANY—Office, No. 224 SOUTH
DELAWARE Avenue.
PRILADELPHIA, January 19, 1870.
The Directors have this day declared a semi-annual
dividend of FIVE PER CENT, upon the capital stock of
the Company, clear of taxes, from the profits of the six
months ending December 31, 1869, payable on and after
February 1 proximo, when the transfer books will be recopened.

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J. PARKER NORRIS, Treasurer, THE PARHAM SEWING MAGHINE

Company's New Family Sewing Machines are most emphatically pronounced to be that great desideratum so long and anxiously looked for, in which all the essentials of a perfect machine are combined.

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established upward of NINETEEN YEARS, and in order to satisfy the most skeptical appends the following FROM THE LARGEST MANUFACTURING CHEMIST IN THE WORLD.

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In this paper I adverise certificates of cures effected by HELMBOLD'S BUUCHU, on Wednesday and Saturday of each week. I will wager the sum of \$5000 that there is no physician or druggist in the United States who can produce such evidence of cures in diseases of the teladder, kidneys, and gravel.

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OBSERVE THAT THE FAC-SIMILE of my Drog and Chemical Warehouse is on the wrapper of each bottle, and signed H. T. HELMBOLD, Bessare of Begus Buchus, made by Bogus Druggists and sold under fictitieus names.

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