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BDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOORNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

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What Shall We Do to be Saved ! From the Tribune.

· Following the depression of defeat that seized the hearts of the Rebel citizens of the South, same arrogant and overreaching confidence, based on the old dogma that by cotton the South controlled the world. In the autumn of 1865. the declaration that "the world must have cotton, and the South alone can supply it," was as frequently and emphatically repeated as during the winter of 1860 and the spring of 1861, when the assumption of British intervention was based on the prediction of a cotton famine in Manchester. The rush of speculators from all parts of the world into the Southern States to gather up the cotton that had escaped the destruction of the Rebellion, the leasing of plantations by Northern men, the influx of capital and supplies into all of the Southern cities, the offers of factors to advance means to planters to make crops, and the anxiety of freedmen to labor, combined to inspire the behef that, notwith-standing his poverty and defeat, the cotton-planter still ruled the nations and commanded

their finances. In the spring of 1865, the disheartened, de-moralized planters offered to sell plantations for from \$5 to \$20 per acre that before the war would have commanded from \$50 to \$120 per acre; but in the winter of the same year, en-couraged by the events of the summer and fall. they advanced their prices to \$25 and \$50, and many who had been exceedingly anxious to sell at any price, however low, subsequently refused to sell for any reasonable consideration. When the planting season opened, the whole

region of the cotton growing some was big with hopeful efforts, and it was confidently predicted that, in defance of the disorganization of the labor and the poverty of the planters, nearly a full average crop of cotton would be produced.

Millions of capital were invested in the pur-chase of stock and supplies, laborers were employed at high rates, plantations were leased at prices per annum exceeding what they could have been purchased at ten months earlier, and every effort was put forth to produce cotton. Every other crop and enterprise were sacrideed to cotton. The whole South was devoted to one purpose, in the firm belief that the production of a large cotton crop would again place them independent of the North and the world. The old spirit of intolerance again took possession of the land, and no Northern man, who did not lend money to Rebels or damn Yankees without stint, was tolerated in the soclety of "Southern gentlemen."

A terrible calamity, which threatened irretrievable ruin on all, soon leit upon the over-confident planters. The old cotton seed that had remained in the gin-bouses since 1860 failed to germinate. A second and a third planting were made, and still no stand was obtained. The mide of good seed advanced to as The price of good seed advanced to \$5 per bushel, and could be obtained only in small quantities from planters who had planted cot-ton during the war. This misfortune threw the whole crop fully a month late, and this made it subject to later casualties. In some portions of the South the lands were inundated, and the entire crop was swept away by the floods. When the waters subsided, many of the over-flowed plantations were replanted. In other places the continued droute places the early and long-continued drouth stinted the plant and cut short its production

of fruit. Still, there was confidence in the vigor of the plants and the propitiousness of the later sea-son; and, during the month of August, it was confidently believed that nearly 3,000,000 bales of cotton would be picked and marketed in the United States. Early in the month of Septem-ber, however, the destructive millions of the army-worm made their appearance, and swept across the entire Gulf belt of the Cotton States from the Rio Grande to the Atlantic, seriously damaging the most advanced plants, and totally destroying the late planted and back ward crops.

"coincide" with President Johnson in 1866. We accept the President's new departure as an ap-proach to a reconclustion with Congress, and perhaps the Chief Justice may be aiming at this object. It must not be lorgotten, however, that though thrown in the background by President Lincoln's superior claims and populatity in 1864, Chief Justice Chase is still supposed to be looking to the Presidential succession; and that in this view, in 1865, with the collapse of the Rebeilton, he was first in the field as a mis-sionary in the South, in favor of universal suf-frage, negroes and all. We must not lorget that General Grant stands on the amendment plat-form, and that the Chief Justice may be aiming to set up another.

As to Southern restoration, it is a matter of no material importance whether the Chief Jus-tice coincides with the President or opposes his tice coincides with the President or opposes his plan, inasmuch as the plan of Congress has been approved by the responsible States and people of the Union, thus making it the duty of Congress to co-operate with said States and people to engraft this plan upon the Constitu-tion as the supreme law of the land. The plan of a general amnesty in exchange for universal or impartial suffrage does not reach the case, and unless put into the Federal Constitution will emognit to pathing; and so with every other and unless put into the Federal Construction will amount to nothing; and so with every other plan. Virginia or South Carolina, for example, plan. Virginia or South Carolina, for example, may agree to anything and everything you pro-pose as terms of restoration to-day; but unless this agreement be fixed in the supreme law of the land, she may reject everything the day after her restoration to Congress. There is no security for the future short of a reconstruction of the Constitution itself, and this is the secret the astonishing unanimity and force with which the loyal States have endorsed the plan of Congress.

It is as plain, too, as any conclusion from the rules of logic, law, mathematics, or common sense, that if the States excluded from Congress have no right to a voice in Congress as they stand, they have no right to a voice in revising the Constitution. Their ratifications of the amendments abolishing slavery amount to nothing, notwithstanding Mr. Seward's official proclamation of their validity. They are null and void, because, if those States were not legally restored, they had no right to be included in the ratification; and, if legally restored, the Presi dent had no right to coerce them to a ratidca tion. But this does not affect the amendment. which, by the approval of three-fourths of the States de facto and de jure constituting the Government of the United States, has been made part and parcel of the Constitution. We presume that one of the first acts of the

two Houses of the approaching session will be a declaration to this effect. It is fully authorized by the overwhelming popular verdict of the States holding the Government. With such a declaration, too, resting upon a judgment concerning the status of the late Rebel States which has been rendered by the Supreme Court since the war, we can have this Coastitutional amendment ratified and this controversy thus substau-tially settled, before the final adjournment of this Congress on the 4th of March next. Thus settled, if the excluded States do not choose voluntarily to accept the amendment in the re-organization of their local governments, they will become subject to Congress as unorganized territories, and thus subject to a reconstruction even in the matter of their boundaries.

From the Southern journals, from the letters of our Southern correspondents, and from all other sources of information from the outside States, it is apparent that their ruling classes have settled down into the dogged resolution to have settled down into the dogged resolution to do nothing to help themselves to a readmission into Congress. They have fallen into the serious mistake, that if they do nothing Congress can do nothing with them. But let South Carolina anderstand that by this policy of "materly in-activity" she may be merged by congress an part of a vast unorganized territory into the new territory of North Carolina, and she will new territory of North Carolina, and she will be apt to realize the dangers of doing nothing to regain her character and to retain her boundaries as a State. Dangers, we say; for the power and the authority are with Congress, and the will may next appear-if no other remely is offered-the will to reconstruct the States concerned as a part of a vast unorganized. ritory recovered by arms from a hostile Gov-ernment and occupied by an intractable people. The controversy is drifting in this direction, and whatever may be the individual opinions of the President or the Chief Justice, the all-important facts still stand out in bold relief-that the Thirty-ninth Congress, which passed the pending amendment by a two-thirds vote in each Honse, and the Fortieth Congress, just elected, are substantially the same, and that between them the power of Congress over the excluded States is fixed to the end of President Johnson's term of office.

Control of the suffrage cannot be forced out of the bands of the States, nor grasped by Con gress, except by an amendment to the Consti-tation, which thirteen States can and will check-mate. New penalties for treason are impossible from the prohibition to pass ex post facto laws. The old penalties have been remitted by the President's proclamation of amnesty and his individual pardons. The Southern State Gov-ernments cannot be upset, because Congress never comes in contact with them except in individual of their competency to furnish creden.

indging of their competency to furnish creden-lials to members of that body. In the next place, the radicals may undertake to impeach Mr. Johnson. The attempt would fail of success. The requisite majorities could hardly be dragooned into line for such a purhardly be dragooned into line for such a pur-pose, in either House, were the markets of the nation, were the public tranquillity, were our system of commercial credit, were our foreign relations, able to be indifferent to, and unal-fected by, its undertaking. But they are not. The mere attempt would impart the wildest fluctuations to prices, would blight, with a treez-ing chill, our commercial credit, and exhibit internal weakness to the world, which, in the delicate state of our international relations, more than one foreign power would hasten to avail itself of. In every personal and partisan point of view, Mr. Johnson has reason to pray for an attempt at his impeachment. It is in no other sense than as a patriotic citizen and Pre-sident that he has it to fear. The country would sident that he has it to fear. The country would uphold him, and be as one with him, and would Finally, every hour this dead-lock is prolonged

does no harm to the South beyond the continu-ance of its present deprivations. But to the radica's the prolonged dead-lock is rnin. They must do something. They are responsible for disunton; they can only rid themselves of the responsibility by permitting the Union to restore itself. They are the sole impediment. Disunion is defeat to them. The Union is death to them.

Multiplying and Replenishing. From the Times.

An evening contemporary assures us that in the forthcoming Report of the General Land Office, it is shown conclusively that in thirty-four years from the present date the population of United States will have grown to 100,000,000. One would think this a moderately extensive glance into the future of the country, even for a bureau officer who makes annual returns. But the Commissioner goes much further in summing up the unborn millions that are to people these States. He finds that by the time we have got as far into the next century as we are into the present, this Republic will have an actual population of 300,000,000; and that, a century beyond that again, there will be a solid mass of 2,000,000,000 human beings jammel into our rather limited territory, something, we sup-pose, about the density of a Tammany ratification meeting.

If this is intended as a compliment or consolation, either to the present generation or to pos-terity, we take leave on the part of both to say, "No, thank ye!" A belief in the possible cor-rectness of the Commissioner's figures would involve the agrecable contemplation of the immigration into the United States of every sort of human creature from the three continents and all the islands of the Eastern bemisphere; and even with that assistance in replenishing this continent, the reproductive process would have to go on, we take it, at a rate which even the sagacious Malthus had not computed.

The Governor of Colorado, taking this esti-mate of the national growth for his guide, need have no fear that the immeasurable wealth of have no fear that the immeasurable wealth of these sold transmalars of his will long remain undeveloped; and probably be is one of the few men in the country that will not be more or less surprised to hear of the pace at which we are driving towards a general absorption et the human family. There is some cause of thank-fulness to those of us who are not enamored of crowds, in the reflection that the jam will not occur just immediately. We shall still have breaching-room for a few years longer, even if the per pling of the Holy Land by New England farmers makes but slow progress. farmers makes but slow progress.

'Universal Suffrage and Universal Amnesty." From the Nation.

The question what is to be done in case the

If we refuse to follow either, we acknowledge, as plainly as possible, the soundness of the seces-sionist theory, that the claim of the State on the allegnance of its citizens is paramount, and that the Union is a mere agent for the distribution of letters, the regulation of commerce, and the transaction of business with foreign powers.

While acknowledging, however, that the bestowal of the franchise on the blacks, ignorant or degraded though many of them be, would provide them with that security which is the basis of all progress and civilization, we think the notion that it would of itself do much more than this-that it would protect our Goyernment or our credit against assaults in the forum at the hands of those whom we have defeated on the field—is a delusion; and we are satisfied that, if acted on in settling the question of reconstruction, our children's children will find abundant reason to mourn over it. Long advocacy of the claims of the negro to the common rights of humanity, and long resistance to the base attempts which have been made for centuries, and are still made, to place him not only lowest in the scale of humanity, but even below it altogether, have not unnatu-rally begoiten in the minds of many of his friends a tendency to rate him even higher than the average of other races, to treat him as an exception to the rules by which other races are governed, and to affirm his ability to resist influences under which white men have suc-

We see this now in some of the arguments out forward in defense of negro suffrage. The forward in defense of negro suffrage. The franchise is constantly spoken of as if, in the hands of the negro, it would possess an occult power of some kind, like a talisman, that would enable the most ignorant and benighted black to do with it what no ignorant or benighted white has ever succeeded in doing. It is treated, in short, to use a well-known simile, is treated, in short, to use a well-known simile, as if, in the hands of the black, it would be a cross-bow irom which the weakest could send a bolt as far as the strongest, while it is acknowledged in the same breath that in the hands of a man of any other race it is an ordi-nary bow, from which the flight of the arrow is regulated by the strength of the arm which has pulled the string. Now, we maintain that the ballot will do for the negro what it does for the poor ignorant Irishman, or German, or Englishman, but no more. It will secure him against flagrant class

more. It will secure him against flagrant class legislation, or cruel or unusual punishments, and against all oppression which is on its face oppressive. It will do more than this; it will cause politicians and public men-sheriffs, policemen, and the whole race of functionaries, actual and expectant-to treat him with civility, even with deference. It will put a stop to out-rages and assaults of various kinds on negroes, and to all open expressions of contempt for them or dislike of them. They would have it in their power to inflict so much injury on their open enemies, in one way or another, that it would become the habit, even of good society, to be careful about reviling them. And it would have the effect of raising them in their own estimation, of giving them a sense of their manhood, of their importance as members of civi-lized society, and although we admit they would not for some time possess this sense in a very high degree, they would acquire it, and in acquiring it make an immense step in advance along the path of civilization. But more than this the ballot will not do for

the negro. It will not make him a good judge of the value or importance of measures not bearing directly and patently on his personal comfort or convenience; it will not enable him to tell the difference between statesmeu and demagogues; between honest public men and knavish public men; between his own real friends and his real enemies; to distinguish laws contrived by scoundrets for his spolation, under a show of immediate benefit, and schemes contrived by statesmen for his permanent advantage, though entailing temporary inconve-nience; and it will give him no sense whatever of the importance of the public credit or of the sacredness of national pledges. This sense is one of the last results of political and moral training.

Moreover, to maintain that the ballot alone would do all these things for him, would be not

be on the saot, at every tayers, at every cross road, on every plastation, bringing to near on a population bound to them by various sorts of the sall the atts of the most adroit and accom-

tics all the arts of the most adroit and accom-plished canvassets. They have the leisure, the training, and the experience necessary for the work, and will do it aboroughly. Our orators will not go down to contend with them. Probably their lives would not be saie it they did. By way of counter-acing their schemes, and keeping alive the fidelity of the freedmen to the Upion and to liberty, we shall deliver fectures at lyceums in New. Eugland and the Northwest, stirring harangues at the Cooper Institute, New York, and publish ardent editorials in the Tribune and Independent, which haf a million of Northern whites will read, but never a Southern black. Does any calm and candid observer suppose that, after five years of this sort of regime, we should not have completely lost the new con

that, after five years of this sort of regime, we should not have completely lost the new con stituency we are now calling into existence; that the negroes would not be driven into the Southern net just as completely as the igno-rant whites of the South and the ignorant Irish of the North have been ? We must, when the negro is enfranchised, if we mean to "Northernize" the South, keep him within the reach of our influence, of our news-papers, of our books, of our speeches and ser-mons. There is only one way of doing this, and that is by insisting that, when allowed to vote, he shall be taught to read, so that, when he lis-tens to the sophistries of the local demagogues, a he may be able to receive also our antidote, to enter into the public life of the North, keep the run of our ideas, learn to judge men and mea-sures by our standard, and, in short, become in fact, at d not in form only, a member of our sures by our standard, and, in short, become in fact, and not in form only, a member of our body politic. Much may be done, and is done, towards educating kim by the volunteer efforts of the freedmen's aid associations; ten times as much might be done if these bodies received a fair amount of public support. But we protest against any grant of a general amnesty in return for a universal suffrage which does not require, as part and parcel of the arrangement, that the Southern States shall provide their poor, of all classes and colors, with a good system of education.

This ought not to be left optional. We go further, and say that we believe it to be now possible, for the first time in our history-it may be never so again-to make Federal voting dependent on ability to vote intelligently. The South would very probably fail in with it. The class which such a qualification would exclude at the North would be very small, and the dis-qualification would be only temporary. A short term might be allowed to the dunces to learn, and, as far as the negroes are concerned, all that the immediate possession of the franchise would do for their comfort and security would done quite as effectually by the certainty that they were to possess it at a certain fixed time in the juture, say not more than two years hence. And the formal legal adoption before the world of such a basis for our institutions; the abolition of every test, or distinction, or discrimination, except the ability to follow in-telligently the workings of public opinion, the processes by which it is shaped, ennobled, and made fruitful, would make the struggle from which we have just emerged the most complete as well as most splendid contribution to human progress ever witnessed.

We do not say that an educational test of this kind would be effectual in excluding all the ignorant or corrupt from the polls, or filling Congress with sages and saints. The millennium cannot be introduced even by an amend-ment to the Constitution. Nor do we say that such a test could be worked without difficulty, because nothing which is intended to make the world any better or purer than it is, ever worked without great difficulty.

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Had the worthless seed, the late frosts, the floods, and the drouth not belated the growth of the plant, the appearance of the worm in Sepnber would not have materially reduced the yield of cotton; but all these combined made it a most disastrous year, such as is not experienced once in a quarter of a century. Planters who had employed borrowed capital

pledged their crops for its payment. In most cases the proceeds will not reach, and the planter remains in debt to his factor, and is without means to continue planting next year, or to support himself in idieness. To add the the misfortunes of the situation, but little corn was planted, and that, too, has failed through out the entire South. It will, therefore require an immediate outlay to purchase forag tor the stock and food for the laborers.

In many cases the freedmen had contracted to labor for an interest in the crop, and during the year were credited for such articles as they chose to purchase, so that the failure of the crops gives them but a pittance for their year's service, and that, with more, is swallowed up in payment of what they have already re-

Merchants, factors, and capitalists, who sup-plied the funds to the planters, have received so little in return that they are not in a condition to advance additional sums next year. There seems thus to be a dead-lock in the industrial affairs of the South.

As an example of the condition of merchants, we give the case of a gentleman in New Orleans, strongly backed by Northern capital, who this year advanced over \$600,000 to planters in the Gulf States, and now expects to receive only

\$200,000 in return. In view of these circumstances, and the poli-tical discouragement suffered in the defeat of President Johnson's policy, the South just now is more seriously depressed in spirit and mate-rial resources than it was in the spring of 1865. Again, land is offered for sale at exceedingly low prices, emigration schemes are agitated, and men and money are besought to come to their relief, no matter from what State or nation they may emanate.

Misfortune and poverty are often the most potent teachers of virtue and common seuse. So in this case, men who swore that not one foot of Southern soil should be sold to Northern men, now pray that Northern men, "Aboli-tionists and all," shall come and buy freely and cheaply. Even from the State of Mississippi, where Legislatures enact most cruel laws against laborers, and Executives issue most vindictive proclamations and make most foolish speeches, we have an agent and a pamphlet offering for sale to Northern men, without distinction of political creed, over one hundred plantations. It therefore again becomes the privilege, if not the duty, of capitalists, farmers, and mechanics in the North to determine how speedily and in what manner the late Rebel States shall be reconstructed and redeemed States shall be reconstructed and redeemed.

The President and Chief Justice Chase on Negro Suffrage. From the Berald.

"Chief Justice Chase coincides with the President," as we are informed from Washington, "in the recommendation he is about to make to Congress" on Southern restoration, embracing a general amnesty to persons involved in the late Rebellion, as an equivalent for neuro suffrage. It further appears that "strong influences have been brought to bear on the President to induce him to modify his views" in relation to this

suffrage-amnesty plan, but that "he has positively declined to accede to such influences." The whirligig of politics brings together strange bedfellows, as in the case of Captain Botis and Captain Tyler sleeping together under the same blanket; but not even the most vision-

ary politician of 1865 dreamed that Chief Justic se, on the question of negro suffrage, would

A SAME TO A REPORT OF A SAME

Where the Pinch Hurts, From the World.

We have contended steadfastly that the Democratic party holds the strength of the political situation. Now that our opponents begin to realize that fact, we shall hope to see [some slightly terrified Democrats at the West and East pluck up their drowning honor by the locks. We hold the strength of the political situa-

tion, because to-day a large majority of all the people of the United States are Democrats; because in the Northern States Democrats, although in a minority, are so near to a majority that a trifling change would shift the balance of power; because that minority has maintained itself steadfast and immovable against the persecutions of a lawless administration; against a demoralizing inflation of paper money; against the influence of a system of national banks; against the power of patronage distributed in every part of the country; against the tide of fanaticism which has repeatedly submerged its unmoved phalanxes. We hold the strength of the political situation, because the principles thus steadfastly held, of a liberal and progressive Democracy, are the only recourse which the nation has from the difficulties into which it has talken. Republi-canism has been tried and found wanting. It neither gives union nor peace to the people, por desires to give them, nor can,

Upon all the issues of the future-free trade, upon all the issues of the inture-free frace, a sound currency, and what not-it is unques-tionable that a liberal progressive Democracy will command the hope and confidence and trust of the people of the North as well as of the people of the South. All the progress of all the peoples of the earth is in the direction whither Democracy leads the way. Upon the issues of the present hour Demo-crats, although unable to be victorious, are able to checkmate their opponents utterly, The complete political dead-lock to which we have so often pointed the attention of the country, long denied, is now confessed, even by the leading radical organs. Says the Trier-"The loyal North has demonstrated her ability to keep the Rebels out of Congress; the Rebel South has likewise proved her power to constitutional amendment. This dead-lock affords to * * the more generous and far-seeing minds of cither section an opportunity which once lost may never many never many never , once lost, may never return.

Here the fact of a complete dead-lock is adnitted, although not fairly represented. The North is not "loyal" when it excludes the Bouthern States from their right to be repre-sented. The South is not "Rebel" when it has laid down its arms, renewed its allegiance in every manner of public and responsible avowal; and Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, always "loyal" States (not to mention Oregon, whose assent to the Howard amendment was procured by a radical traud), join the ten "Rebeil" States in refusing their assent to that betched incountable scheme for a sudistration botched, inequitable scheme for a re-distribu-tion of political power. But the point to which we ask attention is that the dead-lock is, by the radicals themselves, confessed to be complete. But it is the radicals upon whom it is incum-bent to move or perish. Theirs is the affirma-tive, the initiative; and what can they do? What can Congress do? The Democrats have only to stand still. The South has only to stand still. They have no administrative responsibilities; they have no duty, as they have no power to do anything else but stand still.

South persists, during the coming winter, in rejecting the Constitutional amendment, derives additional importance from the results of the elections in Delaware and Maryland, rendering the passage of the amendment by the Northern States, properly so-called, for the present impos. sible. Are we to wait for the admission of new States, governing the South meanwhile as a dependency, and leaving the controversy as to its reorganization to rage, as it now rages, for an indefinite period? Not if there be any other possible road out of the difficulty. Are we, then, to give up the amendment and propose something else which the South may find less hard to swallow? To this the *Tribune* and several other journais seem ready to answer yes, and the something they propose is what they call "universal amnesty in return for uni-veisal suffrage," that is, an act of general pardon and oblivion in exchange for a general bestowal of the suffrage on the blacks.

The objections to this which suggest them-selves at first blush are, that it would leave us without any guarantee for the acquiescence of the South in the payment of the Union debt and the repudiation of the Confederate debt; that it would permit the return to Congress and to office of every man, still alive and well, who figured prominently in the Rebellion, not excepting Wade Hampton and scores of others who never lose an opportunity of declaring that the allegiance they owe to the United States is of the same nature and binding on their con-sciences to the same degree, as that which a traveller owes to a band of brigands who have carried him off, and are holding him for ranson; that not only would the public credit be thus seriously shaken, but the immediate return to Congress of the old Southern set would pave the way for a renewal of the alliance between the Secessionists and the Northern Democrats, who, as the late elections have shown, have not abandoned any principle or pretension they ever put forward.

To these arguments the Tribune replies by the assurance that if we give the negro the ballot, he will not only take care of himself, but take care of the Union; will not only see that the public debt is respected, but that the enemies of the Union are not returned to Congress; and will, in fact, display such intelligent and effective devotion to our Governmeot as will enable us at once to leave the South to itself.

It is hardly necessary for us to repeat here the opinion we have so often expressed, that, taking the lowest possible view of the question, the Federal Government is bound by every con-sideration of justice, honor, and decency either to see that the freedmen enjoy complete secu-rity, or to furnish them with the means of pro tecting themselves. In other words, we are bound either to give the freedmen a police-to see that every man of whom we claim allesee that every man of whom we claim alle-glance can eat or sleep in peace—or we are bound to see that he enjoys a fair share in the laws and the selection of the officers who are to execute them. There is no way of escaping from this dilemma. The plan which Mr. Beecher and the Evening Post have been pro-pounding, of leaving the fate of the blacks to be derived by the process of claim allows and be decided by the progress of civilization and the "laws of political economy," is, to speak plainly, glittering absurdity. No civilized government can dare to look in

the face a man of whom it claims allegiance, taxes, and military service, and tell him he must trust for the safety of his life and limbs, and of the fruits of bis industry to the general law of human progress. It might as well tell him to irust to the attraction of gravitation or Spencer's law of evolution. If the Union be a nation, and not a confederation, as the blacks have helped to prove by the most conclusive of all argu-ments, our Government owes to those who can get it in no other way that one thing for which all governments exist, and for which no national And what will be the consequence of that? In the first place, they have nothing to fear government in Christendom has ever yet denied and a set are bedded by a handballer. Mentage and M. has been closed during the part, at

simply to fly in the face of all history, of all our own experience of human nature, but of the very doctrine which has been preached from the carliest period down to the year 1864 as the very foundation of our political system-the doctrine that democratic institutions must rest on education. The doctrine of the all-sufficiency of the ballot was invented last year, and until we hear something better in its defense than mere declamation, we must regard "universal suffrage and universal annesty" as a mere quack remedy, most of the virtue of which, like some of the popular "bitters" and pills, lies in the sound of the name. "Universal suffrage" has been tried at the North, we think, with eminent success; but it has nowhere produced the effects which some people expect it to produce at the South, unless when coupled with education. The interest of the poor whites of the slave States has always been opposed to that of the great planters, and there was not a very cordial feeling between them either, and yet that did not prevent the slaveholders from dragging the poor whites to the polls, year after year, to vote for their own degradation, and from finally dragging them into a bloody war for the main-tenance of an institution in which they had no sort of interest. We all acknowledged, until very recently, that in this instance, at least, the ballot of itself did not preserve men even of our own race-the only race, be it remembered, which has long succeeded in maintaining popuar institutions-from being made the instrument of their own oppression. Pennsylvania was for many years the great Northern stronghold of pro-slavery Democracy. There was no State in which an old pro-slavery politician was surer of which an old pro-savery politician was sufer of a hearing and a welcome. The ignorant whites voted the pro-slavery ticket, year after year, with blind constancy; and no change was effected until the common school system—for which Thaddens Stevens, who for this only, if he had done nothing else, ought to be loved and honored, had inbored for a quarter of a centuryloved and was first established in 1854. Since then the redemption of the State has steadily advanced. Whatever there is of excel-

lence in the society or government of Massa-chusetts, is undoubtedly due to the stact that she has not relied on the ballot only to elevate her citizens or purify her polities. In New York city the foreign population all vote; and Fer-nando Wood and John Morrissey do not go about cudgelling, robbing, or murdering the Irish, or burning their shantles down. On the contrary, they treat them with great deference; are never weary of flattering them, giving them office, and distributing money or jobs amongst them; but they find no difficulty, nevertheless, in securing the support of the Irish, year after year, for the worst schemes and worst func-tionaries that ever afflicted a civilized community, and for the successful conduct of cor-rupt organizations from which the Irish suffer, pei haps, more than any other class in the city. The demagogues know perfectly well that it is far easier to rob and maltreat an ignorant voter by making him speechess than by putting a pistol to his head.

In short, we might go over the whole Union, county by county, and show that the ballot in the hands of an untaught population furnishes no protection whatever even against the worst enemies of the electors, those who make a trade of cheating them with flattery and (alsehood, t secures voters against personal outrage, but does not always secure them even the means of learning-schools were almost forced upon the ignorant counties of Pennsylvania-and it does not secure them against the wiles of demagogues.

Now, if we absolve the Southern leaders from all their sins, and arm the blacks with the bal-lot, the first result will be that the persecution lot, the first result will be that the persecution of the freedmen will instantly cease. So far, so good. But at the same time the Southern poli-ticians will go to work diligently to cultivate the good-will of the negroes-to practise on their prejudices, on their ignorance, on their weaknesses of all kinds. At this game they will certainly beat all competitors. They will

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