

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

HISTORICAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Reconstruction at Last—What the Southern States Ought Now to Do.

The recent decisive proceedings of Congress in the important matter of Southern reconstruction have already made a profound and hopeful impression upon the Southern public mind. The Legislature of Virginia has been called together again, and Governor Pierpont has sent to that body an elaborate message on the situation, counselling the two Houses to accept the ultimatum of Congress in its full and true sense, and resolutions providing for a reorganizing State Convention have been referred to the appropriate committee in each State. This is a good sign from Virginia, the head and front of the mainstay of the Rebellion. Georgia next is thoroughly aroused by the movement of ex-Governor Brown in favor of a frank acceptance of the terms of Congress. Three-fourths of the newspapers of the State, as we are informed, support him; but most of the disfranchised Rebel politicians appear to be on the other side. As for South Carolina, she has sent a delegation to Washington to see about the commander who is to be appointed over the military district number two, which embraces North and South Carolina. The new law declares that the time being "said Rebel States shall be divided into military districts," and subject, under certain reservations, to military law; and that for this purpose Virginia shall constitute the first district, North and South Carolina the second, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida the third, Mississippi and Arkansas the fourth, and Louisiana and Texas the fifth district. The South Carolina politicians, therefore, with an eye to business, first proceed to look up their military commander.

From all these movements it is evident that the people of these outside States are beginning to comprehend the real situation of things, in the collapse of the President's policy and the fixed purpose and power of Congress. The South might have done a great deal better, and Mr. Johnson, too, by following our reasonable advice; but as broken eggs cannot be mended, it is useless to debate the upsetting of the basket. Until the States concerned are reinstated in Congress they can do nothing to help themselves or their friends, and Congress has the absolute control over this subject. There is, then, no alternative for said States but submission to and the fulfilment of the terms of restoration laid down by Congress, and the sooner the better. Nor need the great body of the Southern whites stand back because their blind leaders in the Rebellion are excluded from this work. If those leaders can be reached by common sense, they will advise and assist in these essential labors of reorganization.

The Southern landholders, in their control of Southern black labor, comprising in most States their late slaves, may, if they will, control the black vote, and also the loyal whites to a very great extent, who are mainly of that class known in the South as "poor whites." Looking to the Southern planters ought to take hold of this business at once; for if they lead off actively and systematically in meeting the conditions of Congress, every State involved in these necessities may be restored to both Houses in season to have a voice in the coming Presidential election. Against the North Southern politicians, still looking to the old landmarks, may regard the vote of the South for the next President with indifference. But they cannot so regard the important question of the return of financial confidence and Northern and European capital, skill and enterprise in the Southern States. Restoration will settle this problem at once in such a new epoch of Southern prosperity as no Southern Confederacy ever dreamed of under King Cotton.

And yet again, in behalf of Southern interests and the general welfare, the votes of the Southern States may be very powerful in Congress in the reconstruction of our whole financial system, national banks, bonds, currency, internal and external taxes, retrenchment and reform, which, taken all together, will soon mark the dividing lines of a new organization of parties. It is also certain that when any one of the excluded States shall have fulfilled these conditions of Congress, all disfranchisements and disabilities on account of the Rebellion will be removed. These inducements and crowning advantages of material prosperity, political power, and a full restoration to all the blessings of the Union, ought to bring even the Southern Rebel leaders temporarily disfranchised to active co-operation in behalf of the ultimatum of Congress. The Southern white landholder, if he will only try, may make his black laborer a political ally for life against all comers and all political combinations. Thus, with this very element of the negro vote, the South, in behalf of Southern interests, may soon assume a more compact front in Congress than it has ever held heretofore. Every consideration of wisdom pleads for Southern submission promptly and in good faith to the terms of Congress. It is so settled, and there is no way of escape.

Proposed Repudiation.

From the Tribune. We can understand the inflationists and free traders when they talk in the following manner. We quote from a conspicuous communication on the editorial page of the Chicago Tribune:—"The principal of no part of the funded debt, save the Ten-forty five per cent. loan, is specially made payable in gold. No provision is contained, either in the law or in the contract, as to the currency in which the other bonds are to be paid. (Laws of 1862, chapter 33, page 23.) The principal, therefore, is payable in which ever class of legal-tender the payer prefers. The whole funded debt, except the Sixes of 1891 and the Ten-forties, becomes payable at the option of the Government, in or before the year 1873. As it matures it ought to be paid in greenbacks. The currency to make these payments could be obtained, if necessary, by a free use of the printing press. Government would then be in a condition to make its own terms. Two courses would be open: Either to fund the notes at their current value in gold into a bond bearing say five per cent. interest; or to fund them, at their face value, into a three per cent. bond, payable principal, as well as interest, in coin." Here is stark naked repudiation openly advocated by a free trade inflationist journal.

This is precisely the debauchery and demoralization into which the country is being plunged in consequence of its departure from the old-fashioned ideas of considering a debt and a promise something to be honestly discharged. We have sworn by the irredeemable notes of the Treasury so long, we have so

persistently declared that Uncle Sam's promise was as good as anybody else's performance, that we are beginning to reap the fruits of the declaration. People are taken at their word. We have heard on all sides that irredeemable greenbacks are good; that we want nothing better; that the country is content if they never have any other currency; and the Illinois House of Representatives voted, 70 to 7, in favor of having them substituted for the notes of the National banks. Being good, they want more of them, and it is now proposed to convert our interest-bearing securities into them, after the fashion above delineated. As fast as the 7-30s become due they pay them in legal-tenders. "A free use of the printing press," exclaims this writer, is all that is required. Having substituted greenbacks for the 7-30s, there is only one step more to take, and the ground is entirely cleared. Pay off the 5-20s in the same way, and there is an end of your national debt. The nation will owe nothing. For be it understood, the greenbacks are good whether they are redeemable or not. Such is the theory of the inflationists. The notes are based on the entire property of the country; they are the nation's promise. And is not the nation good for its promises, good for all the legal-tenders in circulation; and would it not be equally good for them if all the 7-30s and all the 5-20s that it flows over were converted into them? Why, then, hesitate at the conversion? Such is the reasoning of our irredeemable paper money men. This brings us to the precise point where we test the value of the greenback. It is here to be seen that the greenback has no actual value that does not rest upon the prospect of its redemption. And if there were no such prospect, the fact of its being a national promise, of its being an obligation resting upon the property of the country, would not give it the value of a copper cent. It would be utterly and totally valueless. Issue a small quantity, the prospect of their redemption may be good. Issue a larger quantity, this prospect is diminished. Issue still more, and yet more and more, and you can destroy the prospect entirely.

It is thus we may see there is no certain value to the greenback. It is a most pernicious and dangerous instrument, because its value can be so easily depreciated, and even destroyed, by reckless or ignorant legislation. It is proposed to make it the convenient sponge for all private indebtedness, and the ready instrument of repudiation. This is the very use the inflationists propose to make of it. In the extracts above quoted they boldly come to the front and declare their purpose. They will pay off the national debt in them, and by issuing them to this extent they will so far destroy the expectation of their ever being redeemed, in which rests all the value they have, that the national creditors are expected to readily agree to take any proportion of their claims that may be offered in the shape of actual pay.

And now what is the upshot of the matter? It is just this:—That we have to consider the legal-tenders of the Government, until some provision is made for their redemption, just as much of a swindle as any other form of irredeemable paper whatever. That we have to dismiss the idea of the sanctity and value of the Government legal-tender note. That we have got to hold it to be, in the hands of inflationists, nothing but an instrument of robbery. We have to rectify the popular sentiment. We have to denounce the idea of paying debts in irredeemable promises to pay as a fraudulent law. If we wish to avoid the propositions of swindlers and the evils of swindling, we have to go back to first principles, and define what swindling is. And we must see, and recognize, and enforce the doctrine everywhere and in all its several applications, that an unfulfilled promise is a business, and that where it is deliberately and intentionally broken it is a fraud.

We have no other solid ground on which to meet the inflationists. They flout a greenback, and declare it to be a good and honest instrument of traffic, and a representative of real value, good enough to pay individual debts, good enough to pay the National debt. This false and mischievous idea has had credence long enough. It is high time it was branded as it deserves; high time the sentiment was repudiated, and the Government required to recall its issues, and fulfill its too long deferred promises to pay. The "wild-cat" Philistines are taking advantage of a praiseworthy and patriotic determination, drawn forth by the exigencies of the war, that the credit of the Government must be maintained at all hazards; of a sentiment which assumed a vice to be a virtue, and declared that the promise to pay a dollar was the dollar itself. The doctrine bridged a gulf. But we are safely over that gulf and on solid ground. Being through the war, we lay aside the stratagems of war, and take ourselves to truthful statements and honest courses; and we do not intend that the inflationist "bummers" of the crowd shall insist upon applying their rules and practices of war to the state of peace which has followed. We are far enough along in this financial business to be able to tell the truth about it, and to insist on adherence to sound maxims; and we do not propose to give any quarter to the fraudulent ideas, however bottomed, that lead to the financial ruin and disgrace with which the inflationists are already boldly threatening us.

John Morrissey in Congress.

From the Times. Of all the members of the new Congress, Mr. Morrissey, of this city, appears to attract most interest in Washington. We are told that when he made his appearance to be sworn in on Monday, the anxiety of the House and the galleries to get a glimpse of him was intense. The telegraph, with some confusion of language, says that "his fine personal appearance astonished many who had formed their opinions of him based upon ideas obtained from the popular conception of his character." Members crowded round his seat to congratulate him, and the brilliant array of ladies who on this occasion were scattered all over the House, gave evidence of something more than curiosity concerning him. The first public act of Mr. Morrissey after being sworn in was to enter his protest, in company with his fellow Democrats, against the exclusion of Southern representatives from their seats in Congress, and the protest received emphasis from the fact that he joined in it.

If, now, Mr. Morrissey chooses to take advantage of his opportunity in Congress, he can make a mark which few of his fellow-members have the chance to do. And in this we must not be understood as saying anything funny or with a double meaning. Any one might envy him the chance of fame that lies in his first speech. We venture to say that no orator ever stood in Congress with more eager listeners than he will have when he opens his mouth to deliver his maiden speech; and no speech was ever perused with more interest by the country than his will be when he gives the opportunity. If he take up, as we have no doubt he will, the question of reconstruction—and if he deliver an oration worthy of the theme and the hour—he may not only aid in

bringing order out of political confusion, but he may raise a monument to his own name more durable than that of which Virgil sings. Let him expose the fallacies of Stevens, rebuke the wrath of Logan, and make Butler behave himself—let him, at the same time, with patriotic independence, spur the Copperhead counsels of Brooks and Fernando Wood, and he will soon be able to justify the interest which his presence has already excited in Washington. In the meantime, he should not be long in following up his protest of Monday with a more elaborate effort.

Practical Operation of the New Tyranny.

From the World. Whether action or abstention shall be the policy of the South under the new law which has been passed for their oppression, is hardly a matter of choice. The new system contemplates the continuance of the State Governments as provisional organizations, subject, indeed, to be at all times interfered with and overruled, but forming, nevertheless, the ordinary machinery for administering the affairs of the States. By inaction on the part of the people, this machinery would drop at once out of existence, and Congress has provided nothing to supply its place. Civilized communities must every day buy and sell, make contracts, collect debts, attest wills, administer the estates of deceased persons, appoint guardians, record deeds, foreclose mortgages, and do an infinity of acts and things which require to be done according to the forms and with the sanction of law. Society cannot otherwise exist. To say nothing of the higher courts and functionaries, there must be in every locality justices of the peace, notaries, surrogate, registers of deeds, commissioners of highways, constables, sheriffs, and all the other officers on whom a community depends for the transaction of its business, the redress of its wrongs, the security of its property, and the preservation of order. Congress has made no provision for supplying this necessary and multifarious machinery, without which the ordinary transactions of life cannot go on; and yet it has legislated out of office all the existing functionaries. It requires others to be chosen in their places, prescribing their qualifications and the rules of suffrage by which they shall be elected, but pointing out no other way of filling the multitudinous vacancies.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Southern people cannot stand aloof from this informal law if they would. If they decline all action under it, and all participation in the proceedings it prescribes, the result will be a complete disintegration of civil society throughout the South. We insert the sixth section of the law:—

Section 6. And be it further enacted, That until the people of the said Rebel States shall by law be admitted to representation in the Congress of the United States, all civil governments that may exist therein shall be deemed provisional and subject to the paramount authority of the United States to abolish, modify, control, and supersede the same, and in all elections to any office under such provisional governments all persons shall be entitled to vote under the provisions of the fifth section of this act. And no person shall be eligible to any office under such provisional governments who would be disqualified from holding office under the provisions of the third article of said Constitutional amendment.

No person is qualified to hold any office under the State Governments—reduced by this bill to a provisional character—if, previous to his participation in the Rebellion, he had ever, in any official capacity, taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. The continuance in office of the present incumbents depends on their never having held any State or Federal office previous to the Rebellion. All of them who ever did hold such office must resign, and have their places supplied by an election in which all the freed-men will be voters. There are probably very few who can retain their present offices under this provision, so that the South will be brought face to face with negro suffrage in new elections throughout all the States. We suppose the time and manner of holding them will be prescribed by the Brigadier-General in command, and that it rests in his discretion whether such elections shall be ordered immediately, or whether he will await the regular day under the State laws. But whether the elections are ordered a few months earlier or later, the negro people have but a brief period to decide how they will avail themselves to negro suffrage. If they shall pretty generally accept the situation, and act together, they can secure such officers as they want—not the very persons perhaps, for these may be among the disfranchised, but persons true to Southern interests. Taking the whole ten States together, the whites exceed the blacks in the proportion of two to one, so that the negro vote would, in general, be completely neutralized by a full participation of the whites in the elections. It would be a great mistake, however, to allow the negroes to cast a solid vote against the white candidates. That could easily be prevented by early acquiescence in the situation, and taking measures to conciliate and control the negro vote. The worst mistake of all would be an abstention from voting by a majority of the whites, the effect of which would be merely to Africanize all the administrative machinery of the States, and band the negroes together, at the outset, as a hostile political organization. The experiments at Georgetown and Alexandria are no criterion by which to judge of the manageability of the negro vote. The close proximity of those places to Washington, which has become the sink and focus of radical influence, spreads the contagion through the negro population of those towns. In the interior of the South the negroes will be brought into contact only with conservative influences, and their temporary inability to read renders them impervious to radical appeals through the press. This is a condition of things which ought to be improved while it lasts, by such kind treatment and educational helps as will lead them to look to their white neighbors, instead of the distant Yankees, as their benefactors. Vote they will, in the regular, in any event. It depends on the great body of intelligent planters whether in their hands shall prove an unmitigated and intolerable curse, or a harmless means of education and a bond of attachment to the communities in which they live. The regular election in Virginia takes place in May, only two months hence, and the future tranquility of that influential State hinges upon the decision which she may meanwhile make. In several of her counties the negro population outnumber the white. Peace and order in these counties obviously depend upon curtailing and controlling the negro vote. To abstain from political action under such circumstances would be an infatuated resignation to ruin. A workman must not quarrel with his tools when he can get no better. The less political power the South possesses, the more it behooves them to make an effective use of what little they have. To win against odds by superior skill is altogether better than despondency and tame surrender. To prevent the negroes from voting under the new law is impossible. It will be more politic and as-

saurs to manage them than to outvote them, although in most districts they can be outvoted. But the blindest policy of all would be to stand still and do nothing, thus radicalizing the negroes, and thereby Africanizing the South.

Particularly Personal. The New York World has in the following unique, queer, and brilliant affair placed before its readers as an editorial:—

THE "INFAMOUS TWO-THIRDS!" As a matter of history, we put upon record, in a more prominent place than in the columns devoted to Congressional proceedings, the names of those who, on Saturday, March 2, 1867, voted to pass over the President's veto a bill to annul the Constitution of the United States; to subvert the government of ten States in the Union; and to substitute therefor a military despotism. Those who voted "aye" on the final passage of the bill to "organize hell" are the following:—

- IN THE SENATE. H. B. Anthony, A. G. Cattell, Z. Chandler, J. Conness, A. H. V. John, J. A. J. Caldwell, G. F. Edmunds, W. P. Fessenden, G. G. Fogg, L. S. Foster, J. S. Fowler, F. T. Frelinghuysen, J. W. Grimes, Ira Harris, J. M. Henderson, J. M. Howard, J. O. Howe, H. W. Johnson, S. J. Kirkwood, H. S. Lane, K. D. Morgan, L. M. Morrill, W. N. Poy, L. P. Poland, S. C. Pomeroy, S. A. Rice, E. G. Ross, J. Sherman, W. Sprague, W. M. Stewart, C. Sumner, L. Trumbull, P. G. Van Winkle, B. F. Wade, W. T. Willey, Henry Wilson, G. H. Williams, Richard Yates.

- IN THE HOUSE. J. B. Alley, W. B. Allison, O. Ames, G. W. Anderson, S. M. Arnell, D. R. Ashley, J. M. Ashley, J. Baker, J. D. Baldwin, N. A. Banks, A. A. Barker, F. Baxter, E. C. Beaman, J. P. Benjamin, J. Bidwell, J. A. Bingham, J. G. Blaine, H. T. Blow, G. S. Boutwell, A. Brandegee, H. P. H. Bromwell, J. M. Broomall, R. P. Buckland, H. S. Bundy, R. W. Clark, S. C. Clarke, S. Coffas, S. Cobb, R. Conkling, B. C. Cook, S. M. Cullom, W. A. Darling, T. T. Davis, H. L. Dawes, J. H. Defrees, C. Delano, H. C. Deming, N. F. Dixon, W. E. Dodge, I. Donnelly, E. Dumont, E. R. Eckley, T. F. Eggleston, T. D. Eliot, J. F. Farnsworth, J. H. Farquhar, T. W. Ferry, J. A. Garfield, J. B. Grinnell, J. A. Griswold, A. C. Harding, R. Hart, R. B. Hayes, J. H. D. Henderson, W. Higby, R. Hill, S. T. Holmes, S. Hooper, G. W. Hotchkiss, A. W. Hubbard, C. D. Hubbard, D. Hubbard, Jr., J. H. Hubbard, C. T. Hubbard, E. C. Ingersoll, T. A. Jenckes, G. W. Julian, A. A. Kasson, W. D. Kelley, J. H. Ketcham, W. H. Koontz, A. H. Laffin, G. V. Lawrence, W. Lawrence, B. F. Loan, J. W. Longyear, J. Lynch, J. M. Marvin, H. Maynard, J. S. McClurg, J. W. D. McIndoe, S. McKee, D. C. McKuer, U. Mercur, G. F. Miller, J. K. Moorhead, J. S. Morrill, D. Morris, S. W. Moulton, L. Myers, W. A. Newell, C. O'Neill, G. S. Orth, E. H. Paine, R. W. Patterson, S. Perham, F. A. Pike, T. A. Plants, T. M. Pomeroy, H. Price, H. J. Raymond, A. H. Rice, E. H. Rollins, P. Sawyer, R. C. Schenck, G. W. Scofield, S. Shellabarger, I. C. Sloan, R. P. Spalding, J. F. Starr, Thad. Stevens, W. B. Stokes, M. R. Thayer, F. Thomas, J. L. Thomas, Jr., H. Van Arsdale, H. Van Horn, H. Ward, S. R. Warner, S. D. Washburn, W. B. Washburn, M. Welker, J. Wentworth, K. V. Whaley, T. Williams, J. F. Wilson, S. F. Wilson, C. T. Woodbridge, F. E. Woodbridge.

The time is coming when every name in the above list will stand accused in our history. Their children will deny their descent from the "infamous two-thirds of the Thirtieth Congress."

Advertisement for Wright's Tar Syrup, listing various ailments it treats like Coughs, Consumption, Asthma, Bronchitis, etc. Includes testimonials and contact information for Dr. Wright's Tar Syrup.

Advertisement for E. M. Needles, offering to remove to a new location and listing various services like White Goods, Lace Veils, Embroideries, etc.

Advertisement for Robert Shoemaker & Co., Wholesale Druggists, listing various medicines and products.

Advertisement for Stearns, Whitney & Bridges, listing various iron and steel products.

Advertisement for Paste! Paste! Paste! listing various pastes and their uses.

Advertisement for Carpetings, featuring Glen Echo Mills and McCallums, Crease & Sloan, listing various types of carpets and materials.

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Advertisement for J. T. Delacroix, listing various types of carpets and materials.

Advertisement for V. E. Archambault, listing various types of carpets and materials.

Advertisement for John R. White, listing various types of carpets and materials.

Advertisement for E. M. Needles, listing various types of carpets and materials.

Advertisement for Robert Shoemaker & Co., listing various types of carpets and materials.

Advertisement for Stearns, Whitney & Bridges, listing various types of carpets and materials.

Advertisement for Paste! Paste! Paste!, listing various types of carpets and materials.

Advertisement for Fire and Burglar Proof Safes, listing various types of safes and their features.

Advertisement for Marvin's Patent Fire-Proof Safes, listing various types of safes and their features.

Advertisement for J. A. Wilson's Coal, listing various types of coal and their features.

Advertisement for R. W. Patrick & Co., listing various types of coal and their features.

Advertisement for Roofing, listing various types of roofing materials and their features.

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Advertisement for Cutlery, Etc., listing various types of cutlery and their features.

Advertisement for Thomas A. Fahy, listing various types of cutlery and their features.

Advertisement for Edward Dunn, listing various types of cutlery and their features.

Advertisement for Slate Mantels, listing various types of slate mantels and their features.