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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAT FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Affairs in Tennessee-Brownlow's Rule' From the Times

The proposal of ultra radicals to subject the Jonstitutions of Maryland and Kentucky to Congressional revision, under the pretense of providing therefor a republican form of govimment, invests with interest all that relates to the political condition of Tennessee, where Brownlow is carrying out their theories to perfection.

To the knowledge possessed by the public on this subject a correspondent yesterday furnished a noteworthy addition. The writer of the letter is a citizen of Tennessee, a consistent friend of the Union cause, and a man whose statements are worthy of the fullest credence. There is nothing in them absolutely novel: they reiterate representations which have been received from other sources, and the literal truth of which can no longer be doubted. The letter, however, throws additional light upon some points which have not been properly appreciated, and illustrates the approach of a crisis which Brownlow's lust for power seems on the eve of precipitating upon the State.

What republican government in Tennessee amounts to is plainly shown in the means which Brownlow is employing to insure success for himself and his friends in the ensuing election. The system of proscription which he has instituted has culminated in the disfranchisement of four-fifths of the white men of the State; and still it is pushed further wherever there is danger of a Brownlow defeat. In some counties the white voters are fewer in number than the offices to be filled. In others, the Governor is availing himself of a law enacted by his creatures in the Legislature by which he is empowered at pleasure to Bet aside the registration where it is unsatisfactory, and to appoint a new Registrar with the view of making matters more agreeable. Thus adverse majorities are overcome by a short and simple process, enabling the Gov-ernor to disfranchise all who withhold from him support.

This extraordinary power he is exercising to an extent that renders the holding of an election a farce, the regular registration under the law being set aside, and a new registration made under the direction of Brownlow's agents. Even the candidates in some places officiate as registrars and prepare the lists of those who shall vote-a shameless substitute for the old method of ballot-stuffing. Where the affinities of the citizen are not known, the certificate of a regular Brownlow man is required, and the result is the wholesale exclusion of loyalists, tried and true, as well as of former Rebels. Nay, the latter sometimes fare better than the former, as a circumstance mentioned by our correspondent proves. An anti-Brownlow Unionist, who served as a Federal officer during the war, has in one instance been required to procure the indorsation of a Rebel Colonel who happens now to be on Brownlow's side !

The effect of this condition of affairs upon the white people of the State may be con-ceived. We have but to suppose ourselves in the position of four-fifths of the white Tennesseeans-including a majority of original and steadfast Unionists-to judge of the anger and indignation which the course of the Brownlow faction is everywhere exciting. It is not surprising that fears of extended trouble are entertained, or that conflicts on a small scale continually occur during the progress of the cau-Infinitely more astonishing would it be if the outrages perpetrated by the party of extremists who seek to intrench themselves permanently in power, were permitted to pass wholly unresented. The pretenses under which they are perpetrated add to their enormity. A band of outlaws holding the offices of the State, and trying by force and fraud to keep them, would be a spectacle sad enough in all conscience. Here, however, we have usurpation, tyranny, injustice, and crime carried on in the name of loyalty and Union, with former Rebels, now in the Brownlow interest, helping to commit them, and thousands of faithful Unionists among the victims. To make matters yet worse, the same disregard of principle which marks the conduct of the ruling faction in regard to registration and disfranchisement, governs their appeals to the negro element. The four-fifths of the whites who worship not Brownlow are held up to the blacks as enemies who must be kept down--as possessors of property which the blacks may righteously appropriate. The bitterness of a partisan contest is, therefore, intensified by the passions incident to an antagonism of races. The two causes, combined, are rapidly reducing the State to a condition compared with which that of the people of Georgia or Mississippi is superlative bliss. Instead of wondering at the bad blood, of which all accounts from Tennessee speak, rather let us wonder at the patience that prevails and the respect for order which the leaders opposed to Brownlow enjoin upon their supporters. Unless a change come, and that speedily, interference of some sort will be called for to rescue Tennessee from the faction that dominates over and disgraces it, and to institute reconstruction after the fashion of the military government plan. Certainly, neither Mary-land nor Kentucky affords a hundredth part of the justification for interference which Tennessee presents, whether considered in reference to wrongs done or the legitimacy of the wrong-doers. The unconstitutionality and illegality which attached to the organization of the ten Governments now termed "provisional," also taint the foundation of the present Government of Tennessee. We see no method of purging it of the foul humors which find vent in the Brownlown regime except that of reconstruction from without. Let the wants of Tennessee be remembered when help for Maryland and Kentucky is invoked.

In round numbers the aggregate population of these ten outside States may be set down at eight millions, and the proportions at four million five hundred thousand whites against three million five hundred thousand blackswhich gives the whites a majority of a million. Allowing one voter to every seven persons, these figures will cover five hundred thousand black voters against six hundred and fifty thousand white voters. The blacks have decisive majorities in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana; the whites in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas, while the two races nearly balance each other in Florida-allowing for the larger destruction of the whites by the war and the increase of the blacks by accessions during the war from the border slave States. Hence, if all the voters of both races are brought out, the blacks are sure of three States, and they may carry four or five of the ten. We may safely assume that, while the blacks en masse will vote the Republican ticket, they will be supported by some considerable fractions of the whites; so that, if we go no further, the chances are in favor of the blacks.

But Rebel disfranchisements will probably in the aggregate cut off seventy-five thousand men otherwise entitled to vote; so that in all the ten States concerned the whites will have but seventy five thousand majority to rely upon. But, in the next place, the actual registrations made of voters from Virginia to Texas exhibit an almost unbroken catalogue of black majorities, so heavy in most places as to show that large numbers of whites, from indifference, disgust, or despair, have given up the fight on the threshold, and that, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the Republicans, with their solid black vote and their white supporters, hold the game of reconstruction in their hands.

So, from the facts and figures before us, the actual situation of things warrants the conclusion that the Republican party will carry nearly all, if not all these ten outside revolutionized Southern States in their work of reconstruction. Nor is it likely that the blacks, constituting in all these States the bulk and strength of the party, will consent to do all the work without any of its rewards. They have only to demand a share of the honors and offices to get them. Hence, we may confi-dently expect, and during the present Con-gress, that sprinkling of members of African descent in both Houses suggested by Senator Sumner.

We are called, then, to inquire what will be the moral effect in the political world of this startling innovation upon the old order of things? We may be sure that negro equality, proclaiming itself through negro voices from both Houses of Congress, will make a profound impression upon the public mind throughout the North. We apprehend that the result will be a general reaction against the Republican party in the Northern States; for we know that there is a stronger wall of white prejudice against the negro in the North than exists in the South. This prejudice elected Buchanan in 1856, and would have elected Douglas or Breckinridge in 1860, had the Charleston Convention consented to unite upon either. We may expect, then, when the blacks assume the political balance of power of ten reconstructed Southern States, and send up their black representatives to Congress, that there will be a revolutionary reaction against them among the whites of the North which will upset the Republican party. This may be the real object of those leading Southern white politicians who are urging their people to the experiment of allowing the radicals and the blacks all the rope they may desire in this business of Southern reconstruction. Let us push this thing of negro equality, say these Southern leaders, into Congress, and then the laboring white masses of the North against this Southern negro political balance of power will take the alarm, and a Northern reaction of the whites against the blacks will be the inevitable result; and

of humanity than its divisions, and that under equal laws all races may exist in one peaceful confederation. The far-reaching results of this experiment, the tremendous effect of its success, we need not intimate, though few men may have reflected that American Re-publicanism is the leading reform of the world, and that God has given it a continent to work out the enigma of human happiness. With what disgust, then, must all true reformers look upon this ignorant or malignant attempt to ruin an experiment so noble. The men who would establish a black party in the South would create for us a new Africa. They would place a gulf between race and race. Nothing can be more anti-American than a party which denies the unity of American citizenship; such a party could not long exist. Who has forgotten when, in 1864, a German party was toolishly projected, the indignation which that suggestion caused ? America desired to reconcile all nationalities in her own, and would inevitably have crushed any attempt to set up France or Germany or Italy as an alien and independent power upon American ground. Equally certain will be the overthrow of any effort to gather the millions of colored men in the United States into a distinot political organization. We desire the time to come speedily when

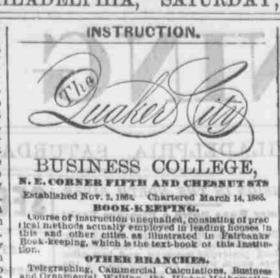
it shall no longer be matter of surprise to see colored men at the polls, on juries, or in office: but we know that this will only come by the absorption of the race in the American nationality. It is said that this is impossible; that the differences of the races are not to be reconciled. This we do not believe; but the shortest way to prove it would be to organize a black men's party. That would be conclu-sive. If after four years' fighting, the greatest results of which are the freedom and the citi zenship of the colored men, their first act should be to affirm that color is the true basis of political distinction, there would be no more to say. Republicanism would be answered and silenced, and those who had put it to shame might boast if they could that, while we had sought to make the colored citizen an American, they had left him, as we found him, an African.

Negro Office-Holding and its Conse-From the World. quences.

"These portents are visible only to those who manage to comfort themselves by invoking a prospect of mirery. Nowhere, so far as we have een, have the blacks been eager to claim office and nine-tenths of all the clamor for their selection as candidates has been raised by whites. Of course, we presume, they will, in some instances, be candidates, but only because they are deemed fit, not because they are black. As a rule, they will vote for the most compe-tent Republicant successful competitions of their tent Republicans suggested, regardless of their color. They are not likely to make color a qualification, when they have so long suffered unjustly because of that absurd discrimina-tion "-Tribune.

The World predicted that filling the greater part of the Southern offices with ignorant negroes just let loose from degrading slavery, would either lead; to a bloody conflict of races or cause the retention of the Federal troops in that section to keep the peace. The Tribune replies, not by showing, or attempting to show, that these consequences would not naturally follow, but by denying the probability that negro voters will prefer negro candidates. Assuming the consequences of negro office-holding to be conceded, we proceed to rebut the denial that the negroes will seek office.

Of course we are not dealing with certainties, only with probabilities. The question is, whether it is probable that a party made up of negroes and whites in the proportion of nine to one, or nineteen to one, will give a majority of the offices to the whites. Taking the alleged natural and the enacted political equality of the races



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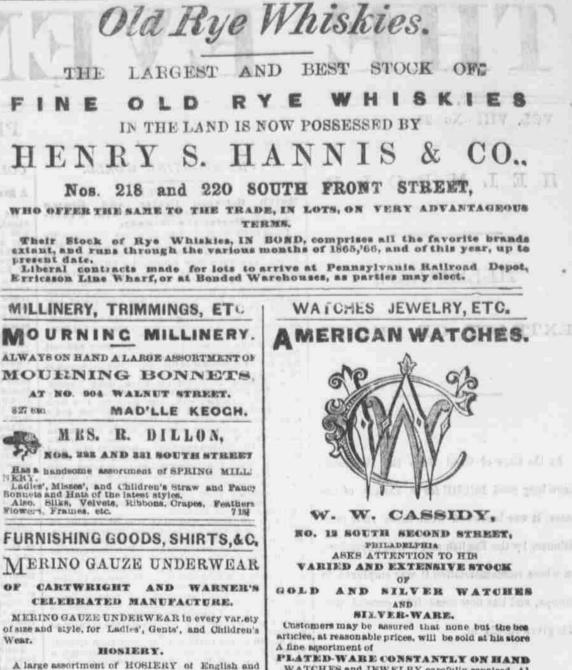
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Negro Suffrage in the South-A Batch of Blacks in Congress, and What Then? From the Herald.

A day or two before the adjournment of the late session of Congress, Mr. Summer admonished the members of the Senate that it would be well to prepare their minds for the reception, within the next twelve months or so, of a sprinkling of Senators of African descent from the Southern States. From the developments of the initial steps to reconstruction, and from all the signs of the times. there was something more in this notification than idle badinage. We think the probabilities are all in favor of the African sprinkling so boastingly foreshadowed by the Massachusetts Senitor; and we should not be surprised if, with the accomplishment of their work of rehabilitation, the ten outside States were to send up five, ten, fifteen, or twenty colored gentiemen to the lower House, and half-a-dozen, more or less, among the conscript fathers of the Senate.

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thus the Republican negro party will be destroyed by its own weapons.

This will, in all probability, be the solution of the experiment of the political organization of the blacks against the whites in the South-a reaction of the whites against the blacks and the Republican party in the North. Meantime, however, we suspect that the spontaneous and powerful popular movements North and South in behalf of General Grant for the succession will carry everything before them; but with the settlement of this question there will unquestionably come a decisive Northern revolution on this other and momentous issue of negro political and social equality.

A Black Man's Party in the South, From the Tribune.

It is the destiny of the Republican party to abolish in our laws all distinctions on account of color. It is the first great political party in this country that has maintained the truth that manhood is absolute, and that the rights of a man are not to be measured by race or complexion. As a party cannot be created by the mere resolutions of a Convention, but must grow out of the conviction of the people, it has formed its creed slowly, article by article. It abolished slavery; that was not enough. It made Union soldiers of the slaves it had liberated; that was not enough. It gave the ballot to the negroes of the South; that was not enough. It clothed them with full citizenship, the right to sit on juries, to hold office; and yet this is not enough. It remains for the Republican party to place the colored men of the North upon the same level, so that in every election, every Court in the United States, there shall be no question of black or white, no rule for the one race that is not also the rule for the other. Either by the action of States or of Congess it will cer tainly effect this; in a year or two at most all discrimination on account of color will be banished from our laws.

Those men in the South who are working to establish a black man's party are the enemies of this principle of equality, and if they carry out their plans they will strike Republicanism a blow far heavier than the Democracy can deal deal. They will go far to undo the grand reform of which the war was the instrument. In Virginia it is feared that the State Republican Convention, August 1, will be the occasion of a division in the Republican ranks, and the creation of rival parties, black and white. In Missouri, also, there are adventurers who urge the colored men to demand representation on the Presidential ticket, and in case it is refused, to form a separate organization. We do not believe these efforts will be sustained by the colored men, for they surely know the fatal results of such an unprincipled policy. It is unprincipled because it denies every

moral principle of the great movement which gave the colored race their rights. The Repub-lican party abolished the distinction of color in politics and law; these agitators would re-store it. Republicanism broke down the barriers that separated the races; these men would rebuild them. Republicanism seeks to reconcile on the broad plains of this continent the discordant peoples of Africa and Europe; here it would solve the problem of races, and prove how much greater and deeper are the unitles.

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as the basis of our reasoning, a spirit of equity would divide the offices between the two in proportion to their numbers. If the races are naturally equal, intellectual capacity will be equally distributed; and if the whites claim a larger proportion of the offices than the voters they furnish bear to the whole party, the blacks will justly say that the equality which s asserted in theory is denied in practice. Against such violations of logic and justice the blacks will have complete security in the greater preponderance of their numbers, and their consequent power of prevention and redress. They will be ten to one or twenty to one in every caucus, and their delegates will bear proportionate sway in every convention. If, by greater skill in intrigue the whites should nevertheless get more than their proportionate share of nominations, the negroes would rely on their superior numbers at the polls, and refuse to accept the candidates. If the negroes do not monopolize the Southern offices, it will be from forbearance, not from inability.

The disfranchisement of nearly all the intel-ligent and capable "Southern whites tends to bring capacity and political experience into disrepute. The negroes are not likely to be wiser than the laws which invest them with power. When the laws set a stigma on capacity and experience, the negro, who derives all his importance from the same laws, will not hold these qualifications in honor. When the laws which make him eligible to all offices, declare everybody ineligible who has ever held an office, they educate the negro into contempt for mental qualifications, and teach him that a community is more likely to prosper by ostracizing its most capable men than by electing them to office. Even if the negroes should be disposed to vote for qualified candidates they will not be permitted, all such men being de graded into political outcasts.

Legislation which thus does violence to common sense and inverts the order of nature by ordaining that the tail of society which contains no brains shall be its head, and the head which has the brains shall draggle in the dirt, such preposterous legislation leads to no good. The negroes will be justified in electing themselves to office, when they can find nobody more capable whom the law permits them to choose. But a government thus composed of, and controlled by, the most ignorant classes, will excite the contempt and derision of the intelligent part of the community. It can never be self-sustaining, for the reason that the whites whe will scorn and deride it are a majority of the inhabitants, though they may be a minority of the voters. The reconstruc-tion scheme of Congress, therefore, entails upon the tax-payers of the whole country the perpetual burden of maintaining great armies in the Southern States to keep down the majority, and prevent a bloody conflict of the two races thus placed in unnatural relations.



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