THE DAMES BY BRIDGE TELL CONTROL FROM A DESCRIPTION ASSESSMENT OF THE PARTY OF THE

What is the Alternative ! From the N. Y. Nation.

The board of the late of the l

It would be well for those who are dissatisfied with the Congressional plan of reconstruction, and are now placing it in danger by their desertion or denunciations, to let the world know as soon as possible what they would substitute for it. A good many of them-Mr. Ewing, of Ohio, for one, in his recent letter explaining the Republican defeat in that State-talk as if Congress was seeking to establish negro ascendancy at the South, and had instituted negro suffrage there for this purpose of malice aforethought. But it is well known that Congress only came to negro suffrage slowly and reluctantly, and after trying another plan, which actually left the government of the Southern States in the hands of the whites. The prompt and cheerful accept ance of the constitutional amendment, though it did not in our opinion exact as much by any means as it ought to have done, would no doubt have satisfied the North sufficiently to have secured the admission of the Southern senators and representatives to their places.

The amendment was, however, deliberately and ostentatiously rejected; not on the ground that the conditions that it contained were hard or unreasonable—this even the Philadelphia Convention did not venture to maintain-but on the ground that the South ought not to be required to submit to any conditions whatever. After this, Congress had two courses open to it. One was to readmit the South without any stipulation or concession whatever, except the acceptance of emancipation as an accomplished fact, leaving the negroes to be subjected to any regime short of re-enslavement that the whites pleased, and taking no security whatever against a repetition of the revolt against the United States Government. The other was to introduce into the work of reconstruction some new element; since the disloyal portion of the Southern population would not do it, to appeal to the loyal.

Now the first of these courses would, it is notorious, have only pleased a very small section of the Northern people. Only a very small minority, and that mainly composed of avowed secessionists, would have been satisfied to see the South return to its place in the Union as if nothing had happened. This is no supposition. It is as well ascertained as anything in politics can be. Most people called for conditions of some kind; and all acknowledged that if any conditions were allowable, those contained in the constitutional amendment were not unreasonable, and were in fact as little as could be asked. There then remained the admission of the negroes to the suffrage, at least for the purpose of electing constitutional conventions. Many people were willing to see the color test abolished, but wanted an educational test substituted for it.

To this there were two objections:-First, that an educational test, to be of any real value, and to be free of any indirect discrimination against color, had to be imposed not only on these on whom the suffrage had still to be bestowed, but on those already in possession of it. Ignorance is ignorance, whether the voter be a white or a black man. It was, however, admitted that to force the poor Southern whites to learn to read before voting again would be an outrage to which they would not submit. On this no party at the North was prepared to insist; not the Democrats, because they have always opposed the idea that popular intelligence was a political necessity; and not the Republicans, because they, too, in forgetfulness of their earlier creed, were cheated by their anxiety to do the negro justice into proclaiming the suffrage to be the

"natural right" of every adult male. Some went further, and maintained even that anybody was competent to decide any question of government by the aid of "com-mon sense." Mereover—and by this consideration the Republicans were perhaps more influenced than any other-the imposition of an educational test at the present electionthat is, at the moment when negro votes were most needed by the nation, would have excluded most of them, and have left the work of reconstruction substantially where it stood. It was said, and with great justice, too, that by admitting all to vote, a pressure would be applied to the whites in favor of popular education which could be applied in no other way; that in no other way could the negroes so well learn their duties as citizens, and in no other way could they so well force the local authori-

lies to do them justice. It may turn out that Congress, in adopting this latter course, made a mistake; but this does not yet appear, and until it does appear those who oppose it are bound to tell us what they would have done had they had their way. Legislation is not a puzzle intended for the exercise of the wits. It is a mean of affecting the lives and happiness of whole communities and those who criticize it have a higher duty than that of finding fault; they are bound to tell their neighbors how to amend. It is all very well to rail against "negro ascendancy, but what ascendancy should be substituted for it? Into whose hands, at the South, will you commit the task of reorganizing the Government, if not to a majority of the whole people? It is no doubt hard to shut out so many whites because they have taken part in the Rebellion; but if you do not like this, are you prepared to let them shut out those who did not take part in it, but opposed it with all their might? It is no doubt hard to keep so large a portion of the United States so long under military rule, but then what kind of rule would be set up if the military were withdrawn? How would the elections, for instance, be conducted? How large a proportion of the Southern population would enjoy any protection for either life or property? Which is most injurious to free governmentthe rule of an organized military force, acting under laws passed by a deliberative body, or the rule of the knife and revolver, the vigi-

lance committee and the mob? These are important questions, which every fair-minded man is bound to ask himself, and at least try to answer before he begins railing at Congress. Of the thousands who rail at it, however, probably not one per cent, give them a moment's consideration. What they do is to pnt themselves through a grand high priori process, in which they arrange the facts to suit themselves, and make them appear something like this:- "Here is a large, intelligent community of men of our own race, with an admirable system of law, who, though they have been in rebellion, have submitted with a good grace to defeat. They have emancipated their slaves cheerfully at our request. They know the negro well, and having been brought up with him, of course feel kindly disposed towards him, and are anxious for his welfare and elevation. Being weak and ignorant, of course the Sheriff and police and judges devote more care and attention to his interests than they do to these of white men, and as to the I would not be really lost if he were in the Pre-

white inhabitants generally, of course they are kind and fair in their dealings with him, as they are deeply interested in his prosperity. Yet Congress, animated by mere spite and malevolence, without the slightest necessity or provocation, has disfranchised a large body of the most intelligent whites, and by giving the suffrage to all the blacks has handed over to them the government of the entire South.

We see the result in Virginia." We have made no attempt to extenuate the result of the late elections in Virginia. We have our own opinion of the gentry who have there undertaken the task of "leading" the blacks, and have expressed it very freely. But that such people should get control of the blacks at the outset, and having got control of them should abuse it, was naturally to be expected. The liability of the freedmen to be misled by demagogues on their first entrance into political life is one of the unfortunate results of their having been so long degraded slaves; and the proper medicine for this weakness is, we take it, participation in the Government. To regard the existence of the weakness as a reason for not attempting to apply the remedy, is about as sensible as refusing to teach a man to swim owing to the certainty that at first he would probably flounder a good deal and get his head under water.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the large negro majorities are due in the main to the intentional abstinence of the whites from voting. A phenomenon of the same kind is by no means unfamiliar at the North—the refusal of the rich and well educated to vote or take any active interest in public affairs, through disgust or despair or love of ease. It has been and is constantly witnessed in this city, and with deplorable results. New York is governed by as ignorant a class and one more deprayed than even the worst of the negroes but the disgust and neglect of the rich and educated usually call down denunciation on them rather than on the class to which they leave the work of government. Moreover, if we once admit that the negroes ought to be disfranchised wherever the whites choose to abstain from voting, we of course surrender the game. It being once established that if the whites do not vote the negroes are to blame, the whites will stop voting all over the South and leave us to do the rest for them. A more absurd principle it would be impossible to introduce into politics. The true way, in my opinion, to make the whites take their proper part in the government of the South, is to show them that if they choose to sulk they will be ruled by the blacks. If they are once made sure of this, which as yet they are not, we venture to predict they will soon take an active part in

The Coming Man.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The Democrats of this section have little knowledge of their probable candidate for next President, and will thank us for making him better known to them. His name is George H. Pendleton, and he lives at Cincinnati, Ohio. His father, Nathaniel G. Pendleton, was a scion of an eminent Virginia family, who migrated to Cincinnati some fifty years ago, practised law, and made a handsome fortune there, and was chosen to Congress as a Whig in 1840, beating the Hon. Robert T. Lytle, his Democratic competitor, by ten majority, if our memory serves. (Hamilton county was strongly Democratic in those days, but was carried that year for General Harrison on the Presidential vote, which followed the State election aforesaid.)

Nathaniel G. Pendleton was an excellent though not a great man. His son George has rather more cultivation, and perhaps more natural ability, though far from being a genius. But he is a thorough gentleman in manner and address; and if, outside of his politics, he ever did an unjust or unworthy act, we never heard of it. We think he will be the Democratic candi-

date for next President, for these reasons: -The party is now on its high horse, and not likely to stultify itself as it did when it ran a General on a peace platform. It believes it may consult its wishes rather than its fears in choosing its standard-bearer, and is not likely to be undeceived before making its national nominations. Now Mr. Pendleton embodies its ideas and its purposes as thoroughly and palpably as Mr. Clay ever did those of the Whig party. A Whig by education, he is a Demo crat by conviction and by deliberate choice. In Congress, throughout the war, he never made a speech nor gave a vote that Robert E. Lee or John Slidell could object to. Never desiring disunion, he had early studied Calhoun and become a convert to his view of State Rights and Federal limitations, and he read the Constitution as giving the Federal authority no power to coerce or constrain a State. Holding the war on the part of the Union aggressive and unjust, he gave it no support, no countenance, whether by word or deed. And, detesting the national debt as representing the means whereby the Confederacy was overthrown, he is now open in his advocacy of its prompt extinction by printing off two thousand millions of fresh greenbacks and giving every holder of that debt the face of his bonds in currency, thus stopping the interest on the debt at once and ustifying a reduction of all Federal imposts and taxes by one-half. The country being thus flooded with greenbacks, payable in nothing and never, they could not help falling to ten cents in coin per dollar. Then, if two hundred and fifty millions could somehow be borrowed or otherwise raised, the debt might be got rid of at once, or it would be easy to wait till the discredited rags woreout, perished in conflagrations, or were otherwise destroyed. Thus they would ultimately vanish, like the old Continental money, not costing the Treasury a cent. We consider this far more manly than the shame-faced, sneaking rascality of those who prate of paying in 'legal-tender' and giving the public creditors as much as they paid for their bonds. We prefer Dick Turpin to Fagin.

Mr. Pendleton is likely to be the candidate because the South and West are now a decided overmatch for the East, while the Democracy of the West is scarcely distinguishable in type from the conservatism of the South. think the first choice of a majority of either branch of the party would be Robert E. Lee; but there are prejudices against him as a candidate, which would be less operative, less potent, in the case of Mr. Pendleton. We do not believe there is a conservative in all the South who would object to Mr. Pendleton; if there be one such, he must be very bigoted and exclusive. And no man who did not actually smell powder in the Rebel armies would such enthusiasm in Kentucky, Maryland, and every Southern State or-ganized on their basis as George H. Pendleton. There are many bogus professors of Democratic orthodoxy, but his is the genuine article. His version of the Bible evi-dently reads, "God made the white man in His own image;" his copy of the Declaration of Independence sets forth that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all white men are created equal;" and "the lost cause"

sidential chair. Yet he gave the Virginia Bourbons good advice when, on their restora-tion to power by Johnson, they had a chance to treat the blacks kindly, and threw it away. We venture the guess that no man treats his black servants better, as servants, than he does.

There is a silver lining to most clouds. the elections of 1867 had gone like those of 1866, we should probably have had some ambiguous, half-and-half, shuffling candidate for President to oppose in 1868; but the late results have cleared the atmosphere decidedly. A square, clean issue between the two parties will now be made up; the sham Democracy will select a representative man; and for such it has none better in its ranks than George H. Pendleton.

The Late Elections East and West-Grant vs. Chase.

From the N. Y. Herald. East and West, in every State where it has been made the test, this unpalatable, impracticable and dangerous proposition of universal negro suffrage has resulted in a revolt in the Republican ranks, and in a formal notice to the radical managers of the Republican party that their reign has ended, that wiser leaders and better counsels must take their places, that the conservative Union elements of the country are in motion for a new organization and a new departure for the Presidential election, and that General Grant is their man.

Beginning with the October elections, we find that in Pennsylvania, where the Republicans avoided this direct test of universal negro suffrage, and avoided, too, any agitation of the Presidential claims of Mr. Chase, they lost the State, on a light vote, by less than a thousand majority. But on the same day in Ohio, and on the largest popular vote ever polled in the State, and where the claims of Mr. Chase as a Presidential candidate and universal negro suffrage were distinctly before the people they lost the State Legislature, and thereby a radical United States Senator-"Old Ben Wade"-and had their negro suffrage amendment to the State Constitution voted down by fifty thousand majority against it. This was a stunner from the same people who had rejected Vallandigham and his Copperhead here-

sies by one hundred thousand majority. But the leading organs of Mr. Chase, East and West, immediately put in the plea that he was not responsible for these results in Ohio, although personally superintending the battle on the Republican side. It was arranged, accordingly, by his radical managers in New York, to give him a fair trial in our November election. They took the matter in hand at Syracuse, they set up their candidate in platform, including universal negro suffrage, and behold the result! It is astounding, overwhelming, and beyond all question is decisive against Mr. Chase and his negro suffrage and financial policy and his pretensions as a Presidential candidate. It was everywhere understood that if the Republicans carried this State it would be considered as the voice of New York in favor of Mr. Chase, and it was generally believed that his success in New York would make sure his nomination for the Presidency by the Republican National Convention. It was even broadly hinted, in advance of the election, that the success of the Republican State ticket would be equivalent to the nomination of Chase and Fenton, and this is the scheme which has been so signally overthrown. Mr. Chase and his negro suffrage and financial platform are cast out, and the voice of the Empire State inaugurates a reconstruction of the solid, genuine Union elements of the country under the standard of General Grant.

General Grant's Nomination. From the N. Y. Times.

The late elections have made General Grant the Republican candidate for the Presidency. This is a result which we have foreseen and favored for the last two years. We have had no doubt, since the contest between the President and Congress grew sharp and bitter, that the country would fall back upon General Grant to do what neither of the contending parties could do, restore the Union on a basis of justice, in a spirit of amity, and in accordance with the principles of self-government, which are fundamental in our republic.

Making war, and making peace when the war is over, are two different things. They require different means as they seek different ends. Fierce passion, the utmost fervor of party and sectional hatred, a desperate determination to trample the enemy in the dustthese feelings and purposes re proper and necessary in waging war. War is a thing of passion, and the hotter and flercer the temper in which it is carried on, the more vigorous and successful the war will be.

But when the war ends, the passion which fed it must end also, or settled and lasting peace cannot be had. In a war of one nation against another this is less essential, because each can manage its own affairs without regard to the other. But after a civil war, when peace implies not only a cessation of hostilities between belligerents, but the renewal of a partnership, the exercise of common powers, the enjoyment of common rights, and the pursuit of common ends between them, the restoration of peace means something much broader and deeper in its relations. If the conqueror s to cherish still all the hatred and resentment of the war, and seek the same ends of humiliation and subjugation only by different means, peace, in any genuine and hearty sense of the word, cannot be had. We may have dlence, submission, subjection; but these in a republic are not peace.

Party victories, won in heated contests, involving sharp points of controversy and imposing harsh rule upon the weaker party, do not establish peace between them. The election of Wendell Phillips to be President, with a Congress in sympathy with his views and feelings, would not give the country peace, though every State should be brought back to the Union, every district represented, every office filled, and every man, woman, and child silent and submissive to the law. And the tendency of events for the last two years has been towards such a contest and such a

victory. The country wants a victory which the de feated party will not deem a degradation, and in which it will not see its ruin. General Grant's election as President will not be leemed, by any party or by any section, an insult or a humiliation; for all parties and all sections know that it is not in his temper or his nature to insult or humiliate any class or any community. He can reconcile conflicting feelings, soothe exasperated resentments, mediate between contending parties, and thus open the way to a reconciliation full of the spirit of peace, and involving all its highest and best results, better than any other man in the nation. And this not because he is an abler man, or a more experienced statesman, or a more decided and active Republican, than Chief Justice Chase or anybody else-but because the deeds and public services which commend him to the regard and love of his countrymon, have

also held him aloof from the conflicts and hatreds alike of parties and sections-because he is of a calm, self-controlling, equable temper, wedded naturally and unconquerably to justice and fair dealing—and because all men know him to be a zealous, disinterested lover of his country and of the principles of its gov-

Nor do we share in the slightest degree the Tribune's fears that he will sacrifice any of the principles of liberty, equal, impartial, and universal, on which our institutions rest. Those who hope for the revival of the class distinctions of the past—who look to the fresh degradation of the colored race, to the exclusion from civil rights and political privileges of men for any other cause than lack of merit, will find no encouragement and no aid in General Grant. If the Tribune has any fear that General Grant will give countenance or toleration to any scheme which seeks either to "reduce the blacks again to vassalage or semislavery," or to defraud the national creditors, we are confident it may at once dismiss them. Nothing in his history, his acts, or his declarations gives the slightest warrant for any such

apprehensions. General Grant's nomination, which we re gard as virtually made already, will consolidate and harmonize the Republican party, first by ending all personal strife, all contest and collision among aspirants for the Presidency, and next by confining its action to the essential principles and policy which the welfare of the country requires. And his election will put an end to the war of parties and of factions, by which peace has been repelled and the restoration of the Union discouraged and

An European Congress-Another Rumor. From the N. Y. Herald.

It is authoritatively stated in one of our late cable despatches that a "call for an European congress will soon be issued by the French Government," alias Louis Napoleon. We'do not much wonder at the rumor, nor shall we be at all surprised if some such proposal is actually made by the Emperor to the other great powers. It is no secret, but a fact patent to the world, that a general congress is one of the primary objects on which for years past the Emperor's heart has been set. It is not at all improbable that a congress will be brought together; but, unless we greatly mistake the present character and condition of the different European Governments, a congress is possible only on one condition. Its purpose must, first of all, be distinctly and definitely stated. That purpose must not be general, but particular. If Napoleon asks an European congress to aid him in answering the question. What is best to do with Rome? see no reason why his request should not be complied with, nor do we think it at all unlikely that it will. Such a congress was got together for the purpose of settling the Luxembourg question. Such, however, is not the kind of congress which Napoleon wants. His object is to rearrange, according to a favorite plan of his own, the nationalities of Europe. He wishes to reconstruct the boundary lines, and we have little doubt that if a congress would gratify Napoleon's ambition in certain directions, he would not be unwilling to abandon his protectorate of Rome. No congress, however, could do this but one which was convened for the most general and indefinite purpose. Euch a congress, we hesitate not to say, is in present circumstances impossible. We are not unwilling, however, to be generous. If Napoleon submits to the decision of an European congress the final and unquali fied decision of the Roman question, he will give proof of a desire to do justice, and of a willingness to preserve the peace of the nation for which we have not been able hitherto to

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On Thursday Morning,
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