THE EVENING NEWS.

Thursday, . . Sept. 10, 1874.

The War of Races.

The accounts we publish of the lamentable war of antagonism that exists between the whites and negroes in the South and that daily exhibits itself in actions disgraceful to a civilized nation will be perused with deep regret by our readers. The baleful influence of the Civil Rights bill upon the educational system in Tennessee by raising the cry for mixed schools as the proper method of elevating the negro to terms of social equality with his white brother bids fair to destroy the public schools in that State. As might have been anticipated, this attack on educational institutions and the horrible outrages—of which our exchanges inform us—are mainly the handiwork of unscrupulous demagogues and incendiaries, who try to make capital by exciting the worst passions of the human mind. The mutual repugnance of the two races is deep and real, and where the State governments are inadequate to hold such dangerous elements in check, the worst consequences may be feared.

It was always predicted by our statesmen, previous to the civil war, that emancipation would be followed by a merciless war of races, and the most enlightened foreign observers adopted the same opinion. The philosophic De Tocqueville said, in his great work on our institutions, "I am obliged to confess that I do not regard the abolition of slavery as a means of warding off a struggle of the two races in the United States." He thought there was no safe intermediate course between holding the negroes in servitude and intermingling with them after emancipation, and that anything short of perfect social equality and intermarriages seemed "likely to terminate in the most horrible of civil wars, and, perhaps, in the extirpation of one or other of the two races." Of course this opinion had something to justify it or it would not have been held by so many able men. Nine years of experience since the close of the war has nearly convinced the world that their view of the danger was prodigiously exaggerated, if not wholly chimerical. But the recent occurrences in the South make it necessary to revise this opinion and inquire if there were not some real ground for the old fears. If there has been peace in the South since emancipation it is undeniable that there has also been deep and bitter discontent. There is neither friendship nor harmony of feeling nor concord of action between the two races, and the estrangement has grown with the progress of the experiment. Time has exerted no healing influence. In politics the negroes are all on one side and the great body of the white citizens on the other; and the latter, in despair of ever dividing the colored vote, are beginning to revive the old cry of a white man's party. The two races stand more widely apart to-day than they have at any previous time since the close of the war, and the breach seems more likely to widen than to be closed.

Whether the former predictions of so many sagacious men of a war of races as the inevitable consequence of emancipation would have been so long falsified if the two races had been left to themselves it is impossible to say. The federal government has stood over the South as the menacing guardian of the freedmen, maintaining large bodies of troops there until sometime after the work of reconstruction had been completed, protecting the blacks and holding the white inhabitants in fear. What would have happened in their absence is matter of mere speculation and conjecture; but certain it is that quietness has not increased since their withdrawal. If a war of races should arise and become general it will be the fruit of long indulged animosities breaking out with sudden violence. The ill-feeling between the North and South which resulted in our civil war was thirty years in ripening; but it will not require thirty years nor half of that period to fan the hostility of the two races to the point of general bloodshed if it goes on at its present pace. It will not do to ignore the necessary tendency of these growing sentiments of mutual repugnance because its violent manifestations are as yet only local and sporadic. The dangerous passions out of which they grow pervade the whole South.

We wish we could impress the Southern whites with a due sense of the importance of arresting and controlling these ill-boding tendencies. If they cannot keep peace between the two races nothing is more certain than armed interference by the federal government, which nobody has so much reason to deprecate as the people of the South. They have had enough of this already, and should not invite it again. The precious right of self-government, so long impaired in the South, can be reacquired only by patient efforts during a period of internal peace. Their experience has taught them how monstrously, even small disturbances are exaggerated by the incendiary portion of the Northern press and the inflammatory effect of such exaggerations in arousing passions of which political partisans are too ready to take advantage. We appeal to thoughtful and patriotic Southern citizens to save their unfortunate section from the horrors and the new federal oppression which would accompany and follow a war of races.—*New York Herald, Sept.* 3.

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