Over-Population.

From the N. Y. Tribune. From time to time timorous philosophers have been alarmed at the prospect of overpopulation, and some persons, who perhaps are more wicked than timorous, have expressed a conviction that no good can arise from any efforts of theirs in this direction, at least, to the end that their posterity shall have the ability to make further addition to the census. What we have been told by the philosophers is this:-Should society be so improved as to give to every human being advantages for complete mental culture and physical training, and at the same time so reorganize industry that a few hours' labor each day will give ample supplies of food, the grand result would be, first, such a universal sense of justice that war would cease, and such a knowledge of diseases that common ailments, and of course pestilence, would be unknown; and second, that the human race would double itself every twenty-five years. In twenty-five years more it would double again, and thus proceeding, so many people would exist in a few centuries that the tropics, the deserts, and mountain places would be thickly inhabited. To make further provision it will then be necessary to level mountains, to fill in the oceans; but even this will be only a temporary remedy, for in twenty-five years more this new ground will be covered over, and the end will come with terrific struggles for life. Therefore we are told that it is necessary to keep the human race in check by a sufferance of war, pestilence, intemperance, and other salutary miseries. To the philanthropist and reformer this seems a discouraging prospect, for it is manifest that the hour of triumph will be the hour of defeat.

And yet, so far from considerations of this kind being of an alarming character, they are of the least possible consequence. How long man is to live on this planet is unknown; but go far as the generations now living are concerned, the race ends when they have passed away, as much as it ends with the last man in some far distant period, while the heavens blaze with the final conflagration. To regulate our conduct by a view of what may be the necessities of coming generations, is to neglect the duties of to-day, to suppress generous emotions, and to make ourselves unfitted not only for a future existence, but also for this. A man's duty lies in planting some small seed of goodness in his breast, and in its culture and care that it may grow and give him vitality and enduring life, and in the end neutralize and conquer whatever within him is wisked and perverse. In commencing this course, which has no other difficulty than in its seeming insignificance, a way is prepared for a practice of all the virtues and charities, not so much abroad as at home, not so much in a confident as in a humble spirit. Such a condition in the individual will precede, and it will be the groundwork of perfectibility in society. When the individual shall have society. When the individual shall have reached this high standard, the question with reference to posterity will not be multitude, but goodness; and it may be stated to be a natural law, that whatever is most precious cannot be abundant.

The Tenure-of-Office Law. From the N. Y. Herald

General Butler, the man rejected by the extreme radicals of the Fifth Congressional distriot of Massachusetts, but reclected for all that by an overwhelming majority, achieved on Monday, backed by the potential Washburne, a very important victory in the House of Representatives in behalf of a new departure of the Republican party under General Grant. His bill for the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office law, under the whip and spur of the previous question, was brought to the decisive vote and passed-yeas 121, nays 47.

The affirmative vote, as it will be seen, included all the Democrats; the negative vote is all Republican, and embraces such radical extremists as Schenck, Shellabarger, and Garfield, of Ohio; Jenckes, of the Civil Service bill; Maynard and Stokes, of Tennessee, and others to the number of forty-seven. Washburne, the right hand man of General Grant, of course took an active hand for the repeal, and his influence, no doubt, greatly strengthened Butler, inasmuch as it is generally understood that in reference to the President elect Washburne speaks and acts as one having authority. The passage of the repeal by the heavy voten given idicates the beginning of a decline in the power of radicalism and the ascendancy of more moderate and conciliatory counsels in Congress than those which have ruled the two houses in their long and desperate conflict with President Johnson.

It is possible that the radicals in the Senate, where they have no previous question, will endeavor to prevent the passage of this bill by parliamentary evasions and delays; but the friends of the repeal, we understand, intend to push it through. The action of the House, at all events, marks the commencement of a new dispensation. It foreshadows not only the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office law, but the failure of Mr. Jenckes' Civil Service bill and of the little bill of Mr. Edmunds in the Senate, excluding from civil offices officers of the army and navy. This Edmunds bill, it is conjectured, is aimed especially against General Schofield and Admiral Porter as prospective members of Grant's Cabinet, the design being to head off Grant in reference to these apprehended appointments, but from the develop-ments of Monday we suspect the scheme will

Had the vote of the House on Monday been taken without a call to the record, it is probable that Butler's bill would have failed; but the record, in bringing the members face to face with General Grant, cut down the Tenure of Office law party to forty-seven. These fortyseven, with their adherents in the Senate, headed by Sumner, may yet create some trou-ble in the party camp before the final victory is won; but from the nnexpected success of the first move of Butler on his new track, we may look for a removal before the 4th of March of all the shackles which have been put upon the hands of the President, so that with the inauguration of President Grant the office will be restored to its status under Lincoln.

The House of Representatives recognizes the President elect as a living power in the land, entitled to this degree of respect and confidence; the new President will be invested with his constitutional functions, and thus, in the absence of a two-thirds radical majority in the House, he will be in a position at once to proclaim his own policy, foreign and do-mestic, with the power to cause it to barespected, whatever may become of the intractable radicals of Congress and their followers.

The Paris Conference.

From the N. Y. Herald.

It appears now that the alarming difficulty in the East will be got over without the necesssity of going to war. The parties who signed the treaty of Paris, 1856, are too much in-terested in the preservation of peace to allow Turkey and Greece to go to war just yet. The 2. No man must be time may come when the Eastern question will thoroughly competent.

take a new shape, and when war will be less connected with future alarming possibilities. In the meantime war in the East must be avoided, because it would inevitably create complications the issue of which no one can foresee. It will be well if the Conference shall teach Greece to strive to improve her internal affairs, and so to strive that she shall command the respect of the nations. This point certainly she has not yet reached. It will also be well if the Italian Government shall yield herself more completely up to the influence of modern civilization. What Turkey needs is a little more of the steam engine, of the electric telegraph, of the printing-press. Let Turkey only do this, and religious differences will be less a disturbing element than they have been. The Eastern question is virtually settled for the present, and it may well be doubted whether it will ever be revived in the same shape again. Inless the Turkish Government is careful, the real danger of the future will be less in the interference of Greece or in the intrigues of Russia than in the rising of the Greek pro-vinces of the empire. When Turkey begins to fall of her own weight, it will not be possible for any conference to save her.

The New York Senatorship.

From the N. Y. World. In the Hall of the Delavan House at Albany an incident worth telling occurred the night of Mr. Greeley's arrival on his mission to persuade the Republicans of the Legislature to pitch Morgan overboard, reject Fenton, and elect Marshall O. Roberts United States

Senator. The dust of travel was frosh upon the white coat of a newly-arrived traveller, whose name need not be here disclosed, when a friend, one of the ubiquitous corresp ondents of the press, espied him, and pressing on through the throng, slapped the white-coat upon his shoulder, and hailed him with joyful salutations. The foremost topic in the minds of both was first upon their tongues. "Well, old man, I suppose you came up

about the Senatorship?" "Yes, that's what's the matter." "But they say you are for Roberts, not Greeley, this time."

"That's true." "Is it possible ? Humph ! Well, old fellow! how much money have you got? Let's know

the size of your pile." We might betray political secrets, going further in this dialogue. But the venality of the Legislature itself, which it takes for granted, is a circumstance worth plain and honest people's attention. Nobody dreams that the Republican caucus nomination of Senator will not go to him who pays the most for it. Even the very goslings of the Capitol know that open secret, and take it for granted without mention, as they take for granted that days and nights will alternate for the week to come, and that next Tuesday the Capitol will be quite unpurged by the fires

of Sodom or any sort of political earthquake. Even the Times, which, as a Republican journal, may be thought to have a special interest in concealing this fact by those persons who imagine that a journal can truly serve its party otherwise than by truth and honesty, even the Times says it is "quite generally conceded on all hands that money will decide the contest."

This corruption, all but universal in the office-holders and politicians of the Republican party, attested as it is much more than abundantly by every sort of conclusive evi-dence, would be more than detestable, it would be heart-sickening, but for the democratic faith we have in the honesty of the masses of both parties, and the firm conviction we cherish that the four years' carnival of thieves to which the country consented last November will make an honest government certain thereafter. The Democratic party, already purged of its venal members by a long exclusion from power, must needs become still more critical and exacting in its demand for high capacity in its leaders and integrity in its chosen public servants. The passport to public favor will be honesty, but not honesty merely; it will be also that narrowing down of the range of government func-tions, and that cutting off of extravagant expenditures, and that practice and habit of economy, without which honesty in the public service cannot be maintained. This educating process to which the people have invited themselves will have some sharp lessons. The only thing now is to learn them well, since they are to be flogged and burned into us for four years to come. This leads us to say that if there are, by

God's mercy, so many as sixteen honest Republicans in the Albany Legislature, who, for the sake of defeating Morgan or Fenton, will join the Democrats in voting for some other Republican, let the Democrats of the Legislature absolutely insist that the candidate of such a coalition be a perfectly honest and incorruptible man-not any Marshall O. Robertses, but some man whose integrity is conspicuous and indisputable, like Governor Fish or George H. Andrews, William C. Bryant or Senator Folger-no matter who, so as that he cannot possibly be touched, tempted, or handled by the rings.

General Grant and the System of Appointments to Office. From the N. Y. Times.

A correspondent of the Nation, who believes in Mr. Jenckes' Civil Service bill, and regrets that it is not likely to become a law soon enough to be of service to General Grant in making his appointments to office, makes this suggestion:-

"Cannot General Grant select six or a dozen competent and honest men, who, acting as a committee, would, under certain simple but fixed rules, take up all applications for office in rotation as they come to hand, and so deal with them that General Grant would be able to send up to the Senate no name of a certainly corrupt or glaringly incompetent man? It does not seem much to ask; and if only the six or twelve committee men could be obtained equal to the emergency, it would not be a very difficult thing to do."

Difficult or not, we fancy this is just about what General Grant will attempt to do, though he will not probably put his action in just that form. As described by the writer this plan would be an innovation, while, in point of fact, it is merely what is already provided by the Constitution, and is sanctioned by the usage of the Government in its better days.

The Constitution, which makes the President the chief Executive of the nation, gives him power to appoint a head of each of the departments into which the Executive administration of the Government may be divided; and those heads, acting together, each in his appropriate sphere, constitute just about such "committee of six or a dozen men" as the correspondent referred to has in view. We are inclined to think that General Grant will hand over to that "Committee" (more commonly called a Cabinet) the duty and the responsibility of "taking up applications for office as they come to hand," and of making from them such selections as they may advise the President to appoint. And we are inclined to think, further, that General Grant will prescribe for these committee-men "certain simple but fixed rules" of action-such as will most nearly meet the difficulties of the case-such as, for example:-

1. No man must be selected who is not thoroughly and reliably honest.

2. No man must be selected who is not

3. No man must be selected who is not, in ! principle and in habitual action, thoroughly

faithful to the Constitution. Under the guidance of these "simple, but fixed rules," if faithfully adhered to in their spirit as well as letter, the committee will have little difficulty in making it reasonably certain that "no name of a certainly corrupt or glaringly incomp-tent man" will be sent up to the Senate. The head of each department will probably be charged with the special duty of selecting the men to be appointed for service in his own department; and will probably be made to understand-as such things are understood only in military circles, or by men accustomed to a military regime—that he is to be held responsible for the men appointed to office in his department, responsible for their integrity as well as their capacity-for what they do, and for what they fail to do, in the line of their legitimate duty.

The thing of first importance in this matter is, of course, the selection of these committee men-or, in more familiar phrase, the selection of a Cabinet. The whole country understands perfectly that upon this depends the success or the failure of General Grant's administration; and the country awaits with intense but patient anxiety, tempered only by its confi-dence in his good judgment and upright purpose, General Grant's announcement of the selections he may make.

But there is another point of very great importance behind this, but following very closely upon it. Who shall advise the heads ef departments, in their selection? No man can know all the applicants, be he Secretary or President; and no man can, therefore, from his own knowledge and of his own motion, select from them the men best fitted in all things for office. Whoever makes the selections must depend upon somebody for advice, or at least for information, at once full reliable, and disinterested, which may guide him in coming to a decision. To whom shall he look for such information?

Of late years, members of Congress belonging to the dominant party have claimed the right, not only to advise the Executive in regard to appointments in their respective districts, but absolutely to dictate those appointments to him. The word is not too strong. In form they ask certain appointments at his hands; if he makes them, all is serene and they are his "friends." But if he refuses to make them, they array themselves against him, and denounce him as false to his friends and a traiter to his party. Very much of the hostility of individual members of Congress against Mr. Johnson was due to his refusal to make appointments to office in obedience to their dictation. It is held that the President has no business to go behind the indorsement and recommendation of a member of Congress for appointments in his district. The patronage of the discrict is claimed as, of right, the property of the member. State delegations combine and agree to support in a body the claim of each member to the selection of officeholders in his own district. The Republican members from New York have held meetings, and formally voted that they would insist that the President should appoint to office in each Congressional district of New York the officers whom the member from that district might select. The same thing has been done in other States, and is the general practice with members from them all.

The plea urged is that the member from any district is naturally presumed to know more about the political interests of his own district, and of the character, political and per-sonal, of the applicants for office within it, than the President possibly can; and that he is therefore the proper person to designate the appointments for it. The members, it is true, ask these appointments; they do not, in form, dictate them, but in point of fact, that is precisely what they try to do. And if their requests are not complied with, they feel at perfect liberty to make open war, personal and political, upon the Executive who dares to refuse. General Butler, in his recent canvass for reëlection, openly declared that if General Grant did not give him his rightful share of the offices in his district (which usually means all of them), he would give him enough to do to take care of himself during the rest of his term. This was meant as a menace, and is incapable of any other construction. And while all the members of Congress are not so open and frank in their avowals as is General Butler, they all hold, as tenaciously as he does, that the right of selecting the office-holders, each for his own district, belongs to them, and that no President who is true to his party and his friends will refuse it to them. None but a "traitor" would dream of such a thing.

Precisely the same feeling pervades the Senate. Senators assert the same right and enforce it in the same way. They "claim" certain appointments as theirs by right; if the claim is conceded, very well. If not, they are at war with the Executive. We venture to say that more votes were controlled for convicting Mr. Johnson, when impeached, by his re-fusal of patronage when demanded by individual Senators, than were gained for acquitting him by the concession of such claims, or by more open bribery.

There are at least two serious objections to

this practice and to the theory on which it

1. It is in violation of the spirit and intent as well as the language and letter of the Constitution, which gives to the President the selection of officers of the Government, subject only to the "advice and consent" of the Senate. It makes members of the House the real and actual appointing power, when in no sense have they rightfully anything whatever to do with it.

2. Even as advisers Congressmen are not disinterested. The yeonsult their own political interests or their own personal feelings. And some of them actually make a pecuniary profit from the offices which they can control. Even the best of them use the Executive patronage, so far as they can control it, to pay their political debts, or to secure their future political advancement. They pay for what their personal supporters have already done for them, or they buy support for themselves in the future. In this way the patronage of the Government is used to destroy all independence of judgment and of action within their own party, in its selection of candidates. There are very many men now in Congress who would not be there if their constituents had been free to follow their preferences. Their judgments were overborne by influences created by the use of the Executive patronage

wielded by the member already in place. The whole system is false in theory, vicious and demoralizing in practice, and fatal to the independence and integrity of the Government. It ought to be broken up. Members of Covgress should be free, and should be invited, to give information concerning candidates for office within their districts, and that information should weigh much or little, according to its intrinsic value. Facts-not advice, nor wishes personal or political-are what the Executive needs at the hands of members of Congress; and are what should in every case be required and used by him, as the basis and guide of his own independent and untrammelled judgment. This is the true theory, and has been the practice of administration in the better days of the Government. We hope General Grant will try to return to it. Whether he can do so or not is

a matter of doubt, and depends on his ability | BRANDY, WHISKY, WINE, ETC. to contend successfully against the various influences and combinations that are interested in maintaining the existing state of things, and which most assuredly will not surrender it without a bitter and a desperate struggle.

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