

Have We a Republic?

We agree with the MOBILE REGISTER in saying that if any one of our readers stands in need of a prophet to pierce the vista of the future, as it is to be unfolded in the train of events growing out of the tremendous political revolution of the 5th of this month, he will please apply to a wiser man than we are. We thought we saw some things pretty clearly at the beginning of the late political flood, and it turns out that, in a measure, at least, we did. But nothing is more odious than the "I told you so," and in the time of gloom and defeat to our political friends, we are far from adding to the "unpleasantness" of the situation by disagreeable and unreasonable reminders. We have, nevertheless, a clear right to make an exception in the case of an original "departur," who, in the very hour of failure, undertakes to break its force by maintaining that the defeat is clearly due to the fact that we did not "depart" and play "passive" far enough. For our own part we are abundantly satisfied with the length to which departism and passivism were carried, and we must say that we do not choose any more of either in our. The MISSOURI REPUBLICAN, the author, we believe, of these political theories, now declares that they broke down in their experiment when Baltimore endorsed Cincinnati, and proclaimed for Greeley on the 9th of July. Its argument is, that the Democrats thereby checked the liberal revolt in the Republican party, which had it been left alone, would have spread the epidemic to the mortal end of that party, and that when Baltimore said Greeley, it gave the Grantites the excuse to say this is a Democratic dodge, and the result was an instantaneous damper to the insurrection headed by SCHUYLER TRUMBULL & Co. A splendid eulogy, certainly, to the lofty patriotic principles of the Republicans, who refused to join their greatest leaders in saving the country, because they found that Democrats were to have a hand in the job. Yet to make the programme complete the REPUBLICAN admits that the success of the Democratic vote to the liberal Republican movement was an essential element. It is a good old adage that you must catch your hare before you cook it. The hare in this case was some three millions of Democrats who were expected to lie, & rosa, until such time as the liberals should say, as Wellington did at Waterloo, "Up, men, and at 'em." But, unfortunately, the Democrats could not be brought to see the thing in the REPUBLICAN'S light, and the result shows that the Democrats could not be brought to the scratch by the whole moral weight of their party organization, and a formal party nomination. By the REPUBLICAN'S plan, we think the hare would have been even more at large, even more non-combativa in swamp and a greater divisible fugitive than he is now. The game was too fine for practical illustration; in the cant phrase of the day, entirely "too thin." The event has shown how utterly it would have failed had the matter been left free to the individual judgment of the Democrats. But it had another hypothesis as its base of success, to wit: that the Grantites were verdant enough to be fool ed by this transparent disguise. Did the radicals need the Baltimore endorsement of Greeley to find out that Democrats in general, would support the Liberal movement as against Grant? Why, they charged upon the Cincinnati movement as Democratic in disguise, long before the Baltimore Convention met. No, it won't do to account for the overwhelming election of Grant and his policy in that way. The reasons lie broader and deeper than that. The real defeat in this election is not of Mr. Greeley; it is a defeat of Republican principles, a defeat of free government, a defeat of reconciliation between the States, a defeat of integrity and responsibility in the administration of the Federal Government. And on the other hand it is the triumph of power—the power that is constituted of money and bayonets. The vast floating vote of the country fell, as it always does, to the strong side, and the Grant men showed that there was the strong side by the unscrupulous use of the sword and the purse of the nation. It was too much for the "virtue and intelligence" of the nation; and where these are wanting all publicists admit that free institutions are impossible. Liberty cannot survive public corruption. Our own opinion is that the election on the 5th of November was not needed to strike the first mortal blow at the republican institutions in America. It was done when 800,000 dummies were admitted to the freedom of the ballot-box. We speak only in reference to the poisoning and destruction of the intelligence and virtue, without which free suffrage is an sham, a delusion and a snare. We have seen that the whole of this voting mass has been yielded by one party, and made to bow its knees to power. And what do those 800,000 votes cast upon the 5th of November represent? The will of the Grant party. And it would not have altered the matter in principle and in effect, if, instead of admitting these blind instruments of power to suffrage, Congress had passed an act to allow Grant to start in the race with that number of ballots ahead, and stuffed in the ballot-boxes. It isn't a question of color, we

say, but of deep, stolid ignorance and incapacity for the duties to which they were assigned. If these blacks had been generally as well-informed on the matters and the issues of the election as the whites, there had been less reason to complain; but with rare exceptions, the negroes know just as little about the objects and effects of their votes as so many oxen or mules. Then, universal black suffrage literally poisoned the stream of liberty and free intelligent government at its fountain. The people lost confidence and turned to power in their dilemma. Just so, from time immemorial in the history of nations have tyrants made danger and anarchy in society in order to force the people to the protection of the one man power. Our republic is far traveled on this road, and we have before us no republic or co-republic, but empire or commonwealth. The rights of the people in their local organizations have gone down. Will the nabobs of the country, the individual millionaires and the great companies of associated wealth fare any better than the people have in their struggle, should they seek permanent protection under an imperial scepter against a people outraged in all their rights of civil liberty? We are not a little curious to know what our late candidate for the Presidency—who bore himself so nobly and won laurels so bright—thinks of universal negro suffrage, since he has inspected it more closely. On his conscience and his experience does he now believe that one out of a hundred of these people are fit and profitable suffragans in a republic. We are aware that Mr. GREELEY might answer negatively, and still plead over that, in time they will grow up to fitness. Very well, then, why was not this time waited for? In the meantime, Mr. GREELEY must see that their votes are cast against that integrity, purification, peace, and reconciliation which he has so gallantly fighting for. The truth, at last, is the blacks were given the ballot to sustain the radical party—to be its slaves—just what they are.

Civil Service Reform.
The long-talked-of "Civil Service Reform" which has been used to hoodwink the people into inflicting another four years of Grantism, is now about to come to a head by commencing at the great head center, the President himself. It must be the intention of the incoming administration to increase the salaries of the Official Brigade to such an extent that they can draw a fortune out of the people without incurring the honor of stealing it, leaving that part of adroit statesmanship to be practiced by those only who are seeking the "honors of office."
Now that the election is over we hear of proposals to increase the pay of Grant's office holders. A Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times, Grant's leading organ, predicts a regrading and increase of salaries of the most important officers in the civil service, as one of the first acts of the incoming administration. The salary of the President's correspondent says, "must be raised between now and the 4th of next March in order to have it take effect during any part of President Grant's second term. It is certain that he will not ask to have his own salary increased, nor will he exercise any influence to have it increased; but if the proposition is made in Congress to raise it \$50,000 per year, it will hardly meet with much opposition. It is more likely that an appropriation will be made for a new executive mansion. It is an old plan to have a dwelling house for the President in a different part of the city and use the White House as an office, and it is now quite time for it to be carried out."

The Vacant Major-Generals.
It is said that Brigadier-General O. O. Howard is to be promoted to the Major-Generalcy vacated by the death of General Meade. The incongruity of this appointment is palliated by an alleged agreement that he is to resign immediately.—We have no desire now to discuss General Howard invidiously, but certainly his promotion cannot be justified on any military grounds. If made, it must be on political considerations only. The principal events of his military career are the surprise of Hooker's army at Chancellorsville, wholly attributable to General Howard's carelessness or imbecility, and the disasters of the first day at Gettysburg, which are ascribable to the same cause. This certainly does not merit reward and promotion. In the Freedman's Bureau General Howard may have achieved literary or political, but certainly not military distinction. It is, we believe, certain that he has acquired wealth. This ought to content him, without seeking to obtain a reward due only to merit in the field. It will be none the less objectionable if the appointment is given to him under a private agreement that he is to resign to do what is right to the army and the country in these matters, without subservience to politicians.—Philadelphia Age.

Among the journals which have not lowered their flag an inch in consequence of the late election, stands the old and trusted organ of the Democracy of New York, the Albany Argus. That paper says: "The Democratic party has suffered reverses in the past, and has arisen from defeat stronger and more resolute than before. It will be so now. Nothing can daunt the courage of patriotic hearts, struggling upon the ascendancy of principles upon which the republic depends. The administration has been given another lease of power. But it is not popular or strong. Thousands of votes have been cast for it most reluctantly. Its apparent strength will prove its weakness, and the men who have been induced to give it approval now will turn from it with disgust before many months have passed. Thousands have voted for Grant contrary to their own convictions. They will yet join the patriotic men who have nobly struggled for Reform, and in the cause of Truth, Justice, Peace and Liberty, will buckle on their armor, and win success in a righteous cause."

The following is the order which General Meade issued on the day he took command of the Army of the Potomac three days before the battle of Gettysburg:
HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, June 28, 1863.—General Order No. 60.—By direction of the President of the United States, I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac. As a soldier, in obeying this order, an order totally unexpected and un solicited, I have no promises or pledges to make. The country looks to this army to relieve it from the devastation and disgrace of a hostile invasion. Whatever fatigues and sacrifices we may be called upon to undergo, let us have in view constantly the magnitude of the interests involved, and let each man determine to do his duty—leaving to an all-controlling Providence the decision of the contest. It is with just confidence that I relieve, in the command of this army, an eminent and accomplished soldier, whose name must ever appear conspicuous in the history of its achievements; but I rely upon the hearty support of my companions in arms to assist me in the discharge of the duties of the important trust which has been confided to me.
GEORGE G. MEADE,
Major-General Commanding.
S. F. BARLOW, Assistant Adjutant Gen.

Mrs. FAIR, in California, has formally demanded and received from the hands of Justice, the pistol with which she shot Judge Crittenden. Probably she wants to use it again. In England such a trophy is forfeited, under the name of "deodand."

THE PARTISAN CONVENTION.—The small politicians in the Constitutional Convention succeeded on Wednesday, in putting through their partisan programme, in the election of officers, all of one political party, for that body. Judge Woodward, Mr. Gowen, Mr. McAllister and others protested, and Messrs. Meredith and McAllister, Republicans, voted against the caucus nominees, but the latter were elected, very few of the Democrats voting.
This action is disgraceful to the Convention. Every officer is a Republican although the Convention is almost equally divided between Democrats and Republicans, and although it was intended that the Convention should utterly ignore "politics." This partisan movement in the beginning indicates that the authors of it will endeavor to conduct the entire business of the Convention in the interest of the party which they hope to serve by this contemptible course.
It is fortunate that these narrow-minded partisans will not be able to carry their point in the matter of constituting the committees. Mr. Meachitt has already shown that he despises their desire to make a party machine of the convention, and we doubt not, he will construct the committees with a view to the best interests of the State, now and hereafter.