The Pittsburgh Gazette

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REMODELING THE CONSTITUTION.

Conservatism consists in holding on to the past with feelings akin to reverence. Radicalism consists in going forth to meet the future, inspired by hope and armed with courage. This is clearly seen in this country by the sentiments with which these two classes regard the Constitution. The Conservatives, without regarding the temporary conditions of political and domestic society out of which it grew; the ephemeral prejudices to which it had to be accommodated; the passing needs to which it was required to minister; the local rivalries and personal ambitions it was designed to adjust; regard it as the acme and sublimation of accomplished statesmanship. Even those compromises with transient sentiments, with local peculiarities, with effervescent envies and jealousies, are confounded in nature and essence with those provisions designed to guard inherent and fundamental rights, concerning whose existence and importance there can, from the nature of the case, be no controversy, and whose recognition and security in the economy of the nation is as indispensable as the maintenance of the vital fluid in the human body. The Radicals, perceiving how the Constitution was adapted to the condition and wants of the generation in which originated; and how those adaptations came to be confounded, as to sacredness and permanence, in the other parts, designed to recognize and enforce what was abiding and universal. How the compromises, as they are termed, only aggravated the evils they were intended to cure, and produced others still more mischievous, feel it expedient to eliminate, to as great a degree as possible, all the elements pertaining exclusively to the age, and to leave only those which are stable because part and parcel of that grand system of political truth, embedded in the enlightened consciousness of all the race, and hence destined to abide forever. By this process, and by this alone, can the Constitution be adapted, from age to age, to that ceaseless flow of human life, and experience, and vicissitude, which cannot be resisted, but must be accepted as an integral portion of the common lot of humanity. However the Conservatives may inveigh, and shake their heads, and sigh for the "good old days," long past, they cannot, by any contrivances of political legerdemain, restore them.

One of the most conservative of the religious denominations undertook to crystalize an existing formula of belief, a certain type of speech, and a particular fashion of attire, so that they should endure for all time. So long as the modes adopted remained in vogue, this was easy enough; but in spite of expostulations, entreaties and rebukes, the world would change, and there was no help for it. The conservatism of the Quaker, like all other descriptions thereof, cannot resist the innovations which continually spring up, and each age will assert its right to amend or subvert what it inherits from its forerunner. The world is made so; and though Conservatives may bewail this fact with a sombre pleasure, or curse it with a malignant delight, they cannot abolish it.

The framers of the Constitution were not only cognizant of the existence of this principle, but were too wise to attempt to ignore or baffle it.

The idea of change was recognized in the Constitution, by the provision made for its amendment. True, the right of revision and alteration would have existed with as full effect if it had not been admitted in the instrument, as by the most explicit statement and guarantee of it. In the very nature of things, back of all conventions and supreme over them, man is mightier than any or all his institutions, and not only can, but will, change them at his pleasure. The ancient Medes and Persians, in spirit of the loftiest arrogance, carried conservatism to its highest pitch. With a self confidence never matched before or since, they decreed that their laws, when once made, should never change. What accuracy must have overflowed the souls of those old Conservatives when, as they fancied, they had succeeded in transforming their mistakes, and prejudices, and hatreds, into enduring granite, destined to last until the fires of the last day should burn down creation. Alas! day should burn down creation. for them; we look and those institutions are not. Those constitutions and laws that were never to change, have all been swept away. What is left is only the tradition of their infatuation and folly; by which wise men are instructed, but from which dunces learn nothing.

The Conservatives of the United States devote themselves to bewailing the changes recently made in the Constitution. While contradicting all that was generous, elevating and noble in the spirit and conduct of the framers of that document, they cherish all that was bitter, debasing and ignoble in them.

Such is conservatism always. If liberty has made a successful aggression anywhere, they seek to get back of that achievement to the oldest despotism, and fall down before it in abject plight.

They make compromises into which the men of our revolutionary era entered, and which steadily vexed the nation until they culminated in a most gigantic civil war, have been swept away. Instead of welcoming this fructifying tide as the Egyptians do the overflowing of the Nile, and with like reason, our Conservatives give themselves up to lamentations. The old land-marks are submerged, never to appear again, and they are dismayed and distressed equally with the old Idolaters, whose images of wood and stone were purloined and carried off. Henceforth these Conservatives cannot worship with the old pomp and ceremony the deposed and banished idols of hate and terror, and their hearts are bowed with grief. Like other people, when in affliction, they indulge a dim and shadowy hope that by some inexplicable dispensation the old condition of affairs may be restored; that the blacks may be forced back into their former condition of bondage; that the old masters and their successors may regain their former prestige, with superadded power; and through their ownership of blacks may dominate the nation as of yore. If this consummation could only be reached, they would be in an infinite strait whether to depart in peace or stay and enjoy the congenial darkness and horror.

Some timid Radicals, not accustomed to profound study upon the vast and surprising, and oftimes sudden changes that come over the institutions and destinies of nations, exhibit fears as to the extent to which the late movements have gone, and the consequences already evolved. Their sensitive and undisciplined nerves apprehend a sort of Angola disaster, in which the whole Union shall be thrown off the track, and State, piled upon State, in horrid disorder, shall be burned to ashes in the fires of unquenchable contention. These fail to see that the recognition and defence of rights, no matter how swift and fierce, is never to be dreaded as subversive of order but always welcomed as indicative of genuine progress and amelioration. But, if the fact is otherwise; if the recovery and vindication of lost rights do entail evils even of serious magnitude; if fissures are wrought in political fabrics; if many estimable things are crushed and ruined; still, the tempests that shake society are on the whole desirable. No man prays that the atmosphere may no longer be agitated by winds, because tornadoes sometimes break from restraint and mow broad swaths along the ground; or that no ocean shall never again be lashed into fury because rich argosies are wrecked and lost in the violence of gales. These agitations are part of the indispensable economy of the world; promote its purity and serenity; and render it habitable. Conservatives may deplore such exhibitions of force; may essay to stop the elements when they muster their wings for the onset; and may imagine they could devise a better plan and conduct to more harmonious results; they may derive ample satisfaction from contemplating their own superior wisdom; but all their self-vaunting will not set aside the ordination of the Creator that agitation is the essential condition of growth, and growth indispensable to the perfection of nature.

DEMOCRACY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The maxim that "Revolutions never go backwards," is frequently controverted, but never in the large or totality, but in the minute and special. It is conceded by all observers that the ebb and flow of the life of nations hold analogy, in some particulars, to the constant rise and fall of oceanic tides; or, rather, to the current of a mighty river, that now rushes down a precipitous incline, now disappears underneath the sand, now winds around the base of an escivelity, now makes a torturous path through the soft alluvial of a broad valley, now falls into an eddy and seems to turn back upon itself, now sweeps majestically onwards for many a league in direct and full flow, and now divides, seeking the sea by many outlets. Whatever temporary or incidental appearances may indicate to the contrary, there is, on the whole, a constant though not uniform progress.

This idea may readily be verified and its accuracy demonstrated by a careful study of British history. To superficial cognition, it appears that what was gained during the protracted parliamentary struggle which resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy and the Protectorate of CROMWELL, was lost at the Restoration. But whoever searches beneath the surface finds indubitable evidence that, notwithstanding the seeming violence of the reaction, most of the essential ameliorations that had been accomplished actually remained. Not a branch that had been lopped from the tree of feudalism was ever so replaced as to be vitalized by the parent sap and start into renewed efflorescence. The austerity of Puritanism was, indeed, contemned, and the rein given to a wild and delirious license, but this touched no more than the mere growth, while the pith and substance remained secure. Since then, particular periods may be noted in which Prerogative seemed to gain upon Liberty, but these retrogressions were of short duration, and when the stream of events, escaping from incidental hindrances, resumed its normal flow, its velocity was so increased as to afford abundant compensation for its previous backwardness.

During the last hundred years the progress made towards the full enfranchisement of the masses has been steady and surprising. This progress has been felt in every department of activity—in politics, in religion, in education, in business, and even in pleasures. It first the nobility succeeded in wrenching the government out of the exclusive control of the Crown; then the gentry disputed the authority of the nobility, and at length the larger share to themselves; and now the laboring classes are loudly demanding a recognition of their rights in the premises, and cannot for a considerable period be resisted.

So far has this movement been carried that the necessity for a thorough revision of the educational system is generally felt and will soon be carried. This revision, when it shall come, will recognize the right of each child to a good primary education at the expense of the whole. This is not a small matter; nor doesit stand disconnected and apart as many foolishly imagine. The system of education adopted in each particular country must and will comport, in the long run, with the form of government prevailing therein. The Papal government will concern itself chiefly in the education of priests; and this because it is a theocracy, ruling in the name of God, not for the benefit of the people, but for its own. Russia is a military despotism, and its system of instruction is designed to furnish forth soldiers; a few to command, and the many to obey. So long as Great Britain was an oligarchical State, its instructional scheme was devised and directed to develop and equip an aristocracy. In these several instances the systems of education are logical; that is, they are suited to the nature of the case. It is apparent, therefore, that whenever a government takes the education of the masses in hand, with the intention of furnishing each for the duties of life at the cost of all, it has passed under the control of the democratic element. The men who direct it may not see this distinctly; may entertain the notion that by mere concessions they are gaining time and power, to thwart the popular aspirations; and may even delude themselves into the belief that they are actually pushed from their stools; but the education of all implies that all are to participate, and on equal terms, in the management of national affairs.

The Trade Unions present another indication of the same tendency. Not that we justify or excuse all that these organizations have done. That they have adopted arson and murder as regular instrumentalities has been proved beyond the possibility of cavil or question. It absolutely makes the blood run cold to read the narration of the atrocities systematically resorted to by them to intimidate or punish such as refuse to submit to their exactions. Let it be hoped that this is only the frenzy of their newly acquired strength, and that experience will instruct them into wiser and humaner methods.

But, into whatever terrible excesses the Unions have run, they are certainly disciplining the laboring classes into many of the attributes of self-government. In these bodies they are learning to reflect, discuss, decide, upon their own wants, privileges and rights; to challenge, weigh and set aside prescriptive demands made on them. Herein are all the germs of civil freedom. The manifestation may be crude, imperfect, sinful, wild, or cruel; but vast and beneficial consequences have proceeded from causes still more unpromising at their inception.

How powerful these Unions have become is seen in the fact that though constantly resorting to most brutal crimes against innocent individuals, the government does not dare lay its interdict upon them. The Courts make some inquisitions. Parliamentary Commissions search into the very depth of the offences and spread the horrible evidence before the nation; but the authorities do not dare put forth their hands and break up the combinations. The Unions have become formidable to the government.

It has happened, from the beginning of the world, in almost all lands, that the civil administration has been in alliance with the ecclesiastical. As best they could, the powers of this world have entered into treaty with the powers of the world to come, for mutual profit. The known have wished the sanction of the unknown; and the spiritual have delighted to be armed with the carnal might of the physical. Even in exceptional cases, as in the United States, where this tendency is formally repudiated, it is not difficult for practical observers to detect traces of it, latent indeed, but ready upon inducement to spring into surprising activity. BYRON coarsely averred that most of the churches in England had shammed on this question, and all but the Church as by law established had made a "damned poor bargain of it." But scarcely was he laid in his grave when Lord GREY, speaking in Parliament, as Prime Minister, gave the prelates of that Church solemn warning to "set their house in order." He was not hostile; but looking from the hight of intelligence that he occupied he discerned the future.

That Great Britain is now agitated most profoundly is too obvious to be contradicted. Signs of unusual and portentous ferment are thrown up in all departments of society. Various elements, acting independently, are giving serious alarm to the governing classes. If these elements shall coalesce upon a common basis of action, they will become irresistible. Whatever may be the issue in this respect, it is apparent that the spirit of genuine democracy is rapidly gaining on caste and privilege, and that the day of complete political emancipation may suddenly arrive.

CHRONIC AND CRIMINAL INSANE.

Last winter a proposition was before the Legislature of the Commonwealth for the erection of an additional Hospital for the Custody and Treatment of the Insane. It failed, but will probably be renewed this year. When it was under consideration the suggestion was offered that the new house should be devoted mainly if not exclusively to the chronic insane. The argument was that the removal of the class of incurable patients from the present houses would afford ample room for the accommodation of fresh cases, and would afford larger facilities for treatment and cure. It was easy to see how removing a large number of inmates would make room for others, but it was not apparent, in view of the pretty rigid classification of patients in the different wards, uniformly pursued, how recent cases would be benefited by the separation.

The National Association of Superintendents of Hospitals for the Insane, at the meeting held in Washington in 1866, had this topic under consideration, and while a few of the members expressed themselves in favor of the separation, by a very decided vote, it was resolved—

"That insane persons considered curable, and those supposed incurable, should not be provided for in separate establishments."

Recent cases of insanity are always by far the most expensive to take care of. The additional attention required, because of greater inclination to injure or destroy clothing, furniture, &c., and the means necessarily employed to restrain violence, and prevent suicide, are causes of much of the increased outlay. If no chronic patients are in a hospital, by whom the mischievous tendencies of recent patients are watched, double the number of attendants would have to be employed or the troublesome ones would have to be locked in their rooms the greater part of the time.

We made recently an incidental allusion to Dr. Howe's proposition to adopt in Massachusetts what is known as the Gheel System, under which insane patients are scattered in villages and treated by peasants. All the witnesses do not coincide with the Doctor either in describing the treatment or in estimating the efficacy of it. Some of these report that the "unrestricted freedom" allowed, is enjoyed with chains dangling from the ancles. Often they are confined in uncomfortable quarters in the peasants' dwellings. Unless all experience elsewhere in the treatment of the insane has only resulted in misunderstanding the nature of the disease, and consequently the means for assuging it, all this would be unnecessary.

Besides, if we are correctly informed, the authorities have given up the distinctive principle of their treatment, by the erection, within the last few years, of what is called an Infirmary, to which all patients are taken and retained for a period, and in which all who prove specified or troublesome are permanently confined. If this is not an abandonment of the whole principle of "unrestricted freedom" we can hardly imagine what would be.

Under such circumstances it is most improbable that any departure will be made in Pennsylvania from the system now in operation; but that an additional Hospital, whenever it shall be erected, will be constructed substantially as those now in existence are. That another institution is required is well known to all persons who have taken pains to acquaint themselves with the facts of the case.

At the last session of the Legislature a very few of the members endorsed their ignorance or recklessness by deriding all public provision for the insane. But this opinion seemed to be that it was better that insane persons should be permitted to roam at large until it was demonstrated the safety of the public was imperilled by such freedom, and that then the responsibility of confining and attending upon them should devolve upon family friends, or, perhaps, that they should be driven out from among the living, as those were in early days who were reported to be possessed of devils. For the credit of the Commonwealth it is to be hoped that no members of the next Legislature will be found entertaining so crude and inhuman views on this important subject.

The municipal election in Allegheny, held yesterday, resulted in the election of the Union Republican nominees for Mayor and Director of the Poor. Both branches of the City Council will be largely Republican.

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OUR BOYS.

What becomes of the boys, the news-boys, the boot-blacks, the gamins of our streets? We see them daily at every corner, and perhaps become familiar with their quaint faces and shrill voices. Most of us get into the way of thinking of them as we would of a post or a cellar door, a thing that is necessarily there, but why it is so we never reflect. Try for once a little different course. It may amuse you. The next time one accosts you in the Postoffice, say something kind or polite to him, and see how the hard old face softens into that of a boy, how the sheer astonishment will serve to show you that this is a human being, and no mere thing. And what becomes of him? The boys we used to hear yelling out the news of a steamer's arrival during the Italian war of '59 are men now, and the boys who howl over the dreadful "explosions" or "all about the murder" now-a-days must sooner or later outgrow their occupations. And what then? Some of the old boys have grown to be well-to-do citizens, have worked their way up to positions in the town. But these are the exceptions, the Napoleons of the class; others have no doubt learned trades, and are now earning their bread honestly and uprightly. But these are all the news boys of the past, and we fear that the energy and vim of the present race may be turned in another and bad direction. A few weeks ago we saw a knot of them in a corner, all ears listening while one read the filthy details of a filthy crime, from a periodical, whose aim is to delineate the most disgusting scenes, and to make heroes of criminals and to call crime heroism; there were boys from eight years old up, all listening with relish to the story; all seemingly perfectly familiar with similar ones; all impatient for the conclusion. Again we see numbers of them every week on tip toe before the pictorial displays of news dealers, devouring the wood cuts and spelling out the legends beneath. These are their colleges and their text books; what can we hope will be their diplomas? What can we expect shall become of these boys? Can the few bright examples of prosperity and success, achieved by former members of their class, be sufficient to destroy the effects of the trash which forms their literature? We fear not. And yet we think something might be done for them; an antidote for this literary poison might be furnished. As their inquisitive minds thirst for knowledge, it might be furnished in another form. Why could there not be a street boys library here, as there is one for apprentices in Philadelphia, and another in Boston? A free library of good, stout books, not tracts, or tract-like books, for boys will not read them, but good, stout, *entertaining* books, such as Oliver Optic, Mayne Reid, or Miss Bowman know how to write, get up in a cheap form for the reader and gradually instil morality or useful knowledge; not those which pound down a ton of morals with a straw of story. If these could be furnished we would have hopes that the poisonous weeklies might be counteracted, not otherwise; and we do not doubt that there are enough of such volumes lying idle among the toys of grown up children to work a great good if properly applied. Surely we think something can be done for these waifs, and surely the thing is worth a trial.

THE RESTORATION OF MR. STANTON to his position in the War Department threatens to entail serious consequences. The President, stubborn and determined, has resolved to hold no intercourse with him, and our advices state that a proclamation announcing this fact is forthcoming. We do not partake of any alarm from this source. Mr. STANTON can, and will, retain the office from which he was originally only suspended, the threatening movements of the President to the contrary notwithstanding. But while he holds his position it will virtually amount to little, as Mr. JOHNSON can ignore the fact of occupation, and refuse to admit him to Cabinet, can render his position anything but pleasant. Then, again, the President can transact all of his business as Commander-in-Chief of the Army through General GRANT and other officers without so much as consulting Mr. STANTON, who will be left with occupation gone. Powerless to set aside the mandate of the President, exhibit