WHAT MAY BE EXPECTED FROM GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

ONE of the unfortunate but inevitable accompaniments of a canvass, or in fact of all government by popular agitation, is that a measure cannot be carried without exciting extravagant expectations as to its results. It is possible, for instance, in the present or any probable condition of the human faculties to elect a President by a party vote without leading the majority to look for a much greater improvement in the condition of the country as the reward of their exertions than is in the nature of things possible. Consequently, few Presidents ever pass through even one term without greatly disappointing their supporters. Of course there would be some disappointment even if an archangel were put in the chair, for it would not be in the power of an archangel to reward everybody who took an active part in the canvass, according to the applicant's own estimate of his deserts. But there is also sure to be a good deal of disappointment for which the hack politician is not responsible. No man can have ten or fifteen eulogistic "lives" written of him, or have several hundred orators and newspapers devote themselves for half a year to extolling him, and making light of his defects, without suffering from the cold criticisms of later and calmer days. Moreover, there is no man out of office, and who has never held office, who can ever have his fitness for office weighed accurately, even by the acutest observer. The number of those in every state of whom it may be said, with slight modification, what Tacitus said of Galba, that they enjoy a reputation for statesmanship the continuance of which depends on their never being called on to govern, is necessarily very great. Moreover, we have had a good many Presidents whose elevation was not even due to an untested reputation for administrative capacity, but simply to accident or intrigue.

The very best and ablest man must, therefore, owing to causes which have their root in human nature itself, expect to see the lustre of his name considerably dimmed by the time his first term of office has closed. We have little doubt this will prove true of Grant as of others, though none of his predecessors since Washington has gone through, under the eyes of the nation, before assuming office, such a severe trial of all his qualities, mental as well as moral, as he has. His enemies have tried in vain to represent him as a mere soldier, and a warm people against him, for reasons that would apply to St. Arnaud or Pelsier and Windischgratz; and the reason they have failed is, that the man who succeeds at the head of an American volunteer army can never be a mere soldier. A mere soldier could not and cannot command such an organization, because it is not and cannot be made the perfect military machine which is all set in motion by touching a single spring, as the Austrian or French army is. Even when in its best state for military purposes, it retains very largely its civil character, and has to be managed and manoeuvred with a very large amount of that civil power of persuasion, respect for prejudices and peculiarities, and skill in judging of individual character, which go to make a statesman's success. An American general who maintains good relations with the Federal Government, good relations with the governors of the States, retains the confidence and respect of the troops, and the good opinion of the public during arduous and difficult campaigns, such as Grant's have been, has passed through an ordeal such as no foreign general is ever called upon to encounter, and must possess many of the highest qualities of a civil ruler.

Within a very few days Grant will, we believe, be elected. While, therefore, perfectly aware that the triumph of the Republican party and the installation of Grant in the White House will not bring or even materially hasten the millennium, we believe there are certain things of the highest value which a man who is neither sanguine nor excited may, after due allowance has been made for the froth of the campaign, count on us all but certain to result from it. It is, in the first place, we will not say put an end to crimes and corruptions at the South, but it will greatly diminish their number so far diminish it as to produce what will be—for the South—a condition of peace and security; and this not wholly, or even in great part, by the application of force, for Grant will not have at his disposal the means of policing the South. He will have the means of ending the flagrant disorders, partly by the supply of aid to the civil authorities in best cases, and partly through the effect on the Southern imagination of the fact that the malcontents have neither sympathy nor support to look for at Washington. It must be remembered that order is not preserved in any community—not even in conquered communities—by the direct use of force. A reasonable apprehension of punishment, and a tolerably clear apprehension of the uselessness of resistance, are what the most turbulent community needs to reduce it to something like tranquility. Even in the worst districts of the South, the great bulk of the people desire a quiet life, and it only needs the belief that the state of things now established is not to be changed by assassination or arson, and that attempts to change it in this way will be repressed with the strong hand, to produce as close a semblance of order even in Texas as is possible in the existing moral condition of the population.

The election of Grant will, in fact, be the approval by the country, after four years' deliberation, of the plan of reconstruction adopted by Congress. The most sanguine or flinty Southern politician will hardly continue to hope for the reversal of such a judgment as this.

In the next place, although we do not flatter ourselves that Grant's election will completely remove all danger to the public credit, it will give all the weight and influence of the Government, and all the formal expression of public opinion, to that portion of the Republican party which advocates the honest payment of the public debt. It will not silence the Butlers; it may not prevent a split of the Republican party on this very question, and the return of its chief knaves and a large body of its more recent recruits to their old places in the Democratic ranks. But it will certainly cow, and may silence, the repugnists until the finances have been reduced to order, and something like a settled policy adopted with regard to revenue and taxation. That is the general expectation both at home and abroad is shown in the rise in the value of greenbacks and Government bonds since the recent State elections. That is to say, the mere prospect of Grant's triumph has carried us nearly a fifth of the way towards specie payments without any cost to the country. His election will carry us still further, and then an economical management of the Treasury, and the supression of War-Horses in the House and Senate, will, it is to be hoped, locally do the rest.

Though last, not least, Grant's election will afford the best chance that has ever been offered of reform in the civil service. It is only lately that the necessity of this has become fully apparent to the public. While population was small, society simple, and the work of government comparatively light, the evils of the existing system were not very striking. Since the war they have assumed proportions which it is no exaggeration to call awful, for they positively threaten the existence of the Government. From Presidents taken from the ranks of the regular politicians, bred under the influence of party usages and traditions, it was useless to expect any assistance in the work of reform. Even to Mr. Lincoln, honest and well-meaning as he was, the present plan of appointing public servants were the appearance of a portion of the natural order of the universe, and there was something pathetic as well as painful in watching him devoting the first three precious months of his first term of office—when the enemy was literally at the gates, and the Government apparently in the throes of dissolution—to the distribution of "the spoils" in such manner as to "satisfy the claims of localites" and reward the various hack politicians of all degrees who had taken part in the canvass.

Now, Grant is not a regular politician. He will be the first President the country has had for many a long day on whom old party doctrines, as to "spoils" and "claims," will have no influence. He has been bred in a very different and a very much better school—a school in which honor and merit are still words that mean something, and that stand for forces in human affairs. He has shown, too, in his administration of the army, that he knows a good man when he sees him, and that as soon as he sees him he clasps him to him with hooks of steel. He is by education and temperamental love of order, strictness, and blunteries, and will undoubtedly apply to the civil service, in so far as he can, the rules of selection and promotion by the aid of which he has given such splendid illustration to American military annals. We may therefore look for, at his hands, in the first place—if he gets a fair amount of support from the Senate—the formation of a cabinet in which knowledge and ability will count for a great deal, and the
"claims of localities" and party usages for very little. We should not be surprised, for instance, and should be very much pleased—though we know nothing whatever about the probabilities—to see him put Mr. Sumner in the State Department and Mr. Wells in the Treasury. In the next place, the attempt to reform the whole civil service in which Mr. Jenckes and Mr. Patterson are engaged, and which will be renewed when Congress meets, will undoubtedly receive from him an amount of hearty support such as no regular politician would give them. He, like all military and naval officers, will, when brought into actual contact with the diplomatic, revenue, and postal service, be sickened by the spectacle of disorder and corruption which they offer, and will do what he can to make them what the army and navy are—a credit to the country instead of a shame and scandal.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AFTER THE ELECTION.

As we go to press, the reports which reach us from all quarters indicate that, although Mr. Dana's chances of election in the Essex District are by no means desperate, General Butler will very likely be successful and the Fifth Massachusetts District unfortunate. What we shall say in the present article is founded on the assumption of that probability, and if the assumption is incorrect, fails to the ground. Assuming, therefore, that General Butler succeeds in defeating Mr. Dana, what effect will the result have, not upon the members of the Butternut sect of mechanics upon the Republican party—upon the party which, for the past eight years, has held the reins of government—upon the party which has defeated the South and reconstructed the Union?

With the election of Grant and Colfax, the conflict about slavery, negro suffrage, and reconstruction must come to an end. For this election assures us that there shall be no re-enslavement, that in the States still disorganized the forces of the United States shall be used to the extent of the power of the Executive in protecting citizens at the South, whether black or white, in the exercise of all their rights, political as well as civil, and that the reconstruction acts shall be considered valid by all departments of the Government. More than this, as we have frequently pointed out, cannot be done. Military government of the South for the next twenty years—which, were it only possible, would be by far the best means of fostering the growth of peace there, accompanied as it would be by instruction for the negro and poor white, and affording, as it would, protection to Northern emigrants—is unfortunately totally impossible. Unfortunately all parties are with rare unanimity agreed that the Southern States must, for the future, be left to themselves. A limit is already set to the Freedmen's Bureau, both by act of Congress and by common consent; and the minor theoretical topics of disagreement between the two parties—as, for instance, the criminality of treason and the question whether the Southern States at the end of the war were in and out of the Union—cannot very well any longer form substantial ground for difference. In other words, the chief points of dispute between Republicans and Democrats will be settled; the war which began forty years ago with the publication of the Liberator will have been ended in the complete triumph of the Liberator's cause. The Democrats will have been beaten, and the victorious hosts of the Republicans will be looking about them, uncertain in what fields to display their activity.

The Republicans will then find themselves composed of several small parties, different in aims, different in origin, different in destiny. We do not propose to enumerate them all, but some of them are these: In the first place, the old abolitionists, a party restating its claims to existence solely on the vigor of its conscience; in the second place, what may be called the later school of abolitionists, who began life by believing slavery to be not the most crying evil in America, but who were persuaded sooner or later into admitting that it was; in the third place, the majority of the party, who joined it to put down the rebellion with the simple feeling of patriotism; in the fourth place, the new negro voters, a body about which almost nothing is known, except that it is a docile body; and, in the fifth place, individual men of ability and distinguished unenamoredness, who left their old party at the last moment to take sides with the stronger forces, and who are willing to do the same thing again. This fifth class is represented by, if not composed of, General Butler.

The aim of the first class is the reign of "truth," a vague and unsatisfactory aim, because each one of them has his own notions of the proper definition of the word. The aim of the second class is simply good government and the application of the laws of reasoning and the deductions of experience to affairs of state. The third is quite as vague in its views as the first, and quite as much under the influence of its feelings. The object of the fourth is simply to be led to do what will make a tolerable life possible; while the fifth merely desires personal aggrandizement. Four of these classes were united by the war in the pursuits of a common enemy; the termination of the war and reconstruction leave them without any well-defined plan of action. One of them has just been called into existence. Meanwhile, it is necessary to observe that, though four of the classes are divided at leap-hazard intobondholders and non-bondholders, the limits of no one of them coincide with the limits of the bondholding and non-bondholding classes. The negroes, for example, are practically entirely non-bondholding. On the other hand, the Democrats also find their occupation gone, for slavery is abolished and the South is reconstructed. They are demoralized utterly.

Now, one of the two great parties being in a thoroughly disorganized state, and the other being undecided as to its future policy, a question of vital importance to the payment of the debt. It is generally assumed that this question is settled by the announcement by the Democrats of their intention to pay the debt in greenbacks and to tax the bonds, and by the Republican declaration at Chicago that the debt is to be paid in good faith and that repudiation is a national crime. But although we are disposed to agree to the proposition that this might have been so had not the question of electing General Butler been made so prominent and interesting a one, by the refusal of a very large and respectable body of Republicans to support a man pledged to violate the honor of the country, it seems to us more probable that if General Butler is elected the five-twenty question will assume new and alarming proportions. And our reasons are these: The eyes of intelligent men all over the country are at this moment turned upon the Fifth Massachusetts District as one in which a test-case is trying, in which the question how much stretching the Chicago Platform will stand is being determined. It must not be forgotten that Butler himself has taken that platform as his, and has, in a letter to the Tribune, already long since stated his intention to pay the debt according to "good conscience," a phrase which does not differ essentially from "good faith," but which he interprets in his own peculiar fashion. Again, General Butler is, according to all received authorities, the great (Republican) apostle of the greenback plan,

"That he who has shan't keep
And he shall get who can."

It was General Butler who received it from Pendleton, and who improved and perfected it. It is known as Butler's policy, and the question is whether Butler can, in the teeth of an active opposition, solely through the advantage which a regular nomination gives him, make the payment of the debt in good faith mean payment of the debt in depreciated currency.

Only two or three State conventions have had the boldness yet to advocate in set terms the payment of the debt in gold and silver coin. Massachusetts has done so; but a vast majority of the States have made platforms which are only verbose amplifications ofн the maxim that "honesty is the best policy." The great question is, What do you mean by "good faith," and what do you mean by "repudiation"—and the fact is that the Republican conventions have not generally dared to say what they do mean. Individual Republicans, like Secretary Stanton, have no objection to say what they think. But neither has General Butler. The conduct of Senator Morton shows the prevailing unsteadiness upon this and kindred points. Six months ago he said that he was "in favor of one currency for all," and used other expressions from which the public derived the impression that he thought the 5-20s should be paid in greenbacks, and that the currency should be paper. He has recently said that by "one currency" he meant "gold and silver," and that as for the payment of the 5-20s in greenbacks—"Why, gentlemen, breathe there a man with soul so dead," etc., etc. And what will he say six months hence? There never