

On our outside page we give a paper of great importance compiled by the editors of the New York Herald. It is simply a list of federal office-holders who fill places on the State and county committees of the Republican party in certain States. We approach the subject with much diffidence in our ability adequately to impress the subject on the attention of our readers; for the things that are set forth in this publication grew up so imperceptibly, and our people have become so accustomed to it, that they have learned to look upon it as a matter of course, and to find it almost inconceivable that things should be otherwise; and yet it has succeeded in completely reversing the constitutional action of our government, so that while in theory the executive has simply the province of carrying out the will of congress, it dictates through its employees who shall sit in congress; and while the constitution has reserved to the States all legislative powers except those explicitly conferred on congress, this everywhere intrusive executive sends its satellites into State and county and district conventions, and federal office-holders dictate the platforms and nominations of our primary meetings, so that the district, the county and the State have become nothing, the existing administration at Washington everything. When De Tocqueville, the great French political writer, was here more than forty years ago, the point of contrast which struck him between our institutions and those of France was that, whereas political power in France emanated from the central government and radiated through the Departments, Commissions and Municipalities directed upon the people, in this country it commenced with the people who acted upon the primary meetings in townships, civil districts, and counties, and then in their turn upon the State Legislature and the State elections, and finally the State organizations upon the Federal government. In other words, political influence is centrifugal in France, centripetal in America—was centripetal in America perhaps we had better say, as if De Tocqueville had witnessed the wonderful machinery by which Mr. Chandler acted upon and organized the office-holders on an electoral agency in our last presidential election, he would have been struck with no such contrast as that which gave origin to his great work on Democracy in America. He would have seen a bureaucratic machinery not very far from successful in setting aside the radical condemnation of the Federal rule of the last eight years, and rendering unnecessary the device of the returning boards and the electoral commission for setting aside the election itself. The French system is easily described. The whole country is divided into departments and the departments into communes, corresponding to our States and counties, and these are administered by executive officers, called prefects, appointed by the central government. The mayors of cities are also appointed by the executive of the central government, and these officers have much greater power than our elected governors, sheriffs and mayors. They direct the minutest affairs of life—a man cannot hire post horses without the authority of the prefect or mayor; public meetings of any sort cannot be held except by his order. He designates which of the candidates at an election is the favorite of the government, and such power has he in all the transactions of life that there is scarcely a man in his commune whom he is not able to benefit or injure in some way or other according as he votes for the government candidate or his adversary. This is called bureaucracy from the bureau or business offices of the public functionaries who administer it; all its principle is centralization, and it may be said that under all the different dynasties which have prevailed in France during the last century it has been substantially the same. Legitimist, Orleansist, Imperialist, Republican government's, have not attempted to change it; the extreme Republicans under Gambetta are at last clamoring for decentralization. In theory, how different from all this is the political procedure in the United States? Here the people elect their own mayors and aldermen, their sheriffs, governors, etc., and their State Legislature. All questions of State or federal interests are discussed in district meetings, county conventions, State conventions, and the political forces act from the circumference to the center; they are centripetal, while in the French system they are centrifugal, or act from the center towards the circumference. A theory, we say, the two systems show a striking contrast, so striking that when De Tocqueville was in this country he considered it the leading characteristic of the nations, and it became the central idea of the work which he wrote. But in practice, under the manipulation of our present executive, it is the contrast so striking as it appeared to De Tocqueville forty years ago? Had that acute political observer witnessed the machinery by which the party now in power has perpetuated its tenure of office against the growing opposition of the people, he would have seen a centralization which would have satisfied Louis XIV, or Napoleon or MacMahon. The machinery which has been applied to elections since the war, so far as the Republican party has contrived it, has been as strictly bureaucratic as that by which MacMahon is now endeavoring to strangle in its infancy the Republican constitution of France. The only difference is, that instead of acting through prefects and mayors, the electoral departments in the United States have been the Post

MEETING OF THE TENNESSEE PRESS ASSOCIATION.

Our city has been in a state of excited activity the last week preparing for the visit of the Tennessee Press Association, everybody desiring to do something towards showing respect to our guests and providing for their comfort and pleasure. The Southern Hotel, closed for some months, has been swept and garnished under the auspices of Capt. Crossman, Sam. Caldwell Esq., and their fellow committee-men, with the valued assistance of Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Bringham, and many a private residence has been prepared for the hospitable reception of our visitors. We shall be unable to give this week a full account of the proceedings, but, present what we can do to Friday morning, reserving the rest for our next week's paper. The first arrival was that of Major and Mrs. Bringham. Mrs. Bringham is the pretties laureate of the Association for this year; she is the daughter of the well known Gen. Sam. Houston of Texas, a lady of great personal attractions and already well known for many happy efforts in poetry. Major Bringham is Professor of languages in the Military Institute at Austin Texas, and a gentleman of intellect, culture and taste, the latter quality being specially manifested in his selection of a bride. They arrived on Wednesday morning and we deposited them in the hospitable charge of Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Bringham, with whom they soon established kinship, and discovered that they ought to have been intimate friends for two or three hundred years; they are rapidly making up for lost time. The Association was called to order at 11 o'clock A. M. Its proceedings were opened with prayer by the Rev. J. R. Plummer. At roll call the responses were rather few and far between on account of the absence of the Nashville delegation and delegates on that branch of our railroad. These were prevented arriving by a mistake in railroad arrangement. The President, Dr. R. M. Dickenson then in a brief but well expressed address congratulated the Association on the occurrence of another annual meeting and proposed that the business should at once be proceeded with. The following journals were found to be represented on the first roll call. Brownsville States, Dr. G. A. Mathes; Brownsville Bee, W. I. Westbrook; Clarksville Tobacco Leaf, T. M. Riley; Dyersburg Gazette, Hon. T. W. Neal; Humboldt Herald, W. Williams, V. P.; Lebanon Herald, R. L. C. White, Sec'y; Milan Exchange, W. A. Wade; Treas; Morristown Gazette, J. E. Johnson, V. P.; Nashville American, H. M. Deak, V. P.; Nashville Banner, E. Crutcher; Nashville Legal Reporter, J. Brown, Paris Intelligencer, Dr. R. M. Dickenson, President. The only further transaction was the admission of the following journals to membership. The Clarksville Chronicle, represented by Dr. D. F. Wright; the Dover Record, represented by Mr. J. P. Flood; the Henderson Review, (also the Clarksville Review), represented by Mr. W. J. Broadus; the Paris Gazette, represented by Mr. C. W. Crockett; the Humbolt Grand Journal, represented by Mr. R. W. Leigh. A communication was then read by the President from the Kentucky Press Association, appointing four delegates from that body viz. Messrs. E. Polk Johnson, Louisville Evening News; J. L. Faxon, Paducah News; Sam. Gaines, Hopkinsville New Era, and Emmet Logan of the Courier-Journal, to attend the meetings of the Tennessee Press Association and reciprocate expressions of fraternal esteem and sympathy. On motion this message was placed on the minutes of the Association and the four delegates together with many visitors from the Louisville press, invited to a seat on the floor of the hall. In the absence of many members no further business was transacted and the Association adjourned till 3 o'clock P. M. The Association met according to adjournment at 3 o'clock P. M. The reports of committees were in order. Messrs. Doak, White and Wade were a committee to report an answer to a communication from the Kentucky Press Association. The report was not forth-coming, and there was some good-humored sparring to decide which was responsible for the failure; the question was then disposed of by excusing both and requiring Mr. Doak to report to-morrow morning. Some desultory discussion then followed on the questions of printing dead matter and patent out-lets—Messrs. Helms, Neal and Flood being the principle speakers. No motion was made. It had been agreed to defer all important business till the Nashville delegates might arrive. Association adjourned till 8 1/2 P. M. on Friday 22d. THURSDAY NIGHT, 23 P. M. This was the public meeting of the Association calculated to interest the general public in the cause which the technicalities of the day light exercises could hardly interest. The Rev. J. R. Plummer opened with a brief welcome to the Association, embracing a tender of the Academy buildings as a local habitation for the press gang during its sojourn in Clarksville. The reverend gentleman was peculiarly happy in acknowledging his obligations to the press in early life. The Hon. G. A. Henry now took the stand and on the part of the Mayor and Aldermen opened the arms of the whole community as it were in glad and hearty welcome to the visitors who had honored the city by selecting it as the scene of their deliberations. He gave a succinct history of the rise and progress of the "art preservative," and dwelt earnestly upon the sacred mission which it filled in the present day. He demonstrated that a press of elevated and purified the community in which it abode, and, on the other hand, should the press become weak and corrupt and time serving, gen-

debase and corruption must inevitably result.

[We regret much that the latter part of the Major's address was not heard by an assembly committee duty took us away from the hall at that time.] Mr. R. M. Dickenson, of the Paris Intelligencer, President of the Association, acknowledged the compliment on the part of the Society, including in his address a most gratifying tribute to the ability and high principles of the public men of Clarksville. Next in order follows the elegant poem, which we publish entire, read with an indelible grace and beauty by Mrs. Houston Bringham. The poem speaks for itself, but those who heard it can form no conception of the charms added to it by the personal attractions, exquisite voice and modest simplicity of the reader. A crown of the choicest laurel is due from the Tennessee Press Association to the fair brow of its lovely laureate: TO THE TENNESSEE PRESS ASSOCIATION. Among these hills, beside this stream, Where youth's young manhood gleams, A stranger in your city-gates, May feel their potent charms. But, stranger, did I say, to rights Within the bosom of your State Made grand by Jackson's name? His feet have pressed the soil I touch, 'Twas here he lived and died— His eyes have gazed on grand vales, His hands have ploughed the soil, Yes, there are ties as strong and deep As human ties may be, 'Tis here the patriotic heart Was kindled to its truest fire, 'Twas from your midst that Crockett came, In manhood's youthful glow, And gave his blood, like incense warm, Within the Altars. And Tennessee set other sons, To tread the path of duty true, Whose names have added lustre bright To grace the Single Star. Among your vales, upon your hills, To breathe the morning breeze, There was a sacrifice of blood Poured out like holy wine. Upon those battle-fields grass-grown The flowers of Peace have bloomed; There we gave thanks for our dear Lord, Long years have laid him out. But in our souls while Memory lives, His sacred walls to keep, All Southern hearts will glow, With the remembrance of the soil, Near Chattanooga where the strife Was waged both hard and long, And Lookout like a spectre grim, Ring'd off the straggling foe; By Memphis' smoking chimneys, Near Chickasaw's plain, There is a voice upon the breeze That must not plead in vain. The harden of this worthless prayer, In each such selfish wish, Is that those ties of Southern blood Our hearts together hold. And here among your living sons A stronger power you wield, A mightier than the last sword, A surer than the shield. From Lebanon of elastic loam This power is all untold, With trees are tall and shades as deep As Lebanon of old. From Nashville with her stately halls, Her buildings ivy-grown, You mark the strength of thought and pen, With accents unobscured, From Humboldt, Paris, Gallatin, To where the Brownsville Bee Has gathered sweets from every flower In thoughts full fair to see; From Cadiz, Athens, Hopkinsville, To Spring Hill, and beyond, From Elkton, Franklin, Shelbyville, All brothers of a clan. They help to keep a nation's strength, Like patriots true and wise, And in their paths like soldiers' arms, A country's safety lies. Just as the coral insects build Great reefs beneath the sea, So you are building up from this Country's destiny. My song is done and we must part; From paths the wide and far— From Georgia and Kentucky's shore Come the Texas stars; United may we meet again, Fair State of Tennessee, For there are ties too dear to name That bind my heart to thine. Gen. W. R. Hamby then delivered the prescribed annual oration. He took for his leading subject the degeneracy of political man and the absence of true statesmanship in the present day, and enjoined it as a duty incumbent on the press to exert its confessedly powerful influence to check the evil. We understand that this oration will appear in the columns of our contemporary, the Tobacco Leaf, next week, and will only say at present that it was received with loud and deserved applause. And this closes our incomplete record of the doings of the Press Association in Clarksville. "The best is yet to come,"

Events in France—Dissolution of the Chamber.

Our dispatches show in what spirit and how a passion excited conflict in France progresses. In the history of no other nation can be found a parallel to the scene we witnessed last week. There was no logical sequence to the steps followed by Marshal MacMahon and the demerit for the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies. On May 16 the Chamber was prorogued because within the limits of Parliamentary government there was the only condition of safety for the Ministry. If it is assumed that the government is inspired by the will of the majority, the Ministry is chosen that does not command the confidence of the representative body—and that, in fact, is notorious. If it is assumed that the Ministry cannot survive a single vote, or, if it survives a vote, it must do so in defiance of an opposing majority, a Minister is chosen who takes the responsibility to set aside the primary assumption as the will of the majority, and substituting his own will by the recognized power of a coup d'etat. In a case, therefore, where the conflict has not continued, the Ministry is chosen to lead to the adoption of extreme measures, and where consequently the government is not prepared to resist, it is not prepared to support a Minister not in sympathy with the majority, avert the possibility of a vote. This was done in France under the late Ministry, which authorizes the President to suspend the sessions of the Chamber of Deputies for one month. Conflict was thus averted by the decree of May 16, and the President ceased to exist. The Ministry immediately, as well as the painful responsibility of deciding whether he could quietly accept what he had certainly regard as a humiliation, or should resort to extra constitutional measures—to force, in fact—to support a Ministry against the known will of the country as declared in the Chamber. No one has yet doubted the Marshal's fidelity to his oath, and there is a wide range for different opinions as to his political sagacity; but assuming that it was not, it is a mistake to suppose that within the law, the clause of the constitution referred to afforded him a happy immediate escape from a painful position. He was not in a conception of duty to the country he found himself suddenly in collision with that law which was the official declaration of the will of the country. On the one hand was the humiliation of retreat; on the other was possible ultimate success and retreat. He was not to go over himself with ridicule; to go on involved the violation of his oath—that is, dishonor. He was not to be a traitor to his country, from which he could only escape by forcing his way across that moral frontier the limit of which he could not pass. In this difficulty the "port and happy harbor" of refuge was the right to propose to the Assembly for its dissolution in that month or might not happen. That they who inspired his policy convinced him, no doubt that the result would be a victory for the thirty days; that the republicans would be awed by his firmness; that they would relinquish the error of their way, and that the country would rush to sustain another savior, and more of that sort. They did not fail to assure him that they could not support the Ministry, and administrative departments that they might defy the future, however events should turn. At the end of the thirty days, however, the President is forced upon one more constitutional nostrum. He is in the same dilemma with the Assembly, and the Assembly will fall if it faces a vote unless he declares his indifference to votes and his readiness to resign. He is not prepared for either contingency, and consequently resorts to dissolution in the same spirit in which he resorted to the dissolution of the Chamber, and he cannot apply it alone. He must have the consent of the Senate. He has requested the Senate to meet on the 15th inst., and the Senate on this point, as he is required by the constitution, and the Senate has referred the subject to the 15th inst. It has been doubted whether it will sustain the ministerial policy. Bodies like the French Senate are almost always a conservative body, and they perform this function by the simple process of contrasting the evils of two given courses and choosing the course that to a narrow margin is the least threatening of least disturbance. Senators, therefore, will not regard the proposed action as one that is essentially revolutionary, though covered by the letter of the constitution. They will not contemplate from the standpoint of duty that aspect of the case. They will take it as a simple question of consequences of their refusal to co-operate with the Ministry. What will the Marshal do if he has not, by their assistance, secure a peaceable dissolution of a Chamber in the presence of which he declares he cannot legislate, and which may hope of safety for conservative interests? He has declared that he will resign. In that resignation they would see every conceivable contingency. They cannot tell what may follow; but consulting their fears they will dwell upon the possibility of a revolution, and will even apprehend that in a new revolution the very Senate itself might be swept away. This is the shape the speculation will take if they even believe that the Marshal will simply resign. But suppose he should not resign—suppose he should not even resign, but take and will even apprehend that in a new revolution the very Senate itself might be swept away. 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