

EDITORIALS.

A THIRD TERM AND CÆSARISM.

A large number of our cotemporaries in the East are discussing the question of a third term of the Presidency in connection with General Grant. The New York *Herald* esteems the present a critical period in the history of the United States. The best way, the *Herald* suggests, for the satisfactory settlement of the question would be for President Grant to decline re-election, but that paper cannot see any cause to suppose that he will do so, and concludes an article on the subject as follows:—

We mark in broad lines the tendency to Cæsarism which exists, as palpably as man exists, in the government of the United States to-day. We know that republics have been strangled in a night by hands that could less surely rely on their forces than General Grant could if he chose to make the attempt. We have seen republics become feeble and feebleness through the indifference which grows out of plethoric purses and which allowed ambition from within or without to efface their liberties and their very names. We have seen a corrupted republic grasped tightly by a Marius and by a Sulla stagger forward a pace or two only to fall forever before the blow of a Cæsar Imperator. Our danger may lie in any of the three—personal power, indifference or corruption. It is to guard it from all of them, or from others not yet developed, that we appeal to the patriotism and thought of the country.

Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper thinks that if the people had credited the possibility of a third term for President Grant, he would have had a much smaller majority for his second term; that there is no other available republican candidate than Grant; that he is the man, the whole army of politicians looking to him as their leader, and he being the open choice of the officeholders, to whom a third term means continuation in place and power; that he is as strong now, with the politicians, for a third term as he was last year for the second, but weaker with the people. Says the *Newspaper*—

Thus the people are by no means as ready to give Grant a third term as they were to give him a second. There was illustrious precedent for the one, there is none for the other. No President ever held his office for twelve years, but, on the contrary, Washington, Jefferson and other great leaders of the Republic warned the people against the dangers of the perpetual re-eligibility of the Executive. Lincoln, even in time of war, held similar opinions. Jefferson believed it would result in making the office one for life, and afterwards hereditary. Thus, last year the country was convinced that Grant's second term would be, as a matter of course, his last; they scouted the idea that he might seek to elect himself again and treated all who asserted the possibility of such a scheme as idle or malicious alarmists. That the people do not think so now the present political condition gives sufficient proof. The third term question is the question of the day. We do not doubt, at this distance from the contest for the Presidential succession, that Grant will be re-nominated. But his re-nomination will seal the tomb of the republican party. Centralization will have no more alarming effect than the nomination of a President for a third term; and the people do not think any American worthy of that honor.

The Atlanta (Ga.) *Herald* is more severe. It says—

There is no constitutional prohibition of a third term, and if Grant can work his numerous office-holders dexterously, we see no reason why he should not be the nominee of the radicals again.

President Grant is an ambitious man, and an able man, too. Silent and reserved as he may be, he is a close observer, and we have no doubt that he has thoroughly sounded Northern sentiments and that he thoroughly understands them. To-day a majority of voters at the North are republicans. They want a "strong government"—something centralized—and they are prepared to vote for any man who will give them this. President Grant is the embodiment of centralism. No man in the United States can be found to fill the position of Cæsar with so much satisfaction. He believes in popular suffrage only so far as it elevates him and his creatures to office, and he does not hesitate to crush the popular voice when he finds it antagonistic to his views. Such a man then, has every chance of a third nomination, and—seriously fear—of a third election. There is nothing in him of the lofty contempt of office which characterized Washington, and he has nothing in common with Jackson.

We agree with the New York *Herald* that the re-election of Grant will inaugurate an era of Cæsarism—perhaps it would be better to say, would develop into full force the Cæsarism of the past ten years. Those will be wise who prepare in advance for it. A special providence is required to see that the old republic of the United States is dead. Here in the South is the last stronghold of republicanism in this country. Some day it will assert itself and overthrow Cæsarism, but not before the centralists of the North have succeeded in capping the pinnacle they have erected, with the oligarchy more odious than Rome or Venice ever possessed—more odious because the present age is enlightened and Americans enjoyed unrestricted liberty for eighty-five years before the republic of a voluntary union was destroyed, and the so-called republic of force and unquenchable animosities substituted.

The Lynchburg *Virginian* wants the independent press to fight against the third term business.

Believing that the country is in danger from the Cæsarism of the dominant party that has made an idol of its military chief, who, in conjunction with his pensioned office-holders, will neglect no effort to bring the whole patronage of the government—now immense and increasing—to bear upon the question, and to promote his interest and theirs, by keeping the administration of affairs in the hands of those who now govern; it behooves the independent press of the country to warn the people against the evil with which they are threatened.

The Paducah *Kentuckian* urges a constitutional amendment prohibiting a second term—

The remedy (for a third term) is, of course, that advocated by Horace Greeley and endorsed at Cincinnati and Baltimore—a constitutional amendment making the President ineligible for a second term. What the country needs, and what it must have at an early day, if our republican liberties are to be preserved to us, is the amendment spoken of, a capable and patriotic Chief Magistrate, an honest Congress and a thorough and genuine reform in the civil services. Until we have all these the country cannot be satisfied that we have a republican form of government which is not liable to be overthrown at any time.

The National Union thinks Grant's election would be doubtful—

There is no denying that Grant is very willing to accept a nomination for a third term, and that he has the power to force this nomination from his party. The only question with him is as to the result of such a nomination. If he can assure himself of an election there is little doubt that he will be in the field. But it is by no means certain that the rank and file of the republican party can be brought up to his support for a third term, while there are a few prominent men in the party who think they deserve something and may possibly hold back from his support in the event Grant forces his nomination.

The Washington *Chronicle* is not alarmed, as the people know enough to prevent them falling into general slavery—

The New York *Herald* says that we are gradually drifting into Cæsarism, owing to the corruptions that have crept into public life. The people have the remedy, and, when found necessary, will know how to apply it. They disposed of one system of slavery and will hardly allow another to get control of our body politic.

The Lockport (N. Y.) *Union* says it must not be—

The *Herald* makes no mistake in directing attention to the issue which must overtop all others until it is finally and irrevocably settled. Mr. Grant's usurpation in Louisiana equals, in defiance of law, any single act of Cæsar in his progressive overthrow of the Roman Republic. To evade the fate of that Empire Mr. Grant must not be allowed to enter upon his third term. It may have been noticed by the observing that those republicans who last fall denounced, in advance, any project looking to Mr. Grant's continuance in office beyond his present term are now reticent upon the subject, or venture the assertion that a third term is likely to become a necessity! It is vain to talk of tariffs or monopolies while this question is pending.

The Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle* thinks the campaign must be fought over again—

Every important act of the President's since his second inauguration seems to indicate that he is preparing for a third term—that Cæsarism is to be the issue; Cæsarism, with all its tyranny and corruption, its viciousness and depravity, without the prosperity, the glory and the grandeur which made its despotism endurable. To this complexion must it come at last unless the people remain true to themselves and true to the faith of their fathers, the founders of the Republic. Sagacious statesmen foresaw and depicted the evil more than a year ago. Charles Sumner, whose republicanism is as undoubted as his talents, told Congress and the country of Cæsarism from his seat in the Senate more than a twelvemonth since. Horace Greeley, the great journalist, the man able, honest and sincere, saw the danger and sounded a warning in the columns of the *Tribune*. Other republicans saw it and sought to save the party from the suicidal nomination at Philadelphia. When they became convinced that further exertions within party lines would be useless, they renounced their allegiance. They determined to act for themselves, and the Cincinnati platform and the nomination of Horace Greeley was the first formal protest against the one-man power. The democracy, losing sight of lesser evils in the presence of great and immediate danger, coalesced with the reformers and fought with them, shoulder to shoulder, the battle of '72. But the strategy of the enemy caused the true grounds of quarrel to be ignored and forgotten. The conflict was waged upon false issues, and the Cincinnati movement encountered a crushing defeat. Now the campaign must be recommenced, and though the last fight was lost and the enemy has the prestige of success, the prospects for victory will be better than they ever were before. Cæsarism, which formerly lay in ambush, now rears high its brazen front, and there is no mistaking the character of the foe.

The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* thinks there is more ground for alarm on account of dry rot corruption than the tendency to Cæsarism. That paper says—

It is an interesting and suggestive—though, perhaps, not necessarily alarming

—symptom of the abnormal pathological condition in which the body politic now finds itself, that, in the first half year of an American President's second term, so many politicians and political journals should be found discussing the chances of his third term.

Thus, a Washington correspondent informs the Boston *Post* that a conference of office-holders was held last week at Long Branch to "arrange the preliminaries," and that it is "not denied" the President knew of it. Further that the prime movers count, first, upon the patronage; second, upon the influence of the moneyed interests—the railroads, national banks, protected manufactures and great capitalists, that supported General Grant so effectively last year; third, upon the inability of any other one candidate to rally around him a majority of the party; fourth, upon the inability of the opposition to concentrate and act in unison. * * If, by any accident, the President should run again he would probably run better at the South than in any other section of the country. The predictions of the *Courier-Journal* on that head are coming true with a rapidity that is rather startling.

We are not disposed, as our readers very well know, to exaggerate the importance of this third term talk; much of it is doubtless idle and meaningless. * * * Making all fair allowances, however, we have still a residuum of earnestness, calculation, serious purpose. There are a few men and journals that regard General Grant's re-election in 1876 as both feasible and desirable. There are a great many men and journals that could be pretty certainly relied upon, in the event of his getting the "regular nomination," to support him. They would not find in the act of his having already served two terms, any solid objection to presenting him with a third. That is to say, the Washington precedent has lost, for the moment at least, much of its sanctity. The war is largely responsible for this, as for a number of other things—good and bad. There may be a reaction by and by and a return to the old paths; we hope and believe there will be. But at present there is not among us that vigilant jealousy of rulers, that exaggerated but wholesome dread of personal government, that watchful care that the democratic republic sustains no injury at the hands of powerful public servants, that used to characterize the American people. In the storm more than one cable has parted, more than one anchor has been lost. The ship has drifted a long way from her old moorings, and there is a lee shore in sight. We do not look to see her go to wreck upon this shore, however. We still retain an abiding and reassuring faith in the Republic. We believe her to be in greater danger at this moment from the dry rot of corruption than from "Cæsarism." We see no reason to budge from the opinion heretofore expressed in these columns that General Grant cannot get a renomination, even if he is after it, of which there is as yet no satisfactory proof. Moreover, we do not believe the people are ready as yet for either the life-consulate or the empire. It is quite possible the spectacle of a President openly seeking a third term might give precisely that shock to the national system which is needed to dispel the lethargy that now oppresses it, set the blood tingling through the veins and restore the suspended functions to a normal activity.

The Providence *Journal* can't understand why the question should be sprung so early and in dog days weather.

The Lynchburg *Virginian* thinks it ominous that administration organs do not disavow the purpose to put Grant in for a third term; and says—

If, therefore, Grant should seem to be, three years hence, the strongest man in the party, he will again be nominated for the high office he now holds, but does not fill. We may rest assured that he and his office holders will try to make that appear as a fact, and the prediction of Frank Blair is likely to be fulfilled.

The New York *Express* thinks Grant and the republic will drive things to the bitter end—

The *Herald* devotes another leader to the rapid strides we are making towards a consolidated despotism under the "Cæsarism" of General Grant, and until these strides are reversed, the editor is certain, the liberties of the people are in danger. The *Herald* is right, but it is only opening its eyes now to perils which were clearly foreseen by others when the republican party made Grant substantially military dictator. As a first step to getting on the path of safety, the *Herald* calls upon President Grant to give public assurance that he will not be a candidate for a third term. The writer knows little of Grant or of such men as Grant, if he expects him to do anything like that. He and his party have "shipped for the voyage," and the voyage, no matter how perilous it may be to popular liberty, must go on, on, on—till the end.

The Baltimore *Gazette* sees hope only among the democracy and exhorts it to awake and organize—

Our judgment, and we speak it sadly, is that with the financial and other evil influences which the President and his myrmidons know so well how to use the chances would be largely in his favor. But one thing can avert it, and this is, that apathy should cease, and that such blasts of warning as we have cited, and which we trust will be repeated, shall arouse the sleeping people. The republican party, in the way of the development of anything like opposition to a third term candidate, is thoroughly narcotized. Its bravest leaders are in discredit and almost exiled. How helpless it really is may be inferred from the incontestable fact that the only possible candidate within its reach who is talked of is the migratory adventurer who presides over the House of Representatives; and his pretensions are

just nothing. Of liberalism we hardly know how to speak. Like many other over-strained, immature growths, its vigor was impaired by precocity. We surrendered everything to it last Autumn, and in doing so overtaxed more energies than one. Nothing, then, remains but the democracy of the land, and in view of the new danger which, as we have seen, appals those who are not easily alarmed, we call on it to arouse and organize.

INFALLIBILITY.—This is how the Catholic *Telegraph* puts it—

The syllabus and the dogma of infallibility belong to the body of Catholic faith, which can never be mutilated or changed. Both are the voice of God never to be recalled. Whoever may be chosen to succeed the reigning Pontiff will be the representative of God, and will proclaim anew these decrees of the Holy Ghost. God cannot contradict himself, and no Pope can ever revoke the dogmatic decree of the Vatican Council.

The Cincinnati *Times* thinks there is just a possibility that Providence and the Vatican Council are not identical.

EXTRAORDINARY STORMS have been prevailing in India as well as in this country, preceded by great heat, the thermometer at Bombay in the latter part of May being 96 deg. in the day and 92 deg. at night, with occasional hot winds and most penetrative dust storms. From all parts of that Presidency similar heat and dust and thunder storms are reported.

EASTERN NOTES.

A female hog in Wisconsin gave birth recently to thirty-six pigs at one time. All doing well at last accounts.

The beer brewers of Milwaukee view with dismay the near approach to completion of the city water works.

Mrs. Senator Sprague invites clergymen, school teachers, and the people generally to fill the eighty rooms of her home at Newport.

Prize packages of every sort are to be banished from the railroad cars of Illinois by a recent act of the Legislature.

The Missouri river has made a cut-off at the Big Bend, four miles south of Onawa, thus transferring about 1,500 acres to Nebraska.

Mrs. Lyster, aged ninety-one, was buried at Graysville, Indiana, in the wedding garments she wore seventy-three years ago. They were of linen, spun and woven by herself.

Mr. Bonner's mare "Pocahontas," recently trotted half a mile in Fleetwood Park in the extraordinary time of 1:04. This is the fastest half mile ever trotted.

A party destroyed a house of bad repute at Cumberland, Md. After knocking in the roof they started a fire plug and threw a stream of water in the house to drive the occupants out.

Papers of Richmond, Va., report that a very great interest in temperance has recently been developed in that city. All the trades and professions are included in the new movement.

The Catholic priests of Memphis have not only given their congregation permission to eat meat on Friday, but recommend it as necessary to health during the prevalence of the cholera there.

A fellow who insulted a lady on the Syracuse Northern railroad, the other day, was led by the ear through the entire train, the conductor being the guide, and deposited in the smoking car. The smoking car ought to have been smoking hot.

A Milwaukee servant girl, whose lover insisted upon an early day for the wedding, had gathered together eighteen towels, fifty napkins, twenty sheets, three quilts, seven dresses, and several other articles when arrested.

The Iowa *Republic* publishes a list of the literary women of its own State, with complimentary notices which should be satisfactory to the ladies themselves, and show home appreciation, which is more valuable than any other.

Postal cards which are not delivered to the party addressed on account of his changing his place of habitation can be forwarded to him to the new address, the same as letters, without the payment of extra postage.

Ague Cures Sunstroke.—Jasper Carpenter, of Portland, Ill., was partially paralyzed for several days from the effects of sunstroke, when fever and ague came along, gave him a lively shaking up, and restored him to his normal condition.

From different sources we hear of numbers of persons who propose to seek homes in Oregon during the coming season. The severe winters in the Eastern States have caused many to listen to the reports of her more genial climate.—*Ex.*

In view of the deleterious effects of street sprinkling caused by miasmatic vapors which arise from the moistened accumulations of filth, it has been suggested to try a plan which has already been tested with success in London. The plan consists in combining with the water used to sprinkle the streets chlorides of calcium, sodium, and aluminum. It is claimed that this solution acts as a positive disinfectant, and prevents the creation of noxious gases.

A young married German named John Sohren was arraigned, before Justice Eames, in Williamsburg recently, on a charge of brutally beating his wife, Mary Schren. He was convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary. When he heard his sentence he wept aloud, and his wife, who was a witness against him, suddenly relented, threw her arms around his neck, kissed his cheeks, and exclaimed: "I forgive him." The justice was affected, revoked the sentence, and allowed the couple to go home.—*N. Y. Sun.*

That's so, and the two young women who did it hail from Cleveland. Did what? Why they made a week's trip to Detroit; to London and so along down to Niagara Falls on the Canada side, staying a Sunday at the Falls, and their luggage consisted of a satchel each. And they had more fun than we can tell, for they were independent of porter and baggage masters—just as men are—and could catch up their satchels before the train came to a stand-still—just like men—and they could jump out and go on their way rejoicing—just like men—and they dressed better, and with a great deal more propriety, than if they each had a Saratoga trunk, and they were hailed as sensible women all the way round, and were only troubled by excessive compliments on their good sense. And now we have put them in the paper, for they should be made an example of and their praises should be in every man's mouth—save that of the trunk makers.—*Cleveland Herald.*

The New Albany (Ind.) *Ledger* says that within the past six years nineteen men have been lynched in that vicinity, all within the limits of five counties. Tully and Brown, it says, were given short shrift and a short rope in Jackson county at Brownstown. Three men were hanged on a beech tree in the same county. A negro man was hanged between Courtland and Freetown, in what is known as the White Creek Slashes. Shortly afterward two men were hanged on the beech tree, from the limbs of which three men before them had strangled to death. Four men were hanged in Floyd county jail at New Albany. Two men were strangled to death on the Lost river bridge, between Orleans and Paoli, in Orange county. Three negroes were hanged in Clark county, and now the mob has seized Heffren at Salem and hung him without mercy.

It is said numerous applications have been made for a free ride across in the air ship. We are not going until the second trip. Our faith needs to be braced up a little by success. We have never been up in that upper current, and are apprehensive about its way. It may take a sudden shift and land the adventurous craft in Patagonia or let it down astride the North Pole. It may become entangled in other currents and toss the aerial voyagers like foam upon the waves until it bilges and breaks and goes down into the yeast of waves unknelt, unconfined and unsung. There are problems in this upper air that yet await solution. There are marshals of the wind, freaks of Eolus, marches of the storms, in fact many more things betwixt heaven and earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy. We shall postpone our voyage until these realms of air are charted and the ways of the wild winds are better known.—*Louisville Commercial.*