

OPENING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

As we may be favored by opportunity, we purpose to spread before our readers the opinions of the varied schools of politicians in the North on the candidates for the next Presidency. There never was a time in the nation's history when the American people had a more solemn obligation to discharge than that which lies before them at the election in November next. Before that time, there will be an immense amount of pipe-laying and wire-pulling for particular candidates, and as each gentleman is trotted out for public admiration, the nation will have terribly changed, if the sketches of men and their politics are not of rival interest with the news from the seat of war. From late eastern papers, we notice the proposed re-election of Mr. Lincoln is the subject of general interest. A formidable army of comfortable "Ins" are eloquent in his praises, and a greater host of hungry "Outs" are clamorous for other candidates. The *New York Tribune*, that has always been credited with having elected Mr. Lincoln to his present unpleasant honors, takes an early start in opposition to his re-election and discourses in this wise:—

"We propose here to consider briefly the main reasons urged in the State resolves and letters herewith given for renominating Mr. Lincoln. They will be found substantially as follows:

I. Mr. Lincoln has well discharged the responsibilities of his exalted station.

This is true. We are among those who worked hard to elect Mr. Lincoln, and we are satisfied with the manner in which his public duties have been discharged. He has been patriotic, honest and faithful. He has done his utmost to serve and save the country. True, he has sometimes erred in judgment, and made mistakes: who has not? He is not infallible—not a genius—not one of those rare great men who mould their age into the similitude of their own high character, massive abilities and lofty aims. But considering his antecedents and his experience of public affairs—considering that few or none of us anticipated the terrible War which he has been compelled to wage and the treasonable factiousness which has confronted and resisted him even in the loyal States, we are sure the verdict of History in his case will be, 'Well done, good and faithful servant!' The luster of his many good deeds will far outlive the memory of his mistakes and faults. To this extent, then, we agree with the Legislatures and Conventions that have presented him as their favorite for re-election.

II. He is the first choice, for the next Presidential term, of a large majority of those who have thus far supported his Administration and the War.—We consider this, also, quite true. It would be strange indeed if he were not. In the fearful ordeal through which we have passed, his place has necessarily and uniformly been first in the thoughts of the loyal Millions; his name first, after God's, in their prayers. To say that, knowing far more, they think more of and feel a warmer attachment to him than to any other living man, is only saying that he has not proved an utter disappointment and failure.

But we dissent altogether from the deduction that Mr. Lincoln ought to be renominated because the loyal masses—not having begun seriously to think of the prospective Presidential contest—have not yet fixed upon some one else to succeed him in his high position. And we consider the signatures of members of Legislatures to letters to the President commending his official course and asking him to run again, as anything but decisive indications of an unbiased choice.

No doubt, a great majority of those who together triumphed as Unionists in the State Elections of 1863, if required to vote for President to-morrow, would vote for Mr. Lincoln. They would have no fair opportunity to make another choice. But so the great body of the Federalists of 1860 undoubtedly preferred John Adams for President; yet running him defeated and broke down their party; when, had they supported John Jay instead, they would have triumphed, and had before them long years of power and usefulness. So a great majority of the National Republicans of 1828 preferred John Quincy Adams for a second term; but they were beaten with him nevertheless more disastrously than they could have been had he given place to Henry Clay. So Martin Van Buren was the undoubted first choice of the great body of the Democrats in 1840; while Gen. Harrison was not the first choice of the Whigs; yet Harrison beat Van Buren more overwhelmingly than Clay could have done. The party that gratified its preference was routed; the party that sacrificed its preference was sweepingly triumphant. And so in the elections respectively of Polk and Pierce. But we need not pursue these illustrations.

III. It has been settled—we think, well settled—by the deliberate action of both political parties, that a President in office is not to be re-elected unless under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances. It was for over forty years the general rule to elect for a second term: for the last thirty years, no President has been re-elected. An amendment of the Constitution, making a President ineligible for a second term, has been often urged—we think not wisely. Better leave the

matter where it is—in the hands of the people. They will, at long intervals, decide that a necessity for re-election exists: when none such is obvious and pressing, they will decline to re-elect. We do not see how this could be improved.

The practical question, then, is this—Has Mr. Lincoln proved so transcendently able and admirable a President that all consideration of the merits, abilities, and services of others should be postponed or forborne in favor of his re-election? This is a question whereon, pending the definitive selection of our candidates, there should be the utmost freedom of opinion and expression. We answer it in the negative. Heartily agreeing that Mr. Lincoln has done well, we do not regard it as at all demonstrated that Gov. Chase, Gen. Fremont, Gen. Butler, or Gen. Grant, cannot do as well. We freely admit Mr. Lincoln's merits; but we insist that they are not such as to eclipse and obscure those of all the statesmen and soldiers who have aided in the great work of saving the country from disruption and overthrow. And, if others have done as well in their respective spheres, then we hold that the genius of our institutions, the salutary One Term principle, which has been established by the concurrence of each of our great parties, and by the action of the people, over-ruling either in turn, counsels the choice of another from among our eminent Unionists for President from and after March 4, 1865.

Such are our convictions. We place them before our readers in company with those of the Legislatures and Conventions which have indicated an opposition conclusion, and ask that judgment be rendered in accord with the preponderance, not of authority, but of reasons.

California politicians are lectured in another style by the *San Francisco Bulletin*:—

"Secretary Chase declines to be considered a candidate for the Presidency. This apparently leaves the field clear for Mr. Lincoln, for the times have produced no man of such towering fitness to command our armies or shape our policy that the public sentiment spontaneously calls him forth to take the place which Mr. Lincoln has filled so much better than his best friends anticipated. There was a time when N. P. Banks was spoken of as a very natural candidate. But his popularity has not enjoyed the vigorous growth that was expected of it. He has done well whatever has been entrusted to him, and it is not too late yet for the brilliant success of his Texas expedition to bring him prominently out and set him on the high seat of candidates. Grant seems a good deal farther off from the position of a promising candidate than he did a month ago. Making him Lieutenant-General has laid the responsibility of the conduct of the war upon his shoulders, and devolved on him that most fearful of all undertakings—the creditable handling of the Army of the Potomac. Anything short of the most illustrious success during the spring campaign, puts an Alp in his path to the White House. Nothing abates the spice of Butler's orders, or detracts from the pungency of his letters, but every week that he stays at Fortress Monroe and leaves Richmond the quiet Capital of the Confederacy, lessens the formidableness of his competition. Fremont is laid away on so high a shelf that one feels disposed to apologise for naming him in this connection. Seward, who four years ago was the choice of California, and so heartily her choice that the guns which thundered out the salute over the nomination of Lincoln seemed to desecrate the hills that sullenly rolled their echoes back, is by common consent, including no doubt his own, quite unnamed for the position now. Lincoln alone stands up prominent and preferred—the compromise between Radicalism and Conservatism, satisfactory to that prime Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and equally so to that Conservative *ex officio* Montgomery Blair—the man of the times, original, eccentric, reliable, righteous, the embodiment of the averaged American people. It looks now as if no other man could possibly grow fast enough to overtake him in the affections of the people, or seem to their cool, ripe judgment so fit to occupy for four years the Chief Executive chair.

The *New York Independent*, Henry Ward Beecher's paper, feeling seriously the great questions which must occupy the Presidential brain for the next four years, calls for "a new man," but having no idea where to find him, invites his co-religionists to look out and do some watching and praying between this and the election. Whether intended to stimulate the faithful in the earnestness of their calls, or to frighten away incapable candidates, or a little both ways, is not stated, but H. W. B. presents a busy time in store—thus:

"The next Administration, if it shall begin under peace, will have its hands more full of various labors than under a continued war. Government has a cohesive power during war greater than during peace. A national peril, such as the American revolution, or the present rebellion, consolidates all loyal interests—fusing all men's minds into a single purpose, and compacting the government into a terrible strength. But peace, with its diversity of interests, dividing and scattering popular sympathy, decentralizes the governing power. It will be a harder task to unite parties under the next Administration than it has been under this. It will require a finer statesmanship to conduct the next Administration than it has this. Great statesmen are few in any coun-

try—like great poets. But, few as they are, we must make diligent search to find one for the next Presidency.

What a complication of problems will this next four years bring! Nothing less than the establishment and security of human liberty; the reconstruction of a broken Republic; the re-adjustment of the rights of the States, and of the Federal government; the status of the negro, and his conversion into a citizen; the punishment of treason; the re-ownership of Southern lands; the Mexican question; the Monroe doctrine; the national finances; the absorption of a disbanded soldiery back into citizenship; the fixing upon a standing army large enough to defend liberty, and not large enough to menace it; these and many other problems, foreseen and unforeseen, are the unparalleled difficulties with the next Administration, must meet and master.

"So solemn becomes the question of the national leadership that sober men may well ask, even three short months in advance, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' The man, therefore, who comes bearing in his hand credentials for the next Presidency, must demonstrate, as his first token of fitness, a sublime allegiance to God, liberty, and human rights—a reverent mind, heightened to the noblest conception of the function of government, the grandeur of justice, and the nobility of man. The chief object of government stops short of nothing less than the uplifting of humanity; and Coleridge ought to be once more alive to teach statesmen their forgotten functions. A government, like ours, in which the general principles of equality, liberty, and charity give spirit to the laws, needs, as its true administrators, men of profound religious convictions—men upon whose hearts are graven the two tables of the law, love to God and love to man. A friend of ours lately came back from Washington saying, 'The great lack there, is of a positive faith in God.' But what fitness have men, lacking such a faith, to administer what ought to be a Christian government? No man is fit to stand at the head of men who does not sit at the feet of God. The only ruler who rules sublimely is he whose soul is touched of the Holy Ghost, and who so borrows greatness from Heaven. —[That's sensible.]

The ship of State tosses on a rough sea; the balls will soon ring a change of watch; who shall take the next turn at the helm? Let him be the safest man to steer in a storm—the surest man to find the way into port and safe anchorage. Give us the wisest head, the stoutest arm, the bravest soul! And may God keep the ship!

The *Boston Statesman* on the subject says:—

"It is no longer doubtful that Mr. Lincoln will be opposed by a portion of his own party; and the most radical portion. At present this opposition, among Americans, is working under ground, by secret wire pulling, and shows itself only here and there; but among the radical Germans it is fast assuming organization. The idol of this element, in Missouri, is Senator Gratz Brown, who in an elaborate address, urged the position, that 'We are the revolution;' and the Germans who embrace the doctrine, are marshalling themselves not only in Missouri, but in other States, directly against Mr. Lincoln's renomination, and mostly for Fremont. Thus the Michigan radical Germans have declared at Detroit and other places that if he should receive the unanimous nomination of the Republicans they would not vote for him; the New Jersey German Committee have protested in the bitterest terms against his nomination; and in Missouri they are said to be well nigh unanimously opposed to supporting Mr. Lincoln, even in case he should be the nominee of his party. A radical convention is now proposed. Meantime the American element of the Radicals is becoming bolder every day in its arraignment of the Lincoln men."

A letter from Washington in the *Detroit Free Press* February 11th says:—

"The decided split in the Republican party is now the town talk. Lincoln and Chase are both in the field, and their adherents in Congress have shown their hands. A speech made by Mr. Blair, of Missouri, on Friday, did nothing towards healing the breach, but rather greatly widened it. Blair goes against Thad. Stevens and Garfield, and Spalding, of Ohio, and keeps company with Washburne & Co., in advocating the claims of Mr. Lincoln for re-election. The Chase men are keeping a little dark, but are working like beavers, and one of their last movements is the publication of a pamphlet against Mr. Lincoln. In that sweet and of course, loyal essay, it is declared that in times like the present, no President should be re-elected; also that Mr. Lincoln has disappointed his early friends; that his miserable management of the war has alone been the cause of its long continuance; that the people are not with him, and that he can never be re-elected. The manifest is really quite startling, and will most certainly damage the Lincoln cause."

With these extracts, our readers will be able to place the gentlemen who are to figure in the race for the Chair of Washington, and understand the briefer telegrams yet to come.

FIRE in Grafton, Washington county, supposed to have caught from a candle, Feb. 15, destroyed a gin house, about 300 pounds of cotton, and the wool work of President F. Young's cotton gin, which was being run by Bishop Anson P. Winsor.

STROLLING COWS.—Somewhere among municipal or territorial records, we expect a statute may be found that reads something about property owners properly fencing in their lots, and that no damages can be awarded to claimants for property destroyed, where the fence was not of a certain height, certain strength &c. All that, we expect, is proper enough, for no person should ever let their property "lie around loose," but while the obligation of preserving everything in safe keeping, is the property owners' special business, we are not so certain that that relieves in anything the owner of the damaging animal from the moral culpability for the injury suffered by the other.

It is true that we should all have high and strong fences—and we know no person who would do without them, if such fences were all the time come-at-able; but it is, alas! too true that inability to possess lumber and wood and not carelessness, is the explanation for the greater portion of the dilapidation that is visible every spring in and around the cities. Much of the fence is cut up for firewood in winter in the hope that before vegetation has begun to push out of the ground, in early Summer, the kanyon will have yielded a fresh supply. This kind of excuse for a dilapidated fence is no doubt very obscure to men with abundance; but it is the hard logical facts with the greater portion of laboring men—whoever doubts it can enquire.

Now, we want to reach the possessors of those strolling cows about the city—the folks who, as regularly as the sun rises over the Wahsatch mountains, lower the bars of their corrals, after milking, and say to their quadrupeds: go pick up your daily food where you can. It is an incontrovertible fact that seven days in every week—of course Sunday is as good as any other day for the business—there are cows strolling the streets of this city in quest of food, and have become so habituated to the calling that they leave in the mornings and return in the evenings to their own corrals with all the regularity and order of going to and returning from pasture. Their owners would probably shudder at a charge of theft ever being attached to their own names, and possibly would faint at the dawning upon their obtuse minds of the culpability that every injured person feels they are guilty of, but they understand nothing of the cow's relations to them. When persons keep up cows in the city during the winter and have not the hay, fodder &c. for their maintenance, they not only know that breaking down fences is inevitable, but they ought to be made to feel that their neighbors know it and charge them with it—though they may take no legal course to prosecute them.

Hint to one of these gentry that you would take it a special favor, if he would keep his cow in corral, and the chances are that your ears are saluted with "Keep up your fence, I can't keep my cow in, she hooks down everything," and if an attempt is made at argument for tying her up, ten to one that personal abuse is added to the losea. Such an answer and such treatment would be as consistent as if when complaint was made of the thieving disposition of a member of the family the complainant was told to lock up his property—his wagons, horses, mules, spades, shovels, his buried beets, turnips and potatoes.

We once heard of a person being loud in the praises of his Creator for "the good condition of his cow—even though he had nothing to feed her." He little knew the mingled feelings of pity and contempt that another experienced on listening to the jargon, for he knew full well that his unprotected hay stalk had suffered daily from the visitations of that favored quadruped.

This, intended in the beginning for a paragraph has got lengthy; but we cannot cut it, and will not regret the occupancy of so much space, if forever after this, all the persons we have written for will take the hint, feel that they are "spotted," and mend their ways. If they only knew the depths of contempt everybody feels for the meanness of their course they would hide their faces in shame.

STEALING PONIES.—Indian, 'Jim' of "Little Soldiers" band was taken before Chief Justice Titus on Monday charged with stealing ponies from the Snakes encamped about North Willow Creek. The police tracked Jim and after discovery of guilt was clear, "Jim" made a clean breast of it and was escorted to the calaboose to await the sitting of the U. S. District Court next month.