

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE. It is consistent with True Republicanism, and the Danger of Caesarism.

Those who suppose that General Grant will need a third term to give him time to finish his work do him grave injustice, while they would be wise and prudent. Upon this theory rests the only political condition that can be considered real to his mind, in favor of a resignation to the Presidency. Caesar was told that his victories in Gaul, his trials of administration in Spain, and the wealth and power he had gained, could only find compensation in a kingdom. Napoleon was told that he had the skill and statesmanship to save France from the revolution, and that the other was established on the steps of a throne. The President is surrounded by men like Mark and Brutus, who speak to him like lions as they look to Caesar and Napoleon. Before them lies a contented, happy, prosperous country, caring only for money and business; and, instead of political affairs and neither seeing nor caring for the danger. This was precisely the situation of Rome. Caesar was not known until it had resigned in disgrace, and was cast down as a cardinal maxim, that great as any man may be, the country is still greater; that when it is necessary to place any one man above another, it is always wrong in its institutions. We have a Presidential office, with noble, useful attributes, but in many respects as royal as the office of Caesar. There is no reason why a popular President can, for we saw in the time of Mr. Johnson that impeachment, as a constitutional expedient, was as useless as it was dangerous. The removal of a President who has been accused of treason in the common law of England. We do not say that a President could not, or rather would not, be removed for extremely serious offenses, for example, like those of Charles II., or George IV.; but only a revolution like that which overthrew Charles I. and James II. would remove a President who had been politically obnoxious. Not good on evil, there he stands, immutable in his high office, above all power.

In some respects our constitution is far better than that of England which tolerated Charles I. And the circumstance is painfully apparent that a large part of the ruling men in the republican party are negatively inclined to the principles of Caesarism in the renomination of President Grant; that, in other words, they are silent and acquiescent, and even rejoice at the fall of the badge of General Grant, say nothing on the question most interesting to the people and to friends of liberty.

It is so very easy to tell a successful soldier—or any man, in fact, who may have attained supreme power—but he comes from God to rule the State. With the increase of power, however, comes also the increase of ambition, and the desire to be always a party, a party, a party, the compliances and social gratifications of a court. We are told the presence of a court entitles a man to more magnificence and elegance in manners, high and low, and a spirit of honorable emulation among men. And what are all the treasures of the vain and aspiring heart? They are the desire of a man to have a name, a crown, or a star. There is the powerful class who have all the country can give them, and dread nothing but change. And if by any means they could dispossess us of hours and offices as they do of their gains, how happy would they be!

Behind is the timid and conservative class—what the French would call the *bourgeoisie*—who fear every change of government, every change of party, every change of the country, every change of the world. And the circumstances of the country are identical in all respects with their own. And behind these classes we have the political element which subjects all to its will. The pirates of the Greco-Roman Archipelago used to sustain on the captured ships of Venice and Genoa and who could care little whether the President was fit for life and well in crown, so they could pursue their gainful calling.

The fact that we stand in presence of a contingency involving the independence of the country is conclusive that, in our judgment, there is a radical error.

We are striving to draw the attention of the country to a danger that is not, as any time, a danger inherent in the condition of the country, but a deduction from General Grant now that he would not be a candidate for re-election would be an act of magnanimity on his part; but General Grant does not care to have his liberties at the mercy of any man's magnanimity.

Grant was necessary to Rome, and Caesar to the savagery of England. So let him go for Lincoln, and let the Protectors stand in his stead. Napoleon was the supreme genius of French valorized military genius, and he was the friend of France and King of Italy, and his brothers and sisters reign also, that his glory may be full. We call this magnanimous, and we do not think it is. It differs from the spirit that would sustain General Grant because the country needs his services.

Are we not to suppose that the services of General Grant at the command of the country, and at the command of the White House, or a patriotic gentleman on his Missouri farm? And if General Grant is an independent President, are we capable of self-government? If any man is independent of the country, his personal considerations and the spirit and nature under the aspects of Victoria and Queen Victoria, we must be avoided; but the spirit is alive and grows with each advance of the English liberal party. No man, however, marked dominance in England at the time of Marlborough. The elder son of Marlborough, out of all the names were mentioned, George Washington, in May, as Lincoln, Jefferson and Jackson were, unfortunately.

The spirit which made Jefferson and Lincoln, and Jackson, and others have held their own, and have ruled the country, and have made it a form of the Commonwealth, is making itself a power in our politics. In these days the people were not susceptible of such a spirit as now, and the same may have occurred in America, but the time has become lower; Congressmen have grown rich, their bonds and subsidies, while they were sent up to the country, and the contractors who have held their own, and have ruled the country, and have made it a form of the Commonwealth, are making themselves a power in our politics.

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