

THE NEXT PRESIDENCY.

It is a remarkable fact, and probably this is the first time it has occurred in our history, that, within a few months of the meeting of the nominating conventions of the two great political parties which divide the suffrages of the country between them, the only interesting feature of the political situation is the general indifference which prevails in all sections and among all classes, both as to the platforms and the candidates which will be presented in the struggle for the next Presidency of the United States.

All thoughtful observers of our politics have noticed for some years past a gradual but steady increase in political apathy, and many explanations of it have been offered. Some have lamented the decay of statesmanship and the absence from the scenes of political strife of great political leaders who gathered to themselves the confidence and the admiration of the parties which followed them; while others have given undue importance to the fact that we are living in an era of peace, after the exhaustion of a great war, and when the statesmen who dealt with the problems presented by the war have so recently passed away that, possibly, others competent to deal with existing problems have not yet taken their place.

Upon reflection, the truth, however, will be found to be that the average American citizen cares very little about politics at present, because the government under which he lives touches his life very rarely, and only at points of very little importance to him. From his rising up until his lying down, the vast aggregate of his interests and his activities are entirely beyond its scope, and there is hardly any serious interest of his life which is affected by it. He selects and pursues the occupation of his own choice. He worships in the church of his own choice. He educates his children in schools and according to standards chosen by himself. No compulsory service is demanded of him in his youth, and no burdensome taxes oppress him in his old age. The newspapers, as free as air, bring to him such news, and such comments thereon, as the proprietors suppose he desires to read; and, so long as he behaves himself fairly well, he is assured that his freedom to say what he likes and to do what he likes will not be abridged. Even the great inequalities of fortune, which often seem to him to be both unjust and unsafe, and

which are likely to appeal to the evil passions of the less fortunate, he knows are due either to the possession of less scrupulousness or more energy and capacity by their possessors, or to some of these qualities favored by causes beyond the domain of law. Indeed, the average American citizen is at present without a serious political grievance or a serious political sentiment of any kind, and he believes that his rights will be equally respected, and the interests of the country perhaps equally protected, whether one political party or the other controls the Government. He therefore concerns himself, if a man of business, about business; if a man of religion, about religion; if a man of letters, about letters; if a man of art, about art; if a man of leisure, about his leisure; and he does not feel called upon to concern himself about politics at all, except possibly to the extent of voting the ticket of his party.

Of course, such a state of feeling can exist only in a time of peace, and when no great and exciting question is agitating the public mind; but that is the present, and is likely to be for a considerable period the future condition of this country, and it must be expected, therefore, that the great mass of our citizens will not take any very active interest in the conduct of politics or in the strifes of parties. This condition of things is no doubt very undesirable, for it certainly tends to leave the management of our politics in the hands of persons who make it a profession, and expect therefore, directly or indirectly, to make a livelihood and perhaps a fortune by it. Indeed, very much of what is known as "machine politics" is due to this political apathy, which is in turn reproduced and strengthened by such politics.

A great city presents the best illustration of this truth. One finds there large numbers of active and competent men of business who, if they possessed adequate public spirit, could and, if they believed there was an adequate business necessity, doubtless would administer the affairs of their municipality with the same directness, economy, and fidelity with which they conduct their own business affairs. Unfortunately, many of them do not possess any public spirit worth considering, and, as a matter of business, they know that their share of the amount taken from the municipal treasury, in the various forms of abstraction in which the professional

politicians of our large cities have become such adepts, is insignificant when compared with their annual income, and that they can make more money by attending to their business and disregarding politics than they can save by giving a portion of their time to the government of the city in which they live. As a natural consequence, the professional politicians soon come to understand the power thus given to them, and they begin their career by assaults upon the municipal treasury.

When, however, they have succeeded in perfecting their system of municipal politics, it soon becomes an almost resistless tyranny to which many aspirants for places, honorable and humble, surrender their convictions and their honor; for the same organization which controls the city wards extends itself over the Legislative and Congressional districts, and the successful candidates for Legislative or Congressional honors, as well as for municipal offices, are the servants of the same men, for they are the men who are found to have control of all the nominating conventions.

The same power, "as if increase of appetite had grown by what it fed on," soon aspires to name also many of the delegates to the State and national conventions of the party. Perhaps the scene of the most effective activity of machine politics is in these conventions, for there the compact and disciplined delegations from the cities, under their astute leaders, are often able to exert a controlling influence. The delegates from the rural districts compare with them as militia compare with regular troops. It must be remembered also that the ambitious politicians throughout the State, looking forward to the office of Governor or Senator, or a place in the cabinet, or to some State office of less distinction but greater emolument, naturally desire to stand well with persons having it in their power, perhaps, to make or mar their future. Seekers after office throughout the State are generally found to be stanch supporters of the city politicians, and do not hesitate when occasion offers to flatter them as steadfast and noble-hearted defenders of "the grand old party." All this tends inevitably to consolidate their power and to widen the circle of their baleful influence; and it happens, therefore, that there are active and influential members of such conventions whom their fellow-delegates, who know them at all, know perfectly well ought to be "in durance vile." It is true that a good many of them get there sooner or later, but they are generally the smaller offenders. While State conventions were permitted to select delegates to national conventions, and to instruct them how to vote, it was apparent that a vast and far-reaching

power was vested in a few city politicians. Even when such authority is denied to State conventions, their right to select and instruct the delegates at large, when added to the natural desire of each State delegation to act with as much harmony as possible, so as to secure to itself the greatest possible weight in the deliberations and result of the convention, gives to a few men controlling the politics of large cities a very great power in shaping the nominations for the Presidency itself.

It would be amusing if it were not sad to reflect that by a kind of irony of fate these evil results, upon the stage of State and national politics, are largely due to the blindness which prevents our seeing that the administration of the affairs of a municipality is wholly a question of business, and has no proper relation whatever to partisan politics. The city of Philadelphia, for instance, possesses scarcely a single function which can properly be called political. There is scarcely a penny of her vast revenues which can be expended for any object, or in the discharge of any duty, which can properly be called political. To gather water into reservoirs and distribute it, to manufacture gas and sell it, to pave and repair highways, to extinguish fires, to provide watchmen to prevent as far as possible the commission of crime, to furnish schools for the education of children, to provide homes and food for the helpless poor: these are fair examples of the functions of a municipality. Is there one of them as to which there is the slightest propriety in dividing ourselves into Republicans and Democrats? Nobody seriously pretends there is, and the only consequence of continuing partisan strife in municipal affairs is to maintain in their power the machine politicians who divide the plunder of the city among themselves and their dependents, and thus gradually secure for themselves great weight in State and national politics also. One of our most urgent political needs to-day is the absolute divorce of questions of municipal administration from questions of partisan politics. And when the citizens of our cities, without regard to party, take the management of their municipal affairs into their own hands and treat them as matters of business, a brighter day will begin to dawn for our public life and our public men, and possibly not until then, so interwoven and interdependent are the grosser evils of our public life and our habit of treating the municipal offices of great cities as the spoils of partisan politics.

It would be no doubt a very instructive lesson, if some person having the requisite patience would show how, just in proportion as the general interest in political questions and struggles diminished when the civil war

was over and the safety of the Government was assured, the growth of the machine in politics steadily progressed from day to day. As good citizens, having no interest in public affairs but the welfare of the country, gradually relinquished active participation in them, a class of professional politicians slowly in each city emerged from their obscurity, and, securing the drinking saloons of their respective wards as their base of operations, grew day by day in audacity and in power. Their growth was mainly due to the fact that the great mass of their fellow-citizens were blind partisans, satisfied to repeat party cries long after they had ceased to have any real meaning, proud to follow party standards long after they had ceased to represent the same principles, and not ashamed to boast of their partisan fealty when they knew it was being used by unworthy men to enrich themselves at the public expense. The partisan fealty of the Democrats of New York survived the unparalleled crimes of the Tweed ring in the city and the infamy of the Canal ring in the State. It is true that many Democrats rose in insurrection against both these bands of organized plunderers; and whatever else may be said of Mr. Tilden, it is to his lasting credit that he was courageous enough and capable enough to do better work in the overthrow and punishment of such men than has been permitted possibly to any other American citizen; but it is also true that the partisan fealty of the Democrats of New York in general survived these severe trials of their faith, and they still permit Mr. Kelly to decide not only how the revenues of their metropolis shall be administered, but also to select the persons who shall administer them. It is even alleged that he is able to barter the vote of the State of New York to his political opponents, whenever it is necessary to do so in order to retain his hold upon the city.

The partisan fealty of the Republicans of Pennsylvania has withstood tests as severe. They have allowed their State and municipal treasuries to be the plaything of machine politicians, and to be prostituted time out of mind to their personal advantage. They have allowed their metropolis to be the prey of men who in themselves or in their chosen subordinates have exhausted almost the entire calendar of crime, while they masqueraded in the name of the Republican party and protested that their crimes were necessary to its preservation. They have stuffed ballot-boxes. They have forged election returns. They have stolen the taxes. They have stolen the water rates. They have stolen the receipts for gas. They have stolen the moneys appropriated to the repair of the highways. They have even descended to steal the moneys appro-

priated to the relief of the insane poor. And they have done all this in the name of the party whose first great historical achievement was the election of Abraham Lincoln, a name which has become a synonym, wherever the English language is spoken, for plain, downright honesty. These accusations are not rhetorical expressions. They are in substance extracts from the indictments and recorded judgments of courts of criminal jurisdiction, where the accused parties were tried by juries of their countrymen and were entitled to every presumption in their favor, and where they could only be convicted when no reasonable doubt could exist of their guilt.

Politicians, whether in city or country, are therefore abundantly justified in their belief, and they are safe in acting upon it, that the vast majority of the voters of each party will continue to vote the ticket labeled with the old name without very much regard to any other consideration; and when to this general party fealty of the great mass of voters is added a general apathy on political subjects, the political situation is undoubtedly grave; for the nomination of candidates to all places of profit or of honor, including the Presidency of the United States, is relegated to a considerable extent to men who follow the business of politics for plunder or for office. What kind of candidates such men are likely to consider it will be to their interest to present this year becomes, therefore, a very important question.

As to the platforms, it is likely both parties will substantially agree in their enunciation of what they are pleased to call their principles, with only such changes of phraseology as may give an appearance of difference to them. They would seem to be invited to this course by the lack of any important principle of governmental action upon which they radically and honestly differ. The war is over, and nobody but now and then an editor in need of a flaming leader thinks of abusing the South as a section, or of insisting that the civil government of great industrial States, such as the Southern States are rapidly becoming, could be wisely intrusted to the least intelligent of their people. It is not likely, therefore, that the Republican convention will declare strongly against the South. They will, of course, throw a tub to the whale in that respect in some general phrases; but they will have no vitality in them, and the chairman of the committee, when he reads them, will do so with his tongue in his cheek.

Even the repudiation of the debt of Virginia will not be commended, because Mahoneism, failing in everything else, has at last succeeded in compelling its opponents to accept its policy in that respect, and to approve

repudiation now would be to approve the position of both the Democrats and the Readjusters. It is to be hoped that the Republicans who assisted to secure this result are satisfied with it; certainly, those of us who protested against this dishonesty from the beginning are glad they made their protest.

On the other hand, the Democratic convention is in no danger now of denying that we are a nation, or of refusing to the National Government any of the powers or attributes inherent in a great sovereignty. If they differ from the Republican convention in any degree upon that question this year, it will only be whether the word Nation should bespelled with a capital letter or not; and that is a difference upon which angry passions cannot be aroused.

As to the tariff, in view of the surprising support Mr. Carlisle received from the Northwest and of the doubts which are now known to exist as to the policy of a high protective tariff in some of the Stalwart Republican States of that section, it is not improbable that the difference in the platforms of the two parties upon that subject may, in the end, be reduced to a declaration by the Republican convention in favor of a protective tariff with incidental revenue, and to a declaration by the Democratic convention in favor of a revenue tariff with incidental protection. If these identical phrases should not be used, other phrases equally ambiguous and elastic doubtless will; and care will be taken that it shall not be difficult for the Democrats of Pennsylvania to continue to be good Democrats, or for the Republicans of Iowa to continue to be good Republicans. Persons who suppose that the two parties will take positions of absolute antagonism on this subject are likely to suffer a severe disappointment. When the smoke clears away, it is not probable anybody will be found clamoring for less protection to our industries than will represent the actual difference in wages here and abroad, and nobody will be vigorously demanding any duty on raw materials if the duty has to be deducted from the wages of American labor. It would not be at all surprising if both platforms and the letters of acceptance of both candidates were found substantially in accord with the views presented in the letter of Mr. Hewitt, recently published. Indeed, that eminent and able statesman offers in himself the example of a happy compromise: as a leading manufacturer, he needs the fact of protection to American labor, and as a leading Democrat, he needs the cry of revenue reform; and he takes excellent care to retain both.

The currency question is now practically out of politics. We shall not be humiliated again

by the melancholy announcement to which we were treated for so many years by shining lights of both parties, at first as to our duty to pay the national debt in paper promises, and pay it only when it suited our convenience, and then only in other paper promises, and afterward as to our duty to pay it in silver coin of considerable less value than our promise. No trace of such dishonor will be discoverable in the platform of either party this year. By common consent we have recurred to the simple, plain rule of regarding a dollar as meaning neither more nor less, but precisely what our laws declared it to be when we used it in our bonds and in our notes—a certain number of grains of gold of a certain fineness. It is mortifying but instructive to remember how much Congressional and platform eloquence would have been saved if our politicians had done the people the justice to believe that, sooner or later, their sturdy good sense and honesty would bring them to that very obvious standard of duty in measuring the obligations they had assumed.

It is very likely that both parties will pronounce very vigorously in favor of civil service reform. Some of those who witnessed it still remember with shame the applause with which the last Republican national convention greeted a delegate who denounced it as a humbug, and declared that the object nearest the heart of the convention was the continued division of the public offices as spoils of war, according to the will of the bosses in their several grades. This year the convention will be more circumspect. It will "point with pride" to the law recently enacted by Congress and approved by the President, but it will forget to state that it was only so enacted and affirmed after the party and the President had suffered such a disastrous and humiliating rebuke by the people that the advent of the Democratic party to power seemed assured.

The Democratic convention will probably add a touch of humor to its treatment of the subject. It will give us a ringing declaration in favor of a radical and thorough reform, but it will insist that the first step in such a reform is "to turn the rascals out." It will forget to add that its definition of a rascal would be found to be any Republican holding an office. And if brought to book for trifling with a grave subject, the Democrats will assert that we set them the excellent example, that we delayed the reform for fifteen years and until we believed we were about to be turned out, and that then we had recourse to it only to retain our hold upon the offices. And then they may proceed to ask some awkward questions, as, for instance, why General Burt was dismissed from

the Naval Office at New York, in view of his long and invaluable services to the cause; what member of the present cabinet has ever spoken a word in its favor; why Commissioner Evans was allowed to dismiss competent officials from the Internal Revenue service to make way for men like Horton, "recommended by Governor Butler"; why the offices of Virginia were turned over to Senator Mahone; and why the organ of the Administration, owned by the friends of the President and edited by his Assistant Postmaster-General, has never ceased to indulge in sneers at the reform, and continues to publish advertisements offering to purchase influence in appointments to office. And Democratic orators will probably not forget to mention the recent action of the Republican Senate. The gentlemen elected are doubtless excellent and capable officers, but the changes were made on partisan grounds only; and the proscription extended even to the chaplain, as if the prayers of a Christian minister were likely to be better or worse by reason of the political party to which he happened to belong. The mischief of such an action is double. It encourages the belief that Republican protestations in favor of civil service reform are insincere, and it makes a precedent sure to be fruitful of evil.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the voter who does not acknowledge a blind partisan fealty which forbids his looking further than the name by which his ticket is labeled may have to decide his vote by a consideration of the past careers of the respective candidates. He will know, whether he finds it in any platform or not, that the Presidency of the United States is, in the hands of a strong, capable, and aggressively honest man, an office of very great opportunities, and therefore of very grave responsibilities; and if he has made himself conversant with the recent history of his country and the tendencies of its public life, he will also know that there is at this time great and noble work awaiting a President able and willing to do it. It goes without saying that he must be absolutely untrammelled when he takes his solemn oath to defend the constitution and to execute the laws. He must not have sought the nomination, nor must he have shown after his nomination what President Woolsey so aptly called "a most uncommon anxiety" for his election, for he must be without friends to reward, and without enemies to punish. In the present state of affairs at Washington, he must not only be an honest man, but he must be *a cause of honesty in others*. He must really hate every form of thievery, and must be able to dedicate himself to the solemn work of

reforming not only the administrative service of the National Government, but the very atmosphere itself of the national capital.

Four years of administration of the National Government by such a man would transform the public life of America. He would recognize the just limitations of true civil service reform, and know that all political officers in the Executive Department, all such officers representing in any degree the political action of the Government, ought to be in harmony with it, and that his Cabinet—his official household—ought to be composed of men possessed of his entire political and personal confidence, and in earnest sympathy with him in the work he proposed to accomplish.

His Secretary of State would take care not to vex foreign nations with requests which he knew ought not to be granted, and which, if made to us under precisely similar circumstances, would be indignantly repelled; but while avoiding such requests, he would keep vigilant watch over the rights of every American citizen in the world, and maintain not only the dignity and honor, but the interests of the country, in every quarter of the globe. Our foreign missions would be regarded as political offices, but they would be filled so as to reflect only credit upon the country; while our consuls would be regarded as commercial officers only, and be selected not because of their friendship with politicians, or with the President himself, but because of their knowledge of the people with whom they were to live, and of their ability to advance the interests of American commerce.

His Secretary of the Treasury would be able to devote all his time to the great fiscal problems which concern that department, and would not be obliged to waste it upon Senators and Congressmen, or deputations of local political magnates, in listening to their appeals for the appointment of a pensioner upon the Treasury. In giving to his subordinates the assurance of a permanent tenure while they discharged their duties effectively, he would inspire them with new zeal for the public service, and secure a larger measure of fidelity to the interests committed to their charge.

His Secretary of War would be able to secure punishment for the men who are now in such numbers tarnishing the fair name of their noble service, and thus bring the army back to its earlier and better state, when conduct becoming an officer and a gentleman was not supposed to include what, in the language of the capital, is by a delicate euphemism called "duplication of accounts," but elsewhere is called swindling.

His Secretary of the Navy would cleanse that department of its rottenness in contracts

and in navy yards as well as in ships, and the country would gladly accord him whatever moneys were necessary to place the American navy upon a footing creditable alike to the gallant and illustrious service it represents and the great country whose flag it carries in the waters of the world.

His Secretary of the Interior would so administer that vast department as to cleanse it of the agents of the Indian ring, the Pension ring, and the Land ring; and it would then be possible only for honest contractors to furnish the Indian supplies, honest agents to represent claimants for pension, and honest settlers to obtain titles to public lands. Congress would then possibly no longer hesitate to vote the money necessary for the proper treatment of the Indians, as the wards of a rich, civilized, and Christian nation.

His Postmaster-general would place the entire postal service upon a basis of absolute honesty and economy. Defaulting postmasters would not only be dismissed, but punished; and men convicted by the country of robbing the department would not be allowed to secure new contracts while they were being prosecuted for fraud in old ones.

His Attorney-general would be able to secure the selection of judges, marshals, and commissioners upon the ground of their fitness by character and ability to represent the administration of justice in their several communities; and the country would no longer be scandalized by the prosecution of unworthy officials who ought never to have been appointed to the places they have dishonored. Of course, it is not intended to suggest that many of the incumbents of these offices have not illustrated the qualities mentioned, but only that such a President, surrounded by such a Cabinet, would be able to do more to purify and elevate the public service in a term of four years than can possibly be done in any other way in the life-time of a generation. The corrupt and corrupting lobby which now infests Congress and the departments would recognize in such an administration an enemy which would only be satisfied with its immediate dissolution and dispersion. Its members would recognize that their calling and occupation were gone, and that any attempt to pursue them further would not only be accompanied by slight prospect of gain, but also by great probability of punishment. Then, too, the mere advent of such an administration would stop very much of the plundering possibly now going on. If any officer of the Signal Service, misled by Howgate's example, were tempted to obtain the public moneys by forgery, he would know that such an administration intended to reclaim Howgate

and restore him to the jail from which he was released without even the mockery of a trial. If anybody contemplated breaking into the Treasury and stealing bundles of notes, he would be deterred by the knowledge that such an administration would not enter into a compromise with him, whereby he should be allowed to depart in peace with a portion of his plunder. If a conspiracy were in process of formation to rob the Government by fraudulent proposals, fraudulent bonds, and false pretenses of services rendered, the conspirators would know that such an administration would be a unit in their prosecution, and not divided; so that, if one cabinet minister was exerting all his energy and ability in prosecuting them, everybody would feel sure that no other cabinet minister was exerting himself to shield any of them from prosecution. The detectives of the national capital would agree to resume the work of detecting crime in order that the criminals might be punished, instead of devoting themselves, as they have done for a considerable time past, to arranging with the criminals that their crimes should not be detected, upon condition that they divided their booty; for the detectives would understand that such an administration would pursue them even more relentlessly than the professional criminals. And still another inestimable benefit would be the relief of the clerks in Washington, of both sexes, from any danger of a recurrence of the abject dependency upon their patrons which they have felt so long, and which has gone so far to demoralize their lives. The historian of this country will find it difficult to induce his readers to believe that it was until a year ago, and may be again next year, a part of the recognized system of things that not only men, but women also, should be dependent for their appointment to clerical offices and their retention in them upon senators and representatives in Congress; that, no matter how honestly and faithfully they performed their service, the privilege of continuing to earn their bread by doing so depended upon the good pleasure of the man who had secured their appointment. In other words, each senator and member was offered the privilege of pensioning men or women upon the National Treasury; and in many cases the men to whom this privilege was offered, and the women upon whom appointments were conferred, were living away from the restraints and the protections of home. Such an administration as has been mentioned would find no difficulty, in a very brief time, in placing the subordinate civil service of the country upon a basis at once consistent with the

best interest of the service itself and with the highest self-respect of every man and woman engaged in it, no matter whether the recent law remains or is repealed, for it would need no laws but such as have long existed and its own resolute purpose to do its plain duty without fear or favor. The law recently passed was only needed to prevent a President from doing wrong; it was not needed to enable him to do right.

The city which is honored by bearing the name of the father of his country would then soon cease to be the paradise of lobbyists great or small, of conspirators in office or out, of adventurers of the one sex or the other, of prosecutors who do not prosecute, of jurymen who follow the profession of acquitting the guilty and thrive by it, of tradesmen who grow rich by corrupting the purchasing agents of the departments and are respected for it, of seekers after contracts and subsidies who seem to think even more meanly of the men they purchase than of themselves, and of all kindred spirits who have combined to call good evil and evil good, until honesty walks the streets ashamed and robbery is blatant and bold.

It is, of course, difficult to discover how many voters in the United States are now willing to try to secure a President of the character which has been indicated; but it is safe to say that there is a considerable number of them, and that they will not be imposed upon either by ambiguous expressions in platforms or by death-bed repentance in candidates. It may be assumed that no man will be nominated for the Presidency who has not been for a considerable time in the view of his fellow-citizens. They will accordingly judge him not by what he says or does in expectation of his candidacy, but by the general course and tenor of his public life. They will not expect him to agree with them in all things, but they will insist quite strenuously that the general drift and purpose of his career shall have been in accordance with the highest standards of public honesty and purity. As the time for the national conventions grows nearer, the influential politicians of each party will become more and more sensible of the wisdom of yielding to a considerable extent to this demand of the independent voter. They know that party ties sit now much more loosely than ever before, and that the next contest is likely to be very close, — so close that even a small handful of brave and independent men in a single State may be able to decide it. They will therefore make considerable sacrifices of their own preferences in order to give their party the best chance of success at the polls. It is not at all likely that any candidate will be nominated on

partisan grounds only, or because he is a reliable, steadfast party man; and it is much less likely that any man will be nominated by either party whose political career on its moral side has ever been the subject of serious criticism, or whose political methods and standards have been objectionable to any considerable section of his party. Then, too, the Democratic party will be sure to avoid nominating any man who can be shown to have been in active sympathy with the rebellion; and the Republican party will be equally sure to avoid nominating any man whose candidacy would re-open, on the one side or the other, the controversy which was waged so fiercely against President Garfield, which resulted so fatally to him, and which did not cease when he was in his grave. That controversy and the awful tragedy which followed it are still painfully remembered by very many Republican voters in other States besides Ohio, and any nomination made in contempt of the opinions entertained upon that subject would be equivalent to a surrender before the battle began.

The only real danger lies in the possibility of each party presenting a candidate who has never been bad enough to provoke active hostility, and never good enough to offend "the baser sort" of his own party, and who, if elected, would form an administration of discordant elements and "unrelated parts," going possibly to the bench for one cabinet minister and to the lobby for another, and selecting the rest at haphazard, or for reasons of locality, or because they were out of a place, or because they desired to show the country they were "not so black as they were painted," or for some such reason.

Until such a misfortune actually happens, however, we will hope that one party or the other, if not both, will offer a candidate whose politics are positive, not negative, and who is really fit to be the President of fifty millions of free men; a man and not a name only, a statesman and not a politician only, of greatness of mind, an ardent lover of his country and her free institutions, resolute to defend the right and assail the wrong, and without spot or stain in his connection with politics, or suspicion of any such thing. Each party possesses many men answering these requirements, and it is very likely that one party or the other will ask the suffrages of the people for such a man. Possibly the good fortune awaits us of witnessing a contest for the Presidency in which both candidates will be strong, pure, brave men, willing and able to do the good work which is waiting to be done, and which only such a President can do.

Wayne MacVeagh.