The Sun.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1892.

Can They Lie Him Down?

What is the secret of the horrible fascination which possesses the admirers of Monsieur DE BUFFALO? What is the reason, if the term may be applied to things and persons unreasonable, that makes them in their blind passion for the Convex Oracle, forget that they are few while the persons who are unable to agree with them are many? Without trying to enter into the physiology and psychology of the subject, let us merely look at some evidence of the mental aberration displayed by the Convex-orneulars. Last week, according to our energetic contemporary, the *New York Times*, was "a great CLEVELAND week in Maryland." Among the greatnesses of this great CLEVELAND week was a speech made at a small independent Democratic meeting—the CLEVELAND men are always independent of the Democratic party—by the Hon. WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE, a statesman more conspicuous for ancestry than for popularity. To the inflamed imagination of the Hon. WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE, the Convex Oracle was and is the "first and last choice, the Alpha and Omega of our political hopes and aspirations." Mr. WHYTE'S political alphabet is smaller than that of his ancestors and different from that of Democrats. But Mr. WHYTE is a straight-out Democrat compared with Mr. CHARLES LANE, who, according to our energetic contemporary, the *New York Times*, "represented western Maryland." Mr. LANE made these ingenuous remarks:

"In the state of New York, while Cleveland was pursuing, in dignified political retirement, an industrious professional life, one of the most persistent specimens of the smart political trade was growing into influence, prominence in the party, like an naughty weed choking the human body.

"By offensive self-assertion, by the most vulgar and brazen defiance of established party usage, by the grossest disregard of every sentiment of decency, honesty, and fair dealing, he held his rival waiters each convention, and through personal flattery and supervision had it proclaim to the country a lie, puppetlike and confessed by his acts, that he was the choice of the Democrats of the Empire state for the Presidential nomination. The country has contemptuously refused to accept the false verdict of the packed jury; but in every state the people continue to call for the man of principle, who is strong enough to win success without midnight theivery or highway robbery. The effort to discredit him personally has failed."

According to this Mugwump representative of western Maryland, the Hon. DAVID BENNETT HILL is a vulgar and brazen, confessed and offensive swindler, a midnight burglar, and a highway thief.

Now, Mr. HILL is the choice of the Democrats of the State of New York for President. He is even the choice of the Democrats of the State of Massachusetts, as far as can be judged from the verdict of the districts which have made Massachusetts Democratic at her State elections. He is the first choice of great Democratic States in the South; he is probably the second, if not the first, choice of the great doubtful State of Indiana, which will hold its Convention to-morrow.

Will this man be less popular or less recommended because Mugwumps and Republicans hate him and calumniate him? Can the Mugwumps beat a Democrat by wholesale lying about him?

A Voice from the South.

A picture of the situation in which the Democracy appears confused and bedevilled by the machinations of GROVER CLEVELAND and his Mugwump-Republican friends, comes from the heart of Virginia, to command the attention of serious Democrats. We quote at some length from the *Lynchburg News*, not with the idea of confirming its anxiety, but in order that a very able presentation of the danger to Democracy involved in the Mugwump programme may receive the consideration it deserves:

"Republican State after Republican State falls into line for the nomination of Mr. CLEVELAND as the candidate of the Democratic party for President. Minnesota, with her 30,000 hostile majority, led the way, followed by Rhode Island and Massachusetts, with their 6,000 and 32,000, respectively. Now come Pennsylvania with her 79,458 Republican majority and 'bloody Kansas,' with her 80,160 Republican majority. And so it goes. It begins to look as if these Republican 'rotten boroughs,' not one of which has cast a Democratic electoral vote for thirty years, have determined to dominate the Democratic party, if they can, in the interest of Mr. CLEVELAND. They are encouraged in this determination by the CLEVELAND press throughout the country, and thus the Democratic party, under the mad propulsion of the men who wrecked it in 1888, is being carried forward to the precipice of utter despair.

"It has been thirty-one years this April since Fort Sumter was fired on. The shot that rent the country and shattered the fortunes of the national Democracy for a quarter of a century was not more distracting in its consequences to that party than have been the malign influences which have operated within the party since 1884, and which to-day are seeking its immolation upon the altar of one-man worship. The party spirit and party pride which, under men like ANDREW JACKSON and SAMUEL J. TILDEN, permeated the Democratic body and made of it an organization of brave, active, irresistible fighters, have been wholly stifled. Vital principles have been discarded. The prophets and great men are forgotten. Discipline is scouted, organization derided, and mutiny praised as a virtue and commended as a bounden duty. Democrats in whom there is no guile, whose shields and bucklers show long use and valiant service, are growled at, and a bastard breed of insurrectionists is extolled and courted—and all this that the insatiate ambition of a single individual may be further gratified!

"The Democratic party is in greater peril to-day than it has been for thirty years; and if the same troop of dreamers that precipitated disaster four years ago is permitted again to override the sober men of the party, the consequences will be fatal, and the blunder perhaps irretrievable. The CLEVELAND newspapers have turned from the discussion of party measures to slander of party men. Every conspicuous Democrat in the nation who has suggested the inexpediency of Mr. CLEVELAND'S third nomination, has been scurrilously assailed, and every consideration of party policy has been subordinated to the one fell purpose of ruling or ruining the Democratic party in the interest of a Perpetual Candidate for the Presidency."

When it is remembered that by the disaster record of 1888 Virginia, the head of the yet unbroken column of Southern Democracy, stands close on the line of politically doubtful States, it will be seen that this warning also comes from a region where, as in New York, Indiana, and Connecticut, Democratic politics are pervaded with the soberness of responsibility for party victory or party defeat. There is no exaggeration in our contemporary's analysis of Mugwumpery's relation to the Democratic party. Disturbance, disorder, disgust, and disintegration are its essential and invariable effects upon every Democratic organization. If its influence could be asserted successfully for another Presidential contest, the Democracy would suffer a bewildering and staggering shock from which recovery would be a mere subject for speculation unrestrained by practical expectation of its arrival. Yet the evidence is constantly accumulating that even in the regularly Republican States, where the Democratic machine is the survival of the old CLEVELAND officeholders, who must run in the old grooves in order to remain intact, the Democrats are unwilling to keep themselves wound in the Mugwump net. Since Rhode Island, the three States in which the CLEVELAND boom has been nursed with most tender care under the shelter of immoveable Republican majorities, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Nebraska, have failed to produce Democratic delegations instructed for the great Disturber of Democracy, as his supporters had long ago determined to force them to instruct. There is gathering from Republican sections around the 72 delegates from the Empire State instructed for DAVID BENNETT HILL a great multitude of delegates prepared for Democratic council rather than inflamed with Mugwump frenzy; not to mention the representatives of the South, all appointed to see that the Democracy is not betrayed to the further aggrandizement of a pompous and ruinous bolter, but that the nominee shall be a Democrat backed with the possibility of success, whether he be HILL or whomsoever other the Convention in its wisdom shall select.

There can be no question among politicians capable of examining the forces of politics, that to-day DAVID BENNETT HILL is by far the most important and conspicuous in public notice among the group of honest Democrats awaiting the result of their party's deliberations.

Consequences of Democratic Defeat in 1892.

There was a time when the Democratic party was managed by the wisest men in it, and when its course in a National Convention was shaped with a single eye to the interests of the party. The nomination of a President was made without regard to its effect upon the fortunes of a particular aspirant, but with exclusive reference to one momentous question, namely, who would be the most available candidate, the most likely to obtain a majority of the Electoral College, and thus assure to his Democratic fellow citizens the fruits of victory and guard them against the consequences of defeat. Such were the principles which governed the Democratic National Convention in a memorable crisis. In some striking and suggestive ways analogous to that which now confronts the Democratic party.

The apt and interesting precedent which we have in mind was the Democratic National Convention which met at Baltimore on May 27, 1844. By far the most conspicuous candidate before that Convention was MARTIN VAN BUREN of New York, who had not only the unanimous and enthusiastic support of his own State, but from the start commanded a majority of the delegates from the whole country. For almost forty years Mr. VAN BUREN had been in public life, and he had served the State and the nation in almost every imaginable capacity. He had been a Surrogate, a State Senator, a member of the Court of Errors, a Regent of the University, Attorney-General of the State, a United States Senator, a Governor of New York; he had been ANDREW JACKSON'S Secretary of State, then he had himself become Vice-President, and finally, in 1836, he had been chosen President of the United States. But in 1840, while still an occupant of the White House, he had been renominated for the Presidency, and had been defeated by the opposing candidate, Gen. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON. Moreover, with regard to a then burning question, the annexation of Texas, he had proclaimed views at variance with those held by a large section of the Democratic party in the Southern States. By the cool and clear-headed men who then directed the Democracy these facts were deemed fatal to Mr. VAN BUREN'S availability. They held the claims of the party paramount to those of any individual, no matter how long and illustrious might have been his public services. They accordingly withheld the Presidential nomination from Mr. VAN BUREN by adopting the two-thirds rule, with the avowed purpose of averting what would otherwise have been the effect of the majority with which the New York candidate entered the Baltimore Convention. The event justified the forecast of the statesmen dominant at Baltimore. No one who reviews the details of the subsequent election, and observes how narrowly JAMES K. POLK escaped defeat, can doubt that MARTIN VAN BUREN would have been disastrously beaten.

Full of instruction and of warning are the points of resemblance between 1844 and 1892. It now seems tolerably certain that the name of GROVER CLEVELAND will be presented in the coming National Convention of the Democratic party by a considerable number of delegates. He also has been for some years in the public eye, although neither for length nor for distinction can his career be compared for a moment with that of MARTIN VAN BUREN. Mr. CLEVELAND has been a Sheriff of Erie county and a Mayor of Buffalo. He has for part of one term been Governor of New York, and in 1884 he was elected by a trivial plurality in the Empire commonwealth President of the United States. In 1888, like VAN BUREN in 1840, he was, while still an occupant of the White House and wielding the patronage of the Federal Government, renominated for the Presidency, and he was beaten by the grandson of VAN BUREN'S successful rival. He was beaten because he was repudiated by the people of his own State of New York, his slight plurality of four years before being transformed into a formidable adverse majority. There is where Mr. CLEVELAND differs from Mr. VAN BUREN. No one acquainted with political history disputes that VAN BUREN, if nominated in 1844, would have carried New York by a larger majority than it was carried by JAMES K. POLK. Had there been the slightest doubt of his strength in his own State, above all, had he appeared at Baltimore without a single supporter among the regularly chosen delegates from New York, the suggestion of his candidacy would have been laughed out of the Convention. In those days the Democratic leaders were not rainbow chasers. They did not play at politics. They fought to win.

We have said that one of the reasons of the refusal to nominate VAN BUREN in 1844 was the knowledge that he had taken a position hostile to the views of a large section of his party regarding the annexation of Texas. It was not necessary for the men who in the Baltimore Convention had an eye single to the welfare of their party, to determine officially whether VAN BUREN or they who differed with him were in the right. The fact of the unmistakable, irreconcilable difference was all they needed to consider, and it sufficed to demonstrate VAN BUREN'S unavailability. To Mr. CLEVELAND'S candidacy at this juncture there is a like patent and decisive objection. He has seen fit to take on the silver question a position which admits of no possible compromise with the wishes and convictions of a multitude of Democratic voters in the Southern and far Western States. It is quite superfluous for the delegates to a Democratic National Convention, when discussing the availability of candidates, to inquire whether the position taken by Mr. CLEVELAND is absolutely right or wrong. All they have to consider is the political expediency of a nomination which would needlessly affront and exasperate a large and indispensable factor of the Democratic party. We say needlessly, because there is happily no lack of Democratic statesmen of Presidential calibre, whose nomination would not be construed as a scornful and insolent rebuff by the silver element of the national Democracy. For the Convention to go out of its way to insult and alienate this element by the selection of an obnoxious candidate, would be an act of wanton, incredible folly, an act of conscious, deliberate suicide.

Even if the utmost sagacity and caution are evinced in the selection of a candidate, the defeat of the Democracy in 1892 will be an almost irretrievable calamity. The instant the Republicans recover control of the three branches of the Federal Administration, the Force bill, now dormant, is certain to be revived. Let our Southern friends make no mistake on this point! That snake is only scotched, not killed. Put if the wreck of the Democracy shall be directly traceable to the choice of a candidate inflexibly and defiantly opposed to the view of the silver question held by hundreds of thousands of Democratic voters, the effect upon the future of the party will be not merely calamitous, but catastrophic. That great wing of the Democracy, which is already committed or strongly favorable to the Farmers' Alliance, will secede in mass and organize a new political party. They will see and proclaim that for them there is no longer any portion or inheritance in the Democratic household. They will forsake the Democratic banner. They will set up a standard of their own.

Congress and the Navy.

The struggle in the House over the Naval Appropriation bill is ended, and the result is the authorization of one new war vessel, an armored cruiser like the New York.

That this contribution to the fleet of the future is inadequate, that it is not the proper share of the Fifty-second Congress at the present session, seems very clear. Yet the attacks made upon this meagre provision, which was the one reported by a majority of the Naval Committee, suggest that it was something of a triumph even to secure one ship.

The debate showed that the opponents of a strong naval defence do not understand the needs of the country. One of them took the ground that "the greatest bulwark of American independence is in the happy homes of the people;" yet happiness must rest on security, and without an adequate navy the homes on our seaboard would be exposed to destruction. The Kansas Representative who suggested this substitute for a navy should also reflect that even Kansas homes, a thousand miles and more from the range of a hostile fleet, would no longer be happy with the great coast cities laid waste.

Another speaker proposed a different bulwark. "Let us see whether we have to fear England," he said. "Gentlemen speak about coast defences, about armored vessels; but when from the hand of the Almighty was poured out three thousand miles of ocean, there was erected for us, free of cost, to be maintained forever, the securest bulwark from European attack." Surely it is familiar history that the war of 1812 had to be fought with England on this same stretch of ocean, and that, in spite of the great victories gained there, because we had, for those days, a fine navy, England was able to take and burn the very city in which this discussion of homes and seas as bulwarks has been going on.

"It is well known," said the Georgia Representative just quoted, "that these monster war ships cannot even come across the Atlantic or the Pacific without the greatest difficulty," referring to their coal supply. But England, in a war with the United States, does not need to have her naval base at Portsmouth. She has fortified stations and coal yards on this side of the sea, at Halifax, at Bermuda, at Jamaica, and at St. Lucia. It is less than a three days' run for a heavy battle ship from the Bermudas to the chief port of Georgia, and the distance is shorter to Charleston, Wilmington, and Hampton Roads. One value of our new 10,000-ton armor clads is that such vessels, if we have a few more of them, will enable us to defend by attacking, and to break up a hostile rendezvous at Halifax or Jamaica, and destroy the use of such a base.

Still another speaker opposed increasing the navy because "in a brief space of time American ingenuity and industry could improvise vessels to meet the most powerful ships of the world." But you cannot improvise a water-line belt of eighteen-inch steel armor nor a battery of sixty-ton guns. The armor for the vessels already under construction, say the House Committee, can hardly be furnished before the beginning of the year 1894, and it was on this ground that they decided not to ask for another battle ship now. Secretary TRACY, in his last report, looks from a different point of view at the same fact of the time needed to build a modern war ship, when he declares that vessels authorized at the present session could hardly be begun before next spring, so important are the preliminaries. To offset such facts by recalling that PERRY "equipped from the forest in ninety days the fleet that won the battle of Lake Erie," is hardly that serious treatment of the subject which it deserves.

But apart from the difference between old-time wooden craft and modern ironclads, what right have we to expect the ninety days' grace that PERRY had? A war that once might last seven years could be finished now in as many weeks. Capt. TAYLOR has pointed out that the war of 1859, between France and Austria, was declared May 3, and Solferino came June 24; that the war of Austria and Prussia was declared June 16, 1866, and that of Austria and Italy four days later, while Sadowa was fought on July 3 and Lissa on July 20; that the war of 1870 was declared on the 15th of July, and Sedan followed on the 2d of September. Within a short time after the outbreak of hostilities, a British fleet could bombard our ports. There would be no question then of improvising ships, but there might be one of paying a tribute big enough to have built scores of war vessels.

It is something that the House has authorized an armored cruiser. It could hardly have gone before the country with an appropriation of $20,000,000 in its pending River and Harbor bill and not one ship for the new fleet. But it should do better than it has done. Perhaps when the Navy bill comes back from the Senate, with the amendments projected there, a suitable compromise may be reached in conference.

Disinterested Nominations.

This novel opinion on a great question is solemnly propounded by our esteemed namesake of Baltimore:

"It can readily be seen that we may with reason look for the purest, most disinterested, and patriotic Democracy in those states where the party is in a hopeless minority. What reason is there for a citizen of Vermont, for instance, to be a Democrat except a disinterested devotion to principle or a hopefulness in adversity which would do credit to MARK TAPLEY himself? Indeed, these people excite our liveliest admiration. Year after year they gather together in conventions, nominate their tickets and vote for them without any stimulating hope or expectation of success, animated by a devotion to principle that makes heroes of them. They knowingly and deliberately cut themselves off from all chance of preferment in their State and local Governments. Of course there is equal devotion to principle exhibited by Democrats in Democratic States but the party which is in the ascendancy always attracts to itself a horde who are party men for revenue only, and who too often, by their devotion to office seeking and politics as a business, gain control of the party machinery and direct its policy and measures against the views and wishes of those who are truer Democrats."

The argument of our Mugwump namesake apparently is that Democrats who can help to nominate, but cannot help to elect, should have even greater influence in making the candidate than the Democrats who must fight the battle and whose votes will give the victory.

In other words, the candidate should be named by the Democrats who live in hopelessly Republican States, because they are disinterested. They are not after the spoils.

The *Baltimore Sun* overlooks the important fact that the judgment of the true, patriotic Democrat in a hopelessly Republican State may be clouded by the hope of a Post Office. Even in Vermont there breathes not a Democrat, no matter how humble, who may not aspire to be Postmaster under a Democratic Administration. If he has no taste for literature, the customs revenue service and the internal revenue service are also open to him.

The true way to carry out the Mugwump-CLEVELAND theory of nomination would be to turn over the business of making the Democratic ticket, not to the more or less interested Democrats in hopelessly Republican States like Vermont, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania, but to some really and absolutely disinterested body of men; such, for example, as the Conservatives of England. There is not even a rainbow over the British Isles. Under no circumstances could the English Conservatives expect to profit politically by the victory won for their nominee, if won at all, by the selfish spoilsmen of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Indiana, and the solid South.

The Third Party.

It is a curious fact, but Mr. GROVER CLEVELAND is now, for the first time, in a position of political possibility. Not that he is a political possibility himself, but he may be the cause of the political possibilities that are in other men.

For instance, if the next Democratic National Convention should go crazy, the Third party would arise in the Southern States, in Georgia, in Alabama, in Arkansas, and polish off The Perpetual.

On the other hand, if The Perpetual is not nominated—which he won't, as Mr. DICKENS would say—a Third party will protrude itself in Massachusetts, namely, the Columbian party, JAMES MEANS, founder.

So the Stuffed Goose will make use of its wishbone in any case. Its leg will be pulled either South or North. It is a great thing to be respected, as the monkey said when he ran off with the parson's wig.

A Model Message.

Governor FLOWER'S veto messages are rising to the high level of statesmanship.

That which he sent in on Monday setting his condemnation upon the State Printing bill, so called, could not possibly be improved. In opinion, in argument, and in style it is a model message.

Documents like these give an enviable reputation to a public man, and set up a noble standard for his future guidance. We congratulate the Governor on his message.

The only architectural criticism to be made on the new place of residence selected by the Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND in Fifty-first street, is that the front door doesn't seem to be wide enough.

Those of the colored Republicans of the country who desire to put up Mr. FREDERICK DOUGLASS as a Presidential candidate can do so without obstruction, and can electioneer for him, vote for him, and strive in every way to elect him, under the protection of the laws. As a native American, faithful to the Constitution, Mr. DOUGLASS is an eligible candidate, though he was born in slavery. He is a man of mind, knowledge, and integrity; he is also a politician of experience, though not of the highest skill, as we saw last year when he held the office of Minister to Hayti. He was recently highly honored in this city, when he appeared on the platform of Cooper Union with two other Republican orators, Dr. DEPEW and Col. INGERSOLL, both of whom gave him praise which might well make any man proud.

That influential prelate of the African Methodist Church, Bishop BROWN, favors Mr. DOUGLASS'S nomination, because "it would create a spirit of solicitation" among the colored people, and because it would foster the growth of an independent spirit among them. We do not think that the Bishop's argument along these lines is very strong, yet it will doubtless be taken into consideration by some of the colored Republican voters.

But how much would Mr. DOUGLASS'S candidacy affect the Republican party and the regular Republican candidate, if he were supported by the colored Republican vote in those States which the regular Republicans are in hope of carrying? It would undoubtedly be a serious matter to that party in at least three or four of these States—States that ordinarily go Republican by slight majorities with the aid of their colored Republican voters. It would probably turn the scale against the regular Republican Presidential candidate in several States.

This is a consideration, however, that need not be taken into account by the advocates of Mr. DOUGLASS'S nomination, who have as good a right as other people have to put up a candidate of their own, and to vote for him regardless of the Republican machine, which is a machine that ther may properly hold in contempt.

We have received this very important and interesting circular from Mr. M. KELM of Berlin, and republish it here for the benefit of all those who desire the information described:

"In our present so much agitated political epoch, stated by so many imminent revolutions even as f. i. the actual rush of Ministers in Prussia, frivolous low state of Finances in Russia, and the general social misery growing day by day more terrible at all the countries of the European Continent round after already exciting the international Furies of Culture, viz: the Anarchists once more and inducing them to dreadful deeds, there may only a regularly continued particular report of facts enable to always precisely keep informed of whatever happens actually as well as to predestine the coming times and states.

"For this purpose please subscribe to my Special reporting arrangement publishing twice a week. Price of subscription a month:

"1) as for detailed written relations, to be forwarded by mail-post, at the rate of 30 Doll.

"2) as for Cable-Reports, 40 Doll.

"If you agree to my conditions, be kind enough to determine with your answer, if you are desiring the correspondency in English language or else in French or German."

We have only to suggest that it might be desirable to try Mr. KELM in some other language than English.

We do not know that the annexation debate in Canada has ever been more entertaining than it is in these times. How can candidates for Parliament be prevented from favoring annexation? What can be done about the disloyal utterances of the Liberal organs, *La Patrie* and *Le Soleil*? Why is there so much dissatisfaction among Canadians as to lead a million of them to desert their native land? How is it possible for Mr. THIBODEAU to utter the sentiments that he entertains after serving in Parliament? Would the United States admit the provinces to the Union upon their own terms? What can be done about the nauseous corruption of Canadian politicians? Is it not time for Canada to get rid of foreign domination? Will the American Government permit the enlargement of the provincial navy on the Western lakes? Would not annexation to Washington be better than subordination to London? Is not the American flag prettier than the thing that is tied to a pole in Ottawa? These interrogations are but a few of the many by which the Canadian mind is kept in a state of perplexity. Let the debate go on.

We are not surprised to see that two Mugwump lawyers, named DEMING and LOGAN, are accusing each other of an attempt to misappropriate the assets of their legal firm. As the profession of Mugwumpery is a fraudulent pretence, a mere sham, and a humbug, utterly opposed to the principles which lie at the foundation of integrity, it is natural that these two legal Mugwumps should suspect each other.

Our farmer boys used to sing that "Uncle SAM is rich enough to give us all a farm." We are not hearing much now about the old gentleman's ability to bestow real estate upon any one who asks for it; and the scenes that Oklahoma witnessed yesterday show that the present hunger for land, ready for the plough, is not easy to appease. But even the boomers, wearied by yesterday's race, would hardly endorse the gloomy forebodings of Mr. WOOD DAVIS, who in his recent pamphlet reached the alarming conclusion that the world cannot look to us much longer for bread, and that we will become a food-importing rather than a food-exporting country before many years. Mr. DAVIS is evidently a bull in the wheat pit.

THE BEHRING SEA MODUS VIVENDI.

Ratification of the Agreement to Prohibit Seal Killing Pending Arbitration.

WASHINGTON, April 19.—The agreement between the United States and Great Britain for the renewal of the existing *modus vivendi* in Behring Sea, signed in Washington yesterday by Secretary Blaine and Sir Julian Pauncefote, was ratified by the Senate in secret session this afternoon, and the injunction of secrecy was removed. The Senate devoted nearly two hours to the consideration of the agreement behind closed doors, but the debate was almost perfunctory, for it was a foregone conclusion that the agreement would be ratified. There was some objection to article 5 about the allotment of damages to British sealing vessels, because of interruption to their business, in the event of the decision of the arbitrators going against the United States, but this objection did not assume formidable proportions, and died away before the appeals of Senators Sherman and Morgan and other members of the Committee on Foreign Relations for the ratification of the agreement.

The text of the *modus vivendi* follows:

Article I.—Her Majesty's Government will prohibit, during the pendency of the arbitration, seal killing in that part of Behring Sea eastward of the line of demarcation described in Article I. of the Treaty of 1867 between the United States and Russia and will promptly use its best efforts to insure the observance of this prohibition by British subjects and vessels.

Article II.—The United States Government will prohibit seal killing for the same period in the same part of Behring Sea, and on the shores and islands thereof, the jurisdiction of the United States extending to and be taken on the island for the subsistence of the natives, and will promptly use its best efforts to insure the observance of this prohibition by United States citizens and vessels.

Article III.—Every vessel or person offending against this prohibition in the said waters of Behring Sea outside of the recognized limits of the United States may be seized and detained by the naval or other duly commissioned officers of either of the high contracting parties. But they shall be handed over as soon as practicable to the authorities of the nation to which they respectively belong, who alone shall have jurisdiction to try the offence and impose the penalties for the same. The witnesses and proofs necessary to establish the offence shall, so far as practicable, be sent with the vessels.

Article IV.—In order to facilitate such proper inquiries as her Majesty's Government may desire to make in view of a final settlement of the question and arguments of that Government before the arbitrators, it is agreed that suitable persons designated by Great Britain will be permitted at any time upon application to visit or remain on the seal islands during the sealing season for that purpose.

Article V.—If the result of the arbitration be to affirm the right of Great Britain to take seals in Behring Sea within the bounds claimed by the United States at its purchase from Russia, then compensation shall be made by the United States to Great Britain for the use and profit of such privilege, so far as it may have been of that right during the pendency of the arbitration, upon the basis of such a regulated and limited catch, or catches, as in the opinion of the arbitrators might have been taken without an undue diminution of the seal herds; and, on the other hand, if the result of the arbitration shall be to deny the right of British sealers to take seals within the said waters, then compensation shall be made by Great Britain to the United States for itself, its citizens, and lessees, for this agreement to limit the island catch to seven thousand five hundred, to be divided upon the basis of the difference between this number and such larger catch as in the opinion of the arbitrators might have been taken without an undue diminution of the seal herds. The amount awarded in either case shall be such as under all the circumstances is just and equitable, and shall be promptly paid.

Article VI.—This convention may be denounced by either of the high contracting parties at any time after the thirty-first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, on giving to the other party six months' notice of its termination, and at the expiration of such notice the convention shall cease to be in force.

Article VII.—The present convention shall be duly ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by her Britannic Majesty, and the ratifications shall be exchanged either at Washington or at London as early as possible.

In faith whereof we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this convention and have hereunto affixed our seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington this eighteenth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two.

JAMES G. BLAINE.
JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

More Appointments by Mayor Cleveland.

Mayor Cleveland of Jersey City said on Monday, when he made an announcement of the officials he intended to appoint before he goes out of office on May 1, that he would not appoint a Board of Commissioners of Appeal. Yesterday he changed his mind and appointed the Commissioners. This is a new Board created by the last Legislature. It is intended as a check on the Board of Tax Commissioners, which fixes valuations and determines the tax rate. Under the present law all appeals had to be made to the Tax Commissioners. As they made their assessment under oath, taxpayers who had a real grievance had not much chance of obtaining redress. The new Board of Appeals is subject to removal at the pleasure of the Mayor. The Mayor appointed Robert S. Jordan, Edward Hoos, and William L. Frankenbach. Their term of office will be brief, so brief that they will scarcely have time to organize. Mayor-elect Wanser said yesterday afternoon:

"I have selected the men who will compose the Board of Commissioners of Appeal, and they are not Messrs. Jordan, Hoos, and Frankenbach. These gentlemen might as well not be sworn in, because I shall remove them as soon as my term of office begins."

Ingalls Is Out to Stay.

From the Indianapolis Sentinel.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., April 15.—Ex-Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas was in the city for the purpose of visiting the tomb of Lincoln. He was asked regarding the published statements that the Republicans of Kansas might nominate him for Congressman at large and replied:

"It is mere talk. So far as I am concerned my retirement from public life is final. I have been talked of for Congressman at large, for delegate to the National Convention, and for other places of honor, but I have peremptorily declined them all. My interest in politics, however, is unabated, and I expect to do my share in the ensuing campaign in winning a victory for the Republican party."

The Indian's Side of It.

From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

FORT RENO, OKla., April 13.—The Indians into whose lands the boomers will rush next week do not know what to make of it all. They were never in sympathy with the whites, and but a few years ago were on the warpath. Their life and traditions have been those of the chase and of war, and they will make but poor farmers. They have watched the rapid changes of the past few years, and they are now watching the preparations for the great rush into their country with passive amazement. It is true that they have, almost without exception, taken their allotments, and they have selected the best lands, but they cannot work the farms they have taken, for they have no knowledge of agriculture. They are not permitted to sell their lands for twenty-five years, but they can cease for three years, and this is what most of them will do. In many cases a number of them have taken adjoining claims, so that they will be able to lease their lands either for farming or grazing purposes. It is the intention of the government to reduce their rations one-half, so that they will be really in a worse plight than ever.

The Same Thing, but Very Different.

From the Philadelphia Press.

The third party is a very important factor in the domestic circle when the new infant arrives for the first time, but in national politics it is very small potatoes.

History Again Corrected.

From the Cleveland Citizen.

It is recorded in history that when Ethan Allan demanded the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga, the Governor of the fort asked, "In whose name?" "In the name of Jehovah and the Continental Congress," Allan is supposed to have said. What he really did say was: "Come out of there, you d——d old rat!"

Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1892 is not only invaluable to large advertisers, but it furnishes a trustworthy and available census of the business of newspaper making. It is full of valuable and interesting information, and it shows that as the country grows so does the newspaper.

LETTERS FROM DEMOCRATS.

Mr. Whitney's Interview on the Claimant—The Votes of 1884 and 1888—Indignation for Knifers and Hope for Democracy.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: The election of Cleveland delegates in solid Republican States goes merrily on. There are too many Force bill clouds on the horizon to trust the good ship Democracy in the hands of a political Jonah. Common sense dictates that. No Jonahs need apply.

In considering Mr. Cleveland's strength it will be necessary to look backward for a moment. The first scene that appears is the St. Louis Convention of 1888. Grover Cleveland, by the unanimous vote of nine hundred Democratic delegates, has been named as the national standard bearer. The galleries, alternates, delegates, all are wild with enthusiasm. When Allen G. Thurman, the noble "Old Roman," is nominated for second place, the feeling reaches its height. Cleveland, with 125,000 officeholders and untold myriads of Mugwumps at his back; Thurman, arousing the pride of the West and making Ohio doubtful. Most happy combination!

Thus the campaign of 1888 was inaugurated, with the assumption that Cleveland was invincible; his "star of destiny" shone with splendor and lighted the path to victory. There were hope, enthusiasm, tariff reform, Mugwumps, and officeholders.

But the scene changes. June gives way to November. The battle is being fought out at the polls. The Democracy had struggled gallantly, desperately.

"Though they knew some one had blundered,"

But 'tis of no avail; Cleveland's personal unpopularity and the fatal cry of free trade have been too much. The sun of the 6th of November sets on a Democratic Waterloo. The "star of destiny" is quenched. When the votes are counted the result in ten States, as compared with 1884, is found to be as follows:

1884.	Cleveland.		1888.
Connecticut	2,284		591
Delaware	3,023		3,441
Indiana	6,512	Harrison,	2,348
Kentucky	34,839		28,604
Maryland	11,118		6,182
Missouri	33,059		25,717
New York	1,047	Harrison,	13,002
North Carolina	17,864		13,118
Virginia	6,141		1,539
West Virginia	4,277		593

In the three States of Connecticut, Virginia and West Virginia a change of less than 1,200 votes would have give their twenty-four electors to Harrison, whereas they voted for Cleveland in 1884 by a plurality of 12,703.

Most lamentable showing for the "invincible candidate!" The defeat of 1888 knocked the scales from the eyes of thousands of Democrats and enabled them to see the political weakness of Grover Cleveland, who was "destined" only for defeat.

And now to the year of our Lord 1892. Ever since 1888 the Mugwumps and Clevelandolaters have been claiming that "it was all a mistake." The people did not know what they were about when they voted him out of office. The victory of 1890 was won solely by Clevelandism, which "held its breath," and not by Force bills, McKinley bills, or Billion Dollar Congresses. "Cleveland and tariff reform can carry New England, Iowa, Nebraska," and so on *ad nauseam*.

Well, Clevelandism, pure and simple, without a Hillite to disturb the Mugwump serenity of the occasion, marched into Rhode Island the other day and announced, with a flourish of trumpets that it was "going to carry the State." Did they do it? Yes, "carried it" safely and solidly over into the Republican column. So much as to Cleveland's strength in the past. What about the future? It is conceded by all students of facts rather than fancies, that the Democratic candidate must carry New York in order to win. The problem in nutshell is this: Cleveland in 1888, backed by whole power of Federal Government, united party in New York, great enthusiasm, "star of destiny," Mugwumps, &c.—New York State Republican by 13,000 plurality and Democratic defeat in the nation. Cleveland in 1892, Federal Government in hands of enemy, repudiated by Democracy of home State in National Convention, bitterly opposed by the majority of the Democrats in said State, no enthusiasm except that which is excited by the prospect of revenge, "star of destiny" discredited in Western States.

Furthermore, not only in New York, but also in the solid South, there would lurk the danger of defeat. The following from the *Springfield News*, in Massachusetts, the hotbed of Clevelandism, is sound common sense and strictly to the point:

With Massachusetts an unlikely acquisition, New York extremely doubtful, and the solid south list seriously threatened, it is hard to understand how independent newspapers can regard the ex-President as certain of election.

If the Cleveland editors will closely scan their Southern exchanges, they will ascertain that throughout the South, and especially in Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina, the Farmers' Alliance is becoming thoroughly organized. Should the Alliance, rendered desperate by the nomination of such an enemy of silver, fuse with the Republicans on state and National tickets, the South would be solid no longer. What happened in the West in 1890, when Republicanism was shaken to its foundations and majorities of many thousands disappeared in a day, would be repeated in the South, only the shaking would be Democratic.

From these cold facts do we not arrive at the irresistible conclusion that Cleveland cannot be elected?

What folly, then, to push his candidacy when there are other leaders who can infuse hope into the Democracy and bear its banner to victory! Hill, Gorman, Gray, Flower—any one of these can win. And when the Conventions are held in the Democratic and doubtful States, the Cleveland boom will float away on the balmy spring air like a bursted balloon.

For
No Jonahs need apply.

E. W. L.

PLATTSBURGH, April 14.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: May I say a few words in your columns of Mr. Whitney's recently published conversation with a reporter of one of your morning contemporaries? The declarations by Mr. Whitney are important, because they are from a member of the Cleveland Cabinet. Mr. Whitney says:

1. The only trouble with the Democratic party is the bad blood created by the antagonisms within the party.

The context indicates personal "antagonisms" as those referred to, but this is only one of that character of all serious importance of the denunciation of Hill, by whom was that antagonism begun? By Hill's denunciation of Cleveland? Mr. Whitney cannot be ignorant of the real genesis of that antagonism. He has never heard of an unkind or censorious word uttered by Hill against Cleveland.

2. We are in the majority in the country now, but the elements that go to make up that majority are more than usually discordant, not so much as to candidates as they are to each other.

I am at a loss to understand the meaning of that. Of course, there are in the whole country more Democratic than Republican voters. Tilden had, in 1876, a Democratic plurality of 250,000. Cleveland had in 1884 a plurality of only 62,985, and in 1888 of 98,017. In 1890, on the Congressional vote, the total Democratic vote had a majority of 208,500 over the combined vote for other than regular Democratic candidates. The total Republican vote was only 4,282,022, but the combined anti-Republican vote, including the Farmers' Alliance vote, was 5,015,124, which put the Republican party in a minority of 733,102. The great uprising of 1890 against the Republican party was largely produced by the Farmers' Alliance vote. Has Mr. Whitney a plan for retaining that vote in the interest of a Democratic Presidential candidate?

I am uncertain whether by "elements" he refers to the slender popular plurality that Cleveland had in 1884, and to his defeat by the electoral combinations of states, or to the uprising of 1890. The partisans of Cleveland are in doubt with Democrats "as to candidates" even more than "they are to each other." What is the true Democratic faith in New York? Is it Hill, Flower, or Cleveland in the interest of one candidate? What other serious discord is there among New York Democrats?

3. We have been a party of principle, tariff reform is our issue. A large body of people support tariff reform that have little feeling of loyalty to the Democratic party because of Democratic laws. It is perfectly natural for farmers to think better of our issue than of our leaders.

We were "a party of principle" in 1876. Was there a change of issues, or a procurement for the first time of a "principle," between 1884, when we won, and 1888, when we lost? What would Mr. Whitney have us do in regard to the large body people, less immediately Mugwumps, who have, as he says, no "loyalty to the Democratic party and contempt for