

The Sun

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Will Mr. Cleveland Be Nominated for Governor of New Jersey?

It is now reported that the intention of the Democratic leaders in New Jersey is to nominate Mr. CLEVELAND for Governor at the coming State convention. We know of no reason why Mr. CLEVELAND should not accept such a nomination. Gen. McCLELLAN, who had been the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, deemed it an honor to be nominated and elected Governor of New Jersey. President ANDREW JOHNSON, after he retired from the White House, accepted at the hands of his fellow citizens of Tennessee a seat in the United States Senate. President JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, after he ceased to be Chief Magistrate, was for many years a member of the Federal House of Representatives. There are many who consider those years to have been the most creditable and memorable of ADAMS'S life. That there was anything derogatory in the acceptance of such offices by men who had been elected or nominated to the Presidency, has never been alleged.

There is no doubt that, by taking the Democratic nomination for the Governorship, Mr. CLEVELAND could render a great service to his party in his native State and in the nation. He is, perhaps, the only Democrat who could restore New Jersey to the Democratic column in a Presidential year. From and including 1876 up to 1896, New Jersey invariably gave her electoral votes to the Democratic nominee for the Presidency. In 1896, however, she gave McKINLEY what, for her, was the astonishing plurality of 87,892. Even in 1900, although the great organizer of Republican machinery, GARRET A. HOBART, was no longer living, New Jersey chose Republican electors by a plurality of 58,899. It follows that, to secure her support for the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, it would be necessary to transfer about thirty thousand voters from the Republican to the Democratic camp.

Few persons conversant with the state of feeling in New Jersey doubt that Mr. CLEVELAND would draw many more than 30,000 votes from those who recently have cooperated with the Republicans. The only question with regard to which there might be some difference of opinion relates to the reception which Mr. CLEVELAND'S nomination would meet with from the Hearst-Bryan wing of the Democratic party. If the opposition of that element took the form of an organized bolt, it might manage to defeat Mr. CLEVELAND at the ballot box. Much money is needed, however, for effective organization, and we do not imagine that it would be forthcoming in a contest for the Governorship. The Bryanites might grumble a little at first, but, in the end, they would probably regard Mr. CLEVELAND'S nomination for that office with resignation rather than resentment.

Should Mr. CLEVELAND be chosen Governor next November, there is reason to believe that the Democratic nominee for the Presidency would also carry New Jersey. Experience has shown that very rarely does a State at one and the same election award the State offices to one of the great political parties, and her Presidential electors to another. Such a spectacle was witnessed in the State of New York in 1888, but it was generally regarded as a remarkable phenomenon, the causes of which were mysterious and unedifying. No such occult and bewildering forces would be operative this year in New Jersey, if Mr. CLEVELAND were a candidate for Governor. It would not be his fault if the Democratic nominee for the office of Chief Magistrate did not get the full benefit of the ex-President's popularity.

The Governorship of New Jersey is a post of dignity and usefulness, which Mr. CLEVELAND could occupy without leaving his home. He lives only ten miles from Trenton.

Present Conditions in South Africa.

In spite of a largely increased output of gold and largely increased imports as compared with the year following the war, there is little or nothing in the South African situation which indicates the success of British administration in the newly acquired territory. Hard times and widespread discontent among the people are emphasized in all accounts which bear the stamp of freedom from special interest or prejudice.

In a recent official communication, Lord MILNER referred to "the complete stagnation in commerce and enterprise." In the same communication he said: "Taking the Transvaal and Intercolonial budgets together, we must be prepared for a deficit which in the present year may be as much as \$250,000." The cost of living in the Transvaal is excessive. White labor is warned of the uselessness of coming to South Africa. Agriculture offers little or no inducement to settlers. There are those, Englishmen among them, who declare that the Government is worse than that of the Boers, and that the general condition of the people is far worse than it was before the war.

While recuperation from a devastating war is a matter not of months but of years, there is much in the situation which points to an undeniable conclusion that England has not yet accomplished her declared purposes in South Africa. Denouncing the Boer Government as intolerable for those who lived under it, England asserted her intention to make the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony lands in which "white men"

could find contentment and prosperity. It was to be a free country, in the British and not in the Boer sense of that term. It was to be a land of self-government and equal rights for all, Boer and alien alike.

It seems to be beyond question that England faces serious conditions in her new possessions in South Africa. The older Colonials, both Boer and British, are dissatisfied with the new order of things. The newcomers are disappointed. To many of the British there is doubtless a satisfaction in living under the British flag. But human nature is so constituted that the vast majority of men prefer a reasonable degree of prosperity under another flag to poverty and hardship under their own. Thus far England's experience in South Africa comes little short of being a very costly failure.

While governments may not always be rightly charged with responsibility for the economic distress of the governed, there is much in the South African situation which points to the Government as a contributing cause, if not as the direct and chief influence in the existing distress. Students of the situation allege two specific errors, among others less definitely presented. One of these is said to be in the fact that those whose fitness for self-government is not to be questioned are being governed by a bureaucracy which is lacking in proper knowledge of their special needs and which is not in touch with the people themselves. The other is said to be the undue influence of a selfish and self-seeking group of capitalists desirous of exploiting the country solely for their own financial benefit. A very good case is made in support of both specifications.

Not a Name, Not a Date, Not a Fact.

We are not much alarmed by the subjoined bulletin of our alleged condition, issued by Col. HENRY WATTEBSON of the Courier-Journal:

"THE SUN insists upon its pound of flesh. 'You lie, you villain!' exclaims THE SUN, or words to that effect. 'Prove it on us,' says THE SUN, and bursts into tears."

This is only the Colonel's super-emotional way of stating certain facts that are more or less familiar to our readers. We have politely but firmly invited Col. WATTEBSON to justify his astounding charge that of the \$40,000,000 soon to be paid for the Panama canal one-half, or \$20,000,000, is to go to "thieves" in France, and the other \$20,000,000 to be divided among "thieves" in America, including engineers, journalists and gray wolves in the United States Senate. This request for specific information, expressed with all the amenity of which we are capable, is translated by the Colonel's mind into an insistent demand for our "pound of flesh."

We have not called Col. WATTEBSON a villain. It would be impossible for us to employ that term in describing a gentleman for whom we entertain a regard at times positively affectionate. We have never frantically accused him of lying; no phrase or word or suggestion liable to that construction has sullied any of our remarks on the subject. We have believed and continue to believe that when Col. WATTEBSON undertakes the responsibility of a charge of corruption so stupendous, he must possess, or think he possesses, some definite information warranting the same. We have calmly asked him for his information; that is all.

Finally, we have not burst into tears at the thought that Col. WATTEBSON might suspect THE SUN of a dishonest interest in the \$20,000,000 which he assigns to "thieves" on this side of the Atlantic. We should be as quick to suppose it possible for him to suspect us of stealing his pocket handkerchief while he was busily engaged with a mint julep. No apprehension of that sort has entered our mind. If it had, we should not have burst into tears; we should merely have laughed.

After translating Col. WATTEBSON'S preliminary rhetoric into the normal form of expression, we find naught remaining that is of public interest, or responsive to our repeated requests for facts, or pertinent in any way to the present investigation, except possibly two paragraphs, of which this is the first: "Fully aware that the Lobby at Washington keeps no books—the Gray Wolves doing their own lobby business—and that the bucket shops of Paris are inaccessible, I (THE SUN) put on a bold front and makes a great show of virtue. All the while and all the time, the Grand Pool of French Stock and all its parts, the American Combine, with WILLIAM NELSON CROMWELL at its head, are richer by many millions of very hard and very unclean dollars."

Here the Colonel does mention one name, that of Mr. CROMWELL, the American counsel of the New Panama Canal Company. His relation to the sale of the French franchises and property to the United States Government has been entirely professional, if we understood the case, and entirely legitimate. We suppose he will get a fee from his employers; it ought to be a liberal one if measured according to the value of professional services rendered; but what bearing that circumstance has upon the alleged apportionment of half of the forty millions to "thieves" in America, or what evidence it affords of the existence of an American Combine, about to be enriched with "many millions of very hard and very unclean dollars," Col. WATTEBSON of Louisville alone knows or thinks he knows.

The second statement by Col. WATTEBSON partaking in any degree of intelligibility is this: "There is not an honest man, in or out of Washington, who has a clear knowledge of the field of operation, but surely knows that never could so gigantic an appropriation have been gotten through Congress except by corrupt agencies."

been asking nearly three times that sum, finally come down to our own figures. Congress passes an act authorizing the payment of the \$40,000,000 provided the transaction is completed satisfactorily in other respects. When the \$40,000,000 goes to France it will be distributed under the supervision of the French courts, owing to the status of the selling company under the laws of that republic. That, however, is not a matter that directly concerns our Government, the purchaser. We get title and the property; the French courts look after the protection of the respective interests of the shareholders in the old and new Panama organizations.

Col. HENRY WATTEBSON, denouncing this transaction, becomes responsible for the charge that every dollar of the \$40,000,000 is destined in advance to some thief, \$20,000,000 to thieves in France and \$20,000,000 to thieves in America; and when asked for names, dates, facts, reasons for belief, proof of corrupt dealing, or anything warranting his deliberate and reiterated assertion, this, we repeat, is what he has to offer:

"There is not an honest man, in or out of Washington, who has a clear knowledge of the field of operation, but surely knows that never could so gigantic an appropriation have been gotten through Congress except by corrupt agencies."

Fiel Colonel, and many times fiel! We commend your case to the merciful consideration of the meek in spirit among those whom you have sought to traduce, and to humorists everywhere.

The Mysterious New Treaty Port.

It is again reported that Yonampoh, at the mouth of the Yalu River, has been opened by the Korean Government as a treaty port. It is a little strange that the name of this town does not appear on any of the authoritative maps of the region. It is not found on the large scale map published in St. Petersburg a while ago and which, so far as we know, is the map the Russians are using for military purposes. It is certainly one of the best maps of the whole scene of the war that is accessible to the public.

Yonampoh does not appear in the latest editions of the best German atlas sheets nor on the Langhans or other maps that have been specially prepared in Germany for those who wish to follow the war with the best cartographic material. The name has been inserted on some of the war maps published in this country, doubtless with approximate accuracy, for the town is said to stand on the east shore of the Yalu at or near its mouth. The name does not appear in any of the books on Corea in English, German or French that have come under our notice.

From the little that has recently been written about Yonampoh it seems to be nothing more than a small village which has never figured prominently in Korean commerce, perhaps because trade has naturally centered at the larger town of Wiju, a little further north, owing to the fact that the caravan trade between Corea and China crosses the Yalu at that point. Its situation at the meeting of the sea and river routes and the advantages which a treaty port enjoys may give Yonampoh considerable development.

Mr. Baker and the Leave to Print.

On March 18 the Hon. ROBERT BROUEN BAKER, who confesses that he is the greatest statesman in the Borough of Brooklyn, obtained from his good natured and easy going colleagues in the House of Representatives "leave to print," or, in non-statesmanlike phrase, permission to insert as a speech in the columns of the Record a literary effort never heard in the form of an address on the floor of the House.

Probably the Representatives were glad to give "leave to print" to Mr. BAKER, for if they had not he might have spoken on the floor. But on March 19, when they received the Record, it turned out that the Brooklyn member had taken advantage of his privilege to insert in the official journal a pamphlet in which the Hon. JOSEPH WEXES BARBOCK, a Representative from the Third Wisconsin district and chairman of the Republican Congress campaign committee, was accused of mailing "tons" of seed, Government reports and the like into his district under frank while the Post Office Department was weighing the mails in order to fix the compensation of the railroads for carrying them. The documents franked through by Mr. BARBOCK included a great batch of reports of the Centennial Exposition of 1876, and similar timely documents. This matter was stored away by the persons receiving it. The pamphlet inserted in the Record by Mr. BAKER says:

"To illustrate the foregoing, suppose the railroad companies in any one of the seven counties embraced in the Third Congressional district were to receive \$600 per month, or \$6,000 per year, for carrying the mail in that particular county. If Mr. BARBOCK, by his abuse of his franking privilege as a Member of Congress, doubled the weight of the mail matter for the month or two of the weighing period in that county, then for the entire four years thereafter the railroad companies will receive double their former compensation, or \$12,000 per month for carrying the mail. Where under the old schedule of rates they received \$2,000 for carrying the mail four years in one county, they would now receive \$4,000 on the new contract for that one county. On this basis, where the railroads formerly received \$108,000 in four years for carrying the mails into the seven counties of the Third Congressional district, they would now receive \$216,000 on the new contract for the same service."

Mr. BARBOCK believes that his political enemies, headed by that advanced thinker, Gov. R. M. LA FOLLETTE, could tell where this able bodied attack upon him came, and he rejoices that it did not prevent his renomination for Congress. But he and his friends were amazed to find it in the form of an undenied, unquestioned speech in the pages of the Record, to all appearances having been uttered on the floor of the House in open session without any one taking notice of it or refuting it.

When the House met on Monday, the Hon. WILLIAM PETERS HEPBURN of Iowa rose to question of the highest privilege, and moved that Mr. BAKER'S contribution to the Record be expunged from its pages, Mr. BAKER having been guilty, in the words of the resolution, of "an abuse of the privilege of the House." Mr. HEPBURN said:

This House who has read the portion of the Record that is referred to that a flagrant violation of the rules of this House was committed; that under the permission to print that was legitimate, that that was authorized by the rules of the House, a gentleman has indulged in certain remarks and has attempted to mislead the House by extracts from newspapers and extracted from other sources that contain grave charges against the honor and integrity of a member of this House. No man would have been permitted to use the language in debate that is found in these extracts. He would have been promptly called to order. He would have been compelled to take his seat."

There was little comfort for Mr. BAKER in the attitude of his party associates. The Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, leader of the minority, thought Mr. BAKER would recognize that "he made a mistake." Then Mr. WILLIAMS tried to get some of the BAKER contribution into the Record by reading it in the debate on Mr. HEPBURN'S resolution. Mr. HEPBURN objected to this as "an attempt to violate the rule." Mr. WILLIAMS agreed to expunge from his remarks all that was deemed objectionable. He said Mr. BAKER was new and inexperienced, but that now he would recognize that "under the leave to extend remarks in the Record no one has the right to impeach the integrity, the honor, the truthfulness, the character or the political standing of a fellow member of the House."

Then Mr. BAKER'S unspoken speech was expunged, by a vote of 139 to 97, having been printed in one Record, advertised in another, and spread throughout the country. Whatever this new and inexperienced member sought to accomplish by giving wide publicity to the charges against Mr. BARBOCK he succeeded in doing. In no other way could he have caused the row he kicked up. His own reputation for fair, honest, aboveboard politics suffered somewhat in the process; but the main result of his abuse of an abuse was to provide a further illustration of the fraudulent character of the Congressional Record under the present system.

During the hearing on the project to appropriate \$24,000,000 for highway improvement by the Federal Government there occurred this colloquy between Senator DOLIVER and Mr. SAMUEL HILL of Seattle:

Mr. HILL.—You are probably aware that all the taxes you raise, 90 per cent, are paid by the farmer. Are you aware that you give them back 90 per cent, in appropriation?

Senator DOLIVER.—How do you make that out?

Mr. HILL.—We have those figures officially from the Department of Agriculture.

Senator DOLIVER.—Would you leave the farmers showing most of the tobacco and drinking most of the liquor?

Mr. HILL.—I am speaking of the total tax raised in the country, not merely of the tax raised by internal revenue, but the total.

Senator DOLIVER.—I wanted to defend my own constituents. [Laughter.]

Mr. HILL.—I have no doubt they are doing their share.

Mr. HARPER.—We do not drink in our State of Iowa.

Mr. GEORGE W. COOLEY of Minnesota said "we want your cooperation and sympathy." This sounded cheap to Senator DOLIVER. There might be a chance to save the \$24,000,000.

Senator DOLIVER.—Will you be satisfied if the Government simply furnishes the plans and specifications?

Mr. COOLEY.—No, sir, we would not. We are not here making that request. We expect to be satisfied by approved plans.

Would it not be simpler to have it done by Executive order?

Walter Scott on Trusts.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: The Trust Buster, as well as the Trust Advocate, are equally strenuous in discussing the much mooted trust; but the Buster's criticisms, or at least those that have fallen under my eyes, have not been for improvement of the public order. However strange it may appear, some seventy years ago the author of the Waverley Novels offered a simple solution in his introduction to "Betrothed," as follows:

"The extremes of rude and of civilized society are, in these our days, on the point of approaching to each other. In the patriarchal period, a man is his own weaver, tailor, butcher, shoemaker, and so forth; and in the age of stock companies, as he is now, he is a shareholder in a great number of concerns. Just like the ingenious hydraulic machine, which, by its very waste, raises its own supply of water, such a person buys his bread from his own bakery, and drinks his wine from his own vineyard, and so on. In fact, a man who has dipped largely into these speculations may combine his own expenditure with the improvement of his own country, just like the ingenious hydraulic machine, which, by its very waste, raises its own supply of water. Such a person buys his bread from his own bakery, and drinks his wine from his own vineyard, and so on. 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