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BEN BUTLER'S VISION.
WHAT THE ESSEX STATESMAN SEES.
CONKLING AND PLATT'S RESIGNATION FROM AN INDEPENDENT STANDPOINT.
THE THEORY OF THE AFFAIR—THE TRIP TO MENTOR.
Who is Robertson?—A Prediction.

General Benj. F. Butler has been interviewed by a Herald correspondent in New York on the prevailing topic. He says of the resignations: "I think it was a brave, sagacious, and politic act, and I think I can see why it was done. He was in the senate, where all admit he was *facile princeps*, representing the great state of New York, in the most cordial relations with all its trusted statesmen and political leaders. No man ever held before him such relations. His life-long friend was vice-president, another governor of the state of New York, and his colleague was intimately bound to him by long years of agreement, and he is of more than ordinary strength and coolness. It is acknowledged on all hands that he had led the republican party to victory in his state and in the country. He had just emerged from a four years contest forced on him by the tergiversation of Hayes from the principles upon which he was elected. He had, by his high character.

His Personal Magnetism.
Because he is magnetic in his attraction to men that come near him and know his qualities of mind and heart; many senators of both parties, who in all matters, setting aside partisan differences which affect the good of the country and the administration of affairs, were quite willing and desirous of following his lead, knowing that he would not lead them to do anything, as he had never done; of which they would have cause to repent, for the reason that it was unjust or unstatesmanlike, or, above all, tainted with suspicion or corruption. From the statements in his letter to Governor Cornell it appears that he had made no demands upon the administration for places for his friends or power or patronage for himself; that he had not even made suggestions upon questions involving the distribution of patronage, except when asked. In spite of all this, inspired, as he had cause to believe, by the administration, he had seen almost the whole republican press, certainly all that was controlled by the administration, publishing accusations far and wide that he was attempting to dictate, not in the line of policy but in the matter of place for his political friends. Well, he was conscious that he had made every sacrifice of personal feelings to remain in accord with the administration; yet every journal which claimed to be its supporter made these harsh and unjust accusations against him.

What did we first see?
The president appointed as his cabinet leader a gentleman with whom Mr. Conkling had a difference of sixteen years standing. His was the first cabinet office that was made certain. Did Mr. Conkling evince any opposition to this? Did he even sulk in his tent? On the contrary, when summoned by the president to Mentor to give advice upon the formation, it is to be presumed, of the cabinet, he obediently and loyally answered the summons. Has there been an intimation even that he undertook in any way to control or interfere with that appointment or selection of the presidents premier? The only rumor of any action of his in regard to the cabinet that I have seen at the interview at Mentor, was that he suggested that the state of New York, now the second, if not the first financial center of the world, as well as the pivotal republican state of the union, should have the secretaryship of the treasury. That, so far as I learn, he might well have deemed to be in accordance with the wishes of the presi-

dent; because I am led to believe that for services rendered in the campaign Mr. Garfield had made such intimation that it was relied upon as a promise, that the treasury should go to a well known banker of New York, provided a large sum was subscribed by him and his friends to the expenses of the presidential canvass. That sum has been put at \$100,000. Mr. Conkling.

Returned from Mentor.
And the administration journals said at that time that the meeting had been not only friendly but cordial. The statement received credence because one of Mr. Conkling's friends, Judge Folger, and not the banker, was summoned to Mentor, as alleged to be made the head of the treasury. When I saw this announcement I supposed that the summoning of Judge Folger was probably the result of Mr. Conkling's advice. I assumed that probably Mr. Conkling suggested that, while New York ought to have the treasury, yet the appointment of a banker who had supplied large funds to so high a place might bring a taint of scandal upon the administration if the arrangement was carried out; but of this I know nothing. If Mr. Conkling knew the facts as I think they will at some time appear, I can well conceive that such advice would be given by a man of his high sense of propriety in political action. However that may be, Judge Folger was not called upon to leave his high judicial position for what would not have been even a temporary promotion. Another gentleman was selected as postmaster-general, a cabinet position made in the later and not in the earlier days of this republic, and not usually held to be a cabinet position of the first class, which the state of New York might well claim.

The Next Thing I Saw
Was that the president had sent in nominations of certain gentlemen to office to whose deputation by Hayes Conkling had objected. Mr. Conkling and Mr. Platt allege that this was done without their knowledge, without consultation with them, or without their advice or promotion. These nominations were at once heralded in the administration press as an evidence that the president was doing everything he could to please and satisfy Mr. Conkling. Read in the light of what has followed, an uncharitable mind might deem that this performance, like the summoning of Conkling to Mentor, was but a cunningly devised scheme to make it appear that the president had been yielding in all he had done in matters in New York to the wishes of the senator, and the fruitless summons to Mentor, and the clamor of the administration press upon both matters, gives color to such thought. But the echo of this cry that the president was doing everything for Mr. Conkling had not died away before, without consultation with him, without consultation with any leading New York republican, and without any inspiration from that state, Mr. Robertson's name was sent to the senate for the highest political office in the United States, with more untrammelled political power and patronage than any cabinet office, because the appointments of cabinet officers of any moment must receive the sanction of the president and the advice and consent of the senate, while the collector of New York is substantially uncontrolled in his appointments.

Now Who is Mr. Robertson?
I speak only, of course, of his relations to Mr. Conkling. He was well known to be Mr. Conkling's bitterest enemy in the state of New York, a man whom he accused of breaking his pledged personal faith to Mr. Conkling and the state convention in the matter of his action as delegate at Chicago. Rumor says that that personal difference had gone so far that Conkling had refused to give him his hand, putting the refusal upon the ground that having broken faith with him it was un-

safe to be even his acquaintance. What next happened? Mr. Conkling and Mr. Platt, the senators; Mr. Arthur, the vice-president; Mr. Cornell, the governor; and Mr. James, the cabinet officer; all united in the request that Mr. Robertson's name should be withdrawn, the appointment being made.

Without Their Knowledge.
And as all of them publicly allege in the most solemn manner, in contravention of pledges of the president that they would be consulted in a matter of such moment. Certainly no more weighty opposition was ever made to a nominee to office. What were the grounds upon which the nomination was made? The highest ground that it was put upon was that it was to please a faction of the republican party in the state of New York, insignificant in numbers, inconsiderable in weight, and only influential in clamor. The other and less creditable ground was that the nomination was a reward to Mr. Robertson for breaking away from his pledges to his constituents and by leaving Grant at a critical time, when his defection would do the most harm, rendering the nomination of the president at Chicago a possibility, and had thus raised such a proposition from the depth, where Murat Halstead had put it, of being 'ridiculous.' Is it wonderful that

This Last Straw Broke the Camel's Back?
Would not Mr. Conkling have been false to himself, false to his party, false to the state he represented, false to his high associates in the representation of the state, to the vice-president, his fellow-senator, the governor, and the cabinet officer from the state, who had joined with him in asking the recall of this nomination, but, above all, false to himself and his own manhood; if he had not by every means in his power opposed this nomination? Yet no word publicly or retailed from him privately came to us of his dissatisfaction. Again, the journals who speak for the administration renewed, or rather imparted, fresh vigor to their outcry that Mr. Conkling was attempting to dictate to the president in the matter of his appointments, and would not be satisfied unless he had all, when the president knew he had not any. Yet

This Outcry was Uncontradicted
And unexplained, and the facts carefully concealed from those who take only a superficial observation of them. Quite the contrary. It was declared in the letters of every Washington correspondent that are well under my eye, and in all the leading republican newspapers, that the president was now to exhibit his backbone, as if it were a thing doubtful whether he had one, and that he would not withdraw Mr. Robertson. On the contrary, that he would hold every senator inimical to the administration who should fail to vote to confirm him. It was further announced, with what truth I know not, that the democratic senators would vote for the confirmation of Mr. Robertson, and that he was sure to be confirmed by democratic votes, and the event seems to justify that prediction.

Patronage.
An administration in the first years of its power is very strong, and it requires high virtue, even in a democratic senator, quite as much as the average democratic senator can bear the strain of; to give up all hopes of any patronage for four years just for the sake of furthering the democratic party. Perhaps that is one reason why the democratic party has for so many years been in a state of nearly hopeless minority. Mr. Hayes worked that mine with a good deal of success; it was the bonanza of his administration. The first chunk of ore he took out of it was the late postmaster-general. I don't allege that these were the motives in this case, but I am so blind I can see no other. 'Tis true, 'tis pity; and pity 'tis, 'tis true'—to me.

The Effect.
I rejoice to believe that this trouble will break up the republican party. It has filled its mission,

and is now simply an organization whose only end it is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and divide the spoils. But it will not so certainly break it up if the administration is able to crush out Mr. Conkling in New York, which some democrats are apparently trying to enable it to do.

The Motive.
Mr. Garfield is not a man of wealth or well to do, but he has been kept along, as the evidence is, by small jobs like the credit mobilizer and the De Goyer fee, and there might be other matters examined into, but I only take those that are patent. Now, when a man is about to be made president, he has plenty of moneyed men about him to supply him with money. They don't do it for benevolence, but in the hope of getting repaid, and having created an obligation on the incumbent of the office, they require something to be done out of which they can get their pay. Sometimes it is the appointment of an internal revenue commissioner, so that they can secure their pay out of a whisky ring; sometimes the appointment of a secretary of the interior, by which they can get their pay out of the Indian or the land department; sometimes it is the inauguration of a star route performance by which they can get even;

Sometimes it is a syndicate
To fund the National debt, out of which large sums of money may be made. The internal revenue has now got upon such a basis of administration that it is difficult to levy much on that, and manipulators are a little afraid of the scandal which is risked by working in that direction. There can be no syndicate to refund the National debt, for it has refunded itself without appealing to a syndicate. The Indians are now so few and their condition has been so thoroughly investigated that that mine is worked out. The best public lands have been so far secured by the railroads that that source of getting money under an administration has gone.

But Still That Class of Men
Of whom I have spoken must have the money back that they have spent, and with interest that would have delighted the heart of Shylock. There is but one source left to this administration out of which it can get without creating great scandal. More than two-thirds of all the revenues of the country are collected at the New York custom-house. The investigations and prosecutions of a few years ago showed that many merchants attempt great frauds upon the revenue there. With a passive collector in the New York custom-house very large sums, amounting to millions, could be realized in that direction, and, while it is possible that

Mr. Garfield Might be Ignorant
Of the motive, I think it highly probable that there are some men behind him who, having selected Mr. Robertson as one likely to play into their hands, have insisted that he should be appointed, and have held the president down to that appointment under a sense of obligation to them, against his better convictions and such political sagacity as he has. "History repeats itself," and history is full of such examples in other countries as well as our own. This will account for it.

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