

MACVEAGH'S LETTER

GARFIELD'S ATTORNEY GENERAL WILL VOTE FOR CLEVELAND.

He Considers His Action a Matter of Duty—McKinleyism Is a Robbery on the Masses to Benefit a Few—A Fearful Blow to the Republican Ticket.

Following the expressed determination of Judges Cooley and Gresham to vote for Cleveland, Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, attorney general in President Garfield's cabinet, has declared his intention to do likewise in the following able letter:

John W. Carter, Esq., Secretary of the Massachusetts Reform Club:

Your cordial invitation to address the citizens of Boston on the issues of the canvass happens to reach me just when professional engagements prevent my naming a time when I can do so, but you are quite right in concluding that I intend to vote for Mr. Cleveland. Entering the convictions I do, no other course is open to me, and I cheerfully accord to the supporters of President Harrison the same sense of public duty by which I claim to be actuated. As both parties have presented unexceptionable candidates there is no reason why the differences which exist upon questions of public policy should be discussed otherwise than in good humor and with entire respect for each other's opinions.

In the present campaign what may fairly be called the false alarms of the canvass will prove of little value because of the general confidence in the safe and conservative character of both candidates. The average voter knows that free trade is impossible in this country, for the conclusive reason that the vast revenues now required to meet the expenses of the government will necessarily afford a far higher degree of protection to our established and prosperous manufactures than either Alexander Hamilton or Henry Clay thought desirable in the infancy of our weak and struggling industries. The average voter also knows that the irremediable paper currency in use before the war can never reappear. On the other hand he knows as well that no system of duties on imports, however inequitable, can prevent our continued growth in wealth, in manufactures and in population—a growth due to the incomparable gifts of Providence, the intelligence and energy of the people and the blessings of free institutions.

While I more than ever resolved to hold duty to country far above any tie of party, I find myself at present in general accord with the Democratic party and willing to trust its course in the future. The insight, the courage and the patriotism the masses of the party exhibited in compelling the nomination of Mr. Cleveland when he was without a single officeholder to support his candidacy seems to me to demand that I should meet them in the same spirit and act with them as long as they maintain that high standard of policy and of administration.

It is the more easy to do so because the Republican party, securing its return to power four years ago by promising to preserve matters as they were, at once embarked upon what I regard as a reckless and revolutionary policy—overturning all the safeguards of legislation in the house of representatives in their haste to pass the force bill and the McKinley bill, both, in my mind, unnecessary and unwise measures.

The opposition to the force bill is not only sure to create far greater evils than it could cure, but as also subversive of the rights of the states has become so earnest and widespread that it is said to have been abandoned; but it must not be forgotten that only two years ago such a measure was warmly advocated by President Harrison, earnestly supported by the Republican party and very narrowly escaped becoming a law.

There is no pretense, however, that the McKinley bill is abandoned. On the contrary, our express approval of it is demanded. No doubt that bill, which I cannot but think was an uncalled for disturbance of the then existing tariff, greatly benefited a few interests, but certainly it really oppressed many others. Of the protected industries themselves many were then, as now, in far more urgent need of free raw materials than of higher protection; but with raw materials on the free list the bill could not have passed, for those having such materials for sale controlled enough votes to defeat it, and they were very likely to do so if their bounties were discontinued. The manufacturers needing free raw materials were therefore obliged to join in the objectionable processes of increasing prices by restricting production, thus adding to the number of trusts by which the price of the necessities of life is placed at the mercy of unlawful combinations of capital.

It is not surprising that labor, believing itself to be oppressed, soon rose in revolt, and civil war has actually raged this summer in four different sections of the country. And of course the farmers, paying more for what they buy and getting less for what they sell, grow poorer day by day, and excellent farms in some of the most fertile sections of this most highly protected state will hardly bring the cost of the buildings upon them.

But the economic evils, however great, of the McKinley bill, and the unreasonable system of protection it represents, are of far less importance to my mind than the moral evils which follow in their wake. In deciding for what purposes the masses of the people may properly be taxed it must not be forgotten that taxes have a wonderful capacity for filtering through all intervening obstacles till they reach the bowed back of toil and rest there, and therefore the giving of bounties, under any form of taxation, is mainly the giving away of the wages of labor. The sad truth that the curse of the poor is their poverty is illustrated in nothing more clearly than in the undue share they suffer of the burdens of taxation.

But apart from this consideration,

ought not taxes only to be imposed as required for public purposes, or may they also be imposed for the pecuniary advantage of such persons or classes as are able to control congressional action in their favor? It seems to me like a travesty on taxation to require, as the McKinley bill does, the farmer who grows corn in Indiana to pay a bounty to the farmer who produces cane sugar in Louisiana, or to require the farmer who grows wheat in Pennsylvania to pay a bounty to the farmer who produces maple sugar in Vermont, but it is nearer tragedy than travesty to tax the masses of the people to increase the wealth of the very wealthy owners of most of our protected industries.

But even such inequality and injustice are the least of its evils, for while such a system endures political corruption is absolutely sure to increase, as such a system not only invites but it requires, the corrupt use of money both at the polls and in congress. It is of its very essence that "fat" shall be "fried" out of its beneficiaries. Who shall happen to do the "frying," or who shall happen to distribute the "fat" upon any particular occasion, is no matter of detail, but while that system lasts both will continue to be done by somebody.

And the evils of a system of legislative bounties, so far from stopping, only begins with those bounties secured to the industries protected by the tariff. The disastrous course of the Republican party on the silver question is an apt illustration of this truth. It ought to be an honest money party, and it would be if it could; but while it demanded increased bounties for its favorite manufacturers it could not refuse increased bounties to the silver producers, as the votes they control were probably necessary to the passage of the McKinley bill.

So situated, the Republican party had no alternative but to pass the silver law of 1890, doubling the purchases of silver and requiring the building of more warehouses in which to store the useless metal. The total purchases made by the government amount to hundreds of millions of dollars, and would not realize, if resold, one-half their cost, while the poison of a debased currency, whose work, however slow, is sure, is making itself daily more and more felt in every channel of business and finance, and is inevitably driving gold out of the country and leading us to all the evils of a fluctuating and therefore dishonest currency based upon silver alone. The Republican party cannot take any effective steps toward repealing the bill, for the silver men are very likely, if their bounty is stopped, to so vote that the bounties of the McKinley bill will stop also.

The abuses of the pension system furnish another apt illustration of the evils sure to follow such a system of legislation. If congress was to levy taxes upon the people to confer bounties upon certain classes of manufacturers it was very natural that the pension agents should also join hands to increase their fees by an indiscriminate granting of pensions. The result is that nearly a generation after the close of the war there is a steady increase of the vast sums passing through the pension agents' hands, until now the total amount staggers belief, and has become of itself a very serious burden upon the treasury. From the day of Lee's surrender until now no single voice has ever been raised against the most generous provision for every person who had any just claim upon the gratitude of the country; but surely there is neither reason nor justice in legislation which destroys all distinction between the discharge of duty and the shirking of it, between loyal service and desertion of the colors, between wounds received in battle and diseases contracted in the pursuits of peace.

There is still another great and increasing evil, chiefly traceable, in my opinion, to the maintenance of an excessive tariff since the war and the constant meddling with it to make it higher, and that is the bringing to our shores of those vast swarms of undesirable immigrants who degrade American labor by their competition and threaten the stability of institutions based upon an intelligent love of country. Just as the duties upon imported merchandise have been increased so has the grade of imported labor been lowered, until now, under the McKinley bill, there are coming here every month many thousands of more ignorant and therefore less desirable laborers than ever before. It is not easy to exaggerate the moral evils they are likely to inflict upon our social order and our national life.

As the Republican party is now definitely committed to the policy of taxing the people for the purpose of giving bounties to such persons or interests as can secure the necessary votes in congress, so the Democratic party is now as definitely committed to the policy of restricting taxation to the needs of the government for public purposes alone. The gulf fixed between these two policies of taxation is as wide and deep as can well exist between political parties, and I am also convinced that the old causes in which I am interested cannot hope for success until the avowed policy of the Republican party on this subject is overturned.

Until then the right of each state to control elections within its borders will not be secure. Until then there is no prospect of us enjoying the single and stable standard of value which other civilized and commercial nations possess. Until then there is no hope of placing either our pension system or the regulation of immigration upon a just and proper basis. Until then the purification of our politics will continue "the iridescent dream" which high Republican authority has declared it must always remain. Until then any pretended reform of the civil service must prove, as it has proved these last four years, a delusion and a snare. And until then even ballot reform, the best help yet discovered to honest elections, and already threatened with overthrow by the Republican managers in Maine, Vermont and Indiana, must share the same fate of betrayal in the house of its pretended friends. All these good causes are in the very nature of things the relentless foes of a system of government by bounties to favored interests, and such a system I believe, for the reasons I have given, that the true welfare of the country would be promoted by Mr. Cleveland's election, it is my duty to vote for him, and as I recall the capacity, the fidelity and the courage with which he has heretofore discharged every public trust committed to him the duty becomes a pleasure. Sincerely yours,

WAYNE MACVEAGH.

MAKE IT UNANIMOUS.

Let Everybody Desert Harrison and Vote for Cleveland.

Reports from every part of the country are of the most cheering character for the Democrats. They have carried every outpost in most gallant fashion, and are now marching in one grand phalanx upon the citadel of tariff robbery. There is no longer any doubt about the result in November. Grover Cleveland is as good as elected, but let us convert the coming victory into such a rout that the Republican party will never again be able to marshal its forces in the interests of the trusts. Alabama gave a good Democratic majority in August, and in September Arkansas followed with the biggest Democratic plurality in twenty years. Then came the great slump in Maine and Vermont, which made the Republicans sick at heart and set the Democrats to shouting. Last of all came Georgia and Florida, whose aggregate majorities ran above 100,000.

There is not a cloud in the Democratic sky. Everything points to the one grand result—the overwhelming victory of the Democratic standard bearers. The great procession of the people, with banners flying, and to the sweet strains of inspiring music, is moving on the enemy. Following the lead of Gresham and Cooley and MacVeagh, recruits are joining the conquering hosts in thousands. The Republicans are on the run, and may not carry a dozen states. This is the hour for Minnesota who have been straddling the fence on the tariff to get down on the right side with the masses and help to make it unanimous.—St. Paul Globe.

Every Convert Represents a Reason.

It is not to be supposed that the many who are leaving the Republican for the Democratic party do so in a meaningless fashion. Every convert to Democracy represents a reason, and by that much is the party stronger. Reasons that appeal to the mind have an influence far beyond the individual whose vote and affiliation are changed. The uniting of Judge Cooley with Democracy is very easy to understand when one recalls his position upon the right of taxation. And Judge Gresham, too, is on record. He says: "The power of the government to collect revenue to defray expenses is sovereign and absolute. It can take any part of a man's property without process, but it ought to take no more than enough to defray the expenses of the government." For two men holding such opinions to remain in the Republican party, with its premeditated robber tariff, would be an anomaly. No one who knows the men wonders that they are out or that several thousands go with them.—Rome (N. Y.) Sentinel.

Watch West Virginia.

The Republicans know in the light of recent events that it is folly to hope to break the solid south, and hence they turn their time, money, trickery and rascality to the states in the north whose votes elected Tilden and Cleveland. We believe that Mr. Harrity and the Democratic committee will meet the conspirators at every point and turn and defeat them ignominiously. Mr. Harrity should look after West Virginia. Indians have been given heretofore that the Republicans designed colonizing the negroes in this state, the vote of which is comparatively close. Upon Mr. Harrity's shoulders rests a vast responsibility. That he is the right man for the emergency we do not believe there is any ground whatever to doubt. Let vigilance be the watchword, and let the foe know that we are "after him."—Nashville American.

McKinley's Antidivian Arguments.

It is extraordinary that the chief exponent of mediæval principles should claim that his party is that of progress, while the one which more nearly accepts the teachings of modern thought is that of retrogression. In the very speech in which Governor McKinley talked of the "retrogression reaction" of the Democracy he urged it as a reason against Mr. Cleveland's election that such a result would be pleasing to every country in Europe. Here is a fine illustration of the old barbaric doctrine that the prosperity of one nation is an injury to every other. Had it been urged as a reason during the British elections why Mr. Gladstone should be defeated that the American people desired his success, we would have laughed at the stupidity of the argument and our decision would have been justifiable.—Buffalo Courier.

A Perfect Ticket.

The ticket which the Democracy now offers to the people of the United States is as near perfect as it is possible for anything human to be. Hon. Grover Cleveland has already been tried and found to be a chief executive to whom every interest of the country can be safely intrusted, and Mr. Stevenson has shown himself in every respect worthy of being associated with his distinguished standard bearer. No higher compliment could be paid our vice presidential candidate, and if, in the course of Providence, Mr. Cleveland should be taken away before his term is finished (which heaven forbid) he will know and the country will feel that he leaves the reins of government in honest and capable hands.—Richmond Times.

What Harrison Wants.

The "free ballot and fair count" on the election day the Republican leaders, from Harrison down, want and demand is one that will count every colored man of lawful age in the south, as shown by the census returns, for the Republican ticket, without reference to the nature of his vote or whether he goes to the polls at all. Virtually they demand that the census totals and not the poll books shall be used in ascertaining the Republican vote, the assumption being that every colored man who stays away from the polls has been intimidated, and that every vote so cast by a colored elector belongs of right to the Republican party. This is the result the Republicans desire to accomplish by passing a force bill.—Little Rock Gazette.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Its Direct Influence Is Subversive of Republican Principles.

The ultimate logical result of the policy of the Republican party is a centralization of power destructive of the fundamental idea of our government. This is the meaning of its tariff policy as well as its force bill policy. It means that the rich and those who are ambitious of power shall be favored at the expense of the rest of the people and by means of their subjection. The objection to the Republican tariff is not more on account of the unnecessary tribute it wrests from the poor to increase the profits of the rich than on account of its tendency to cultivate a class of selfish plutocrats who think the government is established and should be conducted primarily to exalt and enrich them. They in fact and not McKinley dictated the present tariff. The Republican party has become the tool of its campaign contributors.

There is not within the limits of the states a more selfish or sordid class or one more indifferent to the true welfare of the people or the future of free institutions. What they primarily seek is the quick establishment of their private fortunes. Upon the basis of such wealth they expect to secure for themselves and their families a place in the aristocracy of money and fashion.

The imposition of burdens upon the mass of the people for the profit of a class is in its motive and its direct influence subversive of the principles of liberty. The Republican party is guilty of this treachery to patriotism. What is worse, it defends its guilt by a false and delusive pretext of serving the people. Wage workers are betrayed into assisting the accomplishment of the plot of scheming sharpers. The profession that the protective tariff is designed in their interest is as absurd as the profession that the prime motive of slaveholders was the good of the slave.

The first steps of the advocates of a protective tariff, if they were sincere in their professions, would not be the imposition of a tax, but prevention of the competition of imported cheap labor. But this is a measure they will not consider. It has no place in their programme. Their whole effort is directed to securing two results—the cheapest labor and the highest prices for labor's product. This is the royal road to wealth and power for them, and they are for the party which will help build it. What the ultimate effect will be as regards liberty and the conditions of a Democratic state they do not care—at least they proceed as if they do not care.

This government was not intended by its founders to be a paternal government in which the poor shall be the wards of the rich, and whose chief concern must be to increase the wealth of the few, so that they may, if so disposed, be good to those who by such means are wronged.

The scheme of American liberty and prosperity is best promoted by removing burdens from all in order that all may better take care of themselves. This is the Democratic purpose. This is the motive and aim of Grover Cleveland's statesmanship.—New York World.

"Managing His Own Campaign."



—New York World.

Vermont Republicans Perplexed.

There is now cause for anxiety for the Republican party. The legislature of Vermont, Republicans, maddened by the recent slump, are going to repeal the Australian ballot law "instantly," they say. But the sober ones among the party counsel hands off. Though the chairman of the Republican state committee is earnest in his recommendation that the obnoxious statute be railroaded off the books, the Democrats of Vermont do not believe that any such good fortune is coming their way. They know it would be the most effective campaign ammunition they ever had, and it would disrupt the Republican party of the state. As it is, any attempt at repeal, even though it fall short of commission, will have an effect unfortunate for Republicanism in the doubtful states. The party leaders know this, and hence their renewed fears.—Rome Sentinel.

The Republican Way.

When the people of a country confine their trade strictly among themselves they do not increase the aggregate wealth, but simply transfer it from one to another. At the end of a given period they are practically no better off than at the beginning, because they have brought nothing into the country and have secured for their products no market on the outside. This is always the fate of those narrow minded people who try to surround their country with a Chinese wall of high tariffs. They cut off trade with other nations, they lose their foreign markets and necessarily they cannot sell their products at a profit, as they produce more than they can consume.—New Orleans Picayune.

Republicans Dislike a Fair Ballot.

The Republican party is greatly concerned for the purity of the ballot, but it doesn't know whether to laugh or to cry over the Australian system. Chairman Manley is convinced that it kept many Republicans from the polls in Maine, and Whitelaw Reid speaks of the "Australian ballot and other new difficulties" in the way of a full vote and a fair count. Such testimony is good evidence of the salutary workings of the new system.—Columbus (O.) Press-Post.

CAMPAIGN SONGS.

The Efforts of the Poets in Many Different Newspapers.

Now, boys, a good old fashioned rally,
From the mountains to the sea;
A muster strong from hill and valley
To set our country free!

CHORUS.

Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
From the mountains to the sea;
The Democratic kingdom's coming
And the people's jubilee.

From freedom's temple drive the fakirs,
Far from the hallowed dome;
The mortgage lift from bonded acres
And save the dear old home.

For Cleveland, boys! Down with the tariff,
Now and forevermore;
No welcome for a soulless sheriff
Around the voter's door.

For Grover, boys, a grand old rally,
From the mountains to the sea;
For Adlai strike from hill and valley,
And set the country free!

Group'll Win the Day.

[Air—"The King's Champion."]
For Cleveland cheer; his record's clear,
We know him tried and true,
The people's friend unto the end,
He leads our cause anew.

Our leader grand, by him we'll stand
And Grover'll win the fight!
For who shall say the people nay
When they rise up in might?
When they rise up in might
No one shall say the people nay,
And Grover'll win the fight!

No one shall say the people nay,
And Grover'll win the fight!
No one shall say the people nay,
And Grover'll win the fight!

Let foes assail and loudly rail
And all their batteries bring;
For all their din Grover'll win—
To them defiance fling!
The people's voice proclaims their choice,
And Grover'll win the fight!

For who shall say the people nay
When they rise up in might?
When they rise up in might
No one shall say the people nay,
And Grover'll win the fight!

No one shall say the people nay,
And Grover'll win the fight!
No one shall say the people nay,
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The Rallying Song of the People.

[Air—"The Menagerie."]
Come now, my lads, another song,
We'll make the welkin ring;
Let's raise a shout for Stevenson,
And Cleveland, too, will sing.

We'll show the officeholding Rads
The way we do the thing;
From Florida to Oregon
This chorus we will sing:

CHORUS.

Then hurrah for Stevenson,
Hurrah for Stevenson,
Hurrah, hurrah for Stevenson,
Hurrah for Cleveland too.

They tax the farmers heavily,
Just to enrich a few;
Opposing labor's honest claims,
And say they'll never do.

Oh, well, they play the game of brag,
And do the ballying, too;
But we're the boys who use them up,
Already they look blue.

Ah, such a set of hypocrites!
They favor everything;
"We love the workers mightily,"
Is now the song they sing.

While later cheap is what they crave—
The tollers they'd hoo-wink,
Though honey goes one eye on them,
There's hoo-bug in his blink.

The farmer boys are true as steel,
And fear not Dudley's floats,
The fat will fry in vain for them,
Rads cannot buy their votes.

Our cause is just and thrive it must,
We'll take their fort by storm.
Then swell the chorus, raise the shout
For Cleveland and reform.

Before November's days appear
The Rads will find defeat;
That up Salt river Ben must go
Along with Whitelaw Reid.

Oh, up Salt river they must go,
Ben and his plundering pack,
And on the way this dirge they'll sing,
"You brought us here, Bill Mc."

Protection Is a Fraud.

Justice is a simple matter. There is something in every man's breast that enables him to see and to know it, if he will but deal fairly with himself. The knowledge of good and evil is intuitive. Self interest and self deception may smother it in places, but the mass of mankind cannot and will not repress it. They know that this idea of protection is not only a fraud, but a lie. They know that it must be destroyed—not a little of it, not a part of it, but all of it—if justice is to be done. Bogus statistics have served the purpose of the men who have used them. They have confused some of the people and delayed judgment. That is all. They cannot stay the avenging hand much longer.—Chicago Herald.

Gresham's Honest Belief.

Gresham believes with the Democrats that taxes should be levied for revenue only, and every honest man must endorse that principle. When government takes from the earner property it is not obliged to use for government purposes, it robs him under the communistic principle that through law the earnings of each should be made subject to the demands of all. In that communism Harrison believes as far as it can be applied to benefit the trusts and other combinations of corporations, but Gresham will not admit that it is just to take away the property of the humblest by force of law unless government absolutely requires it for its own purposes.—St. Louis Republic.

Where the Money Comes From.

The people ought to have the fact forcibly presented to them that the money the Republican party is using so lavishly to keep itself in power is taken from them by means of the Republican tariff. The farmers in every part of the country who pay nearly two prices for their agricultural implements, household utensils and clothing contribute indirectly to the immense campaign fund that the Republican party has at its disposal. Change the tariff system in accordance with the tariff doctrines of the Democratic party, and the Republican party will not be able to get the means with which to corrupt voters.—Savannah News.

Three Thoughtful Men.

MacVeagh, Gresham and Cooley are not men to abandon a party for light cause. They do it only because they know it to be on wrong ground and advocating doctrines that are against the public welfare. The Republican party has not had three brighter intellects, and their concurrent judgment that the Republican doctrines of the day are fatally erroneous cannot but have great weight with the thinking voters in every part of the country.—Buffalo Courier.

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DR. SANDEN'S ELECTRIC BELT

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EXECUTOR'S NOTICE.

Estate of Ezekiel Cole, deceased. Notice is hereby given that letters testamentary on the estate of Ezekiel Cole, deceased, have been granted to H. H. GROVE, to whom all persons indebted to said estate are requested to make payment, and those having claims or demands will make known the same without delay. H. H. GROVE, Executor.

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