

PROGRESS OF TAMMANY.

Can Machine Government be Made Good Government?

Richard Croker is Working Upon That Plan, and New York Seems Satisfied.

[Special Correspondence RECORD-UNION.]

NEW YORK, Oct. 26.—This community at present is more deeply interested in Tammany Hall than the great Democratic organization of New York City, than it has been for several years. There is nothing in the political campaign to arouse feelings of debate, and even if it was not an off year, the financial panic would have discounted the energy and emotional excitement necessary to political enthusiasm. The interest is not political, not partisan; it is cold and thoughtful, such as weary, baffled men give new phenomena of our kind. There is something new in Tammany Hall and New Yorkers having become aware of the fact, are wondering what it is.

The Tammany society is a very old institution, dating from the close of the war of the Revolution, when it grew up as a rival to the Cincinnati. Begun as a social, semi-political club, it acquired its exclusively political character very gradually. But the present generation of New Yorkers know it only in two stages, that of the Tweed, and the post-Tweed rules. Under Boss Tweed it was as effective as it is now, in performing its nefarious functions. But the fall of Tweed has had its effect on the leaders of the ring and their regard for the lesson learned from that event enters constantly into their plans, and, while it does not produce general self-restraint, it remains Tammany's chief ally.

This respect for limitations, together with a more subtle policy, has altered the methods and system little by little until now the results are appearing in bold relief, and legislators, New Yorkers, as a community, thoroughly, even better than he knows his own followers, and if he over falls it will be from within his organization, not from the attacks of an outraged public. His discrimination between what the public will stand and what they will not submit to is wonderful, and has won him the absolute obedience of his associates in the council of four.

Richard Croker has seen and he is teaching his organization that a machine must serve two masters. He aims first at political earnings, and the gross receipts of his close cooperation are enormous. But he has willed that the government provided the city of New York shall be efficient. He gives the able party worker the office, but he demands that he fill it and perform his duties. Secondly, and as a means to the first end, he is introducing strict business methods into the system of corrupt political practices and dishonest gains.

These changes are by no means completed, and the rudiments of the old Tweed management are obvious. They stick out so sharply indeed that they attract all the anti-Tammany criticism to themselves. In the eyes of the public, the greater evils, and at the same time help Croker in his measures of reform. For one of the leader's greatest helps comes from the attacks of the enemies of the organization. The public becomes indignant about some such ill-managed department as, for instance, was that of the Street-Cleaning Bureau. Newspapers take up the subject and the storm grows dangerously violent. Croker waits until the head of the department is alarmed, and then orders a removal. Nobody in the organization objects to such a step, and Croker is justified by his own followers.

But he seizes the opportunity and appoints an able man, Commissioner Andrews, whom Croker passes as the head of the Street-Cleaning Bureau, a man of great executive ability. He, too, seized the right moment, and backed by the boss, he rid the service of about one hundred Tammany men. Secondly, and as a means to the first end, he is introducing strict business methods into the system of corrupt political practices and dishonest gains.

Croker's latest nominations are so good that they have quite disarmed opposition. Republicans and Mugwumps alike have submitted, and already they concede the Democratic registration victory in the polls. An opposition fight had been prepared for by the Independents, who had their campaign partly planned, their funds collected and pamphlets printed. But when the tickets named by the convention held in Tammany Hall were seen, the whole movement stopped. Anti-Tammany men were confounded, and the better classes of citizens are not yet through wondering what is the meaning. It means simply that a new day has found another, safer mode of playing croker.

Croker does not pause with this reform, however. He has begun to check the clumsy old system of petty profits by many individuals. He is seeking to clean up the business of politics and to lessen the chances of scandal by concentrating financial transactions in a few hands. Among the examples of this reform the last Legislature is the most conspicuous and the most highly perfected. The lobby was done away with. Legislators had no discretionary powers and consequently got no bribes. Great corporations which sought legislative neglect obtained it by seeing Croker, and individuals with private bills to get through negotiated with him. New Yorkers went to Albany advised by Senators and Assemblymen to return home and "see Croker," and on doing so reported themselves well pleased with the novel arrangement.

Of course, a great deal of money in the aggregate is still made by individuals in the various departments and in the police services the evil is very great. But these exceptions do not affect the general truth of a new Tammany doctrine and practice. By present methods the greatest proportion of the money made by the organization goes directly to the boss and very little goes beyond the ring of four or five who surround him. Hence the danger to the whole scheme. Croker is getting enormously rich. His career is well known both to the public and to his followers, and it is known positively that he never earned legitimately any more than \$30,000, the salary for three years of the only office he ever held. Tammany pays him as Sachem \$10,000 a year, and this is counted as legitimate, about \$7,000 is added to the amount counted for. But this does not explain how he got the wealth which bought and maintains his residence on Fifth avenue, opposite Central Park, to say nothing of the string of racehorses which he keeps up and constantly adds to.

There is a great deal of grumbling about this, on the part of the men who do the hard work of politics, and it may cause the downfall of Richard Croker. But it shows plainly how business itself are his methods. He considers himself to all intents and purposes the President of a great money-making corporation. As the highest executive officer he receives a salary. He likewise treats himself as the heaviest stockholder, for he retains the bulk of the earnings. He avails himself, furthermore, of the laws governing law and supply of labor. For he requires the payment into the Tammany treasury of a certain fixed proportion of all salaries, thus cutting down wages as much as the supply of "heelers" will warrant, and, in short, manages the concern as economically as he can.

This progress of Tammany was something of hopefulness in its destined end and logical and natural outcome. If he proves empirically that machine government can be made good government; if to that lesson he adds another by demonstrating that it is conducive to the permanency and the efficiency (for its own purposes) of the party machine to give good public service when in power, then Richard Croker will have advanced the art of government in America. For when any nation develops in every community within its boundaries a certain peculiar institution, political philosophers are accustomed to infer that there is something in the genius of that people which makes that institution necessary to the performance of certain functions of that nation. And the boss system in the United States is such an institution, ever repeating itself in every city and town, and it is beginning to be accepted as a necessity.

All that remains then is to have the boss system perfected. Then the men who would govern and who are fit to govern, will learn to run for boss rather than for Governor or Mayor, and America, like England, will put her Victorias on the throne and her Gladstones on the Prime Minister's bench.

Royal Baking Powder.

Highest of all in Leavening Power.—Latest U. S. Gov't Report.

Royal Baking Powder ABSOLUTELY PURE

NOVEMBER WEATHER. Review of Its Chief Features During the Last Fifteen Years. Director Barwick of the State Weather Service furnishes the following data, compiled from the record of observations for the month of November, taken at this station for a period of fifteen years, showing the average and extreme conditions of the more important meteorological elements and the range within which such variations may be expected to keep during any corresponding month: Temperature—Mean or normal temperature, 55°; the warmest November was that of 1870, with an average of 56°; the coldest November was that of 1882, with an average of 50°; the highest temperature during any November was 78°, on the 1st, 1881, and the 4th, 1882; the lowest temperature during any November was 27° on the 24th, 1880; average date on which first "killing" frost occurred (in autumn) November 14, 1887.

Precipitation—Average for the month, 2.36 inches; average number of days with .01 of an inch or more, 5; the greatest monthly precipitation was 11.34 inches in 1885; the least monthly precipitation was 0.60 inches in 1884 and 1889; the greatest amount of precipitation recorded in any twenty-four consecutive hours was 4.22 inches on the 17th and 18th, 1885.

Clouds and Weather—Average number of cloudless days, 20; average number of partly cloudy days, 6; average number of cloudy days, 4.

Wind—The prevailing winds have been from the north; the highest velocity of the wind during any day was 48 miles, on November 30, 1882, from the south.

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The Nonpareil.

The Nonpareil SPECIAL SALE

BLACK DRESS GOODS This Morning at 9:30.

Black Goods are considered as staple as brown muslin in the dry goods business. The demand for cash in the Eastern market has caused even staple goods to be sacrificed. We have secured a big lot of BLACK GOODS desperately cheap. They consist of both plain and fancy weaves, made and dyed by one of the largest manufacturers in the world. The lot includes Serges, Henriettas, Whipcords, Satin Diagonal, Satin Soliel, Figured Batiste, Drap d'Almas and Silk Warp Henriettas, ranging in price from 38c to \$1 20 a yard.

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Our Stock is the Largest. Our Stock is the Newest. Our Stock is the Best Selected. Our Stock is THE one you should see.

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CAPT. RUSTALLER'S Retail Merchants Extra Gilt Edge MADE OF HOPS AND MALT ONLY, —IS THE— BEST BEER IN THE WORLD TRY IT. MILLER BROS. & CO., 1116 J STREET, ROOFING, CORNICE, SKYLIGHT AND FURNACE WORK.

THE MIMEOGRAPH. SEND FOR A CATALOGUE. H. S. Crocker Company, PACIFIC COAST AGENTS. ATKINSON'S Practical -- Incubator. MAIN OFFICE AND FACTORY 1029 J STREET. R. F. PIKE, manufacturer; M. L. WISE, manager. Send for catalogue.

Meeting Notices.

UNION LODGE, No. 58, F. AND M. Officers and members please take notice, a stated meeting of our lodge will be held at Masonic Hall THIS EVENING at 8 o'clock. Visiting brethren cordially invited. GEO. A. WHITE, W. M. JOHN McARTHUR, Secretary.

General Notices.

TAKE NOTICE—THE SCANDINAVIAN Political Club will meet at Berg's corner Seventeenth and J, WEDNESDAY EVENING, November 1st, at 8 o'clock sharp, by order JOHN BERG, President. CHAS. JENSEN, Secretary.

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TO LET—LOWER FLAT OF SIX ROOMS and bath; all modern conveniences; large yard. Apply on Broadway, 410 N. B. 11-17

TO LET—HOUSE SIX ROOMS AND BATH; No. 515 Oak Avenue, rent \$16. STROBEL, Agent, 317 J. 11-27

TO LET—HOUSE OF ELEVEN ROOMS and bath; rent \$16.00. Apply 11-17

TO LET—THIRTY SHARES OF STOCK of Germania Building and Loan Association. Inquire at 1029 J SALOON, 422 K Street.

Physicians and Surgeons. DR. T. WAH KING, ENGLISH AND CHINESE PHYSICIAN and Surgeon, Graduate of Hongkong Medical College. Office, 926 THIRD STREET.

A Natural Food. Conditions of the system arise when ordinary foods cease to build flesh—there is urgent need of arresting waste—assistance must come quickly, from natural food source. Scott's Emulsion is a condensation of the life of all foods—it is cod-liver oil reinforced, made easy of digestion, and almost as palatable as milk. Prepared by Scott & Bowne, N. Y. All druggists.

A BONANZA! Fresh Roll Butter, 45c Per Roll. WE MAKE THIS VERY LOW PRICE in order to close out a consignment of 500 rolls that we have just received. This price is for this lot only. KILGORE & TRACY, Cash Grocers, N. E. Cor. Eighth and J Streets. TO THE YOUNG FACE Pozzoni's Complexion Powder gives fresher charms to the old renewed youth. Try it. MADAME FRIES-BISHOP HAS RESUMED LESSONS IN SINGING 805 M STREET.

J. PRICE'S Cream Baking Powder. The only Pure Cream of Tartar Powder.—No Ammonia; No Alum. Used in Millions of Homes—40 Years the Standard.