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The Vermont Phoenix.

BRATTLEBORO,
FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 1902.

The Burlington Free Press printed on Tuesday a forcible and well considered editorial to show that two-cent mileages would be expedient and profitable for Vermont railroads. Does the Free Press know how its candidate for governor would stand on this question if a bill were to come up next fall with him in the executive chair?

Dr. Seward Webb's statement, given out Tuesday, is reasonably definite in what it says and what it means. For a week before it appeared the McCullough papers were filled with mysterious hints of another "secret conclave" with Dr. Webb and his friends, and were big with portentous intimations of what it might bring forth. They were looking for McCullough ammunition evidently, but they seem instead to have thrown a McCullough boomerang.

The Free Press has been kind enough to explain to The Phoenix at some length why it considered it a favor to Josiah Grout to withhold the publication of his letter in answer to ex-Gov. Stewart. Perhaps the Free Press will also tell us if it considers that it adds to its dignity and self respect, as the supposed leader of the Vermont press, when it refuses ex-Gov. Grout space in its columns over his own name, and then prints anonymously a column of muddy rot like that signed "Historicus" in Tuesday's issue? It certainly is a favor to the writer of such stuff to protect him from the public view.

Once More We Submit the Question.

The real question underlying all others which is before the people of Vermont in the present campaign is as to the management of our political affairs, and the use of money for their control. The great body of upright, single-minded, every-day people may not realize this at present, and they may or may not come fully to realize it this year. But eventually they will recognize that this statement is literally true. The Phoenix touched on this subject briefly but plainly when it first took up the discussion of the present gubernatorial canvass on March 7. There is a sound reason for now recurring to it. When the contest was between Gen. McCullough and Dr. Webb, it was recognized as a battle royal between millionaires, and there was no pretense of evasion or concealment. With Webb's withdrawal it was supposed that the character of the work done by and for McCullough would change, but on the contrary it became once apparent that the entry of Mr. Proctor had been a signal for redoubled efforts, with a determination to win at any cost.

It will be said that the methods in use are not essentially different from those which we have seen used repeatedly in the past dozen years, and we grant it. The difference is that this is the first time that a millionaire—a man who is several times a millionaire—has used these methods in Vermont, and the result is proportionately corrupting. We do not mean to say or to suggest that Gen. McCullough's money is being used to buy votes. There is probably no use of his money which is "corrupt" in the legal sense or usage of the term. But the campaign which is being managed in his behalf is none the less corrupting and demoralizing in its results. Here in our own country we see the effect of these methods in only a partial and modified way. But how is it in the state at large? Do our people realize what methods of political work in Vermont have come to mean? Theoretically, the people choose whom they will have for governor or for any other public office, and nominate and elect him. What actually happens is that the man who would be governor first secures pledges of support from as many men as possible, and then goes deliberately at work through paid retainers to influence and control the action of the voters. Money is not paid directly for votes. But in every locality and every town men are procured to use their "influence," or "to take care of things," as the phrase goes. They cannot be expected to do this work for nothing—certainly not—and so they are given various sums, gauged by their supposed influence, to cover "expenses," or to pay for the valuable time spent.

Not only are well known political workers retained in this way in every locality, but as the fight waxes hot men are "seen" in every neighborhood of every town, and each is deputed to take care of his own neighborhood or locality, and each is paid for his "expenses" or his "time." In some parts of the state it is perfectly well understood that certain men are "retained," and the expression is common among political workers that such an one is so "retained." More than this, hired men are literally put in the field as so much a day, either for general work or for a house-to-house canvass. The worst feature of the situation is that men whose votes cannot be bought, and who would not themselves stoop to or tolerate such methods come to look on them as a matter of course. So demoralizing is the whole process that it comes to be recognized that this

is the way politics are "run," and since one candidate does it the other must do it or stand no chance.

With such a state of things existing, and with a millionaire's money to back these methods, how much do the plain, every-day people of the state have to do about the choice and election of the governor of Vermont? Honest men who are above such methods, and who support Gen. McCullough because they admire him as a man, are not to blame for this state of things, and we do Gen. McCullough the credit to say that he probably does not recognize or admit, even to himself, that his money is being used to debauch the political and social morals of the state. He is simply in the fight to win, and is bound to use every means necessary to this end. His money, paid without stint at the call of his workers, passes down through several grades of politicians before it finds final lodgment, but he foots the bills, and the result is the same as if he personally attended to the details.

We return to our original contention. We submit this question to the people of Vermont in all seriousness, without malice toward Gen. McCullough, and without partisan bias as between him and Mr. Proctor. By comparison, the question whether Gen. McCullough or Mr. Proctor shall be governor is of small moment. What is at stake is the political purity and integrity of our people. Our appeal is not to political workers or to men accustomed to "take care" of their towns or neighborhoods. It is to the great body of Vermont voters; to the rank and file to whom New York political methods are abhorrent; to men who mean to be their own free agents in politics as in everything else.

Let McCullough methods triumph in this campaign, and then in four years let another summer-resident millionaire announce himself for the Vermont governorship, and what Vermont, with only the backing of his own ability and attainments and the good-will of his friends, would care to enter the lists against him? Of what use would it be for him to make the fight?

Let McCullough methods triumph in this campaign, and then on the first favorable opportunity let some other New York millionaire decide that he would like a United States senatorship from Vermont, and who shall say him nay?

These are not idle fancies. They are vital questions for the voters of Vermont to consider.

Where Does He Stand?

Since the question of high license vs. prohibition has been injected into the gubernatorial canvass by the appearance of Mr. Clement as a high license candidate, the people of Vermont have a right to know where Gen. McCullough stands on this issue. We know already where Mr. Clement and Mr. Proctor stand. Mr. Clement appears as the leader and exponent of the high license movement. Mr. Proctor is an equally strong advocate of prohibition. He believes in prohibition as a principle, and, as speaker of the house in the legislature of 1900, he took occasion to put himself on record publicly by directing the clerk to call his name when the high license bill of that year was before the house on its final passage or rejection, in order that he might cast his vote against it.

Of Gen. McCullough's belief or principles we have no knowledge. It is known, however, that when a member of the senate in 1898 he failed to vote for or against high license, and the appearances are that he dodged the question. The facts shown by the senate journal are that on Saturday, Nov. 19, of that year, senate bill No. 92, "An act to obtain the opinion of the voters of the state upon the question of the repeal of the laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, and the enactment of laws providing for local option and high license," came up for final action with proposals of amendment. The first proposal of amendment was disagreed to, and, pending consideration of the second, the bill was ordered to lie, and was made a special order for the next Tuesday forenoon at half-past ten. On the day and hour named the bill was taken up and a motion was carried to reconsider the vote ordering the third reading of the bill. Certain proposals of amendment were disposed of, and then the question recurred, "Shall the bill be read the third time?" This was decided in the affirmative, on a yeas and nays vote, 15 to 14. The bill was read the third time, and then came the question, "Shall the bill pass?" which was decided in the affirmative, on a yeas and nays vote, 15 to 14. In neither of these votes does the name of Gen. McCullough appear. We are informed, reliably we believe, that Gen. McCullough was present in the senate on that day, but had disappeared when the final and decisive votes on this measure came. It looks as if he dodged or straddled. Are we misinformed about this, and does the appearance shown by the senate journal do Gen. McCullough an injustice?

It is not necessarily to be counted against Gen. McCullough if he favors high license, or in favor of Mr. Proctor because he favors prohibition. But the public have a right to know where their candidates stand.

Miss May Granger, a school teacher, committed suicide at Winsted, Conn., Monday, because of nervous prostration from overwork. She was 28, a graduate of Vassar and former teacher of Greek in the Keene High School.



Gen. JOHN G. McCULLOUGH'S RESIDENCE, No. 88 Park Avenue, New York City.

[This, presumably, will be the style of the Vermont Executive letter headings, after the adjournment of the Legislature, in case of General McCullough's election to the governorship.]

STATE OF VERMONT, EXECUTIVE MANSION.

NO. 88 PARK AVENUE,
NEW YORK CITY.

1902

Answered to the Best of Our Ability.

Mr. Ropes of the Montpelier Journal asked these questions of the editor of The Phoenix in his issue of April 15: "Did he ever enter, has he ever seen, McCullough's 'winter palace' in New York?"

"Can he tell a 'palace' from a plain, substantial, unostentatious, simply furnished dwelling?"

With suitable hesitation and embarrassment we confess that we have seen (from the outside only) Gen. McCullough's house in New York city.

Whether we can "tell a 'palace' from a plain, substantial, unostentatious, simply furnished dwelling," we are not so sure. But to our unsophisticated and inexperienced eyes Gen. McCullough's house on Park Avenue, New York, has every appearance of being one of the palatial residences of New York city, and we believe it is so esteemed by his friends, and by the residents in its vicinity.

In case so unlikely a thing has happened as that Mr. Ropes has not had the pleasure of a personal view of the premises, our illustration, made from a photograph taken especially for this paper, may interest him.

Gen. McCullough has a farm and summer residence in North Bennington, Vt. His home, the centre of his domestic life, and the abode of his household goods, is at No. 88 Park Avenue, New York city.

We Await the Information.

Ever since the appearance of Fletcher Proctor in the field as a gubernatorial candidate it has been the chief item in the stock in trade of the McCullough papers to throw out over and over again the charge, not directly but by insinuation, that Mr. Proctor's candidacy was plotted and decided upon at a secret conclave held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, when Mr. Proctor, Dr. Webb and other politicians were present. The Phoenix has asked heretofore in a general way for some positive statement or information on this subject, but has received nothing whatever in the way of a satisfactory answer. Three times within the past week the Burlington Free Press has repeated this charge—twice in its editorial columns, and once in an anonymous communication in which the writer was allowed to say: "The candidacy [of Proctor] itself, however, was born at a midnight conclave in a New York city hotel, where the Webb managers and young Proctor met to concoct the plan of withdrawing one and entering another racer for the governorship." The editorial reference of the Free Press was to "The now somewhat notorious secret conference at a swell hotel in New York city which preceded the withdrawal of Dr. Webb," followed by another reference of similar import. The Phoenix now passes by the smaller newspapers which have peddled this charge, and goes directly to headquarters in the Free Press office with these inquiries:

(1). Do you know that such a secret conference was held, either at the Waldorf-Astoria or at any other hotel or place, public or private, in New York city?

(2). Who attended this conference, if held. Was it called, or held to discuss the Vermont governorship, and if so, what was the trade, or agreement,

or understanding which was reached?

We await the definite information which the Free Press will undoubtedly be able to give.

Said in Plain English.

The statement has come to The Phoenix repeatedly during the past week that an effort is being made to discredit Fletcher Proctor's candidacy by representations that a Grout boom is tied up with it. In other words, it is charged that Mr. Proctor would be favorable, in case of his success, to an effort to put Gen. Grout in Mr. Dillingham's place in the Senate. The Phoenix is in a position to say, and does here say, in the most positive and definite way, that this story or intimation is absolutely false. Fletcher Proctor accepts without qualification or reserve the decision of the senatorial question made by the legislature of 1900. He has no wish to see Senator Dillingham displaced, and neither he nor his friends would give support or countenance to any effort to re-open that question.

Gov. Odell of New York continues to attract attention by his policy of retrenchment. This week he has cut \$372,500 out of the appropriation bills, making his total saving to the state since the close of the legislature \$832,000.

The Burlington Free Press is unmistakably doing the work of a hard taskmaster in this campaign. On its editorial page yesterday it copied a column of the swashbuckling Ropes of the Montpelier Journal, and printed a column of anonymous tommy-rot from "Onlooker"—the same fellow, probably, who was allowed to sign himself "Historicus" three days before. There are men on the Free Press staff who don't believe in this kind of thing.

The introduction by the chancellor of the exchequer into the British House of Commons Tuesday of the budget bill excited extraordinary interest. It provides for a tax on wheat and flour, and the revenue will be increased by an addition to the income tax. The total deficit is \$225,000,000, and provision is made for a loan of \$160,000,000. The Boer war has now increased the British war debt to the colossal sum of \$825,000,000 and 19,429 soldiers have died, and 65,889 sent home as invalids.

Attorney General Knox wrote to the House Judiciary committee Tuesday that he had not been requested to take any action against the Beef Trust and had no legal evidence of the existence of a trust. He had ordered an investigation to be made, he added. The committee accordingly ordered a negative report on the Thayer resolution, calling for detailed information on the subject. Representatives Newlands of Nevada and McDermott of New Jersey have introduced bills to remove all duties on beef imported from foreign countries.

The United States army officers who have been investigating the British stock camp at Fort Chalmette, La., will report that the post is conducted in violation of neutrality laws. Gen. Pearson, the Boer agent, alleged that the British in effect were maintaining a base of war supplies for their army at Fort Chalmette. He declared that

over 200,000 horses and mules had been furnished for the British army, which is undoubtedly true, and also made the more serious charge that British officers have been buying arms here, and recruiting Americans for service in the British army. Gov. Heard of Louisiana laid the complaint before the state department, and Secretary of State Hay ordered the investigation, which is still in progress.

HOME RULE FOR IRELAND.

Eloquent and Impressive Address Last Evening by Hon. Joseph Devlin, Member of Parliament.

Hon. Joseph Devlin of Belfast, Ireland, member of the English House of Commons, delivered in the Auditorium last evening an eloquent, impressive and impassioned speech in behalf of home rule in his native country. Mr. Devlin, who, with another Irish member of Parliament, Mr. Redmond, is seeking the sympathy and support of Irish and other people in this country, came to Brattleboro under the auspices of the United Irish League, which was organized a week ago last Sunday, and was accompanied by Dr. O'Keefe, a member of the central organization in Boston. A good audience was present. Rev. Father Cunningham presided and introduced as first speaker Col. George W. Hooker.

Col. Hooker spoke briefly, stating that he was present to endorse the movement to make Ireland free and paying an eloquent tribute to the Irish regiments for their splendid work at Antietam. "Home rule," he said, "is as dear to Ireland as it is to the United States." Mr. O'Keefe, who was the next speaker, said that the purpose of the United Irish League was to do all that was possible for the best interests of the Irish people and that the people of Ireland, whose spirit is far from being broken, naturally turn for sympathy to this country where the cause of liberty had its birth.

Mr. Devlin spoke of the United Irish League as the great organization which today in Ireland is fighting for the salvation and maintenance of the last remnant of the Celtic race in the old land. The British government has declared, he said, that it will stamp it out because it is the most effective barrier which has been set up in Ireland for 12 years against English aggression and Irish landlordism. But the Irish people, who have so successfully withstood the forces of persecution and coercion in the past will soon settle the impotent attempts of pygmy English statesmen to conquer them today. The time is now ripe, in view of England's troubles, the Irish sympathy with the Boers and the balance of power held by the 80 Irish members of Parliament, to make the master stroke which will force England, for her own protection, to give to the Irish people the right to establish their own independent government and rule the island in accordance with their own ideas.

The last speaker was C. H. Davenport, who touched upon a variety of subjects relative to England's oppressive attitude toward Ireland, particularly the matter of landlordism, by reason of which there is a constant outpouring of rent money from Ireland to the mother country. This is resulting in an impoverishment of Ireland, and has reduced the population to one-half what it was formerly.

Among those who were seated on the stage were Rev. L. M. Koenig, Rev. E. Q. S. Osgood, Col. G. W. Hooker, C. H. Davenport, John Galvin, T. A. Austin, M. J. Moran, Rev. Father Cunningham and Dr. James Conlan.

It is expected that the Vergennes bank cases will be tried at an adjourned session of the United States circuit court to be held in Rutland Monday.

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