

us that the United Labor Party movement had that day collapsed. In that frame of mind we went up town, and just as our car was about to start, we standing on the front platform, I said: 'Well, George, do you see the hand of the Lord in this?' He looked at me with an expression of simple confidence which I shall never forget, and answered: 'No, I don't; but it is there.' Then he went on to say that he thought a way of bringing back the people to the land had opened in the labor campaign of the preceding year, but now that way had closed; yet another way would open, and when that closed still another, until the Lord's will on earth would be done."

That way seemed to George, as it did to most of us, to open in the tariff message which a short time after emanated from the pen of President Cleveland, and enlisted the earnest support of Single Taxers everywhere, who now appeared as free trade Democrats, urging tariff abolition as a first step toward the full industrial emancipation which is our goal.

WILLIAM T. CROASDALE'S CAMPAIGN FOR CONGRESS IN 1890.

William T. Croasdale was one of the strongest characters in the early days of the Single Tax movement—strong physically, strong mentally, strong, too, perhaps in his prejudices. He was a native of Delaware, and had served in the Seventh Delaware regiment during the Civil War, for he was strongly Union in his sentiments. After the war he became associate editor of the *Wilmington Commercial*, and later founded *Every Evening*. From Wilmington he went to Baltimore, where he started a paper called *The Day*, which had a brief career. Then he came to New York, where he engaged in newspaper work and soon after became a convert to the doctrines of Progress and Poverty.

He knew the political game, and was an intense Democrat. He had been one of ex-Secretary Bayard's most trusted lieutenants in the latter's race for the presidential nomination, and had helped to conduct the Henry George mayoralty campaign in 1886. Later he became the editor of the *Standard*. So when he was nominated in 1890 as Democratic representative to Congress from the Seventh Congressional District of the City of New York—the first Single Taxer to be nominated for Congress in the East—he threw himself in the campaign—hopeless though it was from the start—with splendid vigor, and wisdom gained from long political experience. "A strong man and well equipped," said the *New York World* of the candidate at the time. "He would be an able and influential advocate of tariff reform in the next Congress," said the *New York Times*.

It was a three-cornered fight. Mr. Croasdale had been placed in nomination by the County Democracy; Edward T. Dunphy was the Tammany nominee and William Morgan the Republican. Mr. Dunphy had been a voiceless figure in Congress, as were most of the Tammany Congressional representa-

tives at that time, as indeed of most times—mere political marionettes, who danced to Richard Croker's fiddling as they now dance to the fiddling of Charlie Murphy. The nomination of Croasdale, Single Tax free trader who knew his own mind and could speak it, was a direct challenge to the organization. He had reason to be proud of the support he received. Many of those who appeared publicly in advocacy of his election were the saving remnant of New York's democracy. Many were famous at the time; many have since won distinction. Here are some of the names: Thos. G. Shearman, Chas. W. Dayton, afterwards N. Y. City Postmaster and Supreme Court Judge, W. B. Hornblower, A. Augustus Healy, Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, Everett P. Wheeler, Calvin Tompkins, Walter Page, E. Elery Anderson, Cyrus Sulzberger, Henry De Forest Baldwin, Lindley Vinton, Gilbert D. Lamb, Walter S. Logan, and Hon. John De Witt Warner, the latter at the same time Tammany and County Democracy candidate for Congress in another district.

Among those who manned the trucks, speaking night after night, were A. J. Wolf, E. M. Klein, James MacGregor, W. B. Estell, Louis F. Post, Gustave W. Thompson, William McCabe, Alfred Bishop Mason, W. E. Hicks, James E. Gilligan, and many others.

Henry George spoke at many of these meetings. Father Ducey also raised his voice several times during the campaign. The following from the *New York World* of this date concerning this devoted priest is of interest:

"There was a story last night that Archbishop Corrigan had ordered one important division of the League's clerical army to confine its attention to looking after the sutler's camp and caring for the wounded. Father Ducey, the only clergyman in the movement, is announced to speak at Chickering Hall tonight. The story was told that he was interdicted from making such a speech. Father Ducey refused either to confirm or deny this report, *but said he was going to speak anyhow.*" (The italics are ours.)

Mr. Croasdale stood in this campaign for free trade—perhaps the first free trader to stand out boldly for the principle as a candidate in the East. But Democratic timidity then as now frowned upon the open avowal of free trade. Mr. Croasdale derived little assistance from the County Democracy organization. The mayoralty contest was permitted to overshadow the Congressional fight in which Croasdale was the principal figure. A stormy meeting at Cooper Union at which Mr. Croasdale spoke against the McKinley Tariff nearly resulted in a riot. This meeting had been called to ratify the County Democracy nominations. Perhaps many were inclined to consider the intrusion of Federal issues ill-timed in the fight that was being urged against Tammany Hall. *The Evening Post* took this view. But the opposition to Mr. Croasdale often manifested at these meetings was indicative of the existence of protection sentiment and a fear of the free trade issue among the members of the County Democracy. Many of the leaders of this organization were merely interested in wresting the control of the city government from Tammany for purposes of their own; they cared little for Democratic principles and many were at heart protectionists. It was unfortunate, of course, that a non-partisan

fight could not have been waged against Tammany Hall; the day of real fusion had not yet arrived, though such fusion the County Democratic ticket was supposed to represent. Nevertheless, so long as the County Democracy existed at all, it was committed by its very name to those Federal issues which it evinced a desire to repudiate.

The following from a contemporaneous report describes the Cooper Union meeting:

Ex-Mayor Grace then introduced candidate for Congress, William T. Croasdale, whose experience as an orator on this occasion was destined to be somewhat thrilling.

Mr. Croasdale was hoarse and asked the audience to bear with him, and they promised to do so. He began by observing that the meeting was not merely one called for the purpose of ratifying municipal nominations, but a meeting of the County Democracy to sustain the position of that party not only in the City of New York, but in the nation at large.

At this point Mr. Croasdale was interrupted by the entrance of the Murphy Legion, of the First Assembly District, and the Murphy battery. Bands of music accompanied both delegations and made plenty of noise. After the hubbub had subsided Mr. Croasdale advanced a little nearer toward his fate.

THE FATAL MCKINLEY BILL.

"There is also an issue," said he, "dividing the American people as to whether or not the power of taxation shall be exercised for the benefit of the people at large or the plutocrats and politicians for their own benefit."

Mr. Croasdale then plunged upon the McKinley bill. "Since the McKinley bill has passed," he cried, "and you have felt its visible effects, you have received an object lesson in political economy which will teach you that protection is a fraud and a humbug."

The storm of hisses with which this declaration was received appeared to astonish Mr. Croasdale, but he was not a bit frightened. He waited until he could be heard, and then uttered a terse couple of sentences to the effect that the ignorance of some persons on the essential quotations of tariff reform must account for this discourteous treatment.

The audience became wild at this. Cheers and hisses contended for the mastery. There were cries of "Give us local politics," and roars of "No McKinley bill here."

MR. GRACE TO THE RESCUE.

Finally Mr. Grace was obliged to come to the rescue. He said mildly that Mr. Croasdale being the County Democracy candidate for Congress had been invited to speak on federal questions. Then came this sort of dialogue:

A Voice—Not on the McKinley bill.

Mr. Grace—Every man has a right to be heard.

More Voices—Go ahead, Congressman.

Mr. Croasdale—I was invited here as the candidate of the County Democracy for Congress and, by the Lord, I will not be shut up.

A Voice—The man who will not be put down by Reed!

Mr. Croasdale—No, I will not be put down by an usurper. I find that the Democrats here present are supporters of Democratic principles and of the platform here laid down, and that you have found what a delusion and a fraud protection is.

Anything else Mr. Croasdale might have had to say on this subject was again drowned in a torrent of hisses mingled with cheers, happily diverted at this point by the entrance of Mr. Scott.

The *New York Times* as well as the *Evening Post* took the ground of opposition to Mr. Croasdale. The *Times* said:

The tariff issue is as far from the contest between Mr. Scott and Mayor Grant as it is from the Andover controversy, and the attempt of one amazingly indiscreet speaker to introduce that topic at the Cooper Union meeting on Wednesday night was met with a severe but deserved rebuke.

To this the *World* replied as follows:

THE COOPER UNION INCIDENT.

The extent to which "deal" politics renders the parties in it insensible to the higher principles which they profess to favor is illustrated by the rebuke of the two mugwump journals to Mr. Croasdale for speaking against the McKinley tariff and the Force Bill at the Cooper Union ratification meeting.

This was a meeting of the County Democracy, called to ratify all its nominations—Federal and State as well as local. Mr. Croasdale is the County Democratic candidate for Congress in the Seventh District. He was invited to speak upon National issues and was specifically introduced by Chairman Grace for that purpose. But no sooner had he begun than the Republican supporters of the fusion ticket hissed him and called for the "local question." Mr. Croasdale persisted and triumphed. He is not the kind of a man to be driven from the utterance of Democratic sentiments, either by Republican insolence or by mugwump success and indifference. He is a man who would do the party and the country gallant service in the House of Representatives. He is not only a sound tariff reformer and a friend of labor, but he is an intelligent and courageous advocate of the cause he espouses. The Cooper Union incident should solidify the Democracy of the Seventh District in his favor.

It was the general opinion among the better informed that Dunphy was an absolutely useless Congressman. But in spite of this, and because the candidacy of William T. Croasdale was overshadowed by the municipal campaign, because the County Democracy was weak, and owing also to the fact that Mr. Croasdale's vote came largely from pasters, the election resulted in a triumphant victory for Mr. Dunphy. Despite the fact that it was the only Congressional fight in the city that aroused any interest, Mr. Croasdale's vote was insignificant by comparison with his two opponents. The official figures were these:

William T. Croasdale (County Democracy).....	2713
William Morgan (Republican).....	4701
Edward T. Dunphy (Tammany).....	11,633

But it was one of the astounding results of this election that fully two thirds of Mr. Croasdale's vote was made up of Republican and Tammany Hall ballots, the County Democracy appearing to have had hardly any vote at all in the 7th Congressional District. So the vote though small was significant, since these two thirds, or nearly 2,000 voters, had either to place Mr. Croasdale's individual paster or write his name on the ballot.

In this Congressional campaign John DeWitt Warner was elected a member of Congress from the Eleventh District by a majority of over 7,000 in a total vote of 25,000, the two Democratic organizations being united in that district