



Class F 154

Book .W 24

PRESENTED BY

1079
3224

The Speeches

of

Hon. John Wanamaker

on

Quayism and Boss Domination
in Pennsylvania Politics.

Consult the Index.



Geo. Van amater

The Speeches
of
Hon. John Wanamaker
on
Quayism and Boss Domination
in Pennsylvania Politics.

Published under the direction
of the
BUSINESS MEN'S REPUBLICAN LEAGUE OF THE
STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE BOURSE, PHILADELPHIA.

F154
.W24

10
The Great Gatsby
1925



Index.

	PAGE
Introduction	3
Mr. Wanamaker's Letter of Acceptance	8
The Curse of the Machine	10
State Officials Draw Two Salaries	30
Rotten Banks and Trust Companies	36
A Stab at the Farmers	43
Samples of Official Jobbery	46
John Wanamaker and Labor	51
W. A. Stone's Violated Pledges	58
An Infamous Record	62
How the People are Robbed	69
Stone's Statements Proven False	76
Some Broken Bank Secrets	84
Old Soldiers Marked for Defeat	91
M. S. Quay as a Patriot	95
How the Miners were Buncoed	100
The Infamous Lexow Expenses	107
How the Treasury is Looted	112
How Quay Fought McKinley	118
Facts for Business Men	125
The Land Lien Tax Bill	131
Railroad Passes and Politicians	137
Quay—A Sham Reformer	144
Farmers and Taxation	154
Quay Did Not Make Wanamaker Postmaster-General	159
In General Reeder's Home	166
If Wanamaker Were Governor	178
Quay's Kitchen Cabinet	186
\$10,000 Voted to a Fake Hospital	195
The Fight to Go On	204
The Machine Must be Overthrown	211
The Quay Machine Dissected	225
The Next Legislature	246

E. L. B. Feb. 21 1931.

INTRODUCTION.

The continually rising tide of party misrule and legislative corruption in Pennsylvania, under the influence of Quayism, met its first organized opposition during the legislative session of 1897.

Immediately following the United States Senatorial contest in January, 1897, the "Seventy-six" Republican members of the Legislature who had dared to voice the wishes of their constituents, notwithstanding the threats of the bosses, resolved themselves into the now famous "Seventy-six" organization.

The sole objects of this compact were to correct legislative abuses; to oppose legislative corruption; to protect Pennsylvania's educational and business interests, and to compel the wise and honest expenditure of the State's money. Any legislator who would stand for these principles was eligible for membership, whether a Republican or a Democrat.

Of the original "Seventy-six" members all stood firm throughout the session, save five, who proved too weak to withstand the subduing and debauching process of the machine. Yet the membership was more than kept good by recruits from the machine's ranks, who refused to be driven into a betrayal of their constituent's interests to pay the political debts of the machine.

For six months this determined minority disputed every inch of legislative ground and fought with ever increasing courage. They encompassed the defeat of scores of vicious machine measures; they saved hundreds of thousands of dollars of the people's money by exposing illegal expense charges and padded pay-rolls; they protected the public schools, and defeated the efforts of the machine to take

away every protection to the millions of State funds; they made such unceasing war upon bad legislation that Senator Quay found it was no longer possible to pass iniquitous bills by long distance 'phone, and he and his colleague were compelled to desert their posts at Washington and go to Harrisburg and personally lobby for bad measures. But the most important result of their labors was to tear away the mask and expose Quay methods that had long existed, though unknown to the public. The restrictive barriers maintained at enormous cost by the machine to prevent the real facts of State management from reaching the public, were broken down, and the tax-payers of Pennsylvania, for the first time, learned how they had been systematically and unmercifully robbed, and why Pennsylvania, with her countless resources and great industrial interests, can produce neither labor sufficient to keep her people employed or taxes enough to pay her expenses, though she is to-day the most over-taxed State in the Union.

The detection and exposure of law breakers usually stop the commission of the same acts by the same persons, not so, however, with those who follow the black flag of Quayism, for by tradition and experience they are taught that the machine will give protection to all who may violate laws or commit crimes while doing its bidding. Thus it seemed that the startling exposures made by the "Seventy-six" during the session of 1897, only made the machine more defiant and determined to ignore and resent all protests and warnings.

But the attempt to destroy opposition by their crushing process only sowed the seeds for revolt, and by their duplicity and high-handed methods they were really planting destroying mines under their own fortifications. Senator Quay was winning victories throughout the State under the banner of Reform, while his henchmen, under orders, at Harrisburg, were plotting the death of every Reform measure he was solemnly pledged to pass. His representatives were denying the urgent needs of charity, on the pretext of insufficient revenues, and at the same time he and they were conspiring to rob the State by indemnity bonds and

bogus pay-rolls. His henchmen sought to cripple the free school system of the State to relieve the brewers and corporations from paying their honest share of taxes. And while each day, in the Senate and House, new exposures were made and attempted steals were unmasked, and in the face of the vigorous denunciation of a united State press, the machine continued its shameless course until the last hour of the session. Thus it was that Senator Quay, by his own direction and with his own abject followers, prepared and loaded the guns that will be trained upon the Republican party for years to come in Pennsylvania.

How deep is the growing feeling of disgust among the people was evidenced a few months after the close of the session, when they accepted the first opportunity and struck at the machine-made candidate for State Treasurer. For the first time in many years a majority of all the votes cast were against a regularly nominated Republican candidate, and to emphasize this condemnation of the machine more than 100,000 votes were given to a comparatively unknown candidate, nominated upon a platform for which they had no sympathy, only because he had declared his opposition to Senator Quay. To a boss less indifferent to the will of the people and his party's welfare, such a warning would have been heeded. But, following a former precedent, when under grave charges of having unlawfully speculated with State funds, made by leading journals of the country, Senator Quay determined to let go unchallenged all charges, and to again seek to vindicate himself, and those who were caught "red-handed." This was done by forcing upon the party, through the manipulation of his powerful political machine, a two years' slated candidate for Governor, evidently believing that the more machine made the candidate was, and the more offensive he might be to the people, the greater would be his personal vindication if he won.

It was the avowed intention of the machine to force the nomination of such a candidate that brought together the Bourse meeting of February 2, 1897. It was the most remarkable, as well as the most important Republican gathering in the party's history. More than four hundred leading

Republicans representing fifty-five counties of the State were present to bear witness of the widespread dissatisfaction within the party ranks, and to protest in the name of honest Republicanism against one man nominating, two years before the convention was to meet, a candidate who did not possess the confidence of the full party. It was a most representative Republican gathering, composed of men who fought for the Nation's honor in the Sixties, and men who have been foremost in bearing the party's colors to victories since the days of Lincoln, and who never faltered. They were not actuated by personal ambitions, but viewing with alarm the approaching storm that threatens to destroy this party they came to try to save it from impending disaster. It was the unanimous sense of the meeting that a candidate should be suggested who would rally and crystallize all anti-machine elements. Such a candidate not only must be a man of high character and recognized ability, but one possessed of courage to fight a seemingly hopeless battle, and who would be ready at any time to sink every personal consideration for the party's good, and stand ready, even if upon the threshold of victory, to yield to any course that would preserve party honor and party harmony.

Hon. John Wanamaker who, at the time, was in the South, where communication with him was impossible, was, without his knowledge or consent, made the meeting's unanimous choice, and through a committee he was asked to become a candidate for the Republican nomination of Governor within party lines. He withheld his letter of acceptance for some time hoping that the machine would deem it wise to heed the warning of so important a body of Republicans and allow a candidate to be selected who would possess the confidence of the whole party. But when convinced that the machine's policy was to again ride "rough-shod" over the will of the people, he untiringly sought by pledging assistance and active support, some other acceptable candidate on whom all forces could unite, feeling that his efforts for another could be made far more effective, as he had no personal desire to be Governor and if he became a candidate must distinctly so declare.

Failing to find any one who would consent to become a candidate after nearly six weeks of delay, at a time when one-third of all the delegates had been elected, without the promise of a single delegate, and against the wishes of his political advisers, Mr. Wanamaker accepted the call and became a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor. From the day of Mr. Wanamaker's acceptance until the morning of the convention, when he withdrew his name at the request of the same body that had called him into the contest, and allowed his delegates to support an un-machine owned candidate, on whom it was hoped all factions might unite, he waged a campaign against machine and legislative corruption that will go down into history as the most important political event of the closing decade of the century.

Mr. Wanamaker made no effort to secure the support of delegates for himself; his sole aim was to elect men who would represent the people instead of the machine. War was declared against Spain almost simultaneously with the opening of his campaign which for several weeks largely claimed the attention of the people, and allowed the machine to elect delegates easily, but during the closing weeks of the contest a revolution set in that swept practically all the delegates that were afterward elected into the Anti-Quay column. The extent of the revolution is told by the fact that one hundred and sixty-four delegates, seventeen less than one-half of all, cast their votes in convention against the machine slated candidate.

During the campaign lasting seventy-two days Mr. Wanamaker made the most remarkable series of political speeches ever delivered by one man in so short a time. Sixty-seven in number, of such wonderful versatility that no two speeches are alike, and no two sentences in all the speeches are identical. The National attention they have attracted attest to their great merit. The Business Men's League is in receipt of thousands of requests from all parts of the country, and having exhausted the files of all city papers which published the speeches, has deemed it expedient to have portions of some of the speeches printed.

MR. WANAMAKER'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Philadelphia, March 9, 1898.

To the Committee of Notification of the Bourse Meeting: Messrs. Thomas Hoopes, Elias Deemer, W. T. Tilden, Major George W. Merrick, Colonel E. A. Irwin, Professor John Meigs, Joseph W. Yocum, E. W. Meisenhelder, York; H. A. Slate, Williamsport.

Dear Sirs:—I consent to be a candidate for Governor in pursuance with your request presented to me February 7. My reply to you has been necessarily delayed. These are the reasons:—

I have not wanted to become a candidate and add to my labors the duties of personally conducting a campaign.

I have been endeavoring to persuade you to select any one of a dozen men of the State available for the place.

I ardently hoped that the leaders of the Republican party would accept the notice served upon them by the Bourse meeting that the people intended to have something to say as to who should be their next Governor.

The developments of the past two weeks have been invaluable to your cause and conclusive upon me in determining my action.

The crisis upon us is awfully serious in its bearing upon the future standing and prosperity of the State. Since the last three county conventions I have had a clearer vision of the dangers of the situation—and now, after taking ample time to analyze existing conditions, and having carefully considered every phase of the situation from all political standpoints, I have arrived at this final decision with a comprehensive knowledge of what the contest involves personally and what the chances of success are.

I am neither deceived nor influenced by false hopes, and know full well what my prospects of success are; with the delegate electing machinery in the hands of the enemy; with primaries and conventions so manipulated as to defeat instead of register the will of the voter; with the same high-handed methods that were employed to send an almost solid

delegation to the last National convention instructed for Senator Quay, when an overwhelming majority of the voters of the State were for McKinley; with manufactured contests and bogus claims to be sustained by a State committee that can be relied upon to seat enough contesting delegates to give the machine candidate a majority—as was done at last year's State Convention with the delegates of the Twenty-seventh District of Philadelphia—and the contest that is now set up, without a scintilla of regularity or legality, in the Twenty-fourth District of Philadelphia, involving six delegates, and with a chairman who gives timely warning that the State organization will be against me if nominated.

But I am no more moved by these conditions than by the rumored deals of politicians, the threats of character assassins, the tongue of slander or the fact that nearly one-third of all the delegates to the next State convention have already been elected. I ignore all personal considerations, I accept your invitation as a call of duty, and making the issue one of principle, not spoils, I am ready to go forward with you in your battle for political emancipation, convinced that the right will ultimately triumph and that the people desire to settle the question themselves, and settle it this very year.

If this action of yours in bringing me into the field creates discord within party ranks I take no blame therefor, as I have not solicited the nomination. Neither is it essential that I be elected Governor. It will cost me nothing to step aside at any time for such a man as you and your associates agree to who represents something more than a slate or the will of a perpetuating boss. I simply hold it to be imperative that some one shall be selected to whom the interests of the State can be safely entrusted, who shall represent the people, not the edict of any one man.

Therefore, let there be no misunderstanding as to where the responsibility rests, and let the Republican voter demand a strict accounting. With school funds long past due, and personal property taxes withheld from counties to allow the State Treasurer to farm out millions of dollars to favorite banks; with a Capitol Commission breaking down the re-

strictive barriers erected by popular sentiment, and planning a building that will cost millions when completed; with the knowledge that indemnity bonds, padded pay rolls, Lexow bills, Legislative junketings, and mileage grabbers will be paid out of the State Treasury if the machine elects its Governor, I am convinced from proofs in my hands from all parts of the State that the people are ready to unite with you in driving back the bosses and re-entering upon their rightful inheritance.

The next chief executive of Pennsylvania must be a man possessing the fullest confidence of the people, without a Lexow collar and free from every stamp of the machine.

When the people rise they are all-powerful to declare the end of misgovernment of cities and States. It may take time and toil, but there must be many true men and women in Pennsylvania ready to take a stand and remain standing until a new order of politics is an accomplished fact.

Somebody must begin. I am ready to do my part. The fight must be fought and fought to the finish if it takes all Summer, with the Autumn and winter thrown in.

My views in detail as to the live issues of the hour I may have the honor to give hereafter.

JOHN WANAMAKER.

THE CURSE OF THE MACHINE.

How M. S. Quay has cost the Taxpayers of Pennsylvania over \$2,500,000 in Twenty Years—The Terrible Record of the last Legislature owned and controlled by the Bosses—A Scheme to create new Offices to benefit the Machine at a cost to the People of over \$750,000—How the Beer interests were to be protected by Increasing the School Tax of every Citizen.

The first speech of Ex-Postmaster General John Wanamaker in the preliminary campaign for Governor was de-

livered in Lancaster on March 16, 1898. The Court Room was packed to its capacity and hundreds were turned away unable to obtain admittance. Mr. Wanamaker said:

“The first gun of real war booms over the hills of your historic county to-night in opening the battle of your insulted and outraged Commonwealth against the invasion of its rights.

“This Court House becomes an arsenal and each man a volunteer. Slowly the old frigate Pennsylvania has drifted to anchorage in quiet waters, and her enemies are springing mines upon her to tear her into shreds. Hidden and reckless foes are on the alert to sweep her on to destruction. The beautiful white battleship that steamed out of New York harbor a month ago became a white coffin buried in the dark sea in the dead of night. Without passing hasty judgment on our sister nation and willing to wait for all information, the air is full of the fear of treachery and dastardly brutality. We do not seek war, but we are not afraid of it. To the Congress that voted fifty millions into the President’s hands for immediate use if necessary, we send loyal greeting and say make it a hundred millions if needed. To the Navy Department that bought two battleships yesterday we send cordial approval—and say you have our consent to buy two more to-morrow. What do you say, men and women of Lancaster, the home of Thad Stevens? Those of you who approve of securing peace by prompt and vigorous preparations for war, say ‘Yes,’ and say it strongly. We are not clamoring for bloodshed, but we are swearing fidelity to the flag and insisting on justice to the honored dead and living. And while old Pennsylvania of the original thirteen stands up ready with every sister State in the Union to meet the Cuban question, there has come to us long-suffering Pennsylvanians an issue of our own.

“From the lakes to the Delaware and Maryland boundaries we have been shaken by fear and forebodings. It is not a Charleston earthquake shaking houses and churches, but an earthquake of anxiety that is setting our souls to tremble for the future of our old State.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

“Patriotically speaking, comparing the State with what she once was and what she might have been in the place she deserved in the galaxy of States, she has fallen to the rear and only a few memories of her glory are left. In olden times our statesmen were golden priests, who carried chalices of wood, but in these days we have wooden priests of statesmen, who carry chalices of gold and pockets full of places to bless and unbless their retainers.

“Corruption is at its worst and the commercialism of politics is the chief characteristic of Pennsylvania. These are not pleasing words, but what do you expect from me but the plainest words I can command? To idle spectators to whom life is only an amusement this occasion and the causes that lie back of it may look like a mild form of insanity. Conversing one night with my old friend, the Vicar of the Catholic Church, now Bishop Horstmann, he said, in speaking of a valued friend, that he was insane on the particular object to which he had concentrated his life. This in a measure is true of all of us. In this short life a man cannot do much unless he masses his guns and projects all his forces in one direction almost as if he were insane at that point. I am here to-night to throw myself unreservedly and unqualifiedly upon the side of the people to regain their lost possessions in Pennsylvania. The stream cannot rise higher than its source. It is futile to deny the workmanship of an article when the private stamp of the manufacturer is engraved upon it.

“If the genius who selected and directed the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1897, and moulded and shaped its course, had not proudly and publicly proclaimed his absolute mastery over it, its ownership might have been questioned. But its record of promises broken and party pledges ignored; its abuse of public trust and insatiable desire for public plunder; of legislation born of injustice, iniquity and crime driven through under the “whip and spur” of the boss; of trusts fostered and protected and legitimate commercial interests assaulted; of placing the brewery paramount to the school house, and the interests of beer pre-eminent over the crying

demands of charity and popular education, bear too distinctly the character and indelible imprint of its master spirit.

“The session of '97 was the longest, save one, in the history of the State; its unwarranted length was due to three distinct causes: First, nearly a month was lost by the presiding officers of the Senate and House delaying the appointment of the seventy-eight standing committees, that choice chairmanships and places might be found to reward the supporters of the machine's candidate for United States Senator. Then the frequent and oft-recurring absences of Speaker Boyer, Senator Quay's personal selection, whose loyalty to the brewers was well known, having from them, it is alleged, been the personal recipient of favor when, during his administration as State Treasurer, he was under a cloud, lost several weeks; followed, in turn, by the time lost in the manoeuvring of the machine to save beer from paying any additional revenue required, and its attempts instead to place the burden upon the land of the farmer, the public schools and charities.

THE PROMISE OF REFORM.

“No Pennsylvania Legislature ever set sail upon waters so smooth, none with such possibilities for good and with its path of duty so clear.

“For two years Senator Quay had won a continuous round of victories under the “banner of reform.” Clad in armor of reform promises and pledges, mounted upon a reform steed, richly caparisoned with civil service reform pretenses, he had gathered to his standard many potent elements of true reform.

“Reform and moral forces formerly opposed to his methods, believed and took courage in his pledges, and in his hour of need, when political life and future trembled in the balance, they threw their strength with Senator Quay and changed defeat to victory.

“As a thank-offering for political life saved he renewed his reform pledges.

“Every Quay candidate for the Legislature was elected upon a reform platform. A platform of abstract, but positive and specific planks.

“Senator Quay himself secured and caused to be published during the Senatorial contest written pledges of nearly all of the machine members. He committed and welded them so securely to the rock of reform that he alone possessed the power to break their anchorage; furthermore, Senator Quay absolutely controlled every committee possessed of power to originate or create legislation. Therefore his reform bills were sure to be passed, as well as every other good or bad measure, that his imperial will might dictate.

“The anti-Quay element was for true reform of every kind; the Democrats were for Senator Quay’s reform bills for party reasons. With factions and parties thus united for better things, is it any wonder that the Goddess of Reform, bound and manacled so long by Pennsylvania’s boss, should weep for joy when she beheld the hand that had enslaved her raised to strike the blows that would set her free?

“Thus was launched Senator Quay’s reform Legislature of 1897.

THE LEGISLATURE’S BLACK RECORD.

“With the last of Governor Hastings’ vetoes ended the official public exposures of the shameless acts of the last Legislature.

“The Legislature of ’97 was not worse than its predecessors have been, under the same control. People believe it worse only because the cover has been slightly lifted, disclosing the long existing rottenness. Could the veil of confidence and secrecy that protects the workings of committees be torn aside, and the true history of jobs conceived, but that suffered “still-birth,” be written, it would furnish a chapter of attempted assaults and betrayals far blacker than now recorded in the book of Legislative dishonor. To attempt the review of individual schemes would be impossible; we can treat them only briefly by groups.

“The almost uninterrupted warfare in Pennsylvania for two years found the machine at the convening of the Legislature bankrupt, with extravagant and prodigal promises made necessary to hold the machine intact. The enlargement of the classified lists had so encroached upon the political preserves of Senator Quay that thousands of appoint-

ments heretofore belonging to him as 'Pennsylvania's Spoilsman Chief' were placed under civil service protection. But a machine that has unblushingly taken millions of interest money from the people would take more, and deliberately conspired by the introduction of various commission bills to create a host of new and useless, but high-salaried, positions; and also to place thousands of important officials under the control of the machine.

"We soon forget dangers that are past; and while the opposition to these nefarious schemes attracted widespread attention at the time they were under fire, they are now well-nigh forgotten. The daring conceptions of the political "ringster" are but the natural result of long-continued unrestraint, upon which the layman looks with amazement and incredulity, believing them only idle fancies and impossibilities. But yet they are not only possible, but really very easy of accomplishment by the Legislative machine. Their first monstrous scheme was to repeal the Brooks high license law, and pass in its stead a measure patterned after the Raines law of New York State, thus creating a partisan and political Excise Board named by the machine, that would control the granting of all liquor licenses within the Commonwealth; this bill was the result of two years' work and a combination with certain distillers, who were to furnish ammunition to the machine in future campaigns. More than a year before the Quay organs began paving the way for this vicious piece of legislation, as was evidenced by editorials in the Quay organs.

NEW OFFICES CREATED BY THE HUNDRED.

"The next gigantic plan was to establish a Prison Commission named by the same political machine, granting to them control of all State penal institutions, county prisons and houses of detention in the Commonwealth, with full and unlimited authority and power to appoint all officers and employees, and to enlarge, construct and remove buildings without reservation as to cost, thereby placing in the hands of the machine several thousand responsible and lucrative positions.

"Then came the bill creating the Railway Commission, with its board of high-salaried Commissioners and other ap-

pointees that would stand as a constant menace to every railroad in the State that refused to pay tribute to the machine.

“Next was the Civil Service Commission, designed to control for Quay all appointments in the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburg. Followed by the Electric Light Commission, with more fat offices to be controlled by the machine, that every electric light company in the State might be ‘sand-bagged;’ and the School Book Commission, with more good positions that could be made a great money producer. We must not forget the Boiler Inspecting Commission, with seven fat appointments and many clerks that could reap a harvest for the machine.

“Then there was the contemplated Capitol Building Commission, that, like the Public Buildings Commission of Philadelphia and Tennyson’s “Brook,” would run on forever, affording life jobs to many of the faithful. And the attempt to create two new Common Pleas Courts for Philadelphia. Also the attempt to change the specific amount allowed the State Board of Charities for scientific investigation to an indefinite amount for such expenditures, which would afford more help to the faithful. We might continue to enumerate smaller jobs indefinitely, but it is unnecessary.

“The slaughter of the entire outfit of commission bill snakes was not accidental, and thereby hangs a tale.

“The anti-Quay men, divining the purpose and dangerous character of these bills, quietly formed a combination with all the interests assailed. The temperance people were aroused; hundreds of State papers declared against the scheme intended to break down the restrictive license barriers; the prison authorities became alarmed, lest for political purposes our penal systems should be impaired, and gave valiant assistance; the railroads joined hands to defeat a scheme intended for blackmailing purposes; electric interests responded, as did others, and the entire outfit of Quay’s commission bills was linked together and strangled burning.

OVER \$750,000 WORTH OF OFFICES FOR FAVORITES.

“Those who followed closely the legislative proceedings at Harrisburg will remember that legislative correspondents

estimated that the cost of the new offices to be created by the Quay commission bills would be \$750,000, and this estimate is far too conservative. Were it not that every bill creating a commission was introduced by a pronounced Quay man, who knows no will but the will of Quay, the responsibility for these bills might be denied by the head of the machine. The prediction and positive assertion can be made that, but for the stand assumed by the anti-Quay members, the entire outfit of commission bills would have been passed.

“Failing to fulfill political promises with the places expected to be provided by commissions the machine was compelled to find other means. They then made the Legislature a Johnstown’s flood of investigating committees and junketing trips with fat paying jobs, and when these were found insufficient they unblushingly established the padded pay-roll of more than \$25,000, which came to light through the notorious indemnity bond expose, signed by Senator Quay’s chairman of the Republican State Committee, John P. Elkin, and the ex-Premier of Governor Hastings’ Cabinet, Frank Reeder.

“A most interesting chapter of political history is Quay’s reform manifesto, promulgated in 1895. He promised to pass four specific bills, viz.: To prevent the corporate control of legislative bodies; to prevent the payment of occupation or poll tax by political clubs and organizations; to prohibit the soliciting of political assessments from municipal employees; and to prevent political interference with the right of corporate or municipal employees to vote.

“He did not even attempt to have a bill drafted ‘to prohibit the corporate control of legislative bodies.’

QUAY’S SHAM REFORMS.

“The poll tax bill, as originally reported, would have stopped the evil of buying tax receipts, and read as follows:

“‘That from and after the passage of this act, it shall be unlawful for any person or persons to pay or cause to be paid any occupation or poll tax assessed for State or county purposes against any elector, except on the separate, written and signed order of such elector, authorizing such payment to be made.’

“This was amended by Quay’s orders by striking out the word *separate*, thereby allowing any number of persons to sign a single paper giving power of attorney to one man to purchase their tax receipts. Thus the vicious practice that has long existed is legalized by the passage of this bill as amended.

“The non-political assessment bill, as originally reported, read as follows:

“That it shall be unlawful for any officer of this Commonwealth or of any county thereof or for any Mayor or head of department or other officer of any city of this Commonwealth to make or cause or knowingly permit to be made any assessment upon the pay, wages, or salary of any officer or employee appointed by or holding office or employment under him for any political or party purpose whatsoever or to make or cause or knowingly permit to be made any demand, request, or suggestion for the payment or gift of any money or other valuable thing to any committee, organization, or person for use in any manner for any political or party purpose.’

“This was also amended by Quay’s orders by striking out the words ‘request or suggestion,’ thereby legalizing another kind of election fraud making it unlawful to solicit political assessments only at the point of a revolver.

“The non-political interference bill, as originally reported, read as follows:

“That it shall be unlawful for any Mayor or head or chief of any department or any other employee of any city to direct or wilfully suggest to any member of the police, paid fire department, or any other employee of said city to solicit or influence any voter in respect to the exercise of his right of suffrage at any primary election of any political party or any general or special election for any Federal, State, county, city, municipal or school district office, or to employ or solicit any person to solicit or influence any voter in respect to the exercise of his right of suffrage as aforesaid.’

“This was amended by the Quay committee by inserting the word ‘unduly’ before the words ‘solicit or influence,’ thereby making it unlawful only to use physical force.

“The bill was so plainly hypocritical that it did not pass as amended.

THE STATE TREASURY AS A POLITICAL MINT.

“The exact facts of the manoeuvres of Quay’s machine over the bills to secure interest on State moneys are too important to be passed over.

“At the session of 1895 Senator Kauffman, then the only anti-Quay member of the State Senate, introduced a bill requiring the payment of interest on deposits of State funds. Every effort to have the bill brought from the committee failed, and by orders it was killed. Senator Kauffman, with characteristic perseverance, at once started an agitation that soon bore fruit among the taxpayers of the State, as they realized that during the reign of Quayism in Pennsylvania the State from this source alone had been the loser of more than \$2,000,000 in interest that had gone to support and sustain Senator Quay’s political machine.

“During the thirty days preceding the last session two hundred State papers had indorsed the movement and demanded speedy and proper legislation to divert this vast sum from the coffers of the machine to the benefit of the people.

“For fifteen years the control of the office of State Treasurer has been the citadel of Senator Quay’s power; it is believed to have yielded annually a campaign fund of not less than \$100,000, at the same time mortgaging influential bankers and affording unlimited credit to borrow vast sums for personal campaigns, and exhibiting incumbents entering upon the office of State Treasurer poor, and on a \$5,000 salary in two years retiring with a competency.

“The State Treasurer’s office has been the storm centre of suspicion and scandal for many years. Public sentiment, always strong, at times inflamed by rumors of great shortages, of funds deposited in unsound banks, of illegal collections of interest on State moneys and of reckless speculation by Treasury officials, has time and again unsuccessfully demanded a Treasury investigation, always to find the sentinels that guarded every approach too well entrenched.

QUAY AND THE PEOPLE'S BANK.

“To give a better conception of the great loss sustained by the State, the State Treasurer’s official monthly statement bearing date of July 1, 1893, during the money panic, shows at that time a balance of \$8,123,747.69 in favored State banks, paying no interest to the State. From a representative of a leading business concern of the State I learn that on the same date he was obliged to pay a premium of 3 per cent. for cash with which to pay wages. To show to what extent the fund is manipulated for political purposes, a Philadelphia bank, the People’s, capitalized at \$150,000, a private institution, whose president is Quay’s old lieutenant, has continuously carried a deposit ranging from \$300,000 to \$1,200,000, while school districts are waiting in vain for school money long past due.

“An interesting feature right here is the fact that the People’s Bank is the first place that Senator Quay visits when he goes to Philadelphia.

“The declared intention of Representative Smith, of Philadelphia, an anti-Quay man, to introduce a resolution to investigate the management of the State Treasury and Auditor General’s office at first met with violent opposition from the machine; but becoming alarmed lest such a resolution introduced by a man of honest purpose would get beyond their control and pass, and as the author of such resolution would have become a member of the committee, if appointed, they decided to take no chances. And a resolution was offered by Senator Mitchell, of Jefferson, thereby insuring the appointment of a committee of ultra-Quay men appointed by Quay’s President of the Senate, and Speaker Boyer, an ex-State Treasurer, during whose term irregularities occurred so serious that to-day his chief clerk is a fugitive from justice. The agitation incident to the proposed investigation increased the existing demand for the passage of the interest bill, which at first the Quay people contemptuously ignored, but it became so strong that they were forced to take action.

“The Mitchell resolution passed the Senate, but when it reached the House was promptly defeated by the Quay men,

who wanted no investigation, assisted by the anti-Quay men, who refused to lend their aid to such a flagrant farce. By orders the resolution was recalled from the Senate, but before it passed the anti-Quay men tore off the mask and revealed its true purpose. The resolution created a committee, without power to think or act for themselves, who, at some future time, not mentioned, were to submit a report and suggest such legislation as the machine would permit. But the report they were certain to offer was not the really mischievous element in the trick, for the phraseology of the resolution prevented the ways and means committee from considering any interest bill until the investigating committee had made its report. This was the Quay scheme to delay the report until insufficient time remained, to pass an 'interest bill.' This was Senator Quay's first attempt to defeat the interest bill, and precipitated the first drawn battle of the session.

SCOTCHING TREASURY SNAKES.

"The anti-Quay people discovered the snake in the resolution and prepared for battle. The Quay people first defeated an amendment offered by Representative Smith, of Philadelphia, 'Providing, That three Common Pleas Judges be appointed to conduct the investigation; and also provided that nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the pending or contemplated legislation.' But the debate, lasting nearly two hours, developed such a sentiment against this covert attempt to defeat all interest legislation that when Representative Bliss, of Delaware, the anti-Quay candidate for Chairman of the House caucus, offered an amendment: 'Provided, That nothing contained in this resolution shall hinder the passage of bills imposing 2 per cent. interest on State deposits,' it was passed with a rush. Having won their fight, the anti-Quay men allowed the investigating resolution to pass.

"Thus began the battle over the interest bill, which lasted for more than five months, opposed at every step and juggled with at every turn by Quay's men. Three interest bills were introduced—Senator Kauffman's pioneer bill in the Senate, and Representative William F. Stewart's bill, drafted after

the Philadelphia city ordinances, and also one by Representative W. C. Smith, of Bedford, all anti-Quay men.

“The Kauffman bill on second reading was sent back to committee ostensibly for amendments, where for six weeks the committee, composed wholly of Quay men, baffled all efforts to have it reported until April 13. Senator Kauffman was forced to resort to a most unusual proceeding and offered a resolution to discharge the committee from further consideration of the bill, which resulted in having the bill again placed upon the calendar.

“The Stewart and Smith bills were meanwhile slumbering in the House ways and means committee, and no sort of persuasion or argument could move them until Representative Stewart served notice that unless some action were taken before a certain date he too would move to have the committee discharged from its further consideration.

“This again forced the issue, and the Stewart bill was reported after being amended by the Quay people, in committee, to designate three banks for active deposits carrying one-half million dollars each, which were to pay no interest. This was the first step, in turn to be increased to six active banks, as was indicated in an interview given out, it is believed, by Senator Quay himself at that time, thereby still reserving for manipulation \$3,000,000, which, at one-half the legal rate, would yield him \$90,000 annually.

“The second drawn battle over the interest bill occurred in the House on March 24, the anti-Quay element insisting that all deposits, in whatsoever banks, should pay interest to the State, while the Quay men contended that banks carrying active accounts should pay nothing. After several hours of the hardest kind of fighting, the anti-Quay men carried an amendment compelling the payment of not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest on daily balances from banks carrying active accounts, and 2 per cent, in all other banks. Thus was thwarted another open attempt of Senator Quay to defeat the interest bill.

HOW QUAY HAS COST THE STATE \$2,500,000.

“Have you ever looked into what is involved in this matter of the State moneys?

“Of the amount, \$5,500,000, due to public schools on the first Monday of June, 1897, \$3,500,000 was yet unpaid January 1, 1898, with an average balance of \$4,579,131.15 of State’s money in favored banks for the seven months from June 1, 1897, to January 1, 1898.

“Official statement of balances in the State Treasury at the close of each month during the years 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897 and first two months of 1898:

1892, average monthly balance.....	\$6,445,739.50
1893, average monthly balance.....	6,406,661.70
1894, average monthly balance.....	5,096,303.49
1895, average monthly balance.....	4,202,852.88
1896, average monthly balance.....	3,683,881.84
1897, average monthly balance.....	4,253,447.09

Total \$30,088,886.50

Average balance in State banks from January

1, 1892, to January 1, 1898.....\$5,014,814.41

Two and one-half per cent. interest on balances

for six years 752,222.16

“The average balances and value of money have decreased the past six years, so the average, \$5,014,814.41, is far too small, but, using this average as a basis, the Quay machine has taken from the taxpayers in ten years \$1,253,703.60, and in the past twenty years \$2,507,407.20.

JUGGLING WITH SCHOOL FUNDS.

“The machine’s juggling with the school appropriations is one of the blackest pages of legislative history.

“In June last Chairman Elkin gave out an interview advocating an annual reduction of the public school appropriation of \$1,500,000, which was telegraphed to all the papers from Harrisburg and it was understood to reflect the views of Senator Quay.

“Immediately the entire Quay machine began to create a sentiment to cut the school appropriation. This was by much effort outgeneraled by Representatives Young and Smith, of Tioga, who secured the written pledges of 133 members of the House to oppose the cut, and the publication of

the list of names in the city papers settled the question. A calculation of how the reduction proposed by Chairman Elkin would affect Lancaster county shows you would have lost of your school moneys \$81,036,87 if this scheme had gone through. As it was, when the general appropriation bill was reported on June 30 from the Senate appropriation committee, composed entirely of Quay men, the school appropriation was reduced from \$11,000,000 to \$10,000,000, your share of loss being \$27,012, which you would have had to raise by taxation or impair your schools.

“The people are right to be sensitive on this subject. It was a question between schools and saloons—books and breweries—and beer won. The Quay people had agreed to protect the brewers and they killed the Bliss beer bills.

“The docket of the Legislature is too long to be taken up and disposed of in any one night’s speech, even to so patient an audience as that in the court room to-night.

“The whole system of collecting the personal tax moneys and sending the whole of them to the State Treasury to lie there until the Treasurer is ready to pay the 75 per cent. back again is wrong. The bill was drawn in the interest of politicians and for political purposes.

A QUESTION FOR TAXPAYERS.

“Why should you send the entire personal tax to the State Treasurer when three-fourths of it belong to your county by law and is to be returned to your county again?

“An infinite trouble to your localities you are obliged to tax yourselves to tide your schools over until State moneys come in, and thus you have interest to pay on borrowed money that you need not borrow if the State Treasurer would promptly pay what is rightly due to you.

“To make matters worse, it is stated that there are not sufficient accommodations for the insane poor of our State in existing buildings. That on the stone floors and corridors of these buildings several thousand of the poor, chronic sufferers are scattered about in the most wretched way. The failure to promptly pay appropriated money and provide proper

places for the insane poor adopted by the State will soon turn the county poorhouses into madhouses.

“I have said enough, perhaps, in one address to stir you to your best thinking towards a remedy.

“We can only judge of the future by the past, and it is fair to assume that the political machine will do as much worse in the next five years as it has done in the past five years.

“A large part of the six millions of Pennsylvanians are tired of the ring rule and unwilling to submit tamely to the surrender of State affairs to Quay and W. H. Andrews. The State is too young to go out of business altogether for herself.

“We are ready for another Declaration of Independence.

“This does not mean that we take down our Republican flag and put up an Independent flag. It is only the cacklers of the machine that say that, to befog and mystify the unthinking. We must get out of a kitchen horizon and see large things through large hearts and clear eyes. I am a Republican of Republicans and from my boyhood to this day I have never voted any other ticket. Of such there are thousands more than myself. Several hundred of them came together at the Bourse last month and believing this to be a free country and the home of the brave, expressed a desire that I should become a candidate for Governor. If they had stopped with that I might not have been here to-night, but they urged it so strongly and so persistently that I accepted their call.

“I accepted a call asking me to be a candidate of the Republican party before the Republican Convention.

“I accepted no other call and have not been asked to accept any other.

JOHN WANAMAKER'S REPUBLICANISM.

“I am a better Republican than the chairman of the State committee, who, when asked if he would support me if nominated by the convention, said he did not know.

“I did not want to be a candidate or I would have come into the field immediately when pressed to do so. But I waited a month hoping that the leaders would listen to the voice of

their comrades calling not for office but only to be heard—for the good of their party. If I had wanted to be an independent candidate I would have waited until the party leaders clinched themselves beyond recall at the convention and then I could have announced myself. I am not a party wrecker.

QUAY REPUBLICANS AS TRAITORS.

“The Philadelphia Shrievalty contest defeated a loyal Republican at the last election by a notorious combination of Quay-Republicans and free silver Democrats and robbed McKinley of 30,000 votes, and they say—I don’t know how true it is—that it was mostly done through Pennsylvania’s Republican national committeeman. Because I desire to be a party saver I take this stand in full time to prevent calamity sure to come if our entrenched leaders blindly pursue the course they have started on.

“The Governor’s chair need not be a source of rivalry.

“Let all the Gubernatorial aspirants withdraw to either side of it while the people choose the man they want for Governor. If in response to the orders that have gone out many of the machine men at the last Legislature are to be dropped, why not order off the machine Governorship candidate?

“Only to think of it! That we should be obliged to fight for the privilege of saying we will not have as a candidate for the highest office in the State a man slated for two years by the bosses.

“We ask bread and they say you must take a stone. I am fighting against the total destruction of Pennsylvania Republicanism.

“Leiter and Armour have cornered the wheat market of the United States and the King of Pennsylvania has cornered the offices and the political power and these with the Legislature are bushed and barreled for spring and winter deliveries at conventions and to corporations as if all were wheat and oats.

“One Senator owns another Senator and these control twenty-six Congressmen, who in a solid body train with the captain, or if any one fail the combination turns in against that man’s re-election to Congress.

“That old war horse of the party, the veteran, Congressman-at-Large, Galusha A. Grow, unwilling to take orders, must give place to a new man whom it is said the orders have gone out to elect. This tightly bound up political ring in Pennsylvania is just as possible in other States. Take three such States and see where we are. It is a triumvirate next to omnipotent.

“Pennsylvania politics are ruled with an iron rod and the bills are all paid by contractors and legislatively benefited interests.

“Is Pennsylvania too blind to see the drift of the times, and too dull to see her large responsibility in bringing on this condition that may well make many people nervous and fearful?

“I have faith in the masses of the people. There are times to listen to the quiet voter; sometimes he is only a tenth man; this time he is the every third man.

“The old man, tired and disgusted with bossism, must step out and take up the war cry again. The young man who has concluded that politics is a hopeless task, must re-enter the ranks and do his best. Professional men and those who have stood aloof from politics, pronouncing the system as steeped in mud, must make it to their liking by association and service.

“If party spectacles are too narrow, let us broaden them at least enough to see the public good.

THE WANAMAKER PLATFORM.

“The thing to be cared for above personal consideration is the right. With this conviction I enter for the war, not for one summer or one autumn or one winter or one year, but for all the years until Pennsylvania is redeemed and true to the traditions of Lincoln and Grant, who died for Republicanism and the country.

“Malice and meanness and misrepresentation will not deter me. I shall turn the other cheek when one is cut too deep.

“I think we shall be victorious. It does not follow that you should ever call me Governor; but if it comes about that I am

elected I give you notice that I shall attend to the business of the State three hundred and thirteen days in the year and all day with as much devotion as I ever attended to my private affairs. What would I do? I would make the top of my official desk a map showing the sixty-seven counties of the State and study each one to promote its interest and prosperity. I would reduce the places and the salaries of all paid officers of the State to a minimum. I would find the way to make all the State money produce more than one and one-half per cent. interest. I would hope by lightening the expense and collecting what may have been uncollectible dues to produce enough revenues without saddling the small business people of the State with additional taxes.

STANDING UP FOR THE POOR MAN.

“If anybody must pay more money to the State let the rich and prosperous pay and not the poor and struggling. I believe there is money enough to go round if we husband what we have and give it out of the Treasury to whom it belongs at the time it is actually needed.

“I believe it possible to increase the values of property throughout our State by a judicious measure designed to encourage investments of capital in enterprises made possible by the new tariff.

“With the Public Buildings at Philadelphia under my eyes for twenty-five years, that originally were to cost five millions and have already cost twenty millions, with another five millions to be added for completion, I give you notice now that I will unalterably oppose inch by inch the wasteful use of money on a Capitol at Harrisburg, now starting masked under an appropriation of five hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

“It is not now our business to give honors, places and salaries to the man simply because he says he wants it and manoeuvres for it.

“It is true wisdom to find such as can bless the State with labors, with devotion for the real good of all the people and will give service at any sacrifice. Let every man go out of the way for such leadership. Can our senior Senator do a

more patriotic thing at this point in the long career with which Pennsylvania has honored him than to help toward the higher level of good for all the people?

READY TO STEP ASIDE.

"I will be the first to step aside for the people's man.

"Pennsylvania has not made an inch-step of real advance in good government for thirty years. She has talked about it, marched and countermarched under and over all sorts of platforms and pledges of reform and landed every time at the same old place. But for the heroic work of Governor Hastings and Attorney General McCormick she would have fallen far backward last year.

"This is a year to begin a greater Pennsylvania. We will begin with the Governorship, and success must attend us because we are right and the people insist on their rights.

"We are here to-night to solemnly pledge and declare that no man shall have the right to govern us against our will. So say we all of us with a shout that shall echo from the rivers to the lakes.

"There are two freedoms—the first where a man is free to do what he likes; the other where a man is free to do what he ought.

"At the close of this meeting, that passes into history as one of the pivotal points of our lives, I stand here before you to say that I choose to do what I believe I ought to do. It is to do the one thing which the people call upon me to do.

"I stand up alone your servant, untrammelled, absolutely the knowledge or assistance of even my closest friends, and I desire to give you now a most unqualified assurance that I am personally free from all political environments or claims.

"Most unexpectedly I reached this determination without free and ready to serve the State if it needs me. God bless the Commonwealth!"

STATE OFFICIALS DRAW TWO SALARIES.

How the Bosses' Machine Rewards its Favorites.
 The State Treasurer and Auditor-General draw
 two Salaries unlawfully—William H. Andrews
 and his Lexow investigating record—How
 one man was paid \$900 for doing
 nothing—The responsibility of
 Senator Quay.

The newspaper correspondents who described the Wanamaker meeting at Ephrata, Lancaster County, on the night of March 18, 1898, spoke of it as "a great success and hundreds were turned away as it was impossible to get them in." On this night Mr. Wanamaker spoke as follows:

"Two wars threaten the American people to-day—Spain and Quay. One is a national question, in which Pennsylvania is interested. The other is a Pennsylvania question in which the nation is interested. The United States cannot embark in war without involving Pennsylvania, and the Republican party of Pennsylvania cannot engage in battle upon fundamental principles without involving the Republican party wherever it exists. Quay stands not as an individual. I have no quarrel with him personally, but as a representative of the State machine and defiant fortified leader of public affairs in our Commonwealth for the past twenty years, more or less. Spain must make an accounting for our buried ship and entombed seamen—for the dignity of our flag. So also must Quay be brought to book—and this is the business before us to-night. Pennsylvania, anchored between the Blue Ridge and the Blue Sea, has been all unconscious of the hidden perils, worse than powder magazines to which her captain has steered her. Senator Quay is that captain—universally admitted and even boastfully. To-day W. H. Andrews, formerly of Crawford, the county from which he was beaten out, and now of Allegheny, where for months past he has been laboring to launch a Stone frigate, is the mate and pilot, always on the captain's

bridge. This much no one disputes—whatever be the subsidized newspaper denials, and Mr. Andrews' interviews with himself in newspapers, instructed, as we are informed in some cases, not to mention the name of Andrews in connection with W. A. Stone or Senator Quay.

WHY THE BOURSE MEETING WAS HELD.

“The fact, I say, is indisputable—that W. H. Andrews, the head, tail and middle of the Lexow investigating committee, and Senator Quay's pick of last winter of all the Legislature to head his political ways and means committee, is the controller-in-chief, under Senator Quay, of the political forces of Pennsylvania, whose iron rule is felt to the uttermost boundaries of our boss-ridden and boss-driven State. It is this condition of things that representative men of upwards of fifty counties of Pennsylvania met last month in the Bourse at Philadelphia to protest against. It was high time for such a protest. No one need to apologize for that act. Neither is it necessary, as freemen of Pennsylvania, for you to explain to your neighbors why you attend the town meeting to-night at Ephrata to discuss public questions. It was the ghosts of the acts and attempted acts of the last Legislature that haunted the old Republican guards of Pennsylvania and sent them to Philadelphia, and close to Independence Hall, to make, sign and publish another declaration of independence. It was not only the nightmare of the narrow escapes of last winter's Legislature, but it is the never-absent fear of a Quay-Andrews Governor and a Quay-Andrews Legislature that urges men everywhere to earnest remonstrance.

“Let it suffice for to-night to say that the citizens of this State have not had so much reason to repel an invasion of their rights since Stonewall Jackson, that September morning, came over our garden wall as they have at this hour to head off the armies of office-holding politicians who seek to complete the capture of the State by owning the Governor, boots, breeches and brains.

“Referring to the Legislature of '97, permit me to say that the audacious boldness exhibited by the Quay officials at

Harrisburg, because of long-continued unrestraint, proves their belief that all who wear the stamp of the machine are guaranteed immunity from the law, and are safe from the displeasure of the people.

DOUBLE PAY FOR STATE OFFICIALS.

“This is evidenced by the fact that since 1895 the Auditor General and State Treasurer have each been drawing what is acknowledged to be unlawful salaries amounting to \$1,200 a year, as members of the Board of Public Accounts and Public Grounds and Buildings. In direct violation of the law, these items, together with one for \$600, for Attorney General McCormick, who is also a member of the Board of Public Accounts, were inserted by the committee in the general appropriation bill of 1895. The Attorney General returned his warrant to the State Treasurer with indorsement, stating that he had no right under the law to receive any additional compensation for his services. Notwithstanding the opinion of so high an authority, the State Treasurer and Auditor General, as members of the same board, and as members of the Board of Public Grounds and Buildings, have drawn \$1,200 annually.

“At the last session of the Legislature these items were attacked by the anti-Quay men, and when the Quay chairman of the appropriations committee was asked to tell by what authority of law these self-apportioned salaries were inserted in the appropriation bill, he admitted that he knew of no authority whatever. His admission defeated both items when the bill was on second reading in the House, but they were re-inserted in conference committee, and finally passed at the last hour of the session, when but few, even of the courageous dared take the chances of opposing the bill.

“And in the face of all the recent agitation, with the taxpayers aroused as they have never been aroused before, these officials are withholding moneys from your county that are long past due, and are giving out statements of deficits, while, with the aid of the machine, they each are paying to themselves unlawfully at least two salaries from the State Treasury which I here refer to.

“For the payment of salaries of officers of the Senate and the House two items in the general appropriation bill alone were padded more than \$25,000. Every dollar was to be paid upon a mysterious list of political supernumeraries, who performed no service whatever to the State, and who visited Harrisburg only when necessary to draw their pay. Some of them kept in hiding from the newspaper correspondents until they slunk away with checks in their pockets. They ought to send the money back to the Treasury, as they performed no service for it.

THE NOTORIOUS INDEMNITY BOND.

“Members of the ‘Seventy-six’ opposed these items at every step; they presented a list of all officers and employees, with total amount of legal salaries, and called upon the Quay leaders to explain what the additional \$25,000 was intended for, but no explanation was offered. Yet, under orders, the items were passed for these illegal payments, and would have been paid but for the veto of the Governor.

“The persistent battle waged by the ‘Seventy-six’ scared the State Treasurer, and, to guard against personal loss, he refused to pay money on the bogus lists unless amply protected, with good reason, fearing they might fail to pass. His demand for some security brought to Harrisburg from Washington two of Pennsylvania’s national representatives, and there at night, under direction of the master genius, was drawn and signed the notorious “indemnity bond,” the discovery of which forced the retirement from the Governor’s Cabinet of his Secretary of State, and from the Attorney-General’s office the chairman of the State Republican organization. The bond, I am told, also bore the signature of one of your highest national representatives and officers of the Senate and House and others. Some of the high officials of the State and its Republican State committee had the audacity to defend the making of the indemnity bond. This was the boldest thing that bold men ever attempted.

HOW HE GOT \$900.00.

“To more clearly show the character of the contemplated steal, and the conscienceless daring of the “Treasury looters”

in November last at Pottsville, Schuylkill county, in a libel case, Jonathan Jones, a resident of that county, swore that his name had been placed upon the padded legislative payroll, at the last session of the Legislature, by Senator Coyle, who had secured power of attorney and had drawn \$900 for alleged services, although it is stated that Senator Coyle knew he (Jones) had not been in Harrisburg a single day during the session. The same people who say we are trying to destroy the party are planning to re-elect a State chairman, who, within twelve months, was dismissed from high office because of his confessed connection with a conspiracy to take unlawfully from the State Treasury a large sum of money. I stand before you as a Republican proud of my party's history, and jealous of her future, but let me warn you, my fellow Republicans, if the party bosses in Pennsylvania insist on again placing at the head of the State Republican organization a man repudiated by a Republican administration because of participation in a Treasury raid, they are courting destruction, and certainly planting a wrecking mine.

“Lancaster county played a noble part last winter in the hotly contested battle against the bosses through the valiant leadership of C. C. Kauffman, your Senator. One of the fiercest battles ever fought on Pennsylvania soil was at Harrisburg when the Andrews Lexow investigating expense account was presented and pushed for payment. Then it was that Senator Kauffman treated the State to cold facts in his brilliant speech. He marshaled only plain, naked facts—that the Andrews committee, packed to down Quay adversaries, had met 57 times and held sessions averaging 2 hours and 25 minutes each, and that the cost to be saddled on the State was \$65,980.96, or upwards of \$1,157 a session for an attendance averaging not less than 4 or more than 5 men, or \$485.72 for each hour the committee was in session. Ten thousand dollars were charged for stenographers, or over \$71 an hour more than the wages of a normal school professor for a month of days and nights of 24 hours each. Why did this investigating committee incur an expense of more than \$65,000, to be paid out of a Treasury that they

claim has a deficit and that must be made up by imposing additional taxes upon you? By the call of 400 of your citizens in town meeting assembled and encouraged by many hundreds of callers and letters from the various sections of the State I have become a candidate for Governor.

"There is at least one man against me and that is myself. Incredible as it may seem to you the man that stands before you does not want to be Governor. I am not second to any man in appreciation of the honor, but, like a farmer who has been plowing for forty years with one plow, I prefer the old employment unless I can choose for myself.

WANAMAKER'S FIGHT FOR PURE GOVERNMENT.

"I have been talking for two years about better government in our State, and when these men of the Bourse meeting stood up and called me there was but one answer I could justly make. I put it all before you in my letter of acceptance. I am an out-and-out Republican from away back, and shall be a Republican candidate for Governor if I live until the second day of June next, unless halted by a Republican meeting such as called me into the field. In plain English, I have simply walked through the one door that was opened to me, and that is all there is about it now.

"I have said that I would fight all summer, with the autumn and winter thrown in. So I shall. It may be said that before I would withdraw from the contest it would be necessary to allow me to select the man for the ticket. No such thing! I do not care a straw who the man is if he is of the stripe of the true patriot and not a machine-made candidate. It is for the people, and the people alone, to say whom they want.

"Absolutely, I decline now and for the future to make any expression as to which of our good men shall be chosen. I mean only to insist on the type of the man, that he shall be one who will keep the balance level between all men."

ROTTEN BANKS AND TRUST COMPANIES.

What Rotten Politics had to do with the Crash of the People's Bank and the Guarantors' Finance Company—How a United States Senator Lobbied at Harrisburg for a Decaying Trust Concern—Quay's Speculation with State Money.

A. State Treasury Story.

On the night of April 2d Mr. Wanamaker addressed a large meeting at Conshohocken, Montgomery County. His text was "Rotten Banks and Rotten Politics." A few words on the impending crisis with Spain were his introduction. Then he entered with great vigor into the discussion of State issues, with broken banks and the management of the State Treasury as his text. The failure of the Chestnut Street Bank, and the more recent collapse of the People's Bank, and the suicide of its cashier, were touched upon. These banks held deposits of State funds amounting to over \$700,000 when they failed.

"The banks must supply a large part of the capital with which business is carried on in our city," he said. "Often when credit is jarred by unworthiness and bad management of affairs wages cease, because the banks lose faith and decline to lend their money to assist enterprises. At the present time the whole city is aghast with the revelations of the four bankrupt corporations that have struck two men dead and buried in confusion hosts of others.

"The taxes paid by you and others for your schools, charities and State maintenance have to nearly a million gone down in the wreck, only to be recovered by the assessment of derelict directors and trustful stockholders. One of the officers of the People's Bank, President McManes, steps forward manfully and bravely to make good the State deposits. Why should he do that? Why he alone, as if he were at fault more than others and the only one able to pay for his own faults and others? But for him where would you look

to-night for your State money deposited in the People's Bank?

"In referring to the conditions of peril for our State moneys, I spoke at Lancaster of the People's Bank a week before the bank failed. I have been blamed by some for precipitating this failure. Is it not high time that we should be looking for the money that you paid in taxes that is scattered around in the favored depositories throughout the State, which by rights should not be there at all, but in the hands where it rightfully belongs, doing the good for which it was appropriated?

"The cause of the collapse of these four banks and trust companies may be put down to scrofulous politics. Even the political pull to drag in millions of taxpayers' money for the benefit of We, Us & Co., the favored of the State machine politics, was insufficient. Nobody can make an empty bag stand up, is an old and true proverb.

A UNITED STATES SENATOR AS A LOBBYIST.

"The Guarantors' Finance Company, though much younger in years, seemingly possessed of the progressive spirit of the day, has accomplished in five years what it took the People's Bank more than a score of years to do, namely, to empty its treasury and close its doors, with more than half a million of dollars' deficit. The intimate relations existing between these two institutions, as shown by the disclosures that have followed their failure, should surprise no one, as the same political friendship, the same dangerous relations, the same baneful influences and the same daring men were the controlling power around and within both institutions. How closely the interests of the Guarantors' and the State political machine are allied is shown by recalling a single incident that occurred at the last session of the Legislature, when during one of the most critical periods in the nation's history a United States Senator left his post at Washington and went to Harrisburg, where, for a night and a day he lobbied to pass what was known as the infamous Guarantors' Insurance bill, which was intended to give this insolvent company the right to amend its own charter by a vote of its directors; to change its

plan and classes of insurance without authority of the State Insurance Department, thereby placing it beyond the jurisdiction of the State insurance officials, and making this particular company unanswerable to the protective insurance laws of the State.

“From the Speaker’s room this United States Senator directed the fight for the Guarantors’ bill. While the House was in session he summoned members to him, and on political and personal grounds urged them to vote for the iniquitous measure. Every branch of the State political machine, under his direction, was put in motion—requests, promises and threats were freely used. But, notwithstanding all these, the Guarantors’ bill, as it then was, that would have rendered it next to impossible to terminate the reckless business of this concern, that would have shielded the friends of the Senator who are now in peril, was defeated by the efforts of the anti-Quay forces in the House known as the ‘Seventy-six.’

“The wrecking of the People’s Bank and the Guarantors’ Company eliminates but two of the many political planets which revolve around the State Treasury as their solar centre, in a constellation of dangerous agencies, controlled to furnish the sinews of political warfare that aid to perpetuate the Quay machine. Could the veil of secrecy that has concealed the inner workings of the State Treasury for twenty years be torn aside, could the people see piled before them the millions of dollars of interest money that has been lost to them, could they know the facts of the alleged reckless speculations unlawfully carried on by politicians with their money, could they realize that the political slavery in Pennsylvania to-day has its head-waters in a political and boss-manipulated State Treasury, they would then realize what has been the fountain-head of Quayism and of the streams of corrupt politics that have spread over our State.

“The oft-repeated attempts to honestly investigate the conduct of the State Treasury have failed, and the almost constant suspicion and attack has found every avenue closed that might lead to a knowledge of how the State money was being handled. Only once in twenty years has a State Treas-

urer been elected that Quay did not own politically, and but once in all these years have we had a glimpse of the methods employed. Samuel Butler was elected State Treasurer in 1879, as an anti-machine man, and upon the examination of the accounts of State Treasurer Noyes, preparatory to his taking office, he (Butler) found due bills, orders and worthless securities amounting, it is alleged, to several hundred thousand dollars, which he refused to receive as good assets. The story has been told in the *New York Evening Post* and several other metropolitan journals, and never yet has been denied, of how Quay, the political boss, and Cashier of the State Treasury Walters speculated in stocks with money belonging to the State Treasury and substituted practically worthless securities for cash they had used; of how the approaching time for Treasurer-elect Butler to take his seat rendered it necessary to make good a shortage of what is commonly reported to be \$300,000; of how an exposure was imminent, when a friend came to the rescue and raised the money. The details of all this were known to but few until long after. Walters, before he died, wrote a letter telling all.

A TREASURY OFFICIAL A FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE.

“During the administration of Henry K. Boyer, as Treasurer, who is now Superintendent of the Mint, a threatened investigation forced his chief clerk to leave the country, and he is to-day a fugitive from justice. The State was saved from loss, it is alleged, by the liberal contributions from corporations and individuals who have long since received their reward by favorable legislation, secured through the influence of the machine.

“At the last session of the Legislature to prevent an honest investigation of the management of the State Treasury a Quay committee was appointed to make a fake investigation, which it did, and reported the management for the past twenty years faultless, and especially complimented the present official and reported every dollar properly accounted for, yet a few weeks later the notorious ‘indemnity bond’ expose disclosed the fact that the State Treasurer had unlawfully

paid the money on the \$25,000 padded pay-roll, and on the last night of the session the State Treasurer and his friends were on the floor of the House appealing to members to pass an appropriation bill for \$10,000 to reimburse the Treasurer for money unlawfully advanced months before the appointment of the investigating committee to Sergeant-at-Arms Harrah, Quay's confidential friend.

"Were I the State Treasurer, with one uncertain prop between me and loss from a national bank, known for a year or more to be in the quicksands, and with one noble-hearted but ill and aged man standing pathetically in the breach of the other trusted institution, I would be in haste to look after all the other moneys on deposit belonging to the State. I have by me no list of the places or amounts, or of the men responsible for their management, or to whom they have loaned the money, but I would surely and without delay at least satisfy myself that I could get it when wanted; but the fact is, I would not lose an hour in scattering it over the State to perform the mission for which it was collected. Pennsylvania does not so much want interest on State deposits as she wants safety and straight-forward dealing with all public moneys.

"What a month Philadelphia has passed through—with its Councilmanic clouds and broken bankers!

"Five days ago a stanch Republican newspaper said: 'Rotten politics and rotten business have gone hand-in-hand in the failure of the People's Bank.' From the beginning this bank has been in politics, and rotten politics. It was organized by politicians for politicians. It stood for a corrupt combination between corporations, politicians and public officers. All its profits did not come from this, but a very large share did. It has always had 'influence.' It has always profited by it. Organized by an ex-State-Treasurer, it has always had State funds. It has held city funds. It has held other 'funds.' It was a clearing house for personal profit, some doubtless legal and some not; but none would bear the light of day. Politicians brought their personal effort to this scheme for profit. Public officers brought the public money entrusted to them. The bank received it, dealt in it, profited

by it and divided the spoils. By law this is legal. It is sanctioned by long custom. None the less it is wrong. Public money is a public trust. If there is interest on it the State should have it. If there is a profit in its deposit the taxpayer should get the benefit of it. Any other course is morally, if not legally, a diversion of public money to private profit. These examples are contagious; weak men will not improve on an ill example, and the result is the ruin of a bank, the loss of life and a reputation more precious than life and another deadly blow to business confidence. These blows are inevitable as long as rotten politics exist in this State. If the State Treasury is made the centre of a great network of operations under which the interest on State money is divided between banks and politicians, some banks are sure to be rotten. They cannot share in this legalized iniquity, sanctioned though it be by law, without suffering for it. The whole community suffers. The gigantic political machine which taps the State Treasury, the banks and big corporations, and which divides and distributes the spoils of all three between public officers, politicians, political workers and corrupt voters is not merely a political scandal; it is a rotten moral wrong which destroys all concerned.

“Bribery develops in Councils. Banks break. Corporations like the Guarantors’ prove mere swindles. Men once honest sink into personal corruption and end in suicide. There is only one cure for the long, dismal, disastrous examples of this which Philadelphia has endured for a generation—clean politics. Unless the political machine and combination which makes these things possible can be smashed they will go on indefinitely, debauching the community and injuring honest trade by the shock to public confidence.”

“Very pertinently the outside world is looking on and asking what Pennsylvania is going to do about it.”

TAXPAYERS MUST ASSERT THEMSELVES.

“The people need only to rouse themselves to shake off the fetters forged by time and a merciless, self-serving ring. We are approaching a Gubernatorial and Legislative election, and whether we have a Cuban war or not on the high seas, you

will be here to pay taxes and be governed. No free government can exist without elections. The kind of government we have depends on our intelligence and the interest we take in selecting those who levy and spend the taxes. I cannot tax you to-night with a recital of the wrongs undertaken by the last Legislature—defeated in part by the valiant '76, and the faithfulness of the Governor in applying the veto power. Let the slated candidate of the ring come into power at the next election and you shall have the bosses owning the Governor's mansion and the new Capitol. Contractors will furnish a lot less of building, but a large lot of money for political purposes.

“The City Hall at Philadelphia and its contracts and costs is an object lesson for you.

“The padded pay-rolls, the new taxation proposed, the reimbursement of the Lexow and mileage committees that were headed off last year will call next time upon you and you will have no remedy.

“Do you like the prospect? Are you pleased to be led about in the Andrews-Quay chain gang on the promise of a place or a pass on the railroad? If you are not getting anything out of your servitude you are not as smart as the others who do, and they laugh at you while they enjoy their innings.

“Bushels of railroad passes are constantly being distributed by the steam railroads by the hands of the politicians to their friends who vote the way the railroads want them to vote. And this going on in open day and known to thousands, and the inter-State commerce law notwithstanding. Let me conclude with a word or two personal to myself. I accepted the call of the Bourse conference to become a candidate of the Republican party for Governor, though I have no wish to be Governor. I am simply offering myself for your use to break the slate of the bosses and to get a man for Governor acceptable to the people who want to throw off the yoke of the machine. I want to see the State start anew out of the wilderness into a land of hope and prosperity. You can elect your own Governor and you can elect your own Legislature and be your own masters—if you will.”

A STAB AT THE FARMERS.

The Pure Butter Interests to be Sacrificed—How the Quay Machine planned to strike every Farmer and Dairyman in the State—A proposition to permit the sale of Oleomargerine to save the Brewers from higher taxation—The Wanamaker men defeated it.

The Opera House at Towanda, Bradford County, could not hold all the people who came to hear Hon. John Wanamaker on the night of April 4th tell how the Quay machinists tried to sacrifice the farmers of Pennsylvania to save the beer brewers. This is what he said:

“My visit to your town to-night is to speak to you on the great issues of State that face us in the next elections. I wish that you could separate me from any other personal interest in this movement more than any other citizen. When I was here last and spoke to you within a few weeks of the Senatorial election I take you to witness that I never opened my lips on that subject. Now that I am here, called out by the representatives of the Republican party from fifty-five counties of the State to be a standard-bearer for Governor, I am here to represent a deep, settled antagonism to the juggernaut of Republicanism—the Quay machine—rather than to invoke anything personal to myself.

“That meeting at the Philadelphia Bourse was a Republican meeting, not under the cover of darkness or disguise, but in the open day for the public good. It was not rebellion or revolution, provided the leaders of the party will awaken in time from their intoxication of power and shameful politics. No party ever fell so far from its high level as the Republican party of Pennsylvania. To-day it is buried deep in broken pledges, sold-out reforms, combinations with corporations to control primary conventions and elections, and for assaults upon the Treasury, speculations with State money and other reckless, shameless schemes to rob the people of the State.

“Never in the history of any Commonwealth was there deeper plotting and more wicked determination to raid a State treasury and thus impose heavier tax upon a people than was witnessed in the Pennsylvania Legislature last winter.

NEWSPAPERS PAID TO SUPPRESS THE NEWS.

“There were two unyielding and unstormable bulwarks. The gallant “Seventy-six” and the Governor’s veto. You do not know about this? I am not surprised. Many of our State newspapers are paid in money and by promises of office to shut out everything damaging to the ringsters. How could you know when their schemes are carefully kept out of the papers? When certain things must be published as news in the Quay organs it is done like a colored photograph, placing in most favorable light all the defects and the blurs of the picture. These very organs, spurred on by the chairman of the Republican State Committee, even claimed credit for the passage of the bill compelling the payment by banks of interest on State deposits.

“Fellow-citizens, you should know every one of the rocks past which the ‘Seventy-six’ steered you safely in the corrupt Legislature of last year. But the machine does not want you to know these things. The only way to get these things before the people is at a town meeting like this. If I could control the matter I would have every hall and church and schoolhouse open every night until the convention meets in June. I would discuss measures and men, candidates and capitol building.

“Let me enumerate briefly a few things that the arrogant bosses of the Republican party in the last Legislature tried to accomplish to the injury of the whole people of the State. I say a few things, for the complete list would make in the mere mention several columns of county newspapers.

“First, it endeavored to reduce the school funds \$1,000,000. This would have meant a loss of \$28,000 in round numbers to you, men of Bradford County, every two years.

“The growing demand for money with which to run the State Government led to an investigation of the subject of

taxation, and at the last session of the Legislature bills were introduced increasing the rate of taxation in various directions and imposing a direct tax on the products of the breweries of the State.

"This latter proposition immediately met with the most vigorous opposition from the Quay machine, and orders were given that under no circumstances should an additional tax on beer or other malt liquors be imposed. It was pointed out, however, by the Governor, that more money must be raised annually or the appropriations to charitable and other institutions must be cut down.

FARMERS CHOSEN AS THE VICTIMS.

"Then it was that the fertile brain of Mr. Marshall, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, one of Mr. Quay's closest friends and his mouth-piece suggested a scheme that would relieve the machine of the odium of cutting down funds for charitable and State institutions, the hospitals and asylums to save the breweries. In the struggle between the brewery and the schoolhouse Mr. Marshall decided to aim a blow at every farmer in the State. He did not decide to do it, however, until he had seen Mr. Quay and obtained his consent, and subsequent events proved that Senator Quay was with him heart and soul in this movement.

"Mr. Marshall proposed a tax on oleomargarine that would raise a revenue anywhere from \$500,000 to \$1,200,000 per annum at the expense of the great dairy interests of Pennsylvania. You farmers will understand it when I say that it was proposed at one legislative sweep to permit the wholesale manufacture and sale of bogus butter in competition with the dairies of Bradford County, and of every other county in the Commonwealth, just so the bogus butter paid a tax of one or two cents per pound. The manufacturers of oleomargarine jumped at the opportunity to put their products, millions of pounds of it, in Pennsylvania, and they urged the passage of the bill.

"That measure proposed by Mr. Marshall meant that the Quay machine, to save the beer brewers from paying a fair and just tax, was willing to sacrifice the farmers of the State,

but the representatives at Harrisburg of the agricultural industry rebelled. The opposition came mainly from the 'Seventy-six,' and so the proposition to save the brewers by sacrificing the farmers was reluctantly abandoned.

"But the brewers had been liberal contributors to the fund used in the election of machine officials, and the agreement that they should not be taxed by the Legislature was still in force. Then it was that Senator Mitchell, of Jefferson County, presented the general appropriation bill, formulated by a committee under the domination of the Quay machine, in which the appropriation for the public schools was cut down \$1,000,000.

"Fellow citizens, it was a magnificent struggle. It was the brewery against the red schoolhouse, it was the scheming politician against the people. If for no other reason than this, that the Quay machine tried to save the brewer by sacrificing the schoolboy, it should be doomed to swift and lasting condemnation by the people.

"They failed in their nefarious plans and the 'Seventy-six' aided by the honest men in that Legislature, put the brand of shame upon the scheme and it fell, as it deserved to fall, and the schoolhouse triumphed."

SAMPLES OF OFFICIAL JOBBERY.

**Enormous Overcharges made for Work done under
Shadow of Schedule Prices—One Printing Bill
as a Sample—The Quay Cry to the Party
to stand up for Harmony a Fraud
and Sham—The People Must
Know the Facts.**

Mr. Wanamaker's speech before a crowded Opera House at Williamsport on April 5th dealt with official jobbery largely. He spoke briefly about the threatening war and then continuing said:

"But, my friends, the words I have spoken are only incidents of my visit. Like the peddler who comes into your

homes, I am only now unstrapping the basket of things I want to show you.

“One of the thirteen old colonial States is in revolt. Like the earthquake in San Francisco a week ago, that wrecked houses and shook buildings to their foundations, the old Commonwealth rumbles with murmurs of discontent, and shakes with anger and mortification at the long continued perpetrations of wrong and deceit of fraud and infamy on the part of political bosses who have captured the Commonwealth. This meeting to-night is one of the many in our State which declares our fixed and unflinching purpose to throw off the bondage of the old overbearing and iniquitous machine that has wrought so much evil to our Commonwealth.

“I will not permit you to call me less of a Republican because I dare refuse obedience any longer to William H. Andrews and Senator Quay in their reckless purpose to slate their subservient friends, speculate in office and manipulate the taxpayers' money. It is not Republicanism to wear a ring through your nose. It is not self-respecting in Republicans to be deaf and dumb and walk along with the party hand-in-hand with shoplifting politicians, while they lay their hands upon all that is in sight, and carry it off for their favorites who do their bidding at elections. The Republican party of Pennsylvania, save such as are in office or have the promise of it, the contractors and those otherwise subsidized, almost all of the once great, healthy organization stands with furred tongue, sick of the grip of the monster boss and begging for relief. It asks relief, not next year or after one more term, but now, this summer.

“I state a fact that will be amply demonstrated within the next thirty days, when I say that the people of Pennsylvania have not the slightest conception of the extent to which official corruption and jobbery have crept into the politics of Pennsylvania. Men do not scruple to violate solemn pledges and then oaths to accomplish their purpose. I call your attention very briefly to one case that I am informed is a matter of record at Harrisburg, the points here

given can be verified by an appeal to the records in the office of the Attorney General at Harrisburg.

A BIT OF OFFICIAL JOBBERY.

“One year ago a former clerk in the Republican State headquarters, and I believe subsequently a clerk in the office of the State Treasurer, was awarded the contract for the State printing for a term of four years, at a bid of 81 1-100 per cent. below the maximum price. The next highest competitor was 1-100 of a cent above him. The successful bidder, Mr. W. Stanley Ray, began his work July 1, 1897, and early in September of last year, filed an account of three months’ work, amounting, it is alleged, to between \$11,000 and \$12,000. By direction of Governor Hastings, State Superintendent of Printing Robinson submitted this bill to the Attorney General’s Department before approving it. Deputy Attorney General Reeder went over the bill carefully and found that Mr. Ray had overcharged the State to an amount, said to exceed \$7,600. The Deputy Attorney General filed an opinion to this effect on the 28th of December last, and the finding was approved by the Attorney General and Governor.

“I am informed that in one item alone, the State Printer, a friend of Senator Quay’s, and one of his political workers, overcharged the State \$6,420. On another bill the overcharge was said to be \$743, on another \$257 and still another of \$186. These items were stricken from the bill by Superintendent Robinson, by direction of Governor Hastings, after which a warrant was issued to Mr. Ray by the Auditor General for the amount of his claim, less the overcharges indicated.

THE PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW THE FACTS.

“Here is presented one of the remarkable methods employed by Senator Quay’s friends in the conduct of the State affairs and the disposition of the people’s money. In other words, if my information is correct, over sixty per cent. of this bill was unjust, to use no harsher expression. The people of Pennsylvania must understand these matters of detail to

see just how far the trail of machine corruption and political debauchery extends into the workings of our State departments.

“The most specious plea that is being put forth by the Quay machine and its camp followers is for harmony in the party. Urged on by the fears of Senator Quay, they are going up and down the State appealing to honest men and good Republicans for harmony. It is the old deceptive cry and I call you to witness to-night that every last one of these men want harmony upon their own terms by putting their own people on guard. They cry that war is impending; that tariff issues are at stake; that financial questions are to be settled and thus demand that anti-Quay men fall into their snare through fear of results at Washington. The machine knows to-day that it is standing upon a volcano, and by this process of political threats they expect to frighten or cajole the dreaded anti-Quay forces into the support of corruptionists and their tools. Do not be deceived and do not enter into unholy contracts with representatives of the worst element that ever controlled Republican politics in the State of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM A. STONE AS QUAY'S ALLY.

“The old machine says to every self-respecting Republican: ‘If you pen your mouth to discuss the affairs and decision of the ring you are a kicker.’ The old motto used to be ‘Addition, Division and Silence.’ It is now, in these latter days, ‘Silence, Servility, and School Money Speculations.’ They say that all they want is to be let alone. That is what Jeff Davis said also. We are approaching a Gubernatorial convention and election. It is alleged on his behalf that William A. Stone, the under cover candidate of Andrews and Quay, is an old soldier. All honor to the old soldiers, but there are qualifications demanded for the office of Governor other than that of being an old soldier. When I was Post-master General I never failed to appoint an old soldier whenever I had a place, but suppose that I had put one in the dead letter office who could not read the illegible and half-defaced inscriptions on letters, would you have excused the

delay in the return of your missent letters because the clerk was a soldier?

“Mr. Stone is Senator Quay’s most faithful ally and subservient friend. It is this fact that disqualifies him for the office of Governor. No man, whether he be a Senator of the United States or the principal lobbyist of a Legislative session, who is interested in the passing of Lexow bills, and padded pay rolls must have control of a Governor who wields vetoes or passes upon legislation.

“I have referred in former speeches to the infamous attempt of the Quay machine to cut down by \$1,000,000 the appropriation to our public schools. At the time of the failure of the Chestnut Street National Bank and of the People’s Bank, in Philadelphia, in which there is still tied up over three-quarters of a million dollars of the people’s money, your money and mine, that was subject to the check of the State Treasurer, this same Treasurer was claiming that there was not enough money to pay the school district moneys. Right over in your neighboring county of Bradford, in Albany township, the School Directors have been borrowing money to pay the school teachers while these vast sums were lying idle in favored and rotten banks.”

Mr. Wanamaker then read a tabulated statement showing that for the past four years the People’s Bank of Philadelphia has held State deposits that averaged from one-fifth to one-third of all the money in the State Treasury, as shown by the monthly balances. In 1894, in May, June, July and August, the People’s Bank had a State deposit of \$1,178,104, while the monthly balances of the State Treasury ranged from five to six millions of dollars.

JOHN WANAMAKER AND LABOR.

A Reply to Political Attacks on Business Methods of His Firm—Some Malicious Falsehoods Nailed.
Senator Quay's Friends the Bankers of Wall Street—His Official Acts always to Help the Corporations and Trusts.

Mr. Wanamaker changed the plan of his speech this Wednesday evening, April 6th, at Athens by taking up newspaper clippings handed him that were taken from an Athens paper. He then said:

“Clippings of newspapers like these I have just read have been sent out from Philadelphia to the country newspapers by the Andrews-Quay management, endeavoring to poison the workingmen of the State against me by an effort to make it appear that I had imported foreign workmen who take the place of American laborers. To prove this charge, a single case in nearly forty years of our business is cited where my business house composed of John Wanamaker, Robert C. Ogden, T. B. Wanamaker, and Rodman Wanamaker, doing business under the name of ‘John Wanamaker,’ was fined for employing a man contrary to law.

“Let me say that I was never charged personally of even so much as trying to evade any labor or importation law. While I am legally responsible as a member of a firm for all my firm does, as an individual and in my political views I stand for myself only. The case on which the firm of John Wanamaker was fined was during my absence in Europe. No papers were ever served upon me; I was not a witness in the case; in fact, I had no knowledge of the latter until long after the circumstance occurred. I would dismiss this matter here if it were not so apparent that the Andrews-Quay candidate for Governor, who dare not face you upon the real issues of this campaign—which are of broken promises and unequal taxation, machine corruption, and legislative debauchery and dishonor—proposes to raise this irrelevant and false and misleading question to divert your attention from

vital issues, and because I wish to embrace this opportunity to emphasize the position that I have consistently maintained on the question of immigration for all my life.

UNAUTHORIZED ACT OF A DEPARTMENT MAN.

“The case in question hinged on two points: First, did the head of a department make a contract with a foreign workman in violation of law? Second, had he authority from the firm to employ such workman? It is an inflexible rule of the firm of John Wanamaker that no one shall be employed in any capacity whatsoever except by the head of the employment department, and so strict is this rule that I myself have no authority to employ any one, and cannot do so except through that medium.

“The man who instituted this suit against the firm brought a letter of introduction and recommendation to one of our buyers when in London. The man asked many questions about America—about the chances of securing employment and the possibilities of advancement. The buyer, an Englishman by birth, took an interest in the man and persuaded him that no country afforded such opportunities as did America. Our buyer told the man that he could not guarantee him employment, but would use his best efforts to assist him if he would come to Philadelphia. Through the influence of the London house which introduced the man to our buyer, he loaned him the money to pay the man’s passage, and upon his arrival in Philadelphia made good his promise to assist him.

“Without communicating the peculiar circumstances to our firm, our buyer, on his return from his visit to Europe, instructed the man to apply for employment in the regular way. The applicant was given the same examination that all others are given, and answered every question satisfactorily. His name was placed upon the eligible list. Soon after an opening for such a man was reported and he was given employment.

TROUBLE STIRRED UP.

“The man was recommended as a skilled laborer of a class that is unknown in America. But after a trial, while he

proved a competent workman, he showed himself to be a man of bad instincts, and was removed for insulting a lady customer. He refused to work in the new department to which he was assigned and left our employment; not, however, until after he had attempted the worst kind of blackmail; appearing in person in our general office and demanding \$200, or he would bring suit against our firm for the violation of the contract alien labor law, claiming for the first time that he had a contract with our silk buyer, though it was a year after he had entered our employ. As I learned afterward, for many weeks our firm was threatened with prosecution by certain irresponsible lawyers, unless we paid the man several hundred dollars. Of course, our firm refused.

“Suit was brought, to which our attorneys attached little significance, and much to their surprise, and wholly unknown to me, a verdict was given against our firm, and not until months after did it dawn upon any of our people that the prosecution could have been inspired by politics, and that the prosecution of the case might not be accident, but the result of political methods, and solely for antagonistic political purposes.

“This is viewing the case from the most unfavorable standpoint to our firm. Let us take the other view; that our buyer did employ this foreigner, and that he did pay his passage to America. This fellow was recommended as a skilled laborer, of a class unknown to the American trade; was said to have served an apprenticeship of many years—unlike the American salesman. He had picked pins and wound ribbon for a year. He had labored a term of years in a factory, and knew how every silk product was made.

“He had learned the ladies’ tailoring business. He was able to suggest harmonious and becoming colors, and to tell accurately the number of yards of a given width required for any style for a person of any size. He was a skilled and artistic window dresser; in fact, it was believed that he combined the learning of the manufacturer, the knowledge and taste of the dressmaker, the ability of the salesman, and the art of the window trimmer. To attain this proficiency re-

quired a dozen years of plodding work, such as the American salesman will not do.

“But our silk buyer, believing he saw an opportunity to increase the efficiency of his department, did encourage this man to make Philadelphia his place of residence, and shaped things so that he became a salesman in his department, believing that the smart, quick Yankee salesmen would learn from the Englishman in a few months all that it had taken him years to learn, thereby giving our salesmen the benefit of the Englishman’s experience and long term of apprenticeship, without the years of drudgery, making our American salesmen more efficient, their services more valuable, and their wage-earning capacity greater.

“Under the alien labor law our buyer could have made a contract with this man and agreed to pay his passage to America, not as a pauper nor a common or unskilled laborer, but an artist in a new line. He did not come in any competition with any American workman, but was really an instructor in a new field of work, secured for the education and betterment of every man employed in our silk department.

FIRM’S GOOD RECORD WITH EMPLOYEES.

“This is the only case where we have been fined for violating the labor law in forty years. Upon the pay roll of our firm are nearly eight thousand people, whose wages range annually from \$20,000 each to the boys at \$250. We have employed in the past thirty years more than one hundred thousand persons, and have never had a strike nor a threatened strike. We are never obliged to seek workmen, but only to choose from the five thousand people who apply to our employment department for work every thirty days. It would be absurd to go abroad to hire salesmen when dozens apply daily who are acquainted in Philadelphia, with the manners and customs of the people, and who are therefore the most successful salesmen and saleswomen.

“Though we sell goods made in almost every country on the globe, we have never found it necessary to employ any but English-speaking people. Our house has for years main-

tained a pension roll for aged and worthy employees; a system of weekly benefits, absolutely controlled by the employees themselves, to be paid in case of sickness or death, has paid more than one hundred thousand dollars. Employees are allowed a discount, reducing the price of goods to cost. Length of service is rewarded by increase of salary, other things being equal. No young children are employed in any service in the house. Salesmen and others at times are allowed dividends in addition to their salaries.

“A man or woman’s nativity or creed are not made conditions for employment by our establishment, but only intelligence, integrity, and capability. A free school had been kept up for years among the younger employees to give them a commercial education.

AN AMUSING FALSEHOOD.

“That employees are searched before leaving the store is an amusing and desperate falsehood, and that they are compelled to patronize the house or its restaurant is another and ridiculous falsehood. I believe we pay the highest average wages paid by any large mercantile house in America, and for thirty-six years, since our business began, we have not defaulted an instant in the wages of our employees.

“And I want to repeat what I have said many times before: the employment system and wage schedule of our store are now and have always been open for investigation; we have always accorded individuals who are interested in labor questions, and especially committees representing workingmen’s organizations, the fullest privileges and facilities to examine into our methods.

“I would not dignify this charge with denial but for fear some well-meaning persons may be misled. It is so ridiculous. It would be as reasonable to say that Senator Quay was guilty of murder, because a careless motorman on his street railway killed a passenger, or that the president of the Standard Oil Company or a stockholder in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was responsible for the misdeeds of Senator Andrews, because he happened to be in the employ of those corporations. This is not a campaign of per-

sonalities. I have no personal quarrel with Senator Quay or slated candidates of the machine. It is a battle against system, and if to-night I find it necessary to use personal names, it is because names best designate the systems they are responsible for and control.

“It is indeed strange that all these criticisms should be inspired by men who never employed a dozen men at one time, except to do political work; and that the head of a merciless political machine, who for twenty years has caused laws to be passed that have constantly encroached upon the rights and decreased the wages of the workingman, should be able to cajole and deceive intelligent labor men, is still more strange.

“Workingmen, let us see what Senator Quay has done for you within the past twenty years, when he had it within his power to do so much. He has filled the statute books of Pennsylvania with laws giving to the great corporations your valuable franchises. He has so directed legislation that the privileges of corporations are well nigh absolute, while their interests have been so well protected that an unjust proportion of taxation falls upon the people. He has been piling the load of taxes and debt upon you, while millions of dollars of interest on your State money has been used to perpetuate his political machine.

IN THE LAST LEGISLATURE.

“At the last session of the Legislature his Senate committee, under orders, killed the anti-trust bill, that would have made unlawful the combinations between persons and corporations to restrain trade or increase the price of product beyond a legitimate limit. He, with a half dozen colleagues in the United States Senate, one year ago held up the tariff bill for the benefit of the trusts of the country, while millions of dollars’ worth of foreign-made goods were being shipped to this country, and the smokeless chimney, the silent loom, and the unemployed thousands to-day bear witness to their work.

“His friends are the bankers of Wall Street; his meeting place the private offices of the People’s Bank; his confer-

ences are held in the secret chambers of great corporations. He was forced to admit, under oath, that he was a speculator of sugar stock while the tariff bill was pending and while the sugar schedule was being made, and was one of the six United States Senators who dared declare for higher duties on sugar.

"He named Leishman, of Pittsburgh, as Minister to Switzerland, against the protests of all the State labor organizations, who had not forgotten his arbitrary methods in the Homestead strike as Carnegie's boss.

"He causes your schools' money to be withheld while you pay interest to banks for money to pay your teachers.

"He causes the personal property tax to be withheld while your county issues bonds to pay debts which should be paid with money held back in the banks.

"He plans indemnity bonds to take improper and dishonest advantage of the State Treasury to assist in carrying a pay roll for unauthorized employees.

"He protects the mileage grabbers, and has committees appointed on the pretense of helping the starving miners, and his committees rob while on mercy's mission.

"He has attempted to take \$1,000,000 from your public school to relieve the brewers from paying their share of the taxes.

"I want to be just to Senator Quay and give him all the credit due him. He did read in the United States Senate part of a large tariff speech that was prepared for him in Philadelphia. He threatened to read more, which forced a compromise. Broken pledges to all except the corporations mark his political pathway, yet he still finds ways to favor corporations and to fool the workingmen.

"This year he is trying a new scheme. He thinks he can win your vote for his slate candidate upon the issue of an immigration bill, a copy of which I hold in my hand. It is as honest as any claim they make, although, as a matter of fact, his slated candidate is the author of only the enacting clause, consisting of nineteen words, while the bill, I am reliably informed, belongs to Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts."

W. A. STONE'S VIOLATED PLEDGES.

He made a solemn Pledge to his Party to vote for McKinley for President and then violated it by voting for Quay—The documents in the case—Another Scheme of the Quay Ringsters to get \$53,000 out of the State Treasury.

Royersford, Montgomery County, heard Mr. Wanamaker on the night of April 8th. There was a great crowd present. Following is what he said:

“I wish to submit to you ten facts. I will number them:

“First. This State for nearly forty years has been under the control of the Camerons, father and son, and their successors, M. S. Quay and W. H. Andrews.

“Can that be denied?

“Second. The expenses of the State and the taxes have steadily increased.

“Can that be denied?

“Third. The prices of property and the means of making a living have been decreased right along.

“Can that be denied?

“Fourth. The methods of legislation at Harrisburg have, year after year, gone from worse to worse, until the name Pennsylvania Legislature is a hissing and reproach all over the United States.

THE LEXOW BILL RAID.

“Fifth. Take the last Legislature as an illustration with its Lexow committee bill raid. Probably \$5,000 of honest outlay of clerk hire, etc., and a shameless bill put in for \$65,000. Mileage grabs and junketing trips, investigating committees and commissions appointed to make places and draw salaries, by which many thousands of dollars were shoveled out of the treasury; voting duplicate salaries contrary to law; the padded pay-roll, putting men on pay-rolls without work as rewards for party services, whereby \$27,000 is said to have been taken from the treasury without any authority of law.

"The State Treasurer taking an indemnity bond, signed by Frank Reeder, the premier of the Cabinet, who was obliged to resign, and by the present chairman of the Republican State committee, John P. Elkin, who was obliged to resign and who audaciously seeks to control the next election and continue to act as chairman of your State committee. These men I am not discussing as men, but as officers of the State who conspired with the State Treasurer in the use of taxpayers' money contrary to law. The bald, bare-faced cut of the school appropriation, jeopardizing every school and inflicting injury on every county; punishment of 10,000 store-keepers by assessing a mercantile tax because many of them had formed Business Men's Leagues to elect McKinley and oppose Quay; the electric light scheme to benefit existing companies and kill off municipal ownership; the oleo bill, to make places for a horde of men and destroy dairy products.

THE TERRIBLE TYRANNY OF BOSSISM.

"Sixth. The terrible tyranny of bossism in the absolute control of places and the dispensation of them, first by promises to five or ten different parties for the same place prior to elections, and the final gift to the strongest party man, irrespective of fitness to fill the place or the wish of the people regarding the appointment.

"Seventh. The widespread use of money in primary and other elections, the open purchase of the commercial, ignorant and unemployed voters, the will of the people is overthrown by whoever becomes chairman and members of the committee willing to take orders from the higher boss.

"Eighth. The monstrous use of State money to further political campaigns. First, by depositing it without interest; second, by keeping it on deposit to the injury of the credit of the State; third, the entailing of suffering on the schools and school teachers, hospitals and charitable institutions.

"Ninth. The political banks, formed for politicians and by politicians, and doing business with State money, often, as I am informed, loaned out to politicians, who in some cases have been connected with the banks and have shares in speculations, as I am informed.

“Tenth. Interest or assessments collected from the numerous depositories which have been used to carry on political campaigns to prevent the people from having any other persons elected except the slated candidates. I could, if time permitted, double this list, but it is enough for one night.”

Mr. Wanamaker then referred at length to the recent \$53,000 printing job at Harrisburg, adding that the intention of the jobbers was to delay the completion of the work until after the election of a Quay Governor, and then, under the cover of the resolution to print the poultry pamphlets, to demand the payment of \$53,200. Continuing, Mr. Wanamaker said:

“This has been an exciting week in our country. Every morning we have wakened, expecting to find war declared. In Washington, at the House of Representatives and the Senate, the scenes this week were like those of 1861, when the civil war broke out, yet a Congressman, William A. Stone, elected by the people and drawing a salary from the United States Treasury, and while on the eve of war, has been following me over the State, neglecting his important duties at Washington to electioneer for the Governorship. By long distance phone our Senator telephones to a clerk in the Auditor General’s office at Harrisburg, whose name I have, ‘Shut up your desk and drop your work and go to Lycoming and lick Wanamaker.’ Mr. Stone, who in many ways I admire, and with whom I am on pleasant terms, in his printed addresses is reported as saying: ‘He does not know anything about the acts of the last Legislature. What do you think of that from a man who aspires to be Governor?’”

“Mr. Stone, without being at all specific, slyly intimates that he will not approve of some of the bad legislation defeated at the last session of the Legislature. The alarmed taxpayer who reads Mr. Stone’s mild declaration that he will veto such legislation, if elected Governor, must get scant comfort therefrom. But I will assume that Mr. Stone really intended to say more than he did, and that he believed he was making a promise full and unequivocal. As much as I dislike to challenge the statement of any man, I am constrained as a taxpayer, not as a candidate, to inquire if, in his public and offi-

cial career, Mr. Stone has kept faith with the people and always made good his ante-election pledges? Mr. Stone went before the people, in 1896, as a candidate for national delegate to the St. Louis Convention from the Twenty-third Congressional district of Allegheny county.

STONE DID NOT VOTE FOR MCKINLEY.

“The Republican voters of Allegheny were almost a unit for McKinley, and the known relations existing between Mr. Stone and Senator Quay, who was also a candidate for the Presidency, were such as to arouse a storm of opposition to Mr. Stone. To save himself from defeat Mr. Stone, together with his Quay colleague, signed and forwarded to the Republican county chairman of Allegheny county, and caused the same to be published in the Allegheny county papers, the following pledge, bearing date of March 25, 1896:

“We pledge that we will honorably and fully represent and vote in accordance with the will and preference, for President, of a plurality of the Republican voters of the Congressional district within which we are candidates for delegates, whenever expressed by a plurality of those voting a preference at a primary election held previous to the meeting of the National Convention, in which we are delegates, after due notice has been given by the chairman of the county committee that they will have an opportunity in said primaries to express such preference.’

(Signed)

ROBERT McAFEE.

W. A. STONE.’

“The publication of Mr. Stone’s pledge ‘to vote in accordance with the will and preference of a plurality of the Republicans in his Congressional district, as expressed at the primaries,’ relieved him of all opposition and he was chosen a national delegate and instructed by an overwhelming majority of the votes cast to support William McKinley. But in the face of his pledge and the binding instructions he had received for McKinley he voted for Senator Quay; and I am informed by a close friend of Mr. Stone that his moral obligation did not trouble him in the least, but so anxious was he

to know what effect it would have upon his political future, if he disobeyed instructions, that he went about asking the judgment of other delegates.

STONE CANNOT BE TRUSTED.

“If W. A. Stone made a solemn pledge in '96 upon a most vital question and defiantly broke it to please his master, on a question purely of sentiment, as his vote could do Mr. Quay no real good, dare you as taxpayers place faith in his promises to protect your interests, and dare you make him the custodian of your affairs and the guardian of your moneys? Can you believe that he will be less false to his promises now than to his pledge in '96? Then it was a question of compliment to his master; now it is a question of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the ring.

“It is because of this condition of things in our State that I am here to say to you that you do well to think before you continue the old régime. I do not ask you to take me. I do not want you to save anything for me. Save yourselves! Save your taxes, your honor, your work, or Quay and the corporations who keep him in office will own the State.

“Electing W. A. Stone is to elect Quay and Andrews for four years.”

AN INFAMOUS RECORD.

Some of the Measures which the Quay-owned Senators tried to force through the last Legislature—Why Senator Quay is held responsible for its bad deeds and rotten record.

The great work done by the
Anti-Machine Legislators.
Pennsylvania bound
hand and foot.

The most scathing arraignment of any legislature in the history of Pennsylvania was made by ex-Postmaster General Wanamaker before an immense audience at Pottstown on the evening of April 9th. Mr. Wanamaker said:

"The issue in Pennsylvania politics to be discussed to-night is an entirely different one from any that has been presented in this State in my lifetime.

"However much others may want office, I know one man who does not. I came to you in 1896 and spoke upon tariff and finance and McKinley, and though I knew the Senatorial election was approaching and that I was considered for the office, I never opened my lips to you on the subject, because the questions I discussed were so much larger than anything personal to myself. The political situation is everything; men are secondary. The issue is to unloose the iron shackles of a machine that purchases elections with money and offices, and controls the Legislature and the public money of the State in the interests of bankers, politicians and State committees and hired workers, thus perpetuating the wretched system of boss rule.

"But three newspapers in this county are said to be willing to publish anything against the machine; hence you are driven to purchase other newspapers if you want the news on both sides of the public questions of this State. Those of your own neighbors who desire meetings at various points in the county cannot fully notify the people because the notices and placards of the meetings are stolen or torn down by unfriendly hands. But such dastardly conduct, like a bad gun, kicks backward, and the people, to show their resentment of guerilla warfare, turn out everywhere in larger numbers, as you have done to-night.

OFFICE HOLDERS ARE SATISFIED.

"I received a letter to-day from a gentleman in one of the counties, who said that he did not see any need for any movement against the machine. It was good enough for him. It certainly is good enough for office holders, who hold a national and State patent for seventeen years on their places and for all who share in the royal bounty of the First Lord of the State Treasury and Controller of the Corporations.

"Whoever stands by the existing ring writes 'approved' over the conduct of the last Legislature, owned and directed by the boss. He indorses all that was done to raid the Treasury, re-

move money unlawfully from the State custody, and pay it out to those who never earned a nickel of it. But there are others to whom it is unalterably clear that servility to bosses is not good Republicanism, and whose minds are open for information, and perhaps to conviction that there are better methods of State government than what are in vogue in this Commonwealth. There are those who see in sight the final breaking up of an iniquitous system and who want to be on the winning side; young men who have got to stay out of politics entirely if the condition is the surrender of manhood by abject slavery to the bosses. They are plucking up courage to fight for standing ground within the party by driving off from it the slate-makers and the Treasury takers.

“Let us for a few minutes take soundings and see where we are: The Pennsylvania State Senate is composed of 50 members. Of this number 44 of the last Senate were Republicans, and at least 35 of the 44 were men controlled absolutely by W. H. Andrews and Senator Quay. All the important committees were made up of men whose chief desire had been proven to be servants of Andrews and Quay. In the Senate Committees originated nearly all of the vicious legislation attempted, or passed, by the last Legislature, and in the same committees were destroyed and killed all meritorious bills with a few exceptions, when the public sentiment was strong enough to practically force them out of the committee’s control. Senator Quay’s friends, if they ever try to deny any impeachment of his conduct, will never, I am sure, try to deny that the Senate of Pennsylvania was his abject tool, and I am positive that he will not try to deny that he absolutely controlled the origin and the fountain of legislation, and that all measures were created and given life by his grace, or met death as he might dictate. No bad bill considered by the last Legislature could have lived beyond the committee room if it had not had Senator Quay’s approval.

“In the House were nearly 70 Anti-Quay men, and although every committee had a large Quay majority, there were necessarily enough members of the ‘Seventy-six’ on each committee to imperil the success of bad bills. It was therefore

very plain why Senator Quay under the personal direction of W. H. Andrews, made the State Senate an incubator to hatch the legislation that has alarmed the taxpayers and made the name of the last Legislature a reproach.

SCHEMES TO LOOT THE TREASURY.

“Let us consider some of the things this Quay organization did:

“All investigating committees and junketing bogus expense bills, amounting to nearly \$160,000, were introduced by Quay Senators, reported favorably by Quay’s committees and passed by the Quay Senate.

“The notorious Lexow bill, that asked \$65,000 for a **fake** investigating committee, that is said to have charged \$1 **per** stalk for asparagus; that charged an average of \$23 per day each for the hotel bills of its members; that, with an average attendance of four members it charged \$482.72 for each hour it was in session, was introduced by a Quay Senator, reported favorably by a Quay committee and passed by a Quay Senate.

“The Brewery License bill, to allow any man, regardless of personal character, to obtain a license upon the payment of \$1000 to the State Treasurer, and permitting breweries to be located next to schools and churches, was introduced by a Quay Senator, reported favorably by a Quay committee, and passed passed by a Quay Senate. The objects of the bill, it is said, were two fold; first, to allow a brewery in which W. H. Andrews is a stockholder to obtain a license; second, to break down the barriers of the Brooks license law, which says a man to obtain a license must be of good character, and which prohibits the locating of breweries next to schools and churches.

“The W.H. Andrews Bank bill, that would have taken away all the protection to depositors by allowing stockholders **after** looting banks, to transfer their liabilities and obligations to persons financially irresponsible, was introduced by a Quay Senator, reported favorably by a Quay committee and passed by a Quay Senate.

“The Saylor bill, to permit the State Treasurer to pay the expenses of investigating committees, before allowing the

Legislature or the Governor to pass upon them, which would have lost to the State last session more than \$50,000, was introduced by a Quay Senator, reported favorably by a Quay committee and passed by a Quay Senate.

"After the Bliss Beer bills had passed the House, it was a Quay Senate Committee that struck out all except the enacting clause, and changed it to the Mercantile bill, that would have crippled or driven out of business many important Pennsylvania industries. An interesting incident that may have had a very important bearing upon this bill has never yet found its way into the newspapers.

TWO CAR LOADS OF BREWERS.

"On the Saturday and Sunday preceding the change made in the bill in the Senate two carloads of brewers from Western Pennsylvania held a consultation, I am told, with W. H. Andrews and other members of the Legislature at the Hotel Walton, in Philadelphia. The fact of their visit was suppressed by the newspapers, their special cars were carefully guarded and strict orders given to the car porters that no one should know who the occupants of the cars were, or what was the nature of their business. Within forty-eight hours after their departure the Beer bill was changed to the Mercantile Tax bill.

"The obnoxious Pool bill, licensing pool selling and gambling by race tracks, driving clubs, etc., throughout the State, was introduced by a Quay Senator, reported favorably by a Quay committee, and passed by a Quay Senate. It was a Quay committee that refused to bring the bill requiring interest on State deposits out of committee until Senator Kauffman had prepared a resolution to discharge said committee from further consideration of the measure, and when they did report it from committee, it contained a provision to give the Machine permanently the use of \$1,500,000 without interest.

"It was a Quay Committee that cut the public school appropriation \$1,000,000, which would have taken from the schools of Montgomery County \$21,015 every two years.

"I might go on and enumerate bills of like character for hours, but will not weary you with them to-night.

"There are those who claim that these statements should not be made. No man can deny their truthfulness, but there are those who call in question the loyalty of any man to his party when he questions or opposes existing practices. I, for one, believe that public good comes before party subserviency. I once beat a man until his body was sore and bruised black and blue; I beat him with the desperation of a man fighting for life, but it was not my life, it was his.

"He had taken morphine, and when I discovered him at midnight he was drifting down to death. It was good for him to be beaten back to life, and the years he lived afterward he was ever grateful to me. The Republican party cannot carry forever its load of evils inseparable from a one-man boss power in each State.

THE PEOPLE ARE LONG SUFFERING.

"The people are long suffering, much occupied and easily fooled, but there is a limit to all things, and we are to-day in Pennsylvania walking close to the edge of Republican ruin. To a man 59 years of age who has a mercantile office most agreeable to him it is of small consequence how an election turns, but to the people who are borne down with taxes and schemes to pilfer the Treasury by contracts of Capitol buildings from the hiring of an architect up to the lightning rod, by broken promises of reform, by defeats of useful legislation, by obstructing for years and finally defeating lawful apportionment, by the hiding of actual facts of broken banks to shield unlawful practices, by concealment of the places of deposit of large sums of the sinking fund public money; by these and much more of evil work are the people of the State made sufferers as well as losers of prosperity.

"John Brown was executed for treason against the State of Virginia. Pennsylvania hugs to its bosom and crowns with highest place the men who defile legislative halls with dishonest acts and defy public sentiment by rewards to unworthy party workers. A financial institution discharges a man who

takes its moneys, and the State of Pennsylvania stands dumb and apparently willing to let a favored few put their hands into the pockets of the treasury year after year, and as deep as they like.

“My fellow-citizens, Pennsylvania is in prison—her six millions of sturdy sons and daughters are locked in with five thousand keys carried on a ring held in the tight grip of Senator Quay. The doors that bar the way of the people are armor-plated and pipe-braced and double-railed by the corporations who for needed protection for past legislation and to save from threatened removal thereof pile up money bags over which the people fear to attempt to climb. You fought for liberty at Valley Forge, and you surrender it without a struggle in the same county within sound of the spot once foot-marked with the blood of the soldiers of the Revolution. You fought for liberty for the Union. Why not fight for liberty for Pennsylvania? You voted down black slavery, why not vote down slavery to one white man, even though for a quarter of a century he has been your master? There are people who do not care what comes; but are they the true friends of the Republic? I believe the storm is coming, that it is near and that it is time to prepare for the change close at hand. The old Republican ship was built to carry an honest cargo to be shared by all the people, and it was not intended to be captured by pirates and scuttled rather than give it up to its owners. Let us throw overboard the dangerous freight and save the passengers.

HOW THE PEOPLE ARE ROBBED.

The General Appropriation Bill is made the Jobbers' Ammunition Bill—A graphic description of how the Quay-Machine Leaders manipulate the States Money for their own ends—Cash that is spent in defiance of Law.

The Frauds and Fakes in the General Appropriation Bill.

Newspapers that dare not publish facts.

The flagrant manner in which the Quay bosses violate the constitution at every session of the Legislature was described by Mr. Wanamaker in his speech at Bryn Mawr on the night of April 13th, as follows:

“Across the county line in old Lancaster County a most reputable citizen was murdered a week ago because he sought to regain possession of his own property by rightful process of law. The man in possession leveled upon him a shot gun and blew his landlord's brains out without a moment's warning. For some time after the murder the occupant of the house defied the law and held possession, but was finally captured.

“The position of Pennsylvanians towards the officers who administer the government of the State is analogous. The system began forty years ago to unify the control of elections in the machine and the perfection of the machine into one pair of iron hands has been so gradual that the people have been slow to realize the abyss into which they have fallen.

“It is like unto an open road on private property, open and in use a time too long to ever close it again—the careless occupancy granted the public constitutes it a public road, and it can never be recovered again to its actual owners.

“The long occupancy of offices by men who perhaps never had any other employment seems to have conferred upon them a title royal. The people to-day—think of it—are standing outside of their own doors and afraid to move into what they own, while the gang hold possession.

“The fact that the term of occupancy will soon expire for a number of the four-year tenants, and that town meetings are held to prepare for housecleaning and refurnishing has the extraordinary effect of making angry and irritable the well-treated tenants who claim rights to remain and others who believe it proper to select without reference to the owners those who shall succeed the present tenants.

“The indignation of the long-established rulers or bosses of the people’s stations is such that they have made a combine of all the tenants who have taken orders and, in fact, have already put their places in a condition of siege or defense, making common cause to keep the people out of their lawful rights. This is an insurrection not so far off as Cuba, but its result is just as certain.

“I am not here to produce an effect on those who do not think, but to reach men who are willing to think and ready afterward to follow their own thinking.

“Ordinarily the grave questions incident to ring rule might be left alone to work out their own salvation, but year by year for forty years the system has forced itself upon the people until it has grasped the body politic like a deadly octopus, dragging down the honor of the State and the welfare of its people.

RING RULE’S YOKE.

“Ordinarily this condition of things might be suffered to right itself through the teachings of the press, pulpit and public teachers. As to the newspapers, they are business enterprises pure and simple, influenced by personal, social, political and business considerations. To the muzzled officeholders and the eagerly expectant officeholder, worth double of the actual officeholder, is added a muzzled press that selects what pleases the boss and publishes only political news as directed or sent out by the campaign or State committees.

“Thus are the people kept in ignorance, not only of both sides of public questions, but actually of the truth and the news of passing events.

“I heard last Saturday the statement by an influential Montgomery County man that in this county, containing more than forty newspapers, there were but three that would publish anything fairly opposing the squatter sovereignty of the entrenched officeholders and their commanding officers.

WANAMAKER'S ADVERTISING AND POLITICS.

“It cannot be said that this state of things arises from the fact that the newspapers are inimical to me because they do not carry the advertisements of my business firm, because I believe that most of them have the advertising. I am not in the columns of some of the papers, but I will be glad to prove to any one that has any desire to know the truth that saving one case, based upon a slander on a junior member of our firm, there is a business reason and none other for not advertising in any paper.

“As to the pulpit and public teachers, it is a mournful fact that we have become accustomed to talk earnestly and long—and I must add in all fairness—honestly, too, upon the evils of elections and legislation and high-handed outrages of political leaders; but when it comes to doing anything practical to change things, we are too busy; have other engagements, or find some other excuse. Politicians active at their business understand this and laugh in their sleeves at us, and can go to sleep unconcerned, knowing from long experience that our political campaigns are protests, interviews, hopes, much faith in what ought to be and in passing resolutions. Others of our busy public citizens are like the witty Irish soldier, who boasted greatly of his determination and fighting qualities; who was known to invariably play the coward when in an engagement. When his captain referred to his conduct he said: ‘Well, captain, sure, and me heart is as big and strong as Napoleon’s, but it’s me bad legs that always runs away with me.’

“In the absence of newspapers not free to print anything but colored political news and views those who are under vows to strive for better government in the State are driven to the old New England custom of town meetings, where

as Plato puts, 'one soul comes in contact with another and nothing between.'

"I am not here to attack any man in public life, as an individual, but to deal fairly with the record.

"I wish I might be separated personally from the discussion, so far as an office is concerned, and that the greater questions of the public interest might be considered.

"Hardly any man is always understood. Lincoln in his lifetime wasn't, neither was Blaine nor Garfield nor Harrison, and as for Wanamaker, the mistake about one post-office appointment, if it was a mistake, when all sides are understood, must curse him for ten years not only as Postmaster General, but for everything else, and forever. Is it not possible to put Wanamaker entirely out of the case, while we resolve together for the undoing of the captivity of Pennsylvania? I will shorten my talk to-night, perhaps already too long, to a single visit to Harrisburg, where we will look at the members of the Legislature as they appeared last Winter, unmasked of their pre-election dresses and clad in their every-day working clothes.

SOME OF THE MOST NOTORIOUS BILLS.

"Nearly eighteen hundred bills were considered at the last session of the Legislature, and of one I will speak in particular to-night. It is called the general appropriation bill, and it is a most important measure to the people, as it carries the appropriations to run the State Government, and assist the public schools. Because of these vitally essential items that it contains it has become the instrument by which Senator Quay's political henchmen, unlawfully and with great boldness, take large sums of money from the State Treasury to reward their faithful followers. So notorious have become the abuses practiced by politicians under the cover of this bill that it may truly be called 'Quay's Ammunition Bill,' for if there is anything forgotten in the preparation of other questionable measures, if the time is too short to pass political appropriations in the regular way, or if there is danger in exposing them to the light of day,

if padded pay-rolls must be padded more, if the number of political pensioners must be increased, if illegal salaries are demanded by Quay's officials or by their friends, the general appropriation bill under ingenious manipulation can be made to supply every want.

"The Constitution of Pennsylvania, Article III, Section 15, provides that the general appropriation bill shall contain nothing but appropriations for the ordinary expenses of the Executive, Legislative and judicial departments of the Commonwealth interest on public debt and for common schools, and that all other appropriations must be separate bills. Nothing can be clearer or more explicit than the law on this question. But let us see how little even the Constitution serves to protect the Treasury against these political raiders. Let us keep clearly in mind that nothing shall be contained in the general appropriation bill except for department expenses, public schools and interest on the public debt; all other appropriations must be by separate bills.

HOW THE CONSTITUTION IS VIOLATED.

"I will mention a few of the many items that belong to neither of these classes, but which appear in the last general appropriation bill. I find an item to reimburse a man whom 'tis claimed erroneously paid taxes. Another item was for portraits of State and ex-State officials. Another item was for \$2150 to pay clerk hire for an investigating committee, in excess of the appropriation allowed by law. Another item was for \$5000 for expenses of a committee on utilizing convict labor, another item was for \$3234.81 to pay for the fake investigation of the State Treasurer's and Auditor General's departments. This item was inserted in the general appropriation bill after its passage by a separate bill became impossible.

"A member of the House, originally one of the 'Seventy-six,' admitted that he had agreed to support the Quay bills on a promise from a Quay Senator to have inserted in the general appropriation bill an item for clerk hire for one of his constituents. The item appeared in the bill as promised, but was vetoed by the Governor.

“Another item of \$1000 was to pay the expenses of delegates to the coast defence congress, notwithstanding they were notified in advance that no compensation would be given. Another item was to pay Charles Ettla, one of the faithful, and George Baker, the alleged private secretary of State Senator Israel W. Durham, \$450.80 each, as secretary and doorkeeper of the Penitentiary Committee. The committee expense bill, introduced separately, evidently had all it could carry for these two persons with safety, as each received by that bill \$802. But perhaps the most remarkable item of all was one of \$1027 to pay the funeral expenses of two ex-members of the Legislature, one of whom served nearly twelve years ago, but who had rendered marked political service to Senator Quay in the last U. S. Senatorial contest.

“I need not mention other items of this character, as they really constitute but a very small part of real abuses practiced under this bill. It no doubt seems strange to you all how such a bill can ever pass, with all the glaring frauds known to every member of the Legislature. That was the first question I asked, and so astounding were the reasons given me that I want to tell them to you to-night. Two general appropriation bills are reported from Senate and House Committees respectively, and passed on first reading in skeleton form, and are then sent back to the committees. During the last week of the session both bills are again reported from committees, with very few objectionable items in them, and are passed on second reading, and again sent back to the committees.

“They appear again for third reading upon the last day of the session containing many doubtful items; an effort is made by the minority to strike out those items, but under the promises of the machine leaders to eliminate these contested items in the Conference Committee, where it is always sent to adjust the apparent difference in the two bills, the bill passes third reading. The report of the Conference Committee is held back and not placed upon the members' desks for final passage until the last hour of the session. Then the pressure is applied. A change in any particular necessitates

the reprinting of the bill. It will require several hours for reprinting and there is but one hour left. The members cannot draw their salaries unless the bill passes within one hour. The departments must cease business. The public schools will not get their appropriations, nor the hospitals their money for maintenance if the bill fails. Such are the arguments used on the members by the State officials and political lieutenants who swarm the House to lobby for the bill. The machine following always goes along. New members are frightened into supporting it. Old members who might make trouble have probably been taken care of in some of the items, and the bill passes. No ordinary man has the courage to hold out against such pressure, though every member who votes for it knows full well that by so doing he assists to rob the treasury.

THE CONSTITUTION DEFIED BY THE JOBBERS.

“At the last session of the Legislature the ‘Seventy-six,’ led by Representative Coray, of Luzerne County, tried to defeat the padded pay-roll items. He presented the list of officers and employees of the Senate and House, together with their legal salaries, and showed where two items were padded more than \$25,000. He challenged the Quay leaders and the chairman of the Appropriation Committee to make answer to his charges, and they admitted by their silence that the charges were true. Every member of the House knew he was voting for a bogus pay-roll, but the items were retained by the Quay element after a bitter fight. The Constitution, Article III, Section 13, says that no law shall increase or diminish the salary or emoluments of any public officer after his election or appointment. When the bill was on second reading, four items, providing for two extra and unlawful salaries each for the State Treasurer and Auditor General, aggregating \$4800, were stricken out after the chairman of the Appropriation Committee had admitted that they had been inserted without any authority of law. In Conference Committee, the last night, these four items, that three days prior had been overwhelmingly defeated in the House, were reinserted in the bill, and, in defiance of the Constitution,

were passed. This salary giving was not confined alone to the Auditor General and State Treasurer in the last bill, but another item was inserted giving to a superintendent of the Bureau of Railways \$4,000 not authorized by any act of Assembly.

“The last general appropriation bill carried with it items aggregating \$68,500 for the contingent expenses of the various departments. The expenditure of these contingent sums has always been surrounded by scandal. It is impossible to tell how much of it is honestly needed, as no itemized bills of estimates are ever presented to the Legislature, but the Quay chief of a department tells a Quay chairman of a Quay Appropriation Committee how much money he wants in a lump sum, and a Quay Legislature passes it. I have not the time to-night to detail other frauds committed in the general appropriation bill. With a machine-made and a machine-owned Governor, this bill may be made to give every official on the Hill a double salary, and to carry hundreds of thousands of dollars of illegal items, and do it under the guise of the law. The Lexow bill, the padded payrolls and the indemnity bond will never again be introduced under their true titles, but, with the aid of an Andrews-elected Governor every one can surely be passed in the general appropriation bill.”

STONE'S STATEMENTS PROVEN FALSE.

Documents produced by his own County Chairman showing his statements to have been false.

The attempt to punish the Business
Men's League by passing the notorious
Mercantile Tax Bill. Why
State Treasury Specu-
lators are not
punished.

Mr. Wanamaker prefaced his address at Ambler and Ashbourne on the evening of April 14th by referring to the

impending trouble between this country and Spain, and said that he had notified the Secretary of War that in case war was declared he would raise a regiment of 1,000 Pennsylvanians and go with them in service. Mr. Wanamaker also stated that he had given orders to any who enter the army that their positions are to be retained for them and also that their pay is to continue while in service. Continuing Mr. Wanamaker said:

“A number of letters reach me from all over the State upon this campaign. Less than one per cent. of them claim that there is nothing wrong with the political machine, or in the methods of the State Legislature and the management of the Treasury. These contented folks swallow the engineering feats of the leaders, the rewards to the heelers, the bills of the junketing trips, padded pay-rolls and manipulations of the State Treasury without uneasiness. Mr. Lincoln once said: ‘Well, what people like, that’s what people will have.’ Is it not strange that we should stop to ask the question, why people who pay taxes care to tax themselves, instead of taxing the bankers, who have the use of State moneys for nothing; why they are willing to bear increased taxes to pay double, and, in other cases, unearned salaries; why they are willing to shut their eyes or wink at the enormous and unnecessary outlays of taxpayers’ money for commissions and investigating committees.

“It would seem that Pennsylvanians cared very little how much taxes they paid, or how little they got for their money; that the object of paying tax bills to the State was to provide a large campaign fund to keep Senators and Legislators in office, that they might slate Governors and all the other officers down to a city School Director. We tax ourselves to let Senator Quay pick out our Congressmen and Postmasters and to pay all his own and his friends’ election expenses. Interesting and true, is it not? A slice out of all contracts and a handful out of the bag, or the bills shall not pass, is the inflexible and almost unvaried rule of Harrisburg Legislative practice.

“You were not aware of this? I am not surprised. How could you know, with the newspaper press barring out of

almost every paper all that told the truth as to the evil methods in vogue in the Legislature. With such privileges, is it strange that there is such a desperate fight to hold office? Must it not be a very valuable place when two opposing candidates spend together \$350,000 contesting for the place of the chairman of the State committee, because of its unlimited control of delegates and State conventions and nominations?

OF INTEREST TO EVERY STORE KEEPER.

“Is it any wonder that great and even criminal chances must be taken by the leaders in proposing and pushing legislation that will pay off promissory notes for loans lodged in banks carrying State deposits, and reimburse empty treasuries of State and other election committees? The audacity of these sovereigns of boss-ridden Pennsylvania is well illustrated by the outrageous attempt to pass the mercantile tax bill. That bill was intended to do three things. First, punish the business men who had organized business men’s leagues to further honest elections. Second, to make a great many new offices. Third, to replenish the coffers of a great many people interested in elections.

“It was in every sense a pinch bill. By its provisions power was given to appoint seventy-six Appraisers at large salaries and pay necessary expenses for clerks, traveling, hotels, incidentals. Attorney General McCormick said that bill would permit an outlay of a million of dollars in collecting the tax.

“One of the many candidates for Governor has taken a notion to follow me and criticise my speeches. The one thing the people want answered—the charges of wrong-doing in public offices at Harrisburg—he declares he knows nothing about.

“Colonel Stone recently took me to task for a remark which I made in one of my speeches relative to his absence from his post of duty at Washington, by asking if I did not know that at that time the House was not in session. I stand corrected upon that for that particular moment of time, but I would like to ask the gentleman what excuse he has to offer for absenting himself from the halls of Congress on

the day of all days that he should have felt it his duty, and the duty he owed to his constituents? I refer to yesterday, when the vote on the resolution on the President's message was being taken, a matter that deeply affects every man, woman and child who claims to be a true American.

"In a speech at Conshohocken, in your county, last Saturday night W. A. Stone, in an endeavor to explain my statement that I had been informed that he had violated his written pledge to the people of his home district when a delegate to the National Convention, among other things he said:

"Now let me give you the facts. The convention which nominated Mr. McAfee and myself as delegates to the St. Louis convention was composed of 150 delegates. After nominating us it unanimously instructed us to vote for Senator Quay. That convention had the full right to instruct us, and it did so. After the convention the county committee, which is controlled by Pittsburg politicians, adopted a new rule requiring me to sign a paper agreeing to vote in the convention as the Republican electors of the county voted at the primaries held for county offices. Then a contest began between William McKinley's adherents and Senator Quay's adherents as to which should receive the popular vote of that Congressional district.'

W. A. STONE'S STATEMENTS DISPROVED.

"Entirely unsolicited the following facts have come to me: When A. C. Robertson, chairman of the Republican county executive committee, was shown the above extract from Mr. Stone's speech, he said: 'That statement is untrue. Had any other candidate for Governor made a statement so clearly at variance with the truth I would have been inclined to think that it was a slip of memory, but, coming as it does from such a prolific letter writer as William A. Stone, and a man who has violated two written pledges to his constituents, I am rather inclined to believe that he knew exactly what he was saying and made the statement several hundred miles from home, in the hope that no one would contradict it. Mr. Stone should have looked over his letter copy-book before he made such a statement, for I have

his pledge here in writing, signed by himself, and there can be no mistake as to what he said. Here is the letter.' With this Mr. Robertson produced the following letter:

“Pittsburgh, Pa., March 27, 1896.

“To the Chairman of the Allegheny County Republican Executive Committee:

“I hereby file with you, in accordance with the rules governing the Republican party of Allegheny county, my written pledge that I will honorably and fully represent and vote in accordance with the will and preference for President of a plurality of the Republican voters of the Congressional district within which I am a candidate for delegate, whenever expressed by a plurality of those voting a preference at a primary election held previous to the meeting of the national convention, in which I am a delegate, after due notice has been given by the chairman of the county committee that they will have an opportunity in said primaries to express such preference, in case I am elected a delegate.

“I also enclose herewith my contribution of \$25, for advertising and other incidental expenses, as provided by said rules.

WM. A. STONE.’

“Continuing, Chairman Robertson said: ‘As you can readily see, Mr. Stone wrote that pledge on March 27, 1896, just the day before the Republican primaries were held to elect delegates to the convention which met on the following Tuesday and which elected Mr. Stone a delegate to the national convention, so that his statement that this rule was adopted after he was elected a delegate is a falsehood. Now, the rule compelling candidates to pledge themselves to vote in the convention as the Republicans of their district desired was adopted a week previous to the national delegate primaries. It is rule 16 of the Republican county executive committee, and was adopted by a vote of 231 to 64. Mr. Stone tried to have the rule defeated at the committee meeting, but failed.

“‘Shortly before a vote was taken on Presidential preference in Mr. Stone’s district he sent out a number of letters

asking the people to vote instructions for Quay, but the people were for McKinley and said so at the polls. Besides the letter I have shown you Mr. Stone signed a pledge in conjunction with Robert A. McAfee. Stone went to the national convention and voted for Quay notwithstanding the fact that a plurality of the Republican voters in his district had instructed him to vote for McKinley.

“I see that in this same speech he says he will veto any Lexow appropriation bills. That statement is really laughable. ‘Bill’ Andrews is his campaign manager, and Andrews was the head of the Lexow committee. Mr. Stone’s written pledge didn’t seem to amount to much and I guess his verbal one will be taken with a grain of allowance. Abraham Lincoln once said: ‘You can fool some of the people all the time and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time.’ I would suggest to Mr. Stone that he commit that adage to memory. I have nothing personally against Colonel Stone, but as a Republican I do not believe that he would be an available candidate. The party ought not to be called upon to defend its candidate for the chief office in the Commonwealth against such flagrant violations of pledges made to the people. The party suffered defeat eight years ago, when ‘Bill’ Andrews succeeded in nominating Delamater by the same methods that he is using now to further Colonel Stone’s candidacy.”

“It comes with poor grace for Quay men to talk of party loyalty. Why did they refuse to support that gallant Republican Samuel H. Ashbridge for Sheriff at the last Shrievalty election and by dealing with the Democrats rob McKinley of 30,000 votes in an hour of our country’s peril? They did not then think it wrong to bolt the regular ticket. Why did they turn down an old, able and distinguished and one-legged soldier, Major Hancock, an applicant for the Collectorship of the Port, and appoint a man whose only claim was that he was a party worker of Senator Quay’s?”

CHARGES THAT REMAIN UNANSWERED.

“This is the twelfth speech I have delivered since the beginning of this campaign for the liberation of Pennsylvania,

and in every single one of them I have made charges so serious, based, however, upon official figures and incontrovertible records, against the existing political system, that I fail to see how any honest or self-respecting voter who has read them carefully can again support a Quay ticket until those charges are answered or proven false. I am asked why, if these abuses exist and this law-breaking is so widespread and far-reaching, does not some one begin a criminal prosecution.

“I have shown that since Senator Quay has possessed control of the funds of the State Treasury that the loss to the taxpayers from this source alone has been two and one-half million of dollars. I have also shown that the millions of the State’s money that is withheld from the people and used for the benefit of Senator Quay’s political machine and Senator Quay’s political friends is the heart of political corruption in Pennsylvania. Why, you ask, if State officials receive pay for the use of State deposits, which they convert to their own personal use, are they not prosecuted? Two very good reasons can be given. First, laws have been enacted and so amended for the past fifteen years that those with the backing of the machine dare openly violate the law without fear of harm. There seems to have been a consistent effort to surround those who deal dishonestly with State funds with protective laws.

“Second. With the machine control as it is to-day I doubt if any attempt to convict in our Federal courts a self-confessed treasury raider would be successful. This belief is based upon past history, since it is known far and wide that those who now control the party have been caught speculating with vast sums of the State’s money, and all efforts to prosecute them have failed, and upon the opinion of a most learned lawyer of Philadelphia, who has had before him the confessions of high State officials that they had conspired to unlawfully take from the State Treasury a large sum of money—who said, ‘that with their own confession, publicly made, and with collateral proof in abundance, they were so thoroughly entrenched behind potent official influences and political laws, that the cause of justice would

surely be blocked, and, while their guilt was admitted, a conviction would be out of the question.'

"To show how utterly impossible it is to break through the line of machine guards that are stationed at every approach to the State Treasury, it is but necessary to review recent history. For months prior to the meeting of the last Legislature the question of a thorough Treasury investigation was agitated. So pronounced was the demand for an honest examination of the affairs of the Auditor General's and State Treasurer's offices, that it could not be ignored. Ordinarily the majority in the Legislature is strong enough to defeat any resolution not favored by the leaders, but at the beginning of the session of 1897 the strength of the anti-machine forces was unknown. Orders came not to risk the chances of defeating an investigation resolution, but to have one offered by a servant of the machine, and have a committee appointed, composed of men who know no law but the will of their political master, and in this way to hide the secrets and incriminating evidence that is believed to abound in plenty."

A LEGISLATIVE FAKE WITHOUT PARALLEL.

Mr. Wanamaker continued by referring to the work of the Treasury investigating committee, which he said will be long remembered as a legislative fake and political job without parallel. On this subject he said:

"Senator Kauffman, on March 14, in the Senate offered a resolution that was defeated, every Quay Senator voting against it. The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, That if the House concur, the special committee appointed to investigate the State Treasurer and Auditor General be and is hereby instructed to ask the president and cashier of every bank with which State funds are deposited the following questions:

"Have you within the past twelve months been asked to make a contribution in consideration of your bank having State funds deposited therein?

"If so, did you make such contribution?

"What per cent. on said deposit was demanded, and what per cent. was paid?"

“The committee held its few sittings in Harrisburg and brought in a voluminous report bearing upon everything but the vital points. For the services of this committee the State was charged \$3,234.81. It gave the Auditor General and State Treasurer certificates of character, and complimented their excellent business administration, declared that every cent of the State’s money was accounted for, and no traces of irregularities were to be found in the State Treasurer’s office. Yet later developments disclosed the fact that money had been advanced on padded pay rolls, and in another instance \$10,000 had been advanced, contrary to law, upon the bill of a Quay politician, as I am informed.”

SOME BROKEN BANK SECRETS.

The Story of how the Machine and the Bosses tried to bolster up an Insolvent Bank. Laws passed to seal the Bank Examiner’s lips. How Quay’s Machine attempted to pass laws to allow Politicians to steal State Funds. The Infamous Andrews’ Bank Bill that would have robbed Depositors and Stockholders.

“Broken Banks, the Chestnut Street National, the People’s and the Guarantors’ Finance Company” was Mr. Wanamaker’s text on April 15th at Norristown. It was a startling revelation to the great audience. Mr. Wanamaker’s speech, in full, follows:

“I want to spread before you something of the acts of our last Legislature. Most people know no more about the actual facts than the present Quay candidate for Governor, who, as you well know, declares himself ignorant of the acts of our Legislature.

“Two of Philadelphia’s broken financial institutions—the People’s Bank and the Guarantors’ Finance Company—stand as memorials to political financiering, their empty vaults and

their poor or worthless assets bear testimony to a system of political spoliation that has in the past and will in the future undermine many a great banking institution. These failures are only the natural results of a reckless disregard of business fidelity. These are the outcome of Pennsylvania legislation favoring and actually protecting the politician of influence. The sense of security that backs the political machine encourages the misuse of public moneys and consequent transgressions of the law. It is not necessary to review all the legislation that has been passed within the last fifteen years and which has steadily been building high protective walls around the political banker and speculator to prevent the people from seeing what is going on with the millions of taxpayers' money in the care of the politicians. To find, or rather get hold of, the State money in recent years it would seem quite appropriate to insert an advertisement in the newspapers: 'Wanted, to know the whereabouts of the school and hospital money supposed to be lost or stolen.' But the Quay organs could not be persuaded to publish such an advertisement.

THE BANKING LAW OF '95.

"The laws that have allowed a political machine the free use of more than 5,000,000 of dollars per annum of State balances for fifteen years, and that force counties heavily in debt to turn over vast sums of county money into the State Treasury, where it is withheld for months for the benefit of the machine, while counties to which it belongs are forced to borrow money to pay running expenses, will serve as a sample of legislation that has been enacted in the past. I wish to-night to take up measures of more recent date, and speak to you of laws that must be familiar to all who follow the doings of the last Legislature. The failure of the People's Bank and the Guarantors' Finance Company was a great surprise to many of their officers and stockholders, yet if you review with me some of the banking legislation recently attempted or passed you will be convinced that the politicians have known their actual condition for more than two years, and have tried to pass laws to protect the bank wrecker. At

the session of '95 a new banking law was passed, which contained the following clause:

“Neither the Commissioner of Banking nor the Deputy Commissioner of Banking nor any employee, shall in any way or manner exhibit or divulge or make known any book, paper or report pertaining to any corporation under the supervision of the banking department, or any information obtained in the examination of any corporation, under penalty of a fine of one thousand dollars and removal from office.’

POLITICIANS ORGANIZED BANKS.

“This section of the bill aroused much opposition during its passage, but the protests of those who saw in this provision an attempt to cover up and destroy the alleged objects of the bill were unheeded and ignored by orders of the machine. I am told that more than a score of State banks have been organized in Pennsylvania upon State money furnished by politicians. It is through these institutions that the politicians carry on large and oftentimes doubtful speculations. The Commissioner of Banking and his assistants have jurisdiction over this institution, and they are the only persons to whom the questionable and criminal transactions between bank officials and politicians can become known.

“But with usual foresight the politician, by the enactment of the banking law, has sealed the Bank Commissioner’s lips; he may know that money is being stolen; he may know that bankers and politicians conspired to rob the people; he may know that large sums of money are taken from the State Treasury by politicians to furnish speculating capital for cashiers of political banks; he may have in his possession indisputable documentary evidence of criminality, but he must hold his peace or forfeit his position; and I assert to-night that those who had a hand in framing this particular section of the banking law of '95 had advanced knowledge of the rotten condition of certain political banks, and of the unlawful transactions between officials of said banks and certain prominent politicians. Next we come to the session of '97. Let us see if we can find anything in the legislation attempted by the Quay politicians to substantiate the charges.

HOW LEGISLATION IS MADE

“That after legislation has been enacted giving the politicians the free use of all the State’s money they may desire, it is plain as a turnpike, that law after law has been passed, or attempted to be passed, to allow such money to be misappropriated or stolen by the politician with perfect safety to himself. In 1895 the broken Guarantors’ Finance Company began business under the insurance laws of the State. At the last session of the Legislature strenuous efforts were made by the machine to pass a bill that it could do business without interference from the State Insurance Department, providing that by a vote of its own stockholders it could amend its charter and change its class of business. One of Pennsylvania’s United States Senators went to Harrisburg and lobbied for the bill. Every Quay man received his orders to support it in defiance of the protests of the Insurance Department.

“The Anti-Quay men prevented its passage in its original form by only three votes. Subsequent developments have shown that at the time this United States Senator was directing from the Speaker’s room the fight for this notorious bill and the full power of the machine was being used in its interests, the Guarantors’ Finance Company was insolvent, and I assert that the attempt to pass the Guarantors’ bill was for the purpose of placing it beyond the reach of the official control of the Insurance Commissioner, who finally closed the doors of the insolvent institution, and that those most active in pushing the bill, and they are Quay politicians who are heavy creditors of that institution, must have known the bankrupt condition of the company. If the Guarantors’ bill had passed the company’s doors would be open to-day, taking your money and mine, knowing that it would never be paid back.

THE ANDREWS’ BANK BILL.

“There was another bill. It was known as the Andrews’ Bank Bill, and was introduced by that eminent financier, Senator W. H. Andrews, formerly of Crawford County. This bill was to apply to these same political State banks that hold

millions of the people's money; the same banks whose unlawful transactions cannot be divulged by the State Banking Commissioner. The last five lines of the bill: 'Nor shall this act apply to any such partnership bank which has already closed its doors or gone into liquidation, but shall apply to all such banks hereafter making assignments or committing acts of insolvency' were inserted because of opposition from those who thought it was intended to relieve the Delamaters that stand between the aged and the almshouse, the orphans' portion and the widows' mite can be taken to pay political debts, or to increase the private fortune of the politicians who are made free from every legal responsibility by substituting in their places men without one dollar in the world.

"This Andrews bill did not become a law, however. It came from a Quay Senate committee unanimously approved, it passed the Senate by the vote of every Quay Senator; it was favorably reported from a Quay House committee and passed two readings, but was placed upon the postponed calendar in the House through the efforts of the Anti-Quay men, and every attempt by Quay people to pass it finally was defeated. By the banking law of 1895 the cover is nailed down tight, concealing the transactions of the insolvent People's Bank, but if the time ever comes that its transactions shall be made public, every voter throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth will know why Pennsylvania's political boss and his chief lieutenants bound and gagged the Banking Commissioner by the law of 1895; and when they realize how vitally essential it was to Andrews and his political conspirators to have his bank bill passed they will marvel that it was ever defeated.

"Voters of Pennsylvania, are you dumb and are you blind? Is not this one chapter of shame enough to make you strike for freedom? You will risk your life to defend your home and your property from thieves at night, yet you applaud the robbers who by day take millions that belong to you.

"I remember when a boy seeing a picture of an old farmer in a smock frock, getting his drove of pigs to market. He had strung around his neck a large bag filled with beans, which

he kept scattering to the pigs who walked innocently on munching beans, but going straight to be slaughtered.

THE BEAN BAG OF 16 TO 1.

“Our astute Senator who farms all Pennsylvania politics and attempts murder, political and social, for any who venture across his path, carries large supplies of beans. Now he drops a post office bean, and another and another and another. When it does not satisfy the appetite he drops a pension examiner bean, a Consulship bean, a deputy collector bean, U. S. Mint bean, deputy marshal bean, deputy attorney bean, Custom House bean, Bank Examiner bean, appraiser bean, letter carrier bean. In time the beans will run out, but the plays that can be made with a large bean bag if you are dexterous with it and do not let the other fellows know, surpass anything Kellar, the magician, ever did. It is an interesting game, is the bean bag of 16 to 1. Some excellent friends say to me what is the use of spending your time and wasting your strength on fixed-up Montgomery county and other counties of the State. I am not wasting my time. I am plowing for the spring planting. I am setting out orchards that will be all abloom by and by with splendid fruit, and many here will rush to share in the golden harvest who are now afraid to stir a step or put out their noses lest they will be nipped by the Quay frost.

“Some say you are not a politician. I know it; there are men, if I were to shut my eyes and wad my ears, who would come into Montgomery county to-morrow and meet boodle with boodle. Not a cent of mine or my friends shall go to purchase a vote or the influence of a newspaper, but I will confess to you I am deep into the well-organized plan, backed by large rewards for informers, and the detectives that will be all over the county to-morrow as listeners and watchers under the direction of your county committee, to prevent fraud and to bring the weak-kneed, whisky-loaded and daring violators of the law to prompt justice.

NOTHING HOPELESS WHEN ONE IS RIGHT.

“I am not a wasp in speech or action. I am a surgeon, ready to make heroic operations to save the patient's life. The pa-

tient is the Republican party, born of Lincoln and Grant, mangled, run over and overrun by the Quay-Andrews sacrificers. They say if you were a politician you would not put energy into hopeless counties—where the machine is copper fastened. My friends, nothing is hopeless when you are right. The harder the toil the stronger must be the arm that wields the pick. I never have feared hard work. I like rainy days and steep hills because clouds lift and you can see far from mountain tops.

“The coppered-up counties where political changes seem impossible will, by and by, open to the truth, which has been in various ways kept from them. The people are right when you can get fairly to them—they are led like sheep only because they have been accustomed to a beaten path or because they follow the bell whether of an office seeker or officeholder. It is not that the people do not want to be right, but it is because they are fooled by the interested few, who arrange primaries, fix dates, slate candidates and take all the trouble off their hands.

“This has gone on so long that any interference by the people and the ring slaters is resented. To-day there is an utter defiance of the people. What they think or do is not of the slightest consequence to the Quay-Andrews aristocrats of politics.

QUAY'S SPEECH IN THE SENATE.

“When Dr. Burchard in the Blaine campaign greeted Mr. Blaine, the popular Presidential candidate, at Delmonico's, New York, with his Rum-Romanism-Rebellion speech, it was set down as the monumental mistake of the age. Is it not an equally colossal blunder for our senior Senator, eager for war, when, contrary to some of the petitions he was presenting to the Senate, whose signers have indignantly and publicly protested at the misrepresentation of them, he argued for and urged instant action to plunge the country into war with Spain? The three-R speech of Dr. Burchard is bad enough, but the three P's of Quay's speech, Pope, Prelates and Presbyters, is a match.

“The echo of that blundering speech will be far-reaching over our State and county. No man, much less Senator Quay, has a right to say despising things of Pope, Prelates and Presbyters, insulting the scholarly, upright, honored leader of the Roman Catholic Church, the Bishops of the Episcopal, Moravian and Methodist Churches, and the old Presbyterian Church, whose history is the record of the martyrs for the truth, and lives laid down on the battlefields. Mr. Quay might have added another P to his anathema for the people at large, whom he also scorns and pushes aside as unworthy of consideration in forcing machine slates upon them against every protest. There is but one P that counts with the boss, and it is a double P, that he recognizes and worships—the professional politician. But the people are tired of it all and are joining their forces to overthrow the usurpers of their rights.”

OLD SOLDIERS MARKED FOR DEFEAT.

Crippled Veterans have no show with Quay unless he
can use them. Some of the brave men turned
down by the Bosses because they would
not bow the knee to Quay and
Andrews. How the
Machine loves the
old Soldier.

A delegation of leading Grand Army men went to Lebanon with Mr. Wanamaker on the night of April 17th. Mr. Wanamaker himself is a member of Post 2, G. A. R. His speech that night, which follows, was devoted to Quay's love of the old soldier.

“My escort hither to-day to Lebanon, your fair city, is by a squad of veteran soldiers. I have never been more honored in my life. I love the memory of the old soldiers underground, but I pay homage unspeakable to all who are still above ground. Paltry are all the mothering pensions, no

matter what they amount to, if there remains lacking dull memories of what is due the heroes who carried the old flag, stainless and victorious, until every enemy surrendered.

“Just as the Southern people lived contentedly with the institution of slavery that cost millions of precious lives, and millions of treasure to eradicate, so Pennsylvania, in large part at least, lives contentedly with a political system that saps the best life of the individual, stains the home and sullies the fair fame of the State at an annual cost of millions of tax-gathered treasure, until Pennsylvanians are beginning to realize that there are some things worse than war.

“Do you ask me what I mean by these words? Let me tell you plainly, and I ask you to particularly listen. The State has been torn from the hands of its founders and fathers and rightful owners, and appropriated by hirelings who are office holders. The administrators of its laws are invaders and usurpers, who have seized it, and who hold, through trickery and fraud, the places from which laws are interpreted for their own benefit.

“The farce of law-making is performed mainly by men selected and sworn to subservience to the bosses. Perpetual motion at last has been discovered and established in the revolving return of old incumbents to office, if not to the same office, to another of equal power. This condition of things is of gradual growth. It began under Cameron, the first. It enlarged and grew firmer under Cameron, the second. It has reached its highest development under Quay, the first, and his twin brother, W. H. Andrews, perhaps slated to be Quay’s successor.

“The necessities of the boss car, that rides over the people rough-shod, like the Juggernaut car of India, are such that to raise money to keep up the siege against the people and to enable office holders to retain place and power, vast sums of taxpayers money, belonging to the children and their teachers, the indigent, sick and insane and their nurses and care-takers, are diverted from their proper uses to aid and enrich political schemers. Contracts for buildings for State cost double to allow tribute to the tax leech of State and other political committees.

CORPORATIONS COMPELLED TO STAND AND DELIVER.

“Half the legislation at each session of the Legislature makes a raid upon the Treasury for the benefit of the insatiate political machine. All the bills that come to the door of the Legislature are halted on the front steps with a pistol that commands toll for the heartless, conscienceless, sleepless sentinels, who are on the watch to replenish every empty and unfillable vote buying, bribe making manufactory. The corporations of the State shiver in constant fear of threatening draughts. The contractors despair and divide without a murmur with the representative of the machine. The companions in spoils and in schemes are shaking with fear, and speechless, powerless to refuse to rebel against any order, no matter how odious.

“The three C’s—corporations, contractors and comrades in spoils—can do nothing but stand by each other for mutual protection. What matters it if the three P’s—Pope, Prelate or Presbytery—respectfully petition and dare to protest on any subject? Like the common people, they only find out how they are publicly despised even from the throne of the high court of the Senate Chamber by his Royal Highness, the Boss of Pennsylvania.

“It is a desperate game. The stake has grown so much larger year after year, election after election, that there is no place to stop. Every bill and every office that has any money in it must be made to stand and deliver for the overfed, blood-sucking political vampire that has grown up inside the Republican party.

“Some Congressional districts must be sacrificed to Republicanism and given over to Democrats; that our Senators can control the patronage. In one such district in our State I am informed, and believe the truth can easily be had, that the henchmen of the leaders have been selling the post offices at a money value for their own benefit or the reimbursing of political debts.

OLD SOLDIERS SLAUGHTERED AT QUAY’S ORDERS.

“Notwithstanding the pledge in the National Convention platform to prefer the soldiers for places, an old soldier like

Colonel Stahle, of York county, who carried his county for Congress the only time it has been carried in recent years, is thrown overboard to elect a Democrat, because he (Stahle) would not misrepresent his district by signing for Colonel W. A. Stone a paper against his constituents' will, recommending the name of M. S. Quay for President. Colonel George F. Huff, of Westmoreland county, was pitchforked out for his independence, to make room for William H. Andrews, candidate from Erie, for a similar offense.

"These two war colonels of splendid record went down at the whim of the boss. They did not seem to know that great soldiers never surrender their manhood, in war or in peace. In all this dust and din and drivel about standing by the soldiers, let me ask why not one soldier was acceptable when the bosses filled the Collectorship of Internal Revenue, the offices of Superintendent of the Mint, Postmaster, Assistant Postmaster, United States Marshal, Collector of the Port and Naval Officer of Philadelphia?

"Why did they strike off Major Hancock, the old soldier with one leg, who fought in eighty battles, and who was backed by the old soldiers, and all of his business associates? He was urged earnestly for the Collectorship, but it was refused him by the United States Senate, and given by these Senators to one who was not a soldier.

"Colonel Bosbyshell, an old soldier, was turned aside for Mr. Boyer, who served in the Speaker's chair of the last Legislature. Why did the leaders bitterly oppose Hackett in Philadelphia, who entered the army as a drummer boy? Why did they fight so desperately against Roney, a soldier of unstained record? My friends, the whole thing has such a bitter taste it should no longer be tolerated."

M. S. QUAY AS A PATRIOT!

How he tried to sell the Government one of Don Cameron's buildings for \$650,000, when it was worth less than \$400,000. His attempts to defeat President McKinley's policy.

Newspapers muzzled by Quay and his Sub-Bosses. Samples of how News is suppressed.

Bellefonte, the home of Governors, heard Ex-Postmaster General Wanamaker deliver a fiery attack on Senator Quay's alleged patriotism on the night of April 19th. In the course of his address before an audience of 1500 people he said:

"I am here to meet this hospitable welcome and carry out the programme of the campaign against the oppression of usurpers within the borders of our fair State. Neither wars without nor treasons within deter me. There must be sturdy plowing in the chilly winds of early winter if there is to be spring wheat. The winds of Lancaster county blew never so heavily and overthrew the one candle Republicanism had burning there. The Montgomery county Quay cavalry roderough-shod over their own children and slaughtered them eagerly to open the house of hopes and rewards to strangers of the Andrews school. They preferred an emigrant from Allegheny to a Montgomery county man, their own neighbor. It is one of the fortunes of war and absolutely nothing to me beyond its proof of the power of a machine. I cannot hold the Saturday election against the Montgomery county people. It does not represent their wishes, but is the proof of the existence of the ever packed primaries.

QUAY FIGHTING MCKINLEY.

"And while this was going on in the country both our Pennsylvania Senators were arrayed against the President on the Cuban question and busy using their utmost endeavors to embarrass the President and to defeat the wise action of the House. The people of the State will not soon forget this dastardly conduct, from which they were only

driven when they saw that the last vote would show a majority against them. Thus is Pennsylvania disgraced within and without her borders.

“Colonel W. A. Stone surrendered in his home county for one-third of the delegates. I preferred to fight in my home county, though I knew in advance the Quay machinists would gloat over what they term a victory in scooping in the long-owned delegates. But let us step up to the higher level of the State’s position to-day. Behind us the sunken Legislature. The wrecked and mangled ‘Maine’ is a sight of exquisite beauty in comparison with the battered Lexow docks and exploded State bank—guarantors that guaranteed soft nests to the legislative birds and the guillotine to the people.

“I want to speak to one proposition, that the steady demoralization of the Republican party in its political management has made the Harrisburg Legislature a toll-gate on the people’s turnpike that no honest man can pass without a sneer, and where all men must halt and give the countersign of a dividend to the sentinels, however worthy his cause, before he can pass on.

“How many within hearing of my voice realize that the great Pennsylvania Republican train, on which they are passengers, is plunging onward at a furious rate toward the open switches of bankruptcy and ruin? Engineer Quay, mad with power, utterly disregarding the danger signs and red signals, has opened wide at the throttle and determined to risk the magnificent train upon the quicksand roadbed of political abuses and corruption. He hopes that the train’s great speed will enable it to keep the rail until after next January, and unload him for another six years’ term at the United States Senate station. His political henchmen act as trainmen and conductors. They are taking from you many times your honest fares. But though you know you are being wronged and robbed, most of you pay without a murmur, and with the mere belief that it is only party loyalty and commendable obedience.

“The satisfied passengers on this train are made up of four distinct classes—first, those who hope to get office; second, those who are actuated by cupidity; third, those controlled

by fear, and fourth, which is by far the largest, are those who make up the great mass of honest people, but who are actually ignorant of what is being done by the Republican leaders of Pennsylvania. I would not insult your intelligence by saying you are ignorant of the very things you ought to know most about, and which are of vital interest to you, if I did not know the fault is not yours, and that the sources of information are beyond your reach. There was a time when we could boast of a free press, but to-day in Pennsylvania, to a great extent, it exists only in name. The same political influences that have poisoned the springs of public integrity, that have corrupted the politics, that have debauched the councils of legislation, that have wrecked banks, trust and insurance companies, have contaminated and blocked the course of public news.

HOW THE PRESS IS MUZZLED.

“Starting at the very head-waters, large numbers of the great army of correspondents who first gather the news are nowadays hypnotized by the machine. They manufacture stuff favorable to the machine, and suppress news that is unfavorable. The news that does pass the reporter sentinels must then run the gauntlet of news service, where machine retainers are often secretly planted upon the management. Here the real facts are more thoroughly squeezed out. When it reaches the newspaper office it frequently encounters a machine-owned editor, or a political guard, located in the news room, by whom it is finally suppressed or distorted. Scores of editors throughout the State are candidates for post offices, and do not furnish the news. Many more have relations who expect appointments, and to print facts detrimental to the machine would never do.

“The attempt to suppress news and to pervert facts is carried on by the political machine in Pennsylvania by a most extensive system. Some of the great telegraph systems are no longer safe conductors of private messages. Our friends complain that in some places no message of importance is sent of which the machine is not advised. The superintendent of one great company sits in the secret councils of the

machine. A few weeks ago a Philadelphian telegraphed to a prominent politician in a Western city to meet him on a certain day. When the Philadelphian arrived at the place named his man was not there, but instead were a half-dozen newspaper men, who said they had heard of his coming; one reporter going so far as to give the exact language of the dispatch that had been sent two days prior. Imagine the Philadelphian's surprise a little later to find in the office of the friend to whom he had telegraphed, the unopened telegram. It was a private message, and, owing to the absence of the party to whom it was sent, had never been opened, yet half a dozen reporters on Quay papers knew its exact contents.

"It is alleged that the character of much political news put upon telegraph wires is reported at Washington, from where orders for suppression are sent if it does not suit the boss.

"The papers in Pennsylvania that do not belong to the syndicate of which I speak are in the minority; many counties have not a single paper that will criticise the wrongdoings of the machine, yet they are the supposed educators of the people. Is it any wonder, therefore, that there are many people in this audience that do not know they are being wronged by the effects of Quayism? I would like to know how many of the voters in Centre county, who read from five to fifteen papers every week, are aware of the official acts of their senior United States Senator except the frequent office-hunting trips he makes to the White House. I would like to know if a single one of you have read in your papers of a most important amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill, which was offered by Senator Quay in the United States Senate on the 4th day of this month.

A QUAY REAL ESTATE DEAL.

"Senator Quay moved an amendment that the government acquire the structure known as the Union building, in the City of Washington, paying therefor the princely sum of \$650,000. It is alleged in Washington that the property belonged to Ex-United States Senator Don Cameron. This fact was well circulated throughout the Senate and Senator

Quay made an appeal to his colleagues for the passage of the amendment on the grounds of personal Senatorial courtesy. The highest estimate placed upon the value of the building was \$400,000, while real estate men said it was really worth much less. Yet Senator Quay, in the hour of the nation's financial emergency, sought to make the government pay an extra quarter of a million of dollars. The proposition was so monstrous that the attempted overcharge was attacked by Senators Gallinger and Elkins, and of all the members of the United States Senate. Senator Quay, with the aid of the great corporate interests that back him, could muster but fourteen votes for his amendment. But the newspapers could see nothing of interest to their readers in Pennsylvania in this assault upon the United States Treasury. But within the next few days it is telegraphed over the entire State that a Pennsylvania Congressman had called a colleague a liar and that Senator Quay had asked President McKinley for another place for a henchman."

In conclusion Mr. Wanamaker said:

"Where elections in a country are likely to go against the machine it is a common thing to throw the election Democratic, as was the case of your last Legislative election of two members, both Quay Democrats. I am one of those who cannot go any further with the Republican party until it does change. A great multitude is rising up to say they are of the same mind. I am here contending not for anything personal to myself, but to represent an opposition to a system that defies public opinion and insists on what the people do not want and should not be tricked into by a nomination that obliges the people not to vote at all or to vote against their consciences."

HOW THE MINERS WERE BUNCOED.

The Quay Fake Investigating Committee that did nothing and then tried to loot the State Treasury on bogus expense bills. A startling array of facts. A bill of \$11,415.40 for doing nothing. An outrage on Coal Miners of the State.

In the heart of the great Northern bituminous coal district, at Dubois, on April 20th, Hon. John Wanamaker before an audience of miners, exposed the iniquity of the Quay committee to investigate the condition of starving coal miners. His detail of facts follows:

“This splendid audience at this particular time, with the public mind preoccupied by war thoughts, is a great wonder and gratification to me. Notwithstanding your generous hospitality I do not take your welcome to myself and friends so much as I write it down as an evidence of your interest in your old Republican party. The issues I am to discuss are all true Republican issues. I am not a discontent and never in all my life have been a breeder of mischief. It has always been a matter of pride with me that I could work with men, some of those who began with me in business are not only my employees to-day after thirty years and more, but are my close personal friends. That man is a weak man who consents to be deaf and dumb to his own faults and the faults of his family, and who shrieks disloyalty to such friends who are friends enough to try to help him to the right course.

INVESTIGATING COAL MINERS' CONDITION.

“At the last session of the Legislature, Senator Quay had it within his power to aid the miners of Clearfield county. Representative McWhinney, of Allegheny, a true friend of the miners of Pennsylvania, offered in the House a resolution setting forth the deplorable condition prevailing through the bituminous coal regions of Pennsylvania, which was as follows:

“Whereas, During the past three or four years the industrial condition in the bituminous coal mining regions com-

prised within what is commonly termed the Pittsburg district of Pennsylvania has continued to grow, and is still growing, so desperate as to cause several thousands of our citizens to be at present on the verge of starvation; and

“Whereas, There are at present other thousands who are pressing very hard on the capacity of the township and county charities of that district, and who would have probably perished were it not for the intervention of those charities; and

“Whereas, This condition gives every promise of continuing until those charities are exhausted; and

“Whereas, The fear exists that when such stage is arrived at there may be many worthy citizens and their families suffer the pangs of hunger and destitution to the point of actual starvation; and

“Whereas, These citizens thus affected are among the most willing, frugal, industrious and worthy of our laboring population; and,

“Whereas, This condition has been brought about by a guerilla warfare, precipitated and continued by certain corporation interests in that district, many of whom even seem to have entered into politics, which are not only bringing this destitution upon their employees, but ruin upon their own business; and,

“Whereas, Every possible expedient has been attempted by the public-spirited and humanely-disposed people of that district, including several newspaper editors of the city of Pittsburg; and,

“Whereas, There is an abundance of evidence to be had that the conditions above mentioned exist and are becoming daily still more alarming; therefore be it

“Resolved (if the Senate concur), That a committee consisting of three members from the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker, and two members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President pro tempore, be authorized to visit said Pittsburg district and make a thorough investigation of the actual condition of affairs in said mining region and report to the Legislature their finding and recommend in their report what, in their opinion, might be done to

alleviate the deplorable condition aforesaid, and to recommend such measures as in their judgment they deem best to correct the evil complained of. The said committee to serve without compensation, except the actual expenses incurred by them in prosecuting such investigation, not including any expense on account of time given to such investigation, and stenographer and clerk hire to be provided for by an item in the general appropriation bill or by special act making an appropriation therefor, and the said committee shall have the power to summon and subpoena witnesses and compel by process their attending before them to give evidence in like manner as any court of record, and the said committee is hereby empowered in their discretion to call to their assistance for the purpose of aiding them in the fullest investigation possible three citizens, representative of the interests under investigation, or by reason of their knowledge of existing conditions, capable of assisting said committee in the discharge of their duties, one of whom shall be an official representative of the mine operators and one a representative of the public press of the city of Pittsburg. This committee shall report the facts to this Legislature not later than Monday, April 19, 1897.'

"The resolution placed the naming of the committee in the hands of Quay's Speaker of the House, who appointed four Quay men, being compelled to select McWhinney as a member of the committee because he was the author of the resolution. They demonstrated that they dared take no chances on a chairman whom they could not control, and who might discover in the course of an investigation things detrimental to certain corporate interests. They violated a long-established and heretofore inflexible parliamentary rule, that the author of a resolution creating an investigating committee shall be made the chairman of said committee, by turning down Mr. McWhinney, the one true friend of the miners of the committee over to Senator Saylor.

HOW THE MINERS WERE FOOLED.

"Senator Quay's Legislatures in the past have appointed like committees for political buncombe, and to manufacture cam-

paign dust to throw in the eyes of the workingmen; but it remained for the Saylor investigating committee to make the same false pretenses that former committees have made, and more, while on a mission of mercy, and in the very midst of underpaid, poorly-clad and half-starved and ill-housed miners seek unlawfully to recompense himself and his Quay colleagues on the committee. This committee that came to you under charity's mask made a report back to a Quay Legislature of a most general character, and making certain general recommendations. Senator Quay was in absolute control of the Legislature—he owned the committees—and could have had reported and passed laws to alleviate your distress, to right your wrongs and dispel the clouds of want and suffering that have so long hung over the soft coal fields of Pennsylvania.

“But instead his Legislature received the report of the committee with utter indifference, and no effort was made to pass a law to benefit the condition of the miner. This was not all, for the Quay committee that was to serve without pay charged the State \$11,415.40, of which Chairman Saylor's share was to be \$1,791.20 for alleged expenses, that he afterward was forced to acknowledge in public was a fraudulent claim. This committee came to you, cloaked as a messenger of mercy, but their mercenary instincts overpowered them, and from the very men who were crying for relief they attempted to extort an additional tax to pay for expenses that had never been incurred. An act of such disgusting baseness would have placed the mark of disgrace upon the brow of every man connected with it in any State but that of Pennsylvania.

“In Pennsylvania such acts are applauded and rewarded. In Pennsylvania a premium is placed upon them. Chairman Saylor has been rewarded by Senator Quay with a Consulate to Matanzas, paying \$3,500 a year. He did the boss' bidding—he had deceived the miners, he had protected the corporation, he had tried to rob the State—his claims for his master's support could not be ignored. Without the knowledge of Mr. McWhinney an item for \$1,015 was inserted in the expense bill for him. He repudiated the item on the floor

of the House, and stated that it had been placed there without his knowledge, and that he had attended every meeting of the committee, and it had not cost him a dollar. There was another member of the last Legislature whose name is a household word with every miner in the State. It was he who stood against the great corporations of the State and championed the cause of the workingmen. I speak of Senator C. C. Kauffman, of Lancaster county. He was your champion, he was the taxpayers' friend, he was honest. He was defeated by the boss' orders. Saylor tried to rob you. He was rewarded. Kauffman fought for you and aided you. He was defeated. Both by the orders of Senator Quay.

"Adam started pretty well in the sunlight of a garden in Paradise, but since his day the steps downward are common to people and parties. The Republican Party was a kind of patriotic Paradise, but its fathers are sleeping at Springfield and Cleveland and Riverside Park. They are in martyrs' graves all over the States. Their sons, with few exceptions, have become intoxicated with the wealth of peace and the ship of state drifts into the breakers as if she were unmanned and without a compass.

"Standing at the wheelhouse, the old ship rocking in the gale, President McKinley at Washington called out to the engine room of the Capitol of the dangers ahead on the Cuban shore, where the 'Maine' men sleep until the long roll-call. Some of the old Senate speculators apparently unconscious of the grave situation of affairs, scorned their Republican garments and took sides with the President's enemies. Sad it is to say it, and sadder to be the truth. Among these foes of the President were our two Pennsylvania Senators, and remained so until driven out of their dishonoring position when in sight of the last vote about to go against them, when they hurried in from the enemy's camp. Do you think Thaddeus Stevens would have done that, or James G. Blaine or Benjamin Harrison? God send us again men unbargaining, un-speculating, unswerving in such an hour from the patriotic and straight path.

"Every day but deepens the shadows that fall upon the Republican party in other States as well as ours. It will be

enough for us to attend to our own business, and that we must attend to or the Republicans of Pennsylvania are doomed for years, if not forever. The Democrats are not always to be triflers, disputers or to be caught with a silver hook. Republicans who have come on since the days of Fremont and Lincoln, Grant and Garfield—the younger men who had not the living inspiration of those great lives—do not place the halo that we love to look at around the Republican flag. They see the old carpet-baggers in the South, contractors, syndicates and corporations in control and consummate skill of politicians in possession of the government at the North.

“The glamour of old-time patriotism is faded out and the glory of Republican achievement is all in books. One by one the young men, discouraged and hopeless, leave the party of their fathers and scoff at good in any party. To the self-rewarding, scheming and speculating in offices and legislation is our party given over. But Pennsylvania, so great without realizing it, capable of homing ten millions, fathers less than six; Pennsylvania, of immense possibilities, close to the gates of the sea, rich in uncounted stores of iron and coal, richer still with her manufacturing talent and capital—Pennsylvania is the plodding, poor, political centre of the United States. The key of its low life is struck by its Legislature, the synonym of misdoing all the States over.

YOU PAY YOUR MONEY FOR LEGISLATION.

“The Legislature as a Legislature is behind a counter and whoever lays down the money can get his pick out of any sized pattern of legislation, of which there is an ingenious and ever-increasing assortment. The taxpayers’ hard-earned money is squandered in scores of ways. Even the closing of some of the public schools is considered to benefit the protected brewers under contract for money given to campaign conducting when the Legislature is meeting. Endless schemes are hatched for the purpose of taking money out of the Treasury to fill the pockets of committeemen and campaigners. General taxation of all business interests is decreed to pay an army of new appointments.

“Even the premier of the Capitol and the chairman of the State Committee, an assistant in one of the State departments, are obliged in deference to public opinion and by command of the Governor to resign their places for conspiring with the State Treasurer to cover up the withdrawal of a large sum of State money. The catalogue of crimes centering at the Capitol all done by sworn and unfaithful public servants is the wonder of the time, but there is a still greater wonder. It is that these same people who have failed in their trust, these very same men who for themselves and their friends manage the Republican party, are now asking for a vote of confidence, and renewal of power at the coming June and other conventions and the autumn elections.

“They ask you and me to dismiss and forget their assaults upon the Treasury; to shut our eyes to the People’s Bank calamity and the Guarantors’ rottenness and put them all back into power as if nothing had happened; to give them a Governor who belongs to their craft, whom Andrews and Quay can govern, and elect a Legislature that will work with the Quay selected and elected Treasurer, and they will farm everything to suit themselves. I am here to raise my voice against it and warn the people as I did when we postponed the Cleveland panic four years by the election of Harrison. I can now see just as plainly the coming degradation and loss to Pennsylvania if she jumps the Quay jump and dances the Andrews jig this year by adopting the machine slate.

“I will go to war any minute on the call of the Secretary of War, to whom I have offered my services, and I am now enlisted and willing to continue the war with you in Pennsylvania, carrying a flag that no man Quay and Andrews own can fill any office in Pennsylvania. I make no candidates, but as a citizen with the common right that you and all citizens have I pass judgment on the kind of candidates we will not have. Let us get men for public place. Pennsylvania has plenty of them who will attend to the business of the people honestly, keep the money safely and make it go as far as possible for the people’s good. Work people get their money by the sweat of their brow. It comes too hard to fritter away.”

THE INFAMOUS LEXOW EXPENSES.

A Committee appointed by Quay's orders that cost \$1,156.28 every time it met—Witnesses who were summoned at \$93.28 per head.

All the figures in the Notorious Bill exposed—A History of the Quay Machine from first to last.

Mr. Wanamaker tore the mask from the notorious Lexow bill of expenses at a great meeting held at Clearfield, April 21st. People cheered to the echo. He also gave a history of the Quay machine from beginning to end. His speech in full is as follows:

HOW QUAY AND STONE FOUGHT MCKINLEY.

“Last night at Dubois, in the wettest of wet nights, great crowds of men jammed the Opera House, and in the course of a speech suddenly rose en masse amid much enthusiasm and showed sympathy with and loyalty to the President in this trying hour. It was a dramatic moment, but two men of the thousand or more remained seated. They represented the two Pennsylvania Senators, Quay and Penrose, who sat where Quay did before and after McKinley's nomination—against him. They, personally, and with the assistance of Congressman Young, of Philadelphia; and Davenport of Erie, led by Colonel W. A. Stone, of Allegheny, the candidate for Governor, did their utmost to turn away Congress from supporting the President.

“Until the last vote when they saw their plight and were overborne by friends to change front to McKinley they persisted in their endeavors. To their lasting shame they stood in with the Democrats and Populists—Tillman, of South Carolina; Jones, of Arkansas; Mallory, of Florida, and Vest, of Missouri. How do you like your Senators joining forces with Democrats and Populists while unselfish Americans, Democrats by party affiliation, like Caffery, of Louisiana; Gorman, of Maryland; Gray, of Delaware, and Morgan, of

Alabama, all Democrats, threw aside questions of party and partisanship and stood behind the President like a stonewall?

“For over thirty years in the politics of the Republican party of Pennsylvania a sand bar has been forming. The wisest captains of the party, like James G. Blaine, saw it, and begin ringing the bell of warning. In recent years the sand bar has become the dumping ground of all that is reprehensible and debasing in the Republican party, combinations of corporations, syndicates of subsidized newspapers, sworn subjection of office holders, exactions from legislative bills, extortions from manufacturers, assessments upon State and national banks for election purposes without reference to stockholders, until an impassable cliff has risen, and there is no more fair sailing or progress for the Republican party.

“Somebody is responsible for this. Who is it? To get the answer go back to where the train shunts from the track. It is a small and almost imperceptible divergence from the main line, but each mile and moment the distance widens. To-day the main line of the Republican party, its two tracks of man’s inalienable right to vote and have his vote honestly counted, can hardly be seen any more than the route of the old Pennsylvania Canal that cut through the State. The old Republican stations of Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Blaine have sunk into the tombs. New stations have been built in Pennsylvania. The Quay, Andrews, W. A. Stone and Saylor stations have been reared in splendor by contractors with iron interests, steel, oil, sugar, whisky, corporation grants and the like.

“The treasury station is the grand central depot through which all the trains are bound. The Republican party principle is a fat wallet, and its backbone nowadays is its office rewards. Knuckle down from your knees to your nose and pay up spot cash is the one password not only to preferment but to right to life unassailed in your party.

“You ask me to explain how this condition of things has come about. I will try to do so. Great as were the benefits of the civil war in delivering the nation from the curse of slavery there came with the raising and maintenance of armies and navies and the re-establishment of government

in the South great opportunities for the play of merciless politicians and soulless speculators. Men enriched over night in supplying arsenal stores and filling ammunition contracts reached out with money for places of power. Simon Cameron was Pennsylvania's chief and he laid the foundation of a political structure that was frescoed throughout with inscriptions that the spoils belonged to the victors and the most active of the victors must have the largest and best chair, irrespective of everything.

"The party, restive under the Simon Cameron rule, pressed the old Scotchman out, but he was adroit and powerful enough to put his rich son into the Senate as his successor. The same tactics of political management practiced by the father were continued by the son until Quay rose from the delinquent tax office in Philadelphia to State Treasury fame and then to step into the United States Senate.

THE RISE OF THE MACHINE.

"With this the rapid decline in real Republicanism began and Quayism spread like thistles over the State, to be the enemy of good government. The thistle is the foe of the farmer. Quayism is a system in Pennsylvania that is built on the patronage—National, State and County. Down to the smallest borough place up to the largest post office appointment, every man who gets a place must make obeisance to the boss. The Congressmen, State Senators and Representatives only get through the door to position by the Quay password.

"Each office holder becomes a servant of the machine. If he owns a newspaper it must support the machine and exclude even the news to keep back anything derogatory to the Quay tactics. The straits which a man in the service is driven to to corral his relations and his bank and his connections of every kind for the boss is ludicrous as well as sad.

"It is illustrated by the absence of many men from such town meetings as this, lest it will be reported to the Quay inquisitorial chamber, and put them on the rack and jeopardize their standing with the 'Old Man.'

“But this is not all. The most terrible of all the forms of ruination used to-day to control the Republican party, its offices and honors, and maintain the patent upon everything is the reckless and lavish use of money to carry elections. To provide the money has become one of the most wonderful of the arts. Every corporation of the State that has ever had legislation, or that ever hopes to have it, is laid under tribute.

“Proposed legislation that steps up to Harrisburg for proper authority is stopped at the threshold and put into the cold storage until a good portion of capital is provided for the Quay election bank. The State banks, formed in many instances to manipulate State deposits, play into the Quay election banks. All the banks that get deposits of the State money, get it only with a string that is pulled when elections are going on. Divide, divide, livide, is the cry to contractors, corporations, place seekers. With all the indefatigable financiering done by the Republican managers, the constant deficits occasion a nightmare that leads to schemes of investigating committees, commissions of various kinds created to take money from the Treasury, bills, guarantors of protective legislation and similar plots.

“I will give you a few examples. The Lexow bill for \$65,000. This Lexow bill concerns the whole State, though the expenses were incurred by a bogus investigation of Philadelphia affairs. But Senator Quay and his bosses propose to make the whole State pay for his attempt to frighten a few men in Philadelphia into making terms with him. William H. Andrews, late of Crawford county and the manager of William A. Stone’s campaign was chairman of that committee and prepared this expense bill. The committee only sat once in a while, and if all of its sessions were lumped they would not amount to over thirty full days of actual work. Yet their bill was \$65,908.96.

THE LEXOW BILL EXPENSES.

“And here are some of the items that you people are asked to pay: Expenses for witnesses, mileage and fees, \$28,071.06; stenographers, \$9,812.25; expert witnesses, \$4,951.16; bill at

Hotel Walton, \$5,912.40; clerk hire and detectives, \$5,162.09; attorneys' fees, \$12,000.

"The Committee held fifty-seven meetings at a cost of \$65,908.96, or \$1,156.28 per session. The committee was in session 137 hours at a cost of \$481.08 per hour. Just 436 witnesses were examined at a total cost of \$32,022.22, or at the rate of \$75.73 per witness. Compare this princely pay with the witness fees paid in Clearfield county.

"The expenses of the committee at the palatial Hotel Walton, in Philadelphia, because only the best hotel and accommodations will satisfy the bosses, for 57 sessions were \$5,912.40, or a cost of \$103.72 per meeting for hotel expenses alone, a rate of \$23 per day for each Senator present.

"The bill of the stenographer employed was \$9,812.25, or an average of \$172.14 per session. At this rate the committee paid \$71.62 per hour to its stenographer. Thousands of shorthand operators would be delighted to get that for a month's work what this Lexow committee paid for an hour's work. As there were 436 witnesses examined, the stenographer got or he will get, if Senator Quay can elect his man for Governor, \$22.50 for reporting the testimony of each witness. If you add the stenographer's charge of \$22.50 per witness to the average cost for mileage and fees for each witness, viz., \$75.73, you have the sum of \$98.23, which it cost the Lexow committee to summon and examine each witness. And you, the people of Clearfield county, are expected to pay this bill incurred by M. S. Quay and William H. Andrews, the political sponsor of William A. Stone.

"The counsel fees for the Lexow committee, the sum charged by the three lawyers employed by the committee, though there were at least two lawyers members of the committee, were \$210.53 per meeting."

HOW THE TREASURY IS LOOTED.

The devices resorted to to get the People's Money.

Enormous increase in State expenses, amounting to nearly \$2,000,000 in the past four years—Fat fees for favored Lawyers in Contested Election Cases.

The notorious Attempt to work the Insurance Companies.

The people of Phillipsburg, Centre County, packed the Opera House from pit to dome, to hear Mr. Wanamaker on the night of April 22d. His speech, which was a terrible arraignment of the machine methods of robbing the Treasury, is as follows:

“The ingenious schemes and devices employed by the political machine to take large sums of money from the State Treasury under the guise of regularity are something most amazing. Official figures show that the average increased cost of running the three departments of the State government each two years since 1894 is \$976,593.20, or about 43 per cent. more than the average cost for the six previous years. How much of this increase represents necessary or honest expenditure it is impossible to say, as the system of book-keeping is such that it would be practically impossible to separate the wheat from the chaff, even if we were accorded the privilege of examination, which in most cases we are not. The last Legislature appropriated \$68,500 for contingent expenses to the different State departments, which were not itemized and were voted for blindly.

“I am sure if it were possible to analyze the expenditure of this money that the results would furnish interesting reading. There are the political attaches who perform no actual duties, who are carried permanently on the pay roll under the protection of the law, such as engineers, on salaries of \$16.50 a week for two years. The Capitol buildings for two years have been heated by steam from a steam heating plant from the city. Though there are no engines to run nor fires to build,

these political mechanics hold down benches around "Capitol Hill" or go home to their respective counties to assist in primary elections.

THE CONTESTED ELECTION DODGE.

"The machine's latest use of the contested election law as a method of abstracting large sums from the State Treasury reached high-water mark at the last session of the Legislature. Northampton county demanded the magnificent sum of \$33,813.80 for expenses for two contests alone. In the Heller-Laubach case the committee's hotel bill was \$2,207.55. Their book-keeper wanted \$1,035. For the personal expenses of the contestants they asked \$12,042.75. Under the machine construction of the law an election contest may set up regardless of merits and furnish clerkships and places for the faithful without number. The contestants who have favor with the machine are certain to be seated without regard to right or wrong, and in addition to legal salary they are allowed large sums for personal expenses.

"The most remarkable feature of this machine practice is to give also to the party who is declared by the finding of the committee to have had no claim upon a seat a large sum for personal expenses. This is as yet a comparatively undeveloped field. It is a new Klondike that affords great opportunities for the machine. And a machine-owned Governor can so stimulate the work in this field that every close county in the State can have one or more contests. Think of the fat counsel fees for Quay attorneys, clerkships for Quay henchmen and big expense bills for Quay contestants. The elasticity of the law, under machine manipulation, is something great. The same legal machinery that is used to give seats to the faithful is employed to take seats away from the unfaithful where the same state of facts exist.

"R. Lincoln Roberts, an anti-Quay man, was elected a member of the last Legislature from Philadelphia. He was asked to support the machine candidate for United States Senator and refused. He was asked again and again but stood firm. When he reached Harrisburg he was waited on by a very pro-

minent politician and told that if he did not support the machine candidate he would lose his seat in the Legislature. He again boldly refused. The gentleman made good his threat. A contest was started and by high-handed methods Mr. Roberts, a Republican, and fairly elected, was obliged to vacate his seat in the Legislature for a Quay Democrat. To do this job a Quay committee attempted to get \$6,906.14 of the taxpayers' money.

"You have all heard so much of investigating committees in a general way. Let us go a little into detail and see some of the self-fixed values your representatives have placed upon themselves. I wish to make the sweeping statement that no investigating committee appointed at the last session of the Legislature accomplished any good and those that were not frauds and fakes were failures. Chief among the fakes was the committee to investigate the management of the State Treasury. It found nothing irregular, nothing to criticise, nothing to recommend. Their report had scarcely been adopted when the State Treasurer confessed that large sums of money had been advanced without authority of law. For the while this was used to cover up the mismanagement of this department the State was charged \$4,734.81. The few meetings the committee held were all in Harrisburg, and on days that the Legislature was in session.

"Fake No. 2 was to investigate rumors that certain State Senators, one of whom was Quay's chosen chief of the Senate, had demanded \$50,000 of a New York insurance company to kill an insurance bill. The star chamber meetings of this committee were most effective in handling a bad mess. So well was it handled that until this day the name of a Senator who was most intimately connected with the story has not appeared in any paper in Pennsylvania, though every member of the Legislature knew his name. He is now a candidate for Lieutenant Governor and claims to have the support of Senator Quay.

"The anthracite and bituminous investigating committee accomplished no good for the miners, but only demonstrated how much of your money a Quay committee would take if

it got a chance. The anthracite committee asked for \$11,987.43. The bituminous committee, chairmaned by Senator Taylor, asked for \$11,415.40. The chairman's charge for car fare to Pittsburg six times, if I am not mistaken, was something over \$1,700. He acknowledged afterwards that it was a fraudulent charge. Then there was the dairy and food investigating committee that had less evidence when it got through than when it commenced. They did succeed in allowing every witness in Pennsylvania who knew anything about the alleged investigations of that department to escape from the State before they were subpoenaed.

"One member of that committee is from your county and he can tell you many things I will not. I remember his mileage was \$594. The chairman of the committee, Representative Hoosac, of Pittsburg, one of the seventy-six, refused to make any charge for car fare, but for all the Quay members made the bill \$7,712.84. The report of the Penitentiary investigating committee was so thoroughly outrageous that it was repudiated by the Legislature. They asked for \$14,893.14. It was reduced by the anti-Quay men in the House and the Governor to \$4,172.49, a cut of \$10,720.66.

"There are differences among the American people, but underneath all the things that separate us there lies the bed rock of patriotism. It is on this we stand together to-night. In your mills you are squaring logs for the building of homes and structures of business, and at the same time, in your public spirit you have squared up fine timber in the form of sturdy men to build a political party to direct the government of the State and nation. Our first architects were Abraham Lincoln, U. S. Grant, James A. Garfield and James G. Blaine. The building of the Republican party was well on its way, but accidents occurred and the old plans were lost. Architects Cameron, Quay and Andrews have made a sorry mess of it, and the question up and down the State is whether it is best to take the toppling building down or underpin it and rebuild it. That it cannot stand as it is is the generally accepted verdict. The new architects do not want anything **said about it lest the people are alarmed.**

QUAY GOLD BRICKS.

“The mischief seems to have arisen from Quay gold bricks, Andrews quicksand and legislative lime. There are bad leaks from the Treasury, and the office holders, never more devoted to their chief, stand by impotent and useless in stopping the outflow of taxpayers’ money. The alarmed people, seeing another Johnstown flood coming, are aroused. Taxpayers, quite willing to be taxed for all just purposes, are gathering to erect a dam to stop the waste of their hard earnings. This meeting is in that interest. We are Republicans, who believe that our temple of liberty can yet be saved if prompt measures can be taken.

“The first need is to change Architect Quay. He has been tried for twenty years, and his work grows worse and worse. Recently he openly, as individual and by conspiracy of his under-appointees—Davenport, of Erie, and Young, of Philadelphia, headed by Division Boss W. A. Stone, of Allegheny—made public battle against the chief architect, Wm. McKinley, the President of the works, Master Builder W. H. Andrews, once of Crawford, and now of Allegheny, while building a Governor for the Capitol, is too expensive, except for the Lexow trade.

“We are now taking steps to secure a new architect for the State. The business of preparation is the weeding of our gardens, and that must begin at the front gate. Then we need to weed straight along to the back fence. Each man must take a hand. The next lot to be weeded is primary corner. In this we must plow with delegates that must be carefully selected. If the plows have the Quay stamp they will be no good. The large part of the work and almost all the round up, though not absolutely certain to be so, is on convention hill. A stiff wind blows there, and it is not always easy for one to keep his feet. Tangled weed and gooseberry bushes are thick and make it hard to get on.

“The principal weeds are post office wild parsnips. Some know how to turn these into money; others drop the corn all around for months previous to election. Bushes, also tall weeds with beans, sometimes called Harrisburg rounders.

These beans are mostly poisonous. They make men stagger who never reeled from rectitude before. Even the smell of these beans sometimes leads a man to forswear his manhood and stand him up against his old and best friend. Perhaps an illustration will serve.

A POINTED ILLUSTRATION.

“Two old New England college mates kept up their old chum life, though living a distance apart, by an annual visit. They were extremely fond of fishing, and, denied of each other’s company, one of them, after a fine day’s sport, resolved to take to his old friend in the city a fine salmon he had caught. His wife wrapped it carefully in a white cloth and put it in a basket, and the old deacon got up into his wagon for an all day’s drive to his friend’s home, where he was to stay all night. At midday he stopped at a country tavern by the roadside for his midday meal, and while talking told his old and well-known friends of his errand to town.

“One of them, to have a joke, while he was eating, took the old man’s basket, removed the salmon and put in its place a mackerel. In the evening, after dinner in town with his friend, chatting and smoking in the library, the old deacon sent for his basket, took out the bundle, unrolled the cloth, and, to his astonishment and disgust, found the salt mackerel. Greatly disappointed by what he could not explain, his visit was spoiled and next morning he began his journey home. He stopped again for dinner at the tavern, where he told the story of his wife’s mistake in doing up the fish, whereupon the landlord slipped away, removed the mackerel and replaced it with the salmon. The old deacon went home and told his wife his story. She was thunderstruck, could not believe it, sought the basket, unrolled the package, and the salmon was there just as she had first placed it. The old deacon looked on and finally gave way in language about like this: ‘Well, you are a splendid fat salmon when you are at home, but when you go to Boston you are the meanest old blasted mackerel I ever saw.’

“This is the exact effect produced by the hill bushes—the Senate and House bills. Other weeds are the low snake grass,

also undergrowth; Saylor snap weed, birdbook creeper, bank sucker and children's nettles. The last two species of weeds were very harmful last year in this State and have been so for many years. The bank species easily twist about people's legs and trip them up. They thrive on taxpayers' deposits, and are found at almost all points throughout the State. They have almost destroyed the peace and comfort of the whole Commonwealth. Two men have been recently killed and large numbers wounded, some beyond recovery."

HOW QUAY FOUGHT McKINLEY.

Was a Member of the Senatorial Combination at Washington to defeat President McKinley's wishes—The meetings in Quay's room.

His double dealing and telegraph messages—The sale of Post Offices—Places sold like farm produce.

When Ex-Postmaster General Wanamaker carried his campaign for honest government into West Chester, the county seat of Chester County, on the night of April 28th he found a packed and enthusiastic audience awaiting him. He said:

"The chief object my friends had in inviting me to speak to you this evening was to discuss with you subjects connected with the State government of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania has fallen from her old-time greatness. The story is a long one—forty years long. It is the work of a triumvirate, father, son and pupil. The conspirators entail their hard conditions upon the State, and these conditions grow heavier and threaten to overpower the people for the sake of politicians and corporations.

"Outright fraud in elections, open bribery of legislators, outrageous transactions with taxpayers' money on pay-rolls, overcharges by public servants and contractors are not only common scandal, but uncommon loss to our badly-governed **and overtaxed people.**

“The recent revelations to the public of vast sums of the public money exposed to loss in the Chestnut Street Bank after common warning and the tragedy that drew aside the curtains of the People’s Bank, supposed to contain over half a million dollars of tax paid money, until the curtains were quickly drawn back again by its president, who pitifully pays for the silence held to be a part of the programme of Pennsylvania politicians, are not new to you.

“In November, 1861, when the war was hardly under way and gross frauds were unearthed in the War Department, Senator Grimes wrote to Senator Fessenden:

“‘We are going to destruction as fast as imbecility, corruption and the wheels of time can carry us.’ Charges were made against the Secretary of War (then Senator Cameron) and he was relegated to Russia. Whether he profited personally by the stealings is unknown to me. Certainly Lincoln did not think so, but of this I know and speak deliberately without malice or prejudice, that since 1861 the wheels of Pennsylvania’s government have rolled backward, and the Camerons and Quays have been responsible therefor. Whether done by them in person or through Andrews and other well-paid servants, they are equally responsible.

“How they have benefited personally is no secret to not a few who know the workings of the State Treasury, through the uncovering of the People’s Bank methods and practices. It is hard to determine where to begin and harder still to know where to stop in the long, pitiful story of the State’s disgrace and losses through the boss system now engrafted almost permanently upon our great State.

SAMPLES OF QUAY’S PATRIOTISM.

“Senator Quay’s patriotism is of the kind that does not reach above self. Everything in Pennsylvania is subject to his political rule, and during the present crisis from first to last he has preyed like a vulture on the patriotism of the people and of his party for his own political and private ends. In this hour, when the young men of our State and land are marching for humanity and freedom it should be known over the length and breadth of this State that Senator Quay

has not scrupled to play the traitor to patriotism. I charge, on what is the best testimony that can be obtainable, that Senator Quay was a member of a Senatorial combine to defeat the wishes of President McKinley; that the meetings of this combine to assist the Democrats and Populists were for the most part held in Senator Quay's room in the Capitol; that all the time he was in league with this combination he was protesting to his friends and those whom he wished to deceive that he was not in sympathy with the movement and wanted it beaten, but that the sentiment of Pennsylvania demanded that he oppose the President. Moreover, as still further showing his deception and political trickery, he was at the same time, while making these protestations, sending telegrams to his ward heelers and political workers in Philadelphia urging them to telegraph their Congressmen to support him—Quay—in his warfare against the President.

“Can you conceive of a more shameful or perfidious piece of treachery to the people of this State and to the President of the United States in this hour of peril? But there is one other charge antedating this one which amounts almost to treason. I give the facts as they were publicly reported at the time of their occurrence. You all know with what speed and haste the government was compelled to purchase guns and hurry along plans for strengthening our navy and coast defenses.

“I charge, and my authority is a leading and reputable newspaper, that Senator Quay was prepared to, and did do, all that lay in his power to delay the passage of the naval appropriation bill; holding back legislative action designed to strengthen this country against the assaults of foreign foes. And for what purpose? That he might revenge himself on the Senate and the House of Representatives for their failure to pay the price demanded for armor plate by some of the great corporations of Pennsylvania, the head of one of which to-day is a resident, as he is also a native born, of a land beyond the seas; for the sake of a great corporation which it is alleged is a liberal contributor to Senator Quay he was prepared to damage American interests for revenge.

THE OPEN SALE OF POST OFFICES.

“To what depth of political infamy has the Quay control of Pennsylvania reached when post offices are practically put up at a form of auction and knocked down to the political heeler who can pay the largest sum for the privilege of becoming postmaster, and who at the same time is capable of carrying the most votes for Quay. It is a notorious fact that at least in two Congressional districts it is boldly asserted and easily proven that post offices are offered for sale and have been sold. And these offices are in districts whose members of Congress are Quay’s warmest supporters, and they look to him to secure the offices for the men to whom they are sold. Listen to this:

“April 23, 1898.

“Dear Sir: I have filed my application with the Postmaster General for the post office at T——, but it is said that our Congressman is holding it for \$3,000. Now, I do not think it right to buy the office, and have not the money to do so, and write, asking for your aid in the matter. Can you give me any or suggest any course that will help me in securing it? If you can I will be greatly obliged. Yours, etc.’

“What do you think of this, my friends, for political infamy? Of what value is your opinion, or your indorsement, in the selection of a postmaster? The post offices of Pennsylvania are sold like farm produce.

“Emperors and despots read their doom in the advancement of intelligence the world over. No man was born to be a slave. The dynasties of Europe, that have endured for centuries, totter on their foundations, and the time is not distant when titled aristocracy will cease to usurp the rights of honest people.

“Pennsylvania has been ruled for forty years by political despots, avaricious, cruel and corrupt. The chains of political servitude have been welded tighter and tighter until every limb and muscle has felt the steeled imprisonment. Yet many political monarchs and monarchies, that for a time have flourished, have been overthrown when met by their deadliest foes—education and enlightenment—and the time

is not far distant when no Quay nor Andrews will dare to lift a murderous hand to strike down the political liberties and material interests of the Republicans of Pennsylvania. The swords of corporations, misused public funds and political patronage are not to forever menace Pennsylvania's greatness.

"We will not be discouraged if we have many Bull Runs. There is sure to be an Appomattox. The militia of April will become the regulars of November. The deeper I get into the secrets, and the more I learn of the methods of this consolidated manhood-destroying and character-attacking political crowd in Pennsylvania, the more I appreciate why men hesitate to stand up straight and fight. It takes courage to face the Spanish bullet, but for some men it takes greater courage to face the reputation-destroying, character-smirching, good-name-assassinating bullets of the machine batteries. To-day we see the machine doubling and redoubling its efforts and its money to turn back the rising tide of condemnation, and when we see their citadels of strength being shaken we know that the day of emancipation is near at hand.

"History has shown that political bosses have appeared strongest when they were nearest their end. Boss Tweed was thought to be unconquerable six months before his power was broken, and while he was in the very shadow of the penitentiary, and Boss John Y. McKane never lost an election while he had his liberty. He defied the warnings of an outraged people and scoffed at threatened justice until a few days before he put on the prison stripes.

"Do not think because the machine can, by its manipulated primaries, elect State delegates, that it is invulnerable. History will repeat itself in Pennsylvania; the searchlight of truth turned on without fear or favor will be the destroying mine. I have discussed many important parts of the Quay machine, but much remains to be given.

"I have shown that part No. 1 of the system is the State Treasury, the great central storehouse from which is disseminated wholesale corruption. I have spoken of part No. 2 of the political system as the place-controlling and office-

promising branch, which commands a premium for the place and compels official rottenness and slavery to satisfy the avarice and greed of the bosses. I have analyzed part No. 3 of that political system as a great combination to suppress legitimate legislative news and distort actual facts relating to government. Part No. 4 is the combined influence of the great corporations always on the side of the bosses. Part No. 5 is the both lavish and almost reckless use of vast sums of corruption money. Part No. 6 is the official legislation to protect favored politicians organized in speculations enabling them to commit crimes without fear of punishment.

THE MACHINE AS A CHARACTER WRECKER.

“It is a fact, though a Pennsylvanian should blush to say it, that any person who may try to protect the honor and guard the interests of his State by opposing the Quay machine, takes his business interests, his reputation and almost his life in his own hands. No sooner does a man show independence and refuse to indorse the misdeeds of the political machine than he is taken in hand to be disciplined. If he is the employee of a corporation he is threatened with discharge; if he is a merchant, he is boycotted; if he is a clerk, the head of the firm is notified that he must be suppressed; if he is interested in a corporation, the company’s interests are threatened; if he is a director or stockholder in a bank, large customers are found to threaten the withdrawal of their business; if he is a physician, good patrons object; if he is a lawyer, his clients are given orders and threaten to leave him; if he is a preacher, members of his congregation protest; if a man daring to be independent of political dictation is in debt, he is threatened by those who hold his obligations. This is not the result of accident, but of method.

“It is the result of a carefully planned and manipulated system that extends into every county in the State, and reaches all classes of business. It is every day and every year working machinery, manned by a host of political retainers, who report to the central office the first symptoms of machine insubordination, and who are expected to advise ways and means of applying the silencing and crushing pres-

sure. But there is a class of men beyond the these influences that the machine must reach. They are men who have to their credit long years of honorable professional and business records; men who are leaders in their respective communities; men whose very names are synonymous for integrity and character; men whom ordinary consideration will not move. These men are a constant menace to the existence of the machine, and methods must be found to keep them from taking an active interest in politics.

“To influence these men is set in motion the character torpedo, the reputation smirching and the good-name destroying machine. It is worked by the hands of a gang of place-holders and place-seekers who risk nothing by trying to rob honest men of characters. It is a warning of what all who protest must encounter. The blackmailer begins to operate. That most contemptible of human beings—the anonymous letter writer—starts his miserable work. The scandal peddler, a moral outcast, labors systematically to poison society with inuendo, insinuation and base lies. Detective agencies, composed of low tools and thugs, are hired at great expense to dog the footsteps of those who dare work against the machine. They are paid to fabricate stories, invent false accusations, and furnish false evidence against anyone whom the machine may wish to destroy. Any man who causes trouble is sure to feel their vengeance. Those connected in any way with the persons of their special hatred are not safe. The youth or the aged are not spared. They do not care for the gray haired mother or innocent children, and this is why men dare not fight. Any man who enters the arena of Pennsylvania politics to-day against the machine will not escape it. Thus do they arrogate to themselves the sole right to your offices and assault you if you venture toward your own door.

“It is one of the most powerful adjuncts to the great Republican political machine in Pennsylvania to-day. Men of Chester are you satisfied? Are you willing to surrender without a struggle your right to have ambitions? Are you willing to give consent that your sons shall be debarred from public office or public life unless they sacrifice their integrity and

their honor upon the altar of political slavery and corruption? Is it not time that you join with us in driving away these flocks of machine-paid vultures, who peck and caw at the reputations of honest men to try and make the world believe that they have found food filthy enough for their depraved palates."

FACTS FOR BUSINESS MEN.

Enormous Increase of Expenses. Over \$1,000,000 added to the running Expenses of the State in 1895, '96 and '97—Figures that are a matter of record—While Business was at its worst the Expenses were the highest—Some Facts for Business Men.

"Facts for Business Men" might have served for Mr. Wanamaker's text at a mighty outpouring of the people of York on May 2d. It was an appeal to the common business sense of the people. This is what he said:

"I will not speak to you to-night of the inequalities of taxation that you are forced to endure, but will have something to say later on the subject of the laws that have been enacted under the guidance of the Quay machine to relieve corporations from paying their just share and placing the burden upon the people. I will therefore pass for to-night the questions of tax assessments and collections and take up what to me as a business man is far more important—the matter of State expenditures. State expenditures can be divided into two classes, viz., actual and honest. Actual expenditures may include excessive and illegal bills, dishonest charges, useless outlays, actually paid, however, under authority of law.

"Honest expenditures represent the prompt payment of necessary bills at 100 cents on the dollar, and no more. It is the actual but not the honest expenses of running our State government that have depleted the State Treasury, in-

creased taxes, deprived hospitals and worthy charities of needed assistance and brought us face to face with rapidly increasing debt.

“Following the advent of the last Cleveland administration the pulse of business began to slacken, the wheels of Pennsylvania’s industries slowed up, the volume of trade lessened until a business and industrial panic was upon us. Retrenchment and curtailment of expenses were necessary in every branch of business. Capital and labor met upon middle grounds and agreed upon reduced prices and wages in order that the fires in many a mill and factory could be kept alive. It was not so much a question of earning as it was a matter of saving. Self-denial and most rigid economy floated many a great business concern in Pennsylvania safely over the shoals of Democratic business depression and industrial paralysis. Railroads were obliged to reduce expenses, merchants to lessen the force of employes and manufacturers to cut wages.

“The State’s income based upon the volume of business and the value of property, fell off rapidly. The demands of charity increased, thousands of unemployed became dependent upon the State for their daily bread, hospitals were taxed beyond their healthful capacity, and almshouses were filled to overflowing. It was a time when forced economy in the administration of the Commonwealth’s affairs and the expenditures of the State’s money would be little less than true patriotism. Senator Quay and his lieutenants, who controlled the State government machinery, and who could increase or lessen expenses, knew full well of the crying needs of charity; they knew that the unfortunate were suffering and great numbers of insane were lying on floors and in stone corridors of the hospitals throughout the State. They knew that every dollar of increased expenses meant more burden upon the half-paid wage-earner and the unemployed; they knew that every dollar of increased expenses must take just that much from the dire needs of the victims of accident and disease.

SOME STARTLING FIGURES.

“It was a question between charity and political enrich-

ment; between food and shelter for the hungry and homeless, and new berths and fat salaries for political henchmen, and politics won. It was only one of the great victories that have demonstrated Senator Quay's mastery over this Commonwealth. But the figures speak for themselves. The cost of running the executive, legislative and judiciary departments of the State for the six years from 1889 to 1894 inclusive was, during these years of business prosperity, as follows:

1889-1890	\$2,240,027 70
1891-1892	2,323,610 70
1893-1894	2,282,218 16
	<hr/>
	\$6,845,856 56

"An average cost of \$2,281,952.18 each two years.

"The cost of running the executive, legislative and judicial departments of the State for the four years from 1895 to 1898 inclusive, under the most severe business depression, was as follows:

1895-1896	\$3,306,287 54
1897-1898	3,210,803 23
	<hr/>
	\$6,517,090 77

"An average cost of \$3,258,545.38 each two years, showing an average increase of expenditures each two years during the hard times of \$976,593.20, or about 43 per cent. To this enormous increase should be added \$86,500 of items vetoed by the Governor in the general appropriation bill, another of \$67,500 that was cut from legislative investigating committees, through the efforts of the anti-Quay men in the House, and vetoes of the Governor, and the \$65,908.96 Lexow bill that was defeated by the "Seventy-six."

"Taxpayers, how much longer will you permit yourselves to be robbed? Even if you enjoy political slavery, dare you allow the State to be conducted longer by such business

methods? You are wondering why I, a Republican, dare make use of such figures. They say I am furnishing ammunition for the Democratic party. They were never more mistaken in their lives. This is not ammunition furnished by Wanamaker, but ammunition manufactured and furnished by Quay and his followers. It has all been made, it is a matter of record, it cannot be destroyed. You must either say it is right or repudiate those who are responsible for it. You are now being asked to take for four years the same set of officers who are schooled in every branch of the business. If you want more of such ammunition you will get it by electing the Quay-Andrews slated candidates.

"I speak to you as one man may speak to another man, not making to you an ordinary political speech, but making simply a patriotic statement. I have no set speeches, as you see, but the words I speak come fresh from an inborn purpose to be helpful in these days to relieve Pennsylvania from the deep degradation to which she has fallen in the administration of public affairs, State and National.

"The stand I take is on the old principles with which the Republican party was founded, and I take my stand against the practices by which the Republican party is being founded. I do not ask you to take my ladder to step up to your politics. Let the speaker be forgotten in this hour, and permit the personality of all men as individuals to pass out of sight, while we look to-night at the exact facts that form the administration of our State government. Guesswork, prejudices and partisanship have no place in completing the inventory. We owe it to ourselves and our country to make it right.

"Even party loyalty must be served by uncovering the lid of a seemingly bottomless pit of barter and sale of National and State patronage and legislative functions. York county deserves to be forever Democratic if we make no effort to show the Republican party worthy of confidence. Past platforms have been as hollow as a drum, and equally noisy.

"The great white Republican party in Pennsylvania is today as empty as the great white twisted, once great, but now useless 'Maine' cruiser in the Cuban waters.

“Let us look at the wreck. Shift over it the calcium white light of truth. The officials who are on board of this Pennsylvania of ours come to us through padded conventions, made up in part from the padded pay rolls of officeholders. You and I and the taxpayers and the State Treasury are coerced and controlled by the salary paid servants of the State. Your own money sometimes, not once earned but twice paid, goes into their hands to buy their time to set up primaries and committees and conventions to do exactly opposite to what you want done and what the people sometimes take pains to declare to be their will. Long since we have found we cannot shame a crowd, neither can we prosecute it.

“Sydney Smith once said that a committee had neither a soul to be saved nor a body to be kicked. Two United States Senators and a score or more of Congressmen with a State administration in and around the State House at Harrisburg of their choosing; of the bosses and the Legislature the whole of Pennsylvania’s population and makes our fair State the object of ridicule the wide world over among all men except politicians who spell Pennsylvania with three P’s. It is—Pennsylvania, Politicians, Paradise.

THE POLITICAL SPECULATORS.

“Whatever business is bad in Pennsylvania one business is owned by the bosses, constitute a giant that utterly defies good. It is speculation. Politicians make an open door to the Treasury vaults by constructing a State bank, and through this political portico passes an endless procession from the first to the last of the year, helping themselves in various ways by loans often unsecured, by joint account speculations, by sons, cousins, committee clerks, combinations, by overdrafts, by notes unpaid held over and forty other ways, speculating in stocks and land, buying into corporations, forming guarantors’ companies, pledging offices as collateral, and on goes the traffic in honor and place and power and sugar, while the unemployed whose taxes are shoveled out, stand idly by—dazed and cowed by the very audacity of it all.

“And there is another crowd looking on. That’s the cashier. What’s that he is saying over the telephone? Watch him as he goes out that last day and up the steps at home into the bureau drawer for a pistol to sit down for the last moment alive in his own home. Look at him kindly and look away at whoever holds the hand in the lion’s mouth. Stop yet a little longer. Who are all these in that crowd. The little children are farmers’ sons and daughters, wage workers’ little ones, who are without school books. The older people in the crowd are the teachers, begging for long unpaid salaries withheld by the speculating politicians, whose fingers grip the check books of the State Treasurer, who could not draw the money out if he would and disburse it aright.

“But the rest of the crowd? Oh, they, according to the politician’s creed, are not worth noticing. They are the poor-house crowd, the paupers, the lame, blind and palsied, the army of demented from all over the State—wild-eyed, sick, suffering, waiting for some man of Galilee to come along and heal them, for man has rejected them and crucified them. Throw back the light and let it shine upon last winter’s legislative sessions at Harrisburg.

“See that United States Senator a day and a night frantically on deck in the Speaker’s room working for the passage of the Guarantors’ crash-saver protection bill. Look at that Lexow lunge at the poor, old, sick Pennsylvania Treasury. Look at the army of the brewers massed against the schools to help the Senators to keep their pledges to them for their payment of campaign expenses. Tramp, tramp, the boys are marching! Senators, House of Representatives, committee clerks, office holders of every rank crying ‘Give, give!’

“Put down pure butter and put up oleo. Never mind the miners. Pay our committee that did not investigate and that did travel on mileage and passes—pay us \$11,000, or if that is too great a robbery we will take \$7,000 or \$4,000, one committee after another says. Pay us so that we can double our legal salaries.”

THE LAND LIEN TAX BILL.

How the Machine Bosses forced it through the Legislature—Used to defeat some men and to elect others—Revenue Bills that were aimed at the Widows and Orphans.

After a day spent on Gettysburg battle-field Mr. Wanamaker spoke to an immense audience in Hanover, on the night of May 3d. Inspired by his trip to Gettysburg his introductory remarks were strikingly eloquent. Dealing with State issues, however, he said:

“I feel as if I had been in the greater Westminster Abbey to-day. To spend a day on the Gettysburg battle-field is to waken every patriotic impulse of the human heart. My soul seems in a dream of the days of conflict and victory. The procession of our crowned heroes passes before me. Foremost, Abraham Lincoln, looming up grand and luminous.

“Time and again to-day I stood alone and heard him speak the words that, like a picture with eyes that look straight at you wherever you stand, follow and fit the American people to-day in the circumstances of our new war. Said Mr. Lincoln: ‘My hope of success in this great and terrible struggle rests on the immutable foundation, the justness and goodness of God.’ And when events are very threatening and prospects very dark I still hope in some way which man cannot see all will be well in the end because our cause is just and God is on our side.

“The great principles for which our fathers and brothers fought and went to sleep in martyrs’ graves have been lost in the fog of plunder-seekers. True Republicanism is lifeless and dead and trampled to death by unholy feet that caress dishonor to themselves, the State and the old and once great party, all unconscious while they filch to fill their own greedy appetites of gain.

“Our visit to you to-day is to call out the reserves because of imminent peril upon us—not from Spain, but from our own lethargy and mechanical don’t-careism. It causes us to

be participators in the piratical plots to ravage our land. To be idle and indifferent when the Johnstown flood is sweeping down the hills upon us is to become criminally responsible for the devastation. Since before the civil war Pennsylvania has not gone one step forward socially. From the date of disbanding armies, which marks the decided entree of enriched corporators and corporations into politics in our State, Pennsylvania good and upright government has surely gone backward.

“Whatever the blessings of the war, the train of evils is let loose in a new order of suddenly enriched men. And the dulled conscience incident to strife and carnage set the key of life to a lower pitch. If the leaders of Pennsylvania politics had started out from the day of the elder Cameron with the intention of pulling Pennsylvania in the background, its official life down to the lowest level and its legislative procedure to the worst form ever known in America, they could not have succeeded better than they have done.

TAX-PAYERS PAY THE BILLS.

“We laugh to scorn the stories of witches and withcraft, but those days have surely come back to Pennsylvania. I do not believe that with all the shrewdness of the far-seeing Philistines that have come in upon us, that any or either of them ever saw to what length their miscalculations would carry them and us, and all must in some way or other, directly or by deceit, pay the costs of mismanaged State government election expenses that never come out of the politicians’ pockets.

“If armor-plate and ships and contracts and railroad and other corporations pay up to campaign foragers out of their profits they must recover from the people on higher bids for all they supply. If the State has to pay more in their bills paid from the Treasury, there is less left for the schools and charities and good roads and improvements throughout the Commonwealth. Always must the taxpayers foot the bills in the last analysis. If the sensible people of this State would stop for one single hour and see the facts of the deception practiced upon them by the boss leaders operating the Quay-

Andrews machine, facts that are unalterable by assault or side issues, facts that are completely supported by the records, they would organize a rebellion that would send the scoundrels from the office quicker than they sent Lee from Gettysburg.

“Last night at the close of the York meeting a gentleman took my hand and said: ‘I was a member of the Legislature and know all about what you told; you have not told half of it, and it is all so bad that the people are so lost in astonishment that they will never believe the half.’”

THE BOLD QUAY MACHINE.

“The boldness with which the Quay machine commits all manner of unlawful and tax-increasing acts against the people of Pennsylvania is only surpassed by the impudent assumption that the rank and file of the Republican party are so stupid and besotted that they can be made to believe anything. They insult the people’s intelligence by the use of the most apparent duplicity and deception as campaign weapons, and think the people too dumb to discover it.

“A brazen attempt of this kind was brought to my notice in Chester county last week. The machine there is attempting to defeat certain men for the Legislature who stood with the ‘Seventy-six’ during the last session in opposition to all the vicious Quay legislation. The legislative records made by these men will be searched in vain for a good excuse why every voter in Chester county who is free and unmachine-owned, and who believes that the people and not the politicians alone should have something to say about the management of State affairs, should not give them hearty support. They are unable to give one honest excuse for opposing those who stood unflinchingly for the State and party’s welfare. But they seek to raise a dishonest issue growing out of a measure that was drafted by a Quay man, introduced by a Quay member, reported favorably by a Quay Legislature bill was passed without discussion under the assurance and belief that it was local in application and affected only the under a treacherous mask prepared by a Quay man. The district represented by its authors. I refer to the bill known

as the land lien tax bill. Thirty-four years ago this law was enacted by the State Legislature which allowed liens to be entered against unpatented lands for purchase money, interest and fees due the Commonwealth.

THE LAND LIEN TAX BILL.

“The injustice of the measure prevented its enforcement for more than one-third of a century, and it was a dead letter until restored to life by the last Quay Legislature. Lands have been sold and resold, and the question of this land lien tax was never raised. Supposedly good titles were given with no knowledge on the part of anyone that such laws ever existed. So firm was the belief among those possessing knowledge of it that the law would never become operative that no one thought it necessary to go to the trouble of having it repealed. Only the peculiar conditions that surrounded the Legislature of '97 could ever have been responsible for the revival of such a long forgotten and unmeritorious law. The last Legislature had but two objects, viz., to create new places for machine politicians and to protect corporations and brewers from paying their just share of the revenue necessary to run the State.

“Every conceivable proposition to protect the rich and strong and place the burden upon the poor and weak was considered. First the ukase of Czar Quay made it certain that corporations and brewers must not be touched.

“It was a peculiar condition that confronted men who wished to do only what was right. They realized that beer, the most legitimate subject of taxation, could not be taxed, and that corporations would be protected at all hazards. The demands of charity were so urgent that money must be provided to alleviate actual want and suffering. It was not a question of doing what they thought was right, but of doing what they believed to be best, and some of the very best and truest men in the last Legislature were forced to vote for unjust revenue measures, believing that the needs of charity should have preference over all things.

BREWERS WERE FAVORED.

“All revenue legislation must originate in the ways and means committee of the House. This committee was ap-

pointed with special care that it should be controlled by long distance 'phone from Washington. It was impossible to originate any revenue bill that did not have the approval of the machine, and the anti-Quay men had no alternative but to choose from among the machine-produced revenue bills, not one of which was fair.

"To show how determined the machine men were that the brewers should not be taxed they attempted to take \$1,000,000 from the public schools to pay the brewers' share. They were willing to tax oleomargarine, though they well knew that such a tax meant the total destruction of the pure butter interests of the State. They assaulted the great commercial (not corporations) interests of Pennsylvania by the imposition of a mercantile tax that would have forced many large enterprises to leave the State. They did not hesitate to divide dead men's estates and wring from the widow and orphan a part of all that stands between them and actual want. Bicycles were to be taxed and the wagon of the farmer was to be made to help pay the brewers' portion.

"The farmer, whose business compels him to act more individually than any other set of men, and who is less likely to organize for determined opposition than other classes, seems to have been the special target for the politicians' discriminating arrows. It was when hard pressed to find something to tax, and to have that something belong to those who could the least effectually resent it, that they devised the land lien tax bill, and then tried to compel the farmer, who by dint of economy and toil had saved enough to buy a little farm, to pay thousands of dollars that he is in no wise morally liable for, but which are the just dues of corporations and brewers.

RAILROADED BY POLITICIANS.

"The land lien tax bill was railroaded through without being explained or understood, except by the little coterie of politicians who were back of it. The champions of the measure were careful that there should be no discussion on the bill, but they quietly sent their agents about the House saying it was only a local measure that would affect but Erie

county, the district represented by its author. But the bill had a two-fold purpose, as did nearly all the revenue measures conceived by the machine. The one chief characteristic of all revenue legislation considered by the last Legislature was that after revenue was provided from any source a provision was always made to distribute a large portion of it among the politicians.

“The mercantile tax bill, for instance, created seventy-six high-salaried collectorships for Quay men with unlimited latitude for expenditures. So with the machine land lien tax bill. After unjustly wringing large sums from the farmer the bill provided that the politicians could first help themselves to any portion of it that the machine might want, as is shown by the sixth section of the bill, which is as follows: ‘That from the moneys so collected there shall be deducted such amounts for actual expenses incurred, and services rendered in the enforcement of the act, as may be approved by the Auditor General, State Treasurer and Secretary of Interior Affairs.’ It would be very easy, under the same questionable construction of this clause of the bill that the Auditor General and State Treasurer give to indemnity bonds and padded pay rolls, to appropriate every dollar of the money raised from this source for the use of political henchmen before it reaches the State Treasury. But the amazing thing to me is the audacity of these men, who unblushingly make the only issue against honest men their vote for a bill that they were tricked by Quay agents into supporting, and a bill so drawn as to furnish places and ammunition for the machine.

“It was a carefully planned attack upon an unfeared class to produce revenue and places for the machine, and at the same time to protect the favored interests. The storm of opposition that has met the attempted collection of these taxes has temporarily halted their enforced collection. It may be these claims will not be pressed again until a machine-made Governor and a machine-owned Legislature is elected, when there will no longer be any necessity for the machine heeding the protests of the people. But I wish to state to the farmers of York county, and I wish to state it

in most unequivocal terms, that if an anti-Quay Legislature and an unmachine-owned Governor is elected the land lien tax law will be repealed—and more, it will be repealed in such a manner that no set of scheming politicians in the future can ever revive it to place a burden upon your children. Think of the Quay machine trying to cajole the farmer into helping elect another Quay Legislature. In Lancaster county it was a clearly-defined issue, the four men who voted for the bill were elected by the Quay people, while the only anti-Quay man from the county who voted against it they defeated. Thus they originate a vicious bill, they pass it under cover, they elect Quay men upon the issue in one county, and try to defeat on the same issue anti-Quay men who were deceived into voting for it, in another county.

“In the light of their past history this is not strange, but to attempt to dupe and impose upon the intelligence of the farmers whom they have wronged is an affront and an insult to their intelligence. They drive men through the flames and then taunt them for their sufferings. They rob people of their money and ask those same people for license to rob them again.”

RAILROAD PASSES AND POLITICIANS.

How the great Corporations of Pennsylvania control the Votes of the Legislators—Free Passes handed out by the hundreds—Express, Telegraph and Telephone Lines give their services free to Politicians and Office Holders—An Exposure of a Great Evil that is destroying men.

The immense power of corporation influence and the free railroad pass evil were exposed in the most complete and startling manner by Mr. Wanamaker at Huntingdon on the night of May 3d. The speech produced a profound sensation among the hundreds present. He said:

“We have come to a crisis in our history. We are blockaded by a tribe of officeholders who persist in claiming more than

their own. They usurp our offices, burn the tax-payers' money in warming themselves and their cohorts, ravage the Treasury fields to find forage to subsist the invading forces, shoot down without mercy everything that stands in their way and tramp upon the rights of unprotected women, from whom they wrest unjust taxes, and little children from whom they sneak an education.

"Courts of law with Judges, some of whom can only have their places by the grace of the Quay-Andrews cabal, hold court to try burglars and bullies, but not a finger is laid on those who commit misdemeanor in legislative and administrative office. The starving man who picks a lock is severely punished. The slick aristocrat of politics picks the lock of the Treasury through appropriation bills and contracts and numberless methods, using taxpayers' money deposited where he orders and held subject to his order, and the solemn courts of Pennsylvania sleep with their eyes open.

"Most honorable men of highest repute are upon the bench in Pennsylvania, and I can only emphasize the mystery of twenty years and more of the practice of law in Pennsylvania that punishes a common thief and winks at an uncommon one in a law-maker, whether he is the dictator in or out of a corporation.

"Time runs away so fast that I must content myself tonight by discussing one phase only of the sore side of our sick and fast dying subject, the Republican party, unless the people, who have the leaves of healing, will hasten to the rescue.

"Laws are formed upon principles of justice. Empires fall and crumble when the people become educated to hold the law in contempt. When law becomes a sealed book that can only be unclasped by the imperial will of one man the friends of popular government may well become alarmed. When law becomes so dear that it must be bought by sacrifice of integrity and manhood, and when its double blades are craft and oppression, the very foundation of free government is undermined. A fundamental maxim of a free State is that laws shall be made by one set of men and administered by another.

PENNSYLVANIA LAWS MADE BY ONE MAN.

“In Pennsylvania the laws are made by one man and largely administered by the will of the same individual. Long continued abuse of official office and power in the State has dulled the moral sense of the people. The very classes whose interests are most affected have become so thoroughly chloroformed by the continued prostitution of the law-making and administering branches of the State government that they view with stolid indifference the most open and flagrant violation of the laws that are intended for their protection. I have detailed in former speeches the legislation that has been passed by the machine to permit henchmen to commit wholesale acts of fraud upon the people without fear of prosecution. I have shown how impossible it is with all branches of the State machinery in possession of the politicians to punish officials who have publicly acknowledged to having conspired to unlawfully take the money from the State Treasury to pay political debts, because every witness in the case was a conspirator, and the law will not compel a man to incriminate himself.

“I will speak to-night about a law belonging to another class, which is openly violated for the benefit of the political machine, without the slightest attempt at secrecy. It is the law against wholesale distribution of free passes to public officials who are called upon to determine the most vital questions of legislation, where the interests of these pass-granting corporations are directly pitted against the constituencies these officials are supposed to represent. Article 17, section 8, of the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania reads as follows: ‘No railroad, railway or other transportation company shall grant free passes to any person, except officers or employees of the companies.’ The inter-State commerce law, enacted February 4, 1889, prohibits carriers of passengers or freight giving free transportation to particular persons. As the name implies, it is a law especially intended to prevent the bestowal of special favors to any one beyond the borders of the State.

“Thus we have the State Constitution forbidding it, we have the inter-State commerce law prohibiting it, we have Supreme Court decisions against it, and in face of all this transportation companies are giving out thousands and tens of thousands of free passes every year, as one form of the contribution they make to the machine in return for favorable legislation. It is no secret that free passes can be obtained by officials with a political pull. It is by no means the great steam railroads, which support lobbies at the State Capitol, seeking valuable franchises and new concessions, that alone issue passes and extend favors forbidden by law, but street railroads and parlor car companies and telegraph and telephone companies, and freight and express companies that issue books of free franks to politicians.

EVERYTHING IS FREE TO THE POLITICIANS.

“You know that public officials are not asked to pay street car fares even in remote cities. You know that public officials send countless telegrams without charge. You know that public officials ride free in palace cars. You know that public officials are given the freedom of great telephone services. You know that public officials send freight and express by the great transportation companies free of charge. And why is this? Is it because they have held steadfast to their ante-election promises they made you to protect your interests against the ever increasing greed of these very corporations? Is it because they have refused to vote away your valuable franchises without ample compensation to you? Is it because they have tried to make these great and powerful combinations of wealth pay their full share of taxes. No, you need not answer. But let your tax receipts, which show constantly increasing assessments, do that for you.

“Do you know that railroad passes have intrinsic values and are the equivalent of money? Do you not know that Huntingdon county has been and will be in this present campaign flooded with passes? Certainly you can get them, if that is the price of your vote. Do you labor for the machine and shut your eyes while political freebooters rob you and appro-

priate your earnings to themselves, and not get your share of the passes? If you do, you are far more generous to your neighbors than I take you to be.

“Woe to the man who attempts to array class against class. Shame on those who seek personal advancement by sowing the seeds of discontent in the minds of the masses. It is only as a simple business proposition that I take up this subject to-night.

“The time is far passed when the interests of the people and those of the corporations were identical. Human selfishness, the origin of inequalities and the source of dangerous power, has gradually divorced and made the interests of the masses diametrically different from those of the corporations.

“The great combination of capital, realizing the power of organization, discipline and concerted energy, have mustered in and equipped great armies of talent and genius, such as money can always command. On the principle that might makes right, and that they are entitled to all privileges that can be obtained through legislation, by fair means or foul, they have waged an unceasing war against the people. A long-continued series of victories has made them thirsty for more. Continued success in their schemes has intoxicated them, and they are arrogant and defiant. Conscious of their strength they proclaim by word and deed their mastery over the people.

“The masses, a great unorganized and undisciplined force, cannot maintain such an unequal war. Notably in the oil regions of our State they have been forced from one retreat to another, their lands have been taken from them and their homes covered with mortgages, for the benefit of corporations. Against the standing army of well-paid and splendidly-drilled corporation legislators, the people send out an army of undisciplined militia every two years. The people gather their recruits from all the walks of life; honest men, but with no experience with the corporation legislative bunco-steerers, and, totally ignorant that corporation confidence men are hired to swarm legislative bodies and to break down the good resolutions of good men, they fall easy prey to these agents.

“These officials who enlist for the people’s cause come from the ranks. They have personally felt the heavy weight of unjust discrimination. They enter public life fully determined to help break the iron band that is being drawn tighter and tighter around the brow of their people. But the confidence man is there; he courts the acquaintance of the new member and gains his confidence; he tells how easy it is to obtain free passes. The new member is anxious to demonstrate to his constituents his great pull. He gives his friends passes by the score, not realizing that every pass he accepts is carrying him farther and farther from any probability of serving his constituents. If you offered these men money for the votes for corporation favors they would strike you in the face. Yet by the insidious influence of free passes, handled by the skillful lobbyist, their votes are mortgaged and sold to the corporation before they realize it. You elect men to fight back the merciless corporate hosts and they are immediately put on the free-pass roll of these very companies. In some States an official found riding on free passes is driven from office in disgrace. In Pennsylvania an official who displays pocketfuls of them is esteemed and re-elected.

“There are laws upon the statute books against this form of wholesale bribery. You not only fail to enforce the law against the practice, but you applaud your elected servants when you know they have become the paid agents of corporations. And as the interest on your mortgage gets harder and harder to pay you do not realize it is your own fault, but you complain of the tariff and finance.

IT IS TREASON TO THE TAXPAYERS.

“Suppose our army officers whom we will send to Cuba to protect our interests should become the constant guests of the Blancos and the Weylers. Suppose that certain of our officers were the constant recipients of special favors from the Spanish government. Suppose it was acknowledged that they were receiving costly gifts and favors from the Spanish generals. How long would it be before they would be called upon to answer the charge of treason? Yet you select officials to fight for your rights against corporate invasions and you

see those officials placed under the pay of corporations and say not a word.

“Your silence and indifference is a most alarming sign to the friends of popular government. It shows only too well how the moral sense of the people has become blunted by the vicious system of politics. The great railroad companies send their lobbyists to Harrisburg, where they remain throughout every session of the Legislature. They sit in the presence of the legislators and deal out free passes, while legislation they are interested in is under consideration.

“Machine politicians are provided with pads of blank passes to fill out at will. The worse the corporation measure to be passed, or the machine scheme to be furthered, the more plentiful become passes, and the larger is the package of envelopes containing passes that the lobbyist appears with each morning. A practical politician tells me that more good men can be bought for \$100 worth of passes than with \$1,000 cash. The machine distributes passes with a prodigal hand. Thousands and tens of thousands are granted for the use of the machine every year. So plentiful have they become, these free passes, that men traffic in them, traveling men buy them at a discount.

“A political meeting was held in Philadelphia some time ago and men actually went from town to town in neighboring counties distributing railroad tickets free to those who would agree to attend the meeting. The inter-State laws are ignored, and passes are freely given to officials over roads extending into two States. Taxpayers, is it not time to call a halt to a system that threatens ruin to the party? It is not simply a scar upon the surface, but a canker eating into the very heart.

“The Republican craft is being swept on faster and faster in the current of debauchery; the rapids are below her. Strong muscles and stout hearts can only save her. Will you take two steps forward and swear that the party of Lincoln and Grant shall not perish, or will you allow her to sweep on to certain destruction? The free pass privilege is worth hundreds of thou-

sands of dollars every year to the machine, and every pass granted is paid for by the taxpayers ten times over.

“This is part number eight of the great manhood-destroying, corporation-strengthening, corruption-producing, bank-wrecking, character-assassinating, treasury-looting and crime-fostering political system that controls Pennsylvania.

“I would like to say a few words about my attitude toward corporations, but will not tax your patience to do so to-night. Corporations are the great agents of civilization and progress; they are entitled to rights and great privileges, and I want them to enjoy such, but there is a limit. In my speech at Reading to-morrow night I will say something on the subject of corporations.”

QUAY—A SHAM REFORMER.

How the head of the Bosses' Machine fooled and cheated the People in the way of promised Reforms—His shameful scheme as exposed in a Private Contract, whereby he was to become absolute Czar of the Keystone State.
 Mr. Wanamaker as a friend of Corporations.

In a Quay stronghold—Reading—on the evening of May 6th, before an enthusiastic audience of 1,500 people, Mr. Wanamaker tore the mask of sham reform from the face of M. S. Quay. Some of the bosses' shameful schemes were exposed in detail. The speech in full follows:

“Over the Cuban waters rings the watchword ‘Remember the Maine,’ and over the Pennsylvania domain rings the cry ‘Remember the Delamater.’ There would not have been a divided party but for the defiance that met the protest of months ago against slated faction, unrepresentative candidates and that ignores honest-minded, unselfish opinion.

“There is a settled purpose in Pennsylvania to put down the rule of beer, banks and big corporations in our Legislature

and public offices at Harrisburg. It is to be worked at until accomplished. A party where one man rules for the benefit of one man and his political family only is not the Republican party that can command our respect, influence or votes. We shall no longer submit to the filling of the public offices and Legislature with sworn or pledged partners in degrading public office to mere personal ends and emoluments. Ranks are closing up everywhere and the people will as never before show a common front to the enemy. We shall have home rule and not Beaver or Allegheny or Philadelphia ward rule. No one county, or three, shall compel capitulation of all the rest on any terms.

“Silently we have borne the odium of acquiescence in the conduct of public affairs, and we will do so no longer. It but aggravates our guilt of unintentional complicity to go farther, and neglect of plain duty in voting down all the machine candidates is equivalent to justifying their acts. To the list of heroic defenders of the flag in camp at the front we enroll ourselves to guard the Treasury of the State from further attack and to recover the jeopardized deposits of taxpayers’ money scattered about in bankrupt and other unguaranteed institutions. Hereafter we must have some guarantee of every Guarantor.

“Those who have dictated the management of our money concerns have been proven to be intimately concerned in the handling of that money, and henceforth they must cease to control it by State Treasurers, who, when one is inducted into office, retains the previous incumbent as general manager. The law requiring the State Treasurer to retire at the end of his term evidently does not retire him. What is the use of laws and enactments, anyway, when by political manoeuvring they are set aside whenever it is the interest of the rush crowd to play football with them?

“The proceedings of the last Legislature and the records of previous Legislatures, and the set-up jobs of candidates and unfinished business of the last Legislature for the next Legislature portend a storm of trouble, the end of which no one can forecast.

“The reign of terror by the bosses must be resisted at every cost. The present Republican party is a counterfeit coin. The operators of it must recast their machine or it will be broken to unmendable pieces.

“I appear in the contest not desiring to be a candidate, but willing to act as one of many leaders firmly pledged not only to act jointly but bound to the thousands and tens of thousands of the people, to labor for a new order of political administration of the laws and business affairs of the State.

“The opposition is not of my making; it rises from the Vesuvius at Harrisburg, belching forth frauds upon the people, often hidden by harmless smoke.

WHAT QUAY AND HIS MEN TRIED TO DO.

“I challenge denial that the Republican party did, under its boss leadership, fight hard last winter to do the following six things.

“1. Put a tax upon the public schools in the effort to take away their needed support for the benefit of Mr. W. H. Andrews and other brewing interests in the State. Thus did it try to dwarf the children of the poor by taxing knowledge.

“2. It whitewashed the crimes of the oleo business, and the committee charged the State \$17,000 for sixteen meetings.

“3. Its penitentiary investigating committee charged \$15,000, or \$1,250 for each man, and a \$2,500 hotel bill.

“4. The anthracite coal committee bill disclosed nothing but the committee’s bill of \$11,987.

The Lexow committee of W. H. Andrews’ and Quay’s to blackmail Philadelphians probably cost \$5,000, or, at the utmost, \$10,000 actual expenditure at honest and usual rates of expenses charged to individuals, and Senator Andrews fought desperately to get \$65,000.

“6. Two high officials of the State were compelled to resign for complicity in unlawfully aiding and abetting with the State Treasurer to use the State money, afterward secured by bond and subsequently borrowed from the People’s Bank, where \$505,000 was retained on deposit by the State Treasurer.

"I would add to this list, but for the reason that I must take my time to attend to one or two other matters to-night. First, I wish to say a few words that were ready last night at the Huntingdon meeting, but which I reserved to this meeting.

WANAMAKER A FRIEND OF CORPORATIONS.

"Some men say Mr. Wanamaker is opposed to corporations. I cannot permit that to be said unnoticed, and no man can say so if disposed to be fair. I am in favor of corporations and ready to aid always to protect vested rights. I never fought but once in my life with a corporation, and then it was not as an individual, but as the United States Government's Postmaster General. My contention was first for lower rates to the government for government business, under the act of 1866, which, in some way or another, notwithstanding the many reports of Congressional post office committees that are a matter of record favoring the government's assumption of the telegraph business, have been mysteriously set aside, and, further, I contended for lower rates for the people. I submit to you that telegraph and telephone rates are too high, and will always be so under existing monopolies. I proposed to Jay Gould, and argued it often, and, at times, believed he intended to consent to give his influence and power upon the side of the people by adopting a plan that I had embodied in a bill to be submitted to Congress to reduce the rates of telegraphing by making available all postal facilities, such as letter boxes, letter collectors and carriers, the use of post office buildings, saving duplications of officers, and sundry other economies, notably the use of postal stamps.

"The two chief enemies of cheap telegraphy for the people are dead, but the great army of its foes, consisting of the thousands in legislative halls, and out of them, who get free stamps to frank messages as they please, are still living. I know it to be a fact that a United States Senator recently had the wire cleared from San Lucie to Philadelphia, and kept it for his personal use for a whole hour. I might do this myself, as I sometimes did in a modified form while in Washington, but I had then as I have now business relations of

three firms doing a vast business that is paid for in cash at regular rates, that might sometimes justify personal favors balanced by other paying business and nothing to do with politics.

“I believe that the telegraph companies should be owned by the government to conduct and safeguard communications between the people on a basis like that of the mail service, which is not required to water capital stock or pay dividends in cash to stockholders. A system in which the people are the stockholders, and pay themselves all the dividends in cheap postal rates and extended service into remote regions that need to be open to civilization whether the service pays or not.

“The story of corporate influence and its grave consequences is long and staggering; it must come out, and when it does the law of public opinion and the rights of stockholders will compel stringent laws to not only protect investments of widows and children and trust estates from waste, but to also make impossible the debauching of legislatures. That will be a day of great gain and blessed relief to corporations when they shall cease to be under the brass knuckles of political strikers. Please allow me to ask you to reflect upon a few more facts as to how the bosses carry on their business as controllers of Pennsylvania.

“Senator Quay has not only become the political boss of Pennsylvania, by the manipulation of party machinery, with the use of the people’s money and the aid of corporate influence, but he has arrogated to himself the proprietorship, and insolently claims ownership to the people’s right, and their suffrages, and they have not disputed his claims for years, because of fear, cupidity or indifference.

“The manner by which he has seized and now holds the independent title of this once free State of ours has become a fascinating study to many. The methods he employs to sell and barter away legislation, and to disfranchise great cities and whole sections of the State, show that the great freedom intended under laws of popular government has become a menace and a destroyer of our liberties, in the hands of des-

perate men. It also shows the benumbing effect that long continued political debauchery is having upon our self-protecting impulses. For, while the very thought of the enslaved Cubans strikes in the hearts of all a responsive chord, and great armies of Pennsylvanians are impatiently waiting to risk their lives to break loose the Spanish shackles from a people beyond our shores, these same liberty-loving people know they themselves are in just as absolute bondage in their own State, and they meekly submit and bow down, and pay tribute and are wronged and robbed by self-constituted rulers who have been less kind to the State of Pennsylvania than Weyler has been in Cuba.

“Absolutism is the worst form of despotism, and absolutism exists in its most aggressive form in Pennsylvania to-day. In other States men rule by genius. By stealth, cunning and gloved hands they shape the course of their parties. They are always on the lookout for breakers, which they dodge if necessary to save the party craft. In Pennsylvania it is by boldness, defiance and brutality that bosses maintain their power.

“The day has gone by in our State when political operations are performed with the cleansed, unerring blade of the skilled surgeon, to prevent party blood poisoning, but instead are used the septic poisoned tools of butchers, who care naught for party health nor life.

QUAY'S SHAM REFORM DOCTRINES.

“In 1895 Senator Quay promulgated his then famous (now infamous) reform doctrines, with which he buncoed the good people of Pennsylvania for two years. He decried the use of every political agency that ever gave him power. It seems like a monstrous thing to have made people believe. But they thought it an eleventh hour repentance. They reasoned that an unsavory career of thirty years had overcharged a depleted physical system; that as the sun was setting on his political life the boss longed to place upon the statute books of the State, that had given him great honor, some official act or law that would not be tainted with shame.

“Developments have shown that while Senator Quay was winning victories on his reform declarations he was plotting and secretly pulling every wire to make deals and combinations at total variance with every line of his reform platform. Publicly he painted the Republican organizations in the two great cities of the State with colors of infamy. He gained the support of anti-machine organizations and newspapers upon his pledge to consecrate his life to making the memory of these organizations, so reprehensible to him, horrid nightmares of the past. He was amazed at himself to think that he could ever have had relations with such wicked men in the past. He swore to purge himself of the awful contaminations of the past by blotting these, to him, evil agencies entirely out.

“But you cannot fool all the people all the time, and it came to pass that in an unguarded moment he committed a political crime. That political crime must be defended, and he, himself, gave to the public press of the State a copy of a proposed agreement that he himself had prepared and secretly offered to these agents of political darkness that he had sworn to destroy. And this he did at the very time that he was publicly pretending to lead the hosts of reform against these same men.

“And most strange, is it not, that this agreement failed to stipulate that these wicked men should at once transform themselves into nightmares of the past, and, stranger still, that he should offer to make these same men masters for four years over the very people whom he had promised to free?

“What a chapter of deception! What a book of duplicity! While the air was charged with Senator Quay’s denunciations of the Philadelphia and Pittsburg politicians, and while his cowardly attack upon one of them in the United States Senate (which he afterwards declared to be false) was being made an issue in his fake reform battle, this alleged reformer was secretly seeking interviews with and submitting written proposition to them with a view of selling out the reform forces for his own personal gain. His shameful scheme failed only because the Pittsburg and Philadelphia politicians refused to deal.

AN INFAMOUS BARGAIN THAT FAILED.

“The proposition prepared by Senator Quay, bearing date January 1, 1896, and sent to Senator Flinn during the bogus reform battle, read as follows:

“January 1, 1896.

“Until January 1, 1890, the following shall be the political conditions in Allegheny county:

“Mr. Quay is to have the absolute support of the State and national politics, and is to sustain through his friends all regular Republican nominees, and the straight Republican organization. If Mr. Quay is a candidate for United States Senator in 1899 he is to have the united support of the Senators and members of the Legislature from Allegheny county. In every other case his leadership is to be followed by united support in the Legislature, and in national and State conventions, except where a bona fide candidate appears in Allegheny county. In the national convention in 1896 the delegates from the Twenty-second Congressional district shall sustain Senator Quay unless otherwise agreed hereafter. Mr. Magee shall not be a delegate to any national or State conventions of 1896. In the Senatorial districts now represented by Steele and Upperman the said Senators shall retire, and Senator Quay and his friends shall name the successors to Senator Steele and the other parties hereto shall name the successor to Senator Upperman. For Legislative and State conventions for the year 1896 Senator Quay and his friends shall name the members and delegates from the First, Second, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Legislative districts. In 1896, personnel of the delegates in the Sixth and Eighth districts shall be a matter of conference between the parties hereto, and if no agreement be arrived at shall be settled by arbitration. Senator Upperman, in the city of Pittsburg, shall be first indorsed by the parties hereto residing there. No legislation is to be had at Harrisburg or desired, the enactment of which will be to injure the character and business interests of the Pittsburg parties hereto; this, however, not to interfere with the general reform legislation outlined in the platform in the Republican State convention in 1895. In the

Twenty-second Congressional district the candidate for Congress shall be named by the Pittsburg parties, and shall be, so far as the affair can be controlled without opposition, for nomination or election. All Senators and members shall sustain Senator Quay in the organization of the Legislature, and in the election of United States Senator during the term of this agreement, except as heretofore provided.'

AS RECEIVED BY THE PRESS.

"In March, 1896, the city papers of the State published the proposed agreement. Senator Quay acknowledged that he had written it, and it was acknowledged that he had written it, and it was used by him to shield a still baser political crime. Of all the papers in Pennsylvania that published this story of treachery, but one, to my knowledge, commented upon it adversely. The following editorial appeared in the Philadelphia Ledger on March 20, 1896:

"It has always been the popular belief—one strongly, clearly and eloquently formulated in President Lincoln's Gettysburg address—that ours is a government of, for and by the people. Undoubtedly that was what the wise, patriotic founders intended it to be, but with new lords came new governing methods and forces, and if President Lincoln were living today and were to read the several agreements made respectively by certain Pittsburg politicians and Senator Quay, he would unquestionably modify the length of his famous memorial speech by excluding from its application the people of the State of Pennsylvania.'

"It appears, however, that this agreement, which provided for handing over to the absolute domination of Senator Quay the electorate and political affairs of the people of the Commonwealth, and which also provided that he should be the sole arbitrator of all State legislation, including his own reelection to the Senate of the United States, was not considered by him to be wholly satisfactory, it being deemed less stringent and too circumscribed to satisfy his demands for the absolute control of the government of Pennsylvania. Upon the authority of his son it is stated that he consequently pre-

pared and submitted a form of agreement, type-written, embodying his demands.

“The theory of our government is that the people shall choose the delegates to the national convention, which nominates the President of the United States; that they shall choose the delegates to Congressional and Legislative conventions, which nominate members of Congress and State Senators and Representatives, and that these latter conventions shall name the Legislators and elect Federal Senators. This type-written agreement, however, proposed to take from the people of the State their right to do any of these things, and place them all in the hands of Senator Quay absolutely. Remarkable as these documents are in their purpose to take from the people and lodge wholly in the hands of Mr. Quay the political power of the people, it appears that there is nothing new in them.

“It appears, however, that when Mr. Quay submitted his forms for unconditional surrender to Mr. Martin they were not subscribed to, and the effort to sell and deliver the political rights of citizens of Philadelphia and Pittsburg in a lump to Mr. Quay failed.

“There is no intelligent citizen of Pennsylvania, in whom there survives a single claim of public spirit, who can thoughtfully consider the above-stated agreement and negotiations without a profound sense of humiliation, indignation and disgust.

“That the citizens of this great old Commonwealth should be openly, recklessly, shamefully made the mere traffic and commodities of the political market, in which their most precious and sacred rights of citizenship are bargained for and sold by the most corrupt and venal politicians, should arouse the honest resentment of every good citizen throughout the State. When we consider the vicious lives, unenviable characters and smirched reputations of the practical politicians, great and small, who at present dominate the government of this State, there can be no other feeling than that of infinite shame that the government of this grand old Commonwealth

can be in any manner or degree controlled by men whose very names are by-words, and cast scorn upon their bearers.

“But it is fair to Senator Quay and his pliant, unscrupulous henchmen to say that not they, but the people themselves, are responsible for their arbitrary, blighting political rule. The people have given them the extraordinary power they exercise, to the deep humiliation of Pennsylvania. They are but the creatures of the criminal indifference of voters to their duties of citizenship, the first, greatest and most sacred of all duties. It is upon this indifference that these trade politicians exist and thrive. Replace it with popular political interest and energy, and our bosses, their ‘rounders’ and ‘heelers’ of all degrees will cease to be.”

FARMERS AND TAXATION.

The Quay Machine has Farmed the Farmers and pocketed the proceeds—Schools and Asylums borrowing money while Millions are idle in the Treasury drawing interest for Quay—Asparagus at \$1.00 a plate for Quay’s favorites.

A talk on taxation was given the farmers and miners of the Blossburg region on May 10th. It stirred the people greatly. Mr. Wanamaker said:

“I wish to discuss with you briefly the object of taxation. Certain revenues must be provided to run the National and State governments. The only way to provide revenue is by taxation. Every American who enjoys the blessings of liberty should willingly pay his or her just share and bless the government in which they have a proprietary interest. The subject of taxation is one that is kept before and on the minds of the people constantly. It is the one rock on which labor and capital divide. It has been the fruitful theme of the agitator and the demagogue; it has been the fascinating

study of the philanthropist. Its inequalities are diverting the sympathy of the masses from those who possess wealth.

“Continued overtaxing of the people breeds revolutions and disregard for governing forces. I believe that every tax-payer in Pennsylvania is willing to pay his full share of the necessary expenditures of the State government. It is the unequalized distribution of the burden of taxation, which always falls upon those least able to bear it, that constitutes the wrong. Taxes do not often lessen, the high-water mark is constantly being raised. New advantages and increased facilities do not keep pace with ever-increasing rates. Individual interests without power to concentrate opposition must suffer at the hands of great combinations of wealth that control legislative bodies.

PAY FOR MORE THAN THEY GET.

“It is an admitted fact that the people of Pennsylvania pay higher taxes than those of other States. It is also true that they do not get all that they pay for and pay for more than they get. I conduct a business that does every year a trade far greater than the combined cost of running the State government, taking care of her charities and giving \$5,500,000 to public schools, and I want to say, as a business man that I consider the cost of running the State government is at least one-third too much. And from a careful study of the extravagances, to say nothing of the apparent frauds that abound in many different departments, I believe that an honest and economical administration of the departments of the State government will show that my estimate is not too high. And further I will say without fear of honest contradiction, that under the present political management of the State's affairs the tax rate will not decrease, but must necessarily be higher. I want to say to the miners, to the farmers, to the mechanics, and to every man within the hearing of my voice, who is a wage earner, that after one-third of your taxes had been saved by business integrity and economy in the management of the State affairs, if you could break the mighty grasp of the brewers, the liquor leagues, the pools and trusts, upon the Legislature of Pennsylvania,

one-third of your share of the balance could be saved to you. If blazing the way to save you thirty-three cents out of every dollar of your taxes is being a demagogue, you may have it so if you like.

“The seeds I scatter among you are not seeds of dissatisfaction, but flowering seeds of hope of better days, of righteous rule and prosperous times. I wish to impress upon you and impress it strongly that you are being personally and seriously injured by a political system that you need not have, except you are willing and neglect your own affairs. Before I came to Tioga county I was informed that the miners of the section were among the most intelligent voters in the State, and for that reason I have taken the subject of taxation for my speech to-night.

“During the years of 1895 and 1896, when the dark shadow of business depression hung over the country, when your mines and your workshops were idle, when the gaunt form of hunger and starvation stalked through many villages, and previously prosperous industrial centres, when, as I am told, in this very section, the hand of charity was stretched forth and aided many honest people who could not obtain work, and when every business enterprise was forced to endure the most stringent economy, during this time that money brought any price that was demanded the Quay machine was withholding an average of \$5,000,000 of State deposits from your schools and counties and using it for its own profit.

INCREASED EXPENSES FOR THE PEOPLE TO BEAR.

“During this same time, when the State’s business was at low ebb, the cost of running three State departments alone for two years was increased nearly \$1,000,000, or more than 43 per cent. There are few business houses in America that could have survived such increased expenses. Within the past month the expose in the printing department has furnished you with an object lesson of the way of machine business methods. Quay’s lieutenants were caught in a \$53,000 bird book steal. The last Legislature authorized the printing of a pamphlet at a cost of 13 cents a copy, and it was accidentally discovered that instead of those innocent little

pamphlets, tons of fancy pictured and high-priced leather-bound books, costing \$3.50 a volume, were being printed.

“They were to be held under cover until a Quay Governor was elected, when the bill was to be presented and, of course, passed. Every man connected with the job has been forced to resign by Governor Hastings. The old State Printer was connected with this job. The new State Printer is not to be outdone, however, and he presented a bill for \$11,000 for his first three months’ work, and the Attorney General discovered that \$7,600 of the amount was made up of fraudulent charges. If the Attorney General had been a part of the Quay machine, as aforesaid, there is no kind of doubt but that the bill would have been paid without a word.

“There was appropriated \$67,500 for contingent expenses to the different departments.

THOUSANDS COULD BE SAVED ANNUALLY.

“The honest and economical expenditure of these funds, I am convinced, would save enough to pay the expenses of maintaining two State hospitals like the splendid one you have in Blossburg. The expense bills and mileage grabs, defeated by the ‘Seventy-six’ and vetoed by the Governor, aggregate \$87,500. Every dollar of this would have been paid but for the anti-Quay men in the Legislature and an un-Quay-owned Governor. The notorious Lexow bill for \$66,000, with hotel bills for each member of \$23 per day and asparagus at \$1 a stalk, would have been paid but for the opposition of the ‘Seventy-six.’

“If the next Governor and Legislature are controlled by Senator Quay the bill will certainly be paid, with interest. Why not, as the bill, not having been paid out of the Treasury, must still be unpaid. Of course it could never pass under a Lexow title, but it will be hid, perhaps in part, in the general appropriation and other bills under cover that can be forced through. These practices did not originate with the last Legislature, but have been carried on for years. The exposures came through the efficient work done by the ‘Seventy-six.’

“Since Senator Quay has controlled the State machine, reckoning the interest on your money that he has appropriated the use of at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., he has taken from you from this source alone \$2,500,000. Your school moneys are due you, and the State has millions in political banks that the machine withholds for its own use. Your School Directors are forced to pay interest for money for teachers at the very banks that have your money and are paying the State machine for its use. Quay’s machine gets the interest on your money; you get increased taxes. Your county borrows money and the interest is added to your taxes. You are compelled to pay your personal tax, which is sent to the State Treasurer, who retains for months the three-fourths that is due your county.

“Senator Quay’s committee comes to learn why the miners have not plenty of work; they render you no aid, but try to wring \$11,000 from you which is to be added to your taxes; you elect from your own town to the State Senate a man to protect your interests and he tries to take \$597.60 from you for expenses he never paid. He tried to add just that much more to your taxes. Now he asks you to vindicate his course. The actual expense to the tax-payer for every day the Legislature was in session last year was more than \$3,000.

THE MACHINE MUST BE BROKEN.

“Thirty days were lost by holding back the appointment of House and Senate committees to use the places to procure votes for the machine candidate for United States Senator. This cost the tax-payers nearly \$100,000. Thirty days more were lost by the inexcusable absence of the Speaker of the House, and the taxpayers paid nearly another \$100,000 for indulgences of Quay’s chosen Speaker. Another thirty days were lost in the machine manoeuvres to protect beer, which delay cost the tax-payers nearly another \$100,000.

“No session of the Pennsylvania Legislature ought to last more than one hundred days, and the cost should not be much more than one-half what it was last session. But besides all these the Quay machine tried to take nearly \$10,000 every two years from the schools of Tioga county.

This meant \$10,000 more added to your taxes and your State Senator did not raise a protesting voice. Unless these awful extravagances are stopped by the smashing of the machine and stopped this very year, the tax-payers will soon face a deficit of four or five millions of dollars. Unless the machine hold is broken, beer will not be made to pay any portion of it, and corporations will be shielded. It is no longer a matter of sentiment. It is not a question of whether you like this man or that man, it is a plain simple business proposition. Vote for the Quay machine and pay more and more taxes, or vote against the Quay machine and stop the defiant plunderers."

QUAY DID NOT MAKE WANAMAKER POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

The old lie of the Machine answered by Mr. Wanamaker—Quay tried to own President Harrison and was snubbed—Quay indebted to Wanamaker for great favors—
An interesting recital.

Ex-Postmaster General John Wanamaker told the story of how he came to be Postmaster General under President Harrison to a vast audience at Wellsboro on the night of May 11th. Quay and the bosses have claimed that Mr. Wanamaker was an ingrate for attacking Quay after he had made him Postmaster General. Here is Mr. Wanamaker's reply:

"The Quay machine runs the Pennsylvania farm by steam generated from the taxpayers' pocket-books and grinds meal for its head and his favored Andrews and Walter T. Merrick, the Saylor, and the tribe of faithful cliquers who only hold their places and subsist upon the wheat of your raising while you live upon the chaff of their choosing.

"I dare not come to you with more indefinite talk upon this subject. I plainly, specifically and distinctly charge that whatever was done at the Legislature last winter that

was bad was directly the work of Quay's machine, and since he controls that machine it follows that he might father its doings. It is true that the Legislature was not more than half as bad as it might have been, and as it intended to be, and that would have been but for the seventy-six members that fought it, but you owe no thanks to Mr. Quay for that.

QUAY COULD ELECT HIS COACHMAN.

"Never did he more doggedly and untiringly marshal his forces. The political machine, covered with debt, made the Harrisburg Legislature a Bloody Angle and won, not a victory like our brave troops on Gettysburg, but left the field with half a victory. They got their United States Senator, and Mr. Quay, by the same methods, could have elected his coachman to be your United States Senator. They say that W. H. Andrews, manager of W. A. Stone's candidacy for Governor, is slated to be Mr. Quay's successor in the United States Senate, after he has squeezed out the orange and is ready to throw it away.

"They secured the half loaf better than none by holding down the interest on State deposits to a pittance. They obtained the use of all the State money without any interest for more than another year. They got time vainly to try to mend the broken banks that had the State money—\$505,000. Down went the Smedley Darlington, West Chester, Bank with \$60,000 State money; the People's Bank and the Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Banks, with \$215,000, and the Guarantors' cooper shop of finance in Philadelphia, marking Pennsylvania with three B's as the Banner, Bank Bankrupt State in 1898 in all the United States, and all these banks were connected by deposits and mangement with the politics of our State.

THE GREAT CAPITOL JOB.

"I charge that the Legislative action proves that all initial steps were taken after the mysterious burning of the Capitol to inaugurate a great public buildings job. The flocking of the political crows to the Capitol and the schemes for archi-

tecting the thing were detected, and the effort to do something worthy of Lorenzo, the magnificent, to match the Albany State House was checked only by the vigilance of the sentinels there on guard.

“I charge that the bold seizure of the public money in the public Treasury by consent of the State Treasurer to pay \$27,000 upon a pay roll irregular and unlawful was not only justified by the machine, but that they afterwards accepted the responsibility, and a number of them signed their names to an indemnity bond that resulted in forcing two of the highest officials out of their places in Governor Hasting’s closest official circle. This bond was afterwards by loans provided for, I may say, in one of the defunct Philadelphia financial institutions, which loans a few days ago were not paid off.

“I charge that last winter, to the tune of over \$159,000 the Quay machine sought to take unrightfully money in the State Treasury for bogus investigations. I verily believe that there was what business men will universally confirm as abundant evidence of an attempt by certain members to charge an insurance company \$50,000 as the price of stopping certain threatening injurious legislation, which, when exposed, was dropped without charge. I charge that the main, if not the sole, cause of the increasing taxation in the State is because of the woful waste of the Quay managing machine, and its necessities brought on by culpable corrupting election methods.

“I charge that there is unmistakable evidence that there was a bargain between the brewers and the bruisers of Republican honor to tax the schools of the State instead of taxing the beer—this last battle of the brew still against the books, the hops against the hopes of our homes, the children.

“Here are seven small pebbles that I will pick up and toss over to you Tioga county folk, with a wrapper around them that will explain just what they are:

“First. As to holding public meetings—there is no other way to reach the machine. It is blind, deaf and dumb and will not see, hear or heed a protest, and further, the paper publishing Mr. Stone’s speech knows in its own administra-

tion how impossible it is to get the Quay organs to publish anything not in accord with the Quay methods. Why, my friends, while they have published Colonel Stone's speech see if they will print a line about this meeting, and this other side I am giving to Congressman Stone's remarks and criticisms. Why, my friends, our only way to reach the people at all is by town meetings.

"Second. I am set down as a party kicker, when, unlike my friend, I am not asking office from choice, and do not want the office, and in my first speech in Lancaster offered to retire from the contest if all the candidates would do so and let the people make choice. You know I did not seek any nomination, and that 400 men brought it to me and forced it upon me. I am a drafted man, doing duty for conscience's sake, and to differ from my party's practices in slating candidates and refusing to listen to any other Republicans but the beef eaters is disloyalty. The inference is that Stone and Andrews are not kickers and we are. That they approve of boss rule and brewer dictation and bolting conventions as pure Republicanism and all else is unrepugnant. I claim that I am the better Republican in trying to halt and turn about the team before it slides over the precipice of defeat.

QUAY DID NOT MAKE WANAMAKER.

"Third. He states that in 1888 I was as good as any Republican in the State and I state I am in 1898, a better Republican than then.

"Fourth. He states that I am seeking revenge against Mr. Quay for not allowing me to be Senator. This is a frank confession of the machine's responsibility in the defeat of the popular will of Tioga and other counties by the man who now asks you, the same M. S. Quay, to vote for him as United States Senator. I beg to say that I have nothing to be revenged for. Mr. Quay declared eight months before the Senatorial election that he would be for anyone but for me, and yet Mr. Stone says I was as good as any Republican in the State and had helped in the 1888 campaign, in which Mr. Quay at the time said himself I was his most

dependable standby. My friends, everybody knew then and knows now that nobody stands any chance for election to anything against the boodle and the Andrews breweries.

QUAY NEVER OWNED HARRISON.

“Fifth. That I ought to be ashamed to treat poor Mr. Quay so horribly and that I owed to him my appointment. What bosh. Did Mr. Quay own the appointment and make Charles Emory Smith Postmaster General? Our Senator certainly never owned Benjamin Harrison—and could no more determine a Cabinet appointment with him than he could put the Allegheny Mountains in his eye or in his vest pocket.

“Sixth. I have no personal quarrel with Quay. I never speak of him as a person, but as the Representative of the machine which he has made and holds with the grip of a tyrant. In brief, let me say since I am drawn into these personal matters, involving Mr. Quay, that I need not stop with these words. If they want other interesting facts that I have faithfully kept, let me say that I never sought Mr. Quay in 1888 and that he sought me. That, if anything, I was inimical to him then, and had never been associated with him until he sent for me and said that on the eve of the Harrison campaign, he had been elected chairman by the National committee and was without funds, and begged my assistance in organizing financial aid.

“I took three weeks to consider it, agreed to organize an unpolitical committee of business men and stipulated that my committee should have some supervision of the use of money, all of which was agreed to and complied with. I entered upon the work then exactly as I would do now if circumstances were the same with a threatening panic ahead, as there was since when Grover Cleveland was re-elected, I stood over the committee work faithfully. When it was over almost all of the National committee, some altogether unknown to me, urged my appointment in the Cabinet.

“That unownable, never bluffed or bullied Gen. Harrison, then President-elect, knew something of me and wanted a business man in his Cabinet and in his department, and

the friends urging my appointment all unknown to Mr. Quay, were such that if Mr. Quay had opposed me I believe the President would have selected me. The last man in the United States to claim that he dictated an appointment of President Harrison is M. S. Quay. He tried it on and knows how he failed. He has owned Stone and the Andrews outfit, the Pennsylvania machine, but he has never yet quite owned a President or claimed to own the United States.

"I filled my place at the Post Office desk as best I could I did not attend to politics then, though I served Mr. Quay as I could as my Senator, and the head of the party by virtue of his chairmanship of the National Committee, and went back to Pennsylvania and to my business, and Mr. Quay will tell you that we have not been associated since. Please, then, remember that all my association practically with Mr. Quay is from 1888 to 1892, and the last half of 1892 I parted company with him to stand by President Harrison, who Mr. Quay then opposed as he now opposes all men in any sense like him.

QUESTIONS FOR WILLIAM A. STONE.

"Seventh. I think I have covered these personal matters sufficiently though they have some general importance, and will dismiss further consideration by saying that in 1860 and in 1861 I was under the doctor's care and spitting blood and was examined by the physician for military service and turned down as unfit from the condition of my lungs. That my war service was to organize, with George H. Stuart, the Christian Commission, who side by side have their places in the history of the war, for battle-field and hospital service for the sick and wounded.

"Perhaps Mr. W. A. Stone may turn his steps to Tioga before the next convention, and if so I wish you would ask him to answer, first: Was Quay the master spirit of the last Legislature? Did the Quay majority vote for investigating committee steals? Did the Quay majority try to defeat the interest on State deposits bill? Did they uphold the brewers at the expense of the schools when they tried to rob our children of one million dollars in school appropriations?

QUESTIONS FOR SENATOR QUAY.

“Is it true that the State Treasury has been the citadel of the machine, that money has been portioned out to favor its banks many times for political favors, that notes for the bosses have been taken for individual accounts by banks so favored and the sums gradually charged off to profit and loss till the debt was paid; that millions of dollars in lieu of interest that should have gone to the people have been used to bolster up a cruel and monstrous machine alike a menace to the people of the State and the popular government?

“Did Senator Saylor try to filch \$1,700 from the Treasury for alleged expenses in investigating the condition of miners in Western Pennsylvania? Did Senator Quay reward Mr. Saylor by having him appointed Consul to Matanzas? Did Senator Quay command the defeat of Senator Kauffman because he was honest and stood for the people’s rights and refused to wear a Quay collar? Did not the last Legislature favor public plunder, mileage grabbers, official extravagance, Treasury looters, reduction of public school appropriations, the squandering of the State funds in Treasury raids and speculations with the people’s money, the robbing of the tax-payers, the increase of political offices?

“My friends, this is the forty-seventh speech I have made in this campaign. It is an extraordinary experience to have. Though a better Republican now than in 1888, I did not know as late as 1895 the extreme and dismal depths to which the Republican bosses had driven their machine, plunging it in debt, difficulty and disaster. It is to Mr. Quay and the Senatorial defeat that I owe the discovery of the sorry plight of the Republican party, driven to desperation to hold itself by money for elections and to pay salaries of political workers. A plain duty to stand by the seventy-six honest and true men trying at Harrisburg to keep from under the heelers held me in Harrisburg last winter, and by my organized plans I had laid bare to me the method and moves of the most corruptible ring the State ever had, and I should be worse than a Benedict Arnold if I were to be silent while the State tax-payers are sold out for the benefit of a few ring-ruling robbers of the public Treasury.

“I dare not be silent. I do not want to be Governor, and it is even now too late to stop the Republican chariot, that is in fact only a Quay chariot, driving on to destruction.”

IN GENERAL REEDER'S HOME.

A scathing arraignment of the ex-Secretary—Some infamous slanders refuted before cheering thousands—General Reeder invited to answer a few pertinent questions—The Republican Party a political trust for the benefit of M. S. Quay and his friends. Makers of black history exposed.

Easton, the home of Ex-Secretary of the Commonwealth Frank Reeder, never saw a greater crowd in its Opera House than greeted Hon. John Wanamaker on the night of May 13th. Mr. Wanamaker was the centre of cheering thousands as he rose to speak and to refute some vicious and infamous slanders that had been circulated about him in this city. Mr. Wanamaker said:

“When I received at the hands of the General County Committee of the Bourse meeting a leadership which I did not choose for myself, I said I would make fifty speeches in the State. This is the fifty-ninth meeting and fifty-fifth speech, and I am more than glad that it is at Easton. The adoption of the old-time New England town meeting discussion of public affairs was not a matter of choice, but a necessity arising from a press largely muzzled to news and to a considerable extent given over to colored photographing. Were there to be but one more meeting in the State, and it were left to me to decide where it should be, I would, choose Easton, for reasons partly personal.

“Crucifixion is still the price of serving the public. The Galilean and Calvary are inseparable. Abraham Lincoln had to make a sacrificial offering on his country's altar. James

A. Garfield threw back his arms and made the sign of a blood-stained cross on the marble floor where he fell by the greed of an office seeker. It will be so while the world stands. The path to victory leads through the valley of sacrifice.

“Not to be afraid is something, but courage to go straight on is infinitely more.

“One must ballast the soul with patience, and not mind the storms. So also may one walk over the highest mountain one step at a time.

“I have waited for a fitting time to take notice publicly of vile falsehoods circulated in this community attributed to one individual and family who owe me kindness for favors received and not malicious slander.

Tender-handed stroke a nettle
And it stings you for your pains.

DEFIES HIS SLANDERERS.

“Were the statements I have heard second-hand brought to me by any one willing to be responsible for them I would prosecute to the fullest extremity of the law. I deny them in toto, and defy the slanderers, holding myself ready to prove their falsity by a jury of even an hundred unpicked men.

“A man, no matter how honored a name he wears, to accept his hospitalities on the pretensions of friendship, and with malice aforethought and murder in his heart wilfully and without truth or truthful evidence vilifies the family of a man, thereby to serve his political fortunes, is unworthy of recognition by decent people and has nothing to vindicate by his friends or party until he publicly confesses his wrongdoing. I can forgive a man who does me wrong, but not until he makes the utmost restitution possible for the free coinage the base work of his brain. This, then, is the motion I make in this Court of the people to enter judgment against my vilifiers and by denial, defiance and brief explanation to close the case for the present. With your permission I beg now to submit for your consideration a plea not as a lawyer, but as a citizen, for the State and the Republican party. If I make out my case I ask you to veto the acts of your State

leaders and their county representatives by refusing them another trial and dismissing them to private life to spend the emoluments that life service in office has given them. To rightfully claim your serious thought and energetic action I know I must file specific charges for you to make up your opinion upon. I premise said charges by the statement that the speeches I have made during the last sixty days are not unrelated chapters of the Republican party's management, or rather mismanagement, but the authenticated history bound up in the records at Harrisburg and provable by many ready witnesses at command.

STRAIGHTFORWARD PROPOSITIONS.

"I submit, first, that the Republican party as at present constituted is a most dangerous political trust, composed of two National Senators and twenty Congressmen and the large majority of 254 State Legislators at Harrisburg, who, by dictation, dispose of public moneys, enact laws and choose administrators of them to the detriment of the public welfare, said appointees not recognizing the people, but yielding first allegiance to their masters and bosses.

"I submit, second, that this political trust, known as the Quay-Andrews-Reeder-Elkin machine, uses its usurped power and ill-gotten gains in perpetuating itself to the damage of the tax-payers and people, generally.

"I submit, third, that the audacity of this Pennsylvania machine enters into conspiracies to cripple the President of the United States in his purposes in conducting public business as important as our relations with Spain; seeks to cripple the postal business of seventy-five millions, specially attacking the convenience of business people and the welfare of rural communities; conducts election campaigns by the flagrant use of large sums of money contributed by corporations, capitalists, contractors and payers for legislation.

"I submit, fourth, that the service of self-respecting men is lost to the Republican party by vile misrepresentations of reputable people, employment of bogus detectives, venomous falsifiers, a subsidized press and conspirators, who dare any plot or defilement, able to exert political control and by pro-

tecting legislation and domination of legal appointees of district attorneys and others not in elective, but appointive offices.

"I submit, fifth, that the State funds have been and are squandered through the processes controlled by the machine.

"I submit, sixth, that the State Treasurer being named by the bosses, who control his election and who direct the custody of the funds, endangers the safety of the State's money as proven by the recent developments of the three failed banks in Philadelphia and West Chester.

"I submit, seventh, that the use of these banks by the bosses, known to be large borrowers for personal purposes, as well as private and pool speculators, should be a warning to the taxpayers who are interested in the schools and charities of the State.

LOBBYISTS SWELL THE COSTS.

"I submit, eighth, that there is evidence to form belief upon that the appropriations to the educational institutions, charities and hospitals of the State could be largely reduced without one dollar of actual loss to said institutions, if the cost of lobbying and attorneys did not have to be paid out of the appropriations.

"I submit, ninth, that the evidence of the unlawful taking of money out of the State Treasury by the consent of the Quay Treasurer, now employed in the State Treasury as assistant to the present Treasurer, and the justification of it by Frank Reeder, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and John P. Elkin, chairman of the State Committee, who with his master, M. S. Quay, who first elected himself chairman of the State Committee, which was done upon his own statement after spending between \$200,000 and \$250,000 subsequently caused Mr. Elkin to be elected chairman, in order that he might hold control of conventions, contested seats and rulings affecting committees, that this flagrant abuse of official place is reprehensible in the highest degree, resulting in the dismissal of these two officials from the Administration.

“It is either true or it is not true and I submit it as easily capable of proof one way or the other by your own townsmen, that Reeder, Elkins and others covertly extracted from the Treasury on a loaded pay roll the sum of \$27,000.

“I submit, tenth, that an effort was made of the most desperate character to favor beer brewers as a reward for large subscriptions to the last Senatorial campaign, whereby the schools of the entire State would have suffered impairment or the million of dollars attempted to be taken from them would have had to be raised by additional taxation now heavily crushing the people, because needlessly high owing to extravagance and evil legislation.

“I submit, eleventh, that the loss of school fund to this county of Northampton but for the interference of the seventy-six led by Robert K. Young and Frederick B. Smith, of Tioga County, would have been \$15,675.42 each two years.

QUESTIONS THAT EMBARRASS.

“With the foregoing propositions for your careful considerations I respectfully submit ten questions which you can possibly get the ex-Secretary of the Commonwealth, resident in your midst, to answer.

A. Is it not a fact that M. S. Quay and the Andrews machine in full power in the last Legislature governed what legislation should be taken up and when it should be taken up?

B. Did not the formation of the Senate and House Committees depend solely upon the majority ruling there and under control of the majority?

“C. What Committees on Railroads and Banks were formed by consultation if not command of Philadelphia corporations?

“D. Were not the committees to investigate Oleo, Hosack chairman; Anthracite mining, Coyle chairman; the miners' condition in the western part of the State, Saylor chairman; the methods and condition of the State Treasurer, Senator Snyder chairman, all selected by the Quay leaders and with a Quay majority in each case resulting in huge whitewashing

jobs and immense drafts on the Treasury amounting in the first instance to \$159,000 until cut down by the Governor's vetoes. In the case of Hosack, did he not refuse to have the sum of \$597.60 the committee tried to put in his pocket for mileage he had not spent?

E. Was not Senator Saylor rewarded by the machine with a foreign consulate after he attempted to take money out of the Treasury, the major part of which he publicly confessed to have not been expended?

"F. Has the indebtedness to the State Treasury of \$27,000 for the padded pay roll, subsequently transferred to the People's Bank, where there was \$505,000 of State money, been all paid and by whom? State the names and portions of the persons borrowing it and what collateral if any were given for this large loan at the time the bank was insolvent.

WHO SHARED THE PROFITS?

"G. Who was to share in the profits of the State printing, where in a single instance a book that originally was to cost 13 cents a copy came through at a charge of \$3.50 per copy, and which were the scandals of the State Printing office, compelling the Governor to put out all the officials? Why were they not prosecuted instead of dismissed?

"H. Is there not every reason to believe that almost if not all the bills of Lexow-Andrews-Hardenbergh-McCarroll-Collector Thomas-and-others committee are bogus? The amounts unspent, and that instead of \$65,000 the bill should not be more than \$10,000, for what was actually spent?

"I. Is not the object of the nomination of a favorite son of Northumberland County, a decoy for M. S. Quay's benefit, and therefore a deception proposed to be practiced on the voters of Northampton County?

"J. Is it not a well-known fact that all the power of the Quay machine was exerted at the last Legislature to pass a bill to relieve the Guarantors' Company by enabling them legally to conceal their condition and escape responsibilities when they were hopelessly insolvent to the extent of \$700,000? And did not the ex-State Chairman Thomas V. Cooper, the president of the Guarantors', labor incessantly

to pass that bill? And did not one of the United States Senators make a trip from Washington to Harrisburg, and spend a whole day and night in the Senate, making his office the Speaker's room, working frantically as one of the directors of the now defunct Guarantors' to pass that bill? Explain what part of the capital of the State Insurance Company, if any, connects it with the Guarantors' Company?

"Permit me to ask did you ever hear of the notorious Fire Alarm bill? It was an act to require stores, factories, warehouses, office buildings, school houses and public institutions to put in automatic fire alarms at great cost, and the interesting part developed is that the only system that could be used under this act was owned by politicians. The moving spirit of the company was your townsman. If the bill had become a law himself and colleagues would have wrung millions out of the people of Pennsylvania. I am told that the office furniture and company's effects are now stored in this gentleman's cellar in this city. This gentleman's industry was almost phenomenal. It is almost impossible to find any machine scheme, however vicious, in which he did not play a leading part. But the climax was reached when he signed the infamous indemnity bond that led to his forced retirement from Governor Hastings' cabinet.

WHY QUAY LIKES REEDER

"Do you all understand what the indemnity bond was? It was a bond to personally protect the State Treasurer in unlawfully paying between \$20,000 and \$30,000 of the money from the State Treasury on a bogus pay roll that had been established to make good the promises made by the machine in the Senatorial fight. The money to reimburse the State Treasurer was intended to be taken from the State Treasury under the cover of the general appropriation bill. The fraudulent item of \$25,000 did pass, but was vetoed by the Governor. Your townsman is now an alleged candidate for Governor. It is a well-known fact that Senator Quay has said that he would like to see Reeder vindicated for conspiring to unlawfully take the taxpayers' money. It is also well known that Senator Quay says Reeder's record will

remove all possibility of his being a candidate this year. Do you wonder that Senator Quay feels kindly toward ex-Secretary Frank Reeder? None has been more subservient. None have thought less for themselves. None have done more questionable things. None have helped to wrong the people under the orders of Senator Quay more than has Reeder. But there is a particular reason why he might wish to make Reeder Governor now which I make most emphatic. He may disgrace the Republican Party with this man, but he dare not wreck the party by nominating him. But why should Quay want Reeder this time? It is because Quay wants another vindication, and through the election of Reeder he believes he might get it. But vindication for what? For being himself a party to the infamous indemnity bond.

“I want you to know that it is generally stated that on that eventful night in Speaker Boyer’s room, on Front street, in Harrisburg, Senator Quay was present and personally directed the indemnity scheme. United States Senator Penrose, Lieut.-Governor Lyon, Speaker of the House Boyer, Secretary of Commonwealth Reeder, Deputy Attorney General and Chairman of the Republican State Committee Elkin, State Treasurer Haywood and several other politicians of lesser prominence were there, and under orders of the bosses the majority, if not all of them, are alleged to have signed the indemnity bond. I do not go behind the bush to hide in an ambush in giving out these facts—they are not assaults upon private citizens, but they are the unfolding of the records of the State and National officials done by virtue of their leadership in running the Republican machine.

TOOLS TO PRY OPEN THE VAULTS.

“Fellow-citizens of Easton, these eleven plain propositions and ten clear questions are laid before you. It is not private business we are discussing, but the public affairs of our State, as conducted by the Quay machine, that seeks to recover losses by forcing upon the people its slate for the next Governor and Legislature. Kauffman, and all like him, must go to make way for tools who can be used to pry open the

State Treasury to the Lexows, the Andrewses, Coyles, Saylors and their successors.

"I appeal to you to avert this disaster and to disregard favorite sons and county lines if you hope for the preservation of the Republican party.

"I believe we are in grave peril. I defy the Quay machine to nominate W. A. Stone for Governor unless it wants the disruption of the party. To act as if nobody but the corporation givers and the politicians had anything to say about it is to invite ruin. The key to internal unity of the party is to do something for the people.

"Their rights have passed away to the rich, who by gifts to politicians have bought all the legislation required. The need to protect what they have bought maintains compacts with the politicians to re-elect them to office, support all slated candidates and overthrow the machine's opposers. When will the day begin for the poor man to have his say and representation?

"If the rich classes form trusts and the political classes form trusts to dispose of legislation and public places to suit themselves alone, and to manage public affairs independent of the people, the instincts of the poor will prompt them some day to rise up and make short work of any party that tolerates such a misdirection of its forces.

"Parties and institutions are tested. Their value ceases, and they fall when tried at their worth.

MAKERS OF BLACK HISTORY.

"New maps are making in these war days for the United States. The Senate and its members are making history. The Pennsylvania Legislature last winter wrote history in large black letters that the people have only now begun to read.

"Quay's Legislature of 1897, with its drafts on the Treasury, was a draft on the future, payable with interest twelve months from date.

"Defeat cannot but be the stepping-stone to something better, for there can be nothing worse than the perfidy and

treachery of those whose broken oaths are recorded every day last winter with their votes in the Legislature.

“Emerson says of no use are the men who study to do exactly as was done before, who can never understand that to-day is a new day. We want men now who can open their eyes wider than the narrow breadth of party service at the primaries and polls; who can see that the State needs to advance its education and contentment—men who can see all around and take a step forward.

“I take leave of you with the fervent hope that we shall not be driven upon the rock of stubbornness, and that we shall find a safe harbor in good counsels and good nominations of men that can be depended on to devote themselves to government wholly free from the domination of the untrustworthy machine of Quay, Andrews, Reeder & Co.

THE VAN VALKENBERG CASE.

“I am not done, as I expected to be. I intended to have relieved your patience with the words already spoken, but since I have left home, and on the eve of entering this meeting, I had put into my hands a pamphlet, issued under the title of a phrase in my first speech at Lancaster, ‘Commercialism in Politics.’ I am not willing to postpone for even a single hour the engagement with the enemy who has again raised the black and threatening flag of falsehood. Politicians in Pennsylvania are too busy to go to Cuba. The pamphlet reprints, with comments, the arrest and hearing before the Justice of the Peace, and settlement, of the E. A. Van Valkenberg case. It is all paraded in detail, though the prosecutor settled it.

“The pamphlet declares that the Governor, in the interests of the machine, entered into a plot employing detectives, one of whom became a convict and was imprisoned in New York State while the Van Valkenberg case was going on, and that Mr. Weiss, of your county, and Mr. Mackey, of Lackawanna, of repute certainly superior to these hired detectives, were bribed by Mr. Van Valkenberg in my interest. Both Mr. Weiss and Mr. Mackey publicly avowed that no such bribing took place. As against their statements you

are asked to take the statements of these paid detectives of a political machine, all-powerful in Pennsylvania, and well known not to be above the defamation of character. The charges made were all flatly denied under oath by E. A. Van Valkenberg, the accused, who was dragged in the dead of night into a Court friendly to his prosecution by the political machine, so far as the District Attorney and his clerks were concerned. Circumstantial evidence is reported of a farcical hearing where a prompter stood behind the witness and read certain written statements now published, made by a hired assassin of character, whose employer, also testifying soon after, was put behind the prison bars in New York State.

AN INFAMOUS BUSINESS.

“Stripped of the dramatic, this is all the case, except what is absolutely mere distortion of truth. A half truth is often worse than an out-and-out lie. An unknown man called on me with a letter from a reputable citizen from Altoona, introducing him as Tillard. That letter, the writer claims, was gotten from him by deception.

“The man who now confesses that he came to assassinate me and my friends, by direction of the Quay-Andrews-Reeder machine, asked for information about the campaign, and I referred him to the Committee at the Bourse, and mentioned names of several individuals. I believe that Mr. Van Valkenberg was out of town at the time he called. Tillard now claims that I then employed him, an unknown person, to go out and buy votes for me. He knows, and so does everybody else know, that he begins his infamous business with a lie in his mouth. Whatever service he entered upon professedly in my behalf was of his own proffer, and whoever trusted him with money for his expenses and to loan, as I am told, to an individual, persecuted because of his interest in my campaign, simply fell into a dastardly trap set by Reeder and others whose names are in my possession.

“I never gave the man a dollar to buy a vote for me, and never authorized, directly or indirectly, or winked at the purchase of a vote for me, not even by the bribing of a man with an appointment of a place in my store, which I could

easily have done, and was frequently appealed to do. Mr. Weiss was known to my committee to be against me, and Mr. Tillard, who wanted to see him in my behalf, was distinctly directed not to do so, as I am informed, and if Tillard took money and marked it as bribe money he did so of his own volition, to carry out his nefarious bargaining with his employer.

“There is not now, and never has been, any concealment of the fact that the committee representing me did assist unelected men, who had declared their intention to support me, by aiding them in strictly legitimate expenses. That man does not live who can truthfully say that I hired a man or permitted a living being to pay any money in the Senatorial election campaign as bribes, and if any man was so paid, which I do not believe, it was, and is, and always will be, without my consent and against my instructions.

“As regards the statement that an effort was made unsuccessfully to subpoena me as a witness, it is known that two drunken men once failed to get access to my office, and who may have had a legal paper; but it is absurd and untrue to say I could not be subpoenaed. Moreover, I am ready to make an affidavit that I returned from Europe from the bedside of a sick child last October solely to be within reach if I was wanted for the service of the subpoena upon me in Mr. Van Valkenberg's expected trial. I desire to distinctly state that I never was consulted about the settlement of the case, did not know it was to be settled, never paid a dollar or any other sum personally or instructed any other person to pay any money for me for its settlement; and, further, I am reliably informed that no money was paid on my behalf by any one in settlement of the Van Valkenberg case, and I solemnly declare that I do not know where the money came from that settled it. It was a sincere disappointment to me personally that the case was ever settled without trial.

HOLDS A CONFESSION.

“I have further to add that the arrest of Van Valkenberg and the charges against him were solely the work of politi-

cians connected with the Quay-Reeder ring, and that the confession of one of the actual conspirators is now in my possession. The publication of the unsigned anonymous pamphlet is a part of the political game of the hard-pressed machine, which stops at nothing to gain its ends.

“John S. Hopkins, the cashier of the People’s Bank, was driven to a suicide’s grave by the politicians he served. He went down with a pistol in his one hand because of a sad truth told by himself as he looked into a grave, and in the piteous tear-stained letter he left to his widow and fatherless children, when he said that the other hand ‘is in the lion’s mouth, I cannot get it out, and to me death is preferable.’

“I have not got my hand in the lion’s mouth, and please God I live to fight them.”

IF WANAMAKER WERE GOVERNOR!

What he would do to Reform the Party and the Politics of the State—A declaration which every Voter should read as it is the stamp of the man—No Quay tool or boss or candidate ever made such a declaration—or could.

The People would
get their
Rights.

One of the most remarkable and interesting speeches of his remarkable campaign was delivered by Hon. John Wanamaker during a day’s tour in Northampton county on May 14. He told what he would do were he elected Governor, as follows:

“I have made more than sixty speeches since the opening of this campaign against the system of political corruption that is sapping the strength and virtue from the Republican party in Pennsylvania, and threatening its very existence. Every speech has embodied some new thought, and has analyzed some new feature of Quayism. The versatility of the speeches has attracted some attention, which the people mis-

takenly credit to the author, instead of to the proper source—which is the Quay machine—that has been making an almost limitless amount of ammunition. The Quay machine has made the powder and balls, and has loaded the guns; it only requires the man with a match to fire them off. The analysis of the Quay machine is like the chambers of scientific investigation—the further you explore, the more new avenues open up before you, and the larger the store of hidden secrets you gather. And if any one believes that Wanamaker is exhausting this subject, they are mistaken, for I will promise you that I have new data enough at hand to continue the same character of speeches almost indefinitely.

“It is an easy matter to criticise governmental policies, but it is difficult to remedy their defects. Any man can say your work is not perfectly done, but any man cannot improve upon your work. I have become so absorbed in digging out and bringing to light car loads of abuses and train loads of wrongs that are being dumped upon the people of Pennsylvania, that I begin to feel that I have become a sort of chronic critic. I will, for to-night, desert the field of corruption hunting and discovering, and, from the standpoint of a plain business man, talk to you about remedies.

MR. WANAMAKER'S PLEDGES.

“That some one may be made responsible for the suggestions I make, and for the radical change of policies I advocate, I will preface the discussion by pledging you that if I were to be chosen Governor of Pennsylvania I would inaugurate the following changes and business reforms:

“I would agree to give the best trust company's security obtainable, and guarantee that every dollar of the State money should earn at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, and that every cent of interest it did earn would be paid into the State Treasury. If, during the four years of my administration there should be the same average amount in State banks that there has been during the past ten years it would yield to the State \$200,000, in addition to the \$300,000 that the new interest bill will now give the State from the same source. In other

words, in one Gubernatorial term I would produce by secured loans of the State money to financial institutions a half million of dollars, or enough to build the needed State Capitol.

"I would ask authority to see if the State could really get the large sums of money now in favored banks. I would first demand the payment into the State Treasury of every dollar of it that could be gotten, and force the collection of the balance, and would redeposit it only in institutions offering the best security and paying the best price. I would compel the prompt payment of all taxes and obligations due the State from corporations.

WOULD PAY THE SCHOOL MONEYS.

"I would pay the public school moneys to school districts when they are due. This would cost the State nothing, and would save the school districts hundreds of thousands of dollars interest. The \$3,500,000 of school money withheld from school districts from June 1, 1897, to January 1, 1898, only seven months, at 6 per cent. interest, the rate the school districts are obliged to pay for the equivalent of this money to run their schools, took from the taxpayers \$122,500. It is a pretty round sum for the taxpayers in times like these to allow the Quay machine to take and be cheerful about it all. I want you all to make a note of these figures; they are matters of record.

"I would ask the Legislature to give me authority to compel the State Treasurer to return to the counties at once their share of the personal property tax. The machine passed law compels counties which are entitled to 75 per cent. of the personal tax for county purposes, to pay the entire tax into the State Treasury. Instead of the State Treasurer deducting 25 per cent. the State's share, and returning the balance to the counties to which it belongs, he withholds the entire amount for months for the use of the machine. In rural counties you are compelled to pay your personal tax before a given date or pay a 10 per cent. penalty.

"This same money that is forced from you is sent to the Treasurer. The State Treasurer keeps your county's share

for months for the benefit of favored politicians. In the meantime your County Commissioners are obliged to pay interest for money to take the place of that which is being withheld from your county. Thus you are doubly taxed. First, to raise the money to pay into the State Treasury; second, to allow the Quay machine to use your money after it is due.

"I have found it impossible to get at the State Treasurer's books to ascertain what the loss is each year from this source to the taxpayers, but it is enormous, and far larger than the loss from withheld school moneys.

"I would ask authority to compel the proper itemization of bills and accounts paid by the State, and would not pay the dishonest charges of favored contractors because they might happen to have a political pull.

"I would stop the general appropriation bill being made an omnibus to carry hundreds of thousands of dollars of illegal machine items that could never be passed as separate bills, and would not allow it to be held back until the last hour of the session, so the school appropriation, which it carries, could be used as a threatening club to drive through other iniquitous items.

"I would institute a general house-cleaning throughout the different departments. I would carefully investigate the State printing contracts and the manner in which the work is done, and the prices paid. I would just now try to ascertain if certain officials, high in party management, who pass upon these bills for taxpayers, are not participants in the profits of said contracts.

"I would turn the light into every nook and corner of the Department of Public Grounds and Buildings, and learn why the expenditures have so increased, and why the cloud of suspicion always surrounds that department.

WOULD MAKE INVESTIGATIONS.

"I would ask for authority to have an expert examination of the State Treasury Department, together with the books of all State Treasurers for the past twenty years, with a view to both unearthing the gross irregularities that are known

to exist and also that I might cause suit to be brought against those who have converted the earnings of the State money to their own use, for the law provides that money so taken can be recovered at any time afterward, and that such thefts never outlaw. I would subpoena every bank official and the books and papers of all banks that have had State deposits to furnish me with the necessary evidence.

“If all money that has been misappropriated from this one source by machine officials could be recovered it would be sufficient to build two new State capitols.

“No exorbitant election contest bills would receive my approval, and only lawful pay-rolls would be paid, unless passed over my head. From these two sources from \$50,000 to \$75,000 would be saved every year.

“Political supernumeraries and machine camp followers would cease to be pensioners upon the taxpayers’ bounty.

“I would use every effort to force shorter sessions of the Legislature—100 days at the longest. This would save \$200,000 at each session.

“Faithfulness and capability, instead of rascality and incompetency, would be my standard for appointments and promotions.

“The great State of Pennsylvania, an empire in itself, with boundless resources, and almost countless wealth, should blush to acknowledge that she turns a deaf ear to the cries of charity, while she allows politicians to steal these unfortunates’ shares.

HELP FOR STATE INSTITUTIONS.

“Necessary State expenditures must be met; after them come charities. I would see that the overcrowded and unhealthful condition of State charitable institutions should immediately be remedied. The thousands of poor, unfortunate insane who are now crowded into stone corridors, where they sleep upon floors or cots, would be relieved as fast as carpenters and bricklayers could provide new buildings.

“I would never consent to the reduction of the public school appropriation, but would favor still larger appropriations as fast as the State could afford it.

“I would favor assisting private charities and educational institutions which bestow general benefits to the State.

“I would favor the building of a new State Capitol, in strict accordance with the recommendations of the Legislature.

“I would oppose with all my power any law to place oleomargarine on any kind of a footing with pure butter.

“I would ask the Legislature to drive railroad and corporation lobbyists out of the legislative halls, and to stop the wholesale debauchery by the use of free passes.

“I would veto every appropriation bill passed by one man in Washington over the heads of the appropriation committee.

“I would favor a tax on beer and remunerative investments to relieve the land of the farmer. Beer is the most legitimate subject of taxation that we have to-day with its rapidly increasing business and piling up profits. A larger part of this product is paid for with bread money of the poor. Buyers of beer become paupers—paupers become a burden on the State. The more beer that is sold the more paupers are made for the State to support, and it is but fair that the brewer should take care of his own victims.

“Before one dollar more of tax is placed upon the people, I would favor the taxing of railroad rolling stock, telegraph and telephone poles, pipe lines and the profits of great enterprises.

“I would favor stringent laws against pools and trusts, to prevent interference with natural business or the enhancement of the price of staple commodities beyond a legitimate profit limit.

“I believe one of the greatest economic questions that coming Legislatures will be called upon to meet is that of good roads. I believe the State can secure good roads without increased taxation out of the savings from extravagant administration, and thereby serve the urgent and deserved demands of the wheelmen, advance the value of farm lands, open up sections of the State to increased settlement and facilitate transportation.

“I favor the reduction of taxation, and believe that the honest and economical conduct of the State’s business would give ample to schools and charities, and save the State between one and one and a half million dollars annually. A proper and intelligent equalization of taxation will go far to solve the controversy between capital and labor, and yield the wage-earner bread instead of bullets. It would aid to promote prosperity, happiness and patriotism.

A REPLY TO CANDIDATE STONE.

“Out of eighty-eight lines of the Philadelphia Times, a Democratic newspaper, containing the report of Colonel Stone’s purported speech at Philipsburg last night, he devotes sixty-six to me personally, giving but twenty-two lines to public questions. Practically the speech is a scream against Mr. Wanamaker, and most ridiculously occupies the time of a reported large audience that came together to discuss public affairs. Not a single item made against the Legislature and the Quay-Andrews machine seems to have been taken up, and no attempt made to answer any of the charges that sustain the argument that he ought not to be elected Governor.

“He apologizes for coming to the people and claims that it is my fault that public meetings are being held. He also states that it is all waste time, which is a confession that the matter of elections is a matter of the machine, and that the people are not to be taken into consideration. He then enters up an insult against the newspapers of Philadelphia and Pittsburg for sending at their own expense their representatives to measure the height and breadth and depth of the anti-Quay movement, and claims that these men, who have never been asked to write a speech for me or paid a cent by me—have prepared my speeches.

QUAY FURNISHED WANAMAKER WITH FACTS.

“I do not know a living man who ever prepared a speech for me, and if Colonel Stone will see the men that he refers to, and will get them to prepare such speeches as I have been making, I will be grateful to him and pay all the bills, be-

cause it will enable me to make double the addresses, which I would be willing to do and could very easily do if I had some one to prepare them. This very weak statement of Colonel Stone's, like many others of the machine people, may account for the confession he makes that he has lost his business as a lawyer, and which he states perhaps as a reason why he should be given the office of Governor. I think the undisputed fact that Colonel Stone charged a \$10,000 fee to the State for collecting \$2,400 is quite enough to show how he has lost his legal business.

"I dictated this while the meeting at Bangor was organizing, with the hall filled, at 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, and enough people said to be outside to fill another hall, to set Colonel Stone's mind at rest by the information which I am surprised he has not had. I will tell him who writes my speeches. It is Mr. Quay himself. Through his acts and the acts of his obedient servants at Harrisburg last winter everything I say he prepared for me himself, and it is a matter of record, accessible to Mr. Stone. Mr. Stone states that he wants to be governor, which, of course, everybody knows, but he does not wish it half as bad as Mr. Quay wants it for him, and not one-fourth as bad as Mr. Andrews wants it for him. The fact is that Andrews is supposed to have some mysterious influence by which he conceals all this from Mr. Stone, and that Mr. Quay and Mr. Andrews have dropped out of Pennsylvania politics. How can any one credit this statement, and the further statement that Colonel Stone does not know anything about the last Legislature, which he ignores. How can a man dealing in such trifling talk be competent for Governor?"

QUAY'S KITCHEN CABINET.

Who compose it and how they hold Sunday Sessions by the seashore—Frank Reeder's appeals for vindication—How William H. Andrews of Lexow fame got his seat in the Legislature—The Builder of the New Capitol in the Ring.

The Sunday session of Quay's kitchen cabinet of office-holders and hangers-on at Avalon, N. J., on the Sabbath preceding the night of May 19th, when Mr. Wanamaker spoke at Mt. Union, closing a day's wonderful campaigning in Huntington, furnished Mr. Wanamaker with an opportunity to describe its interesting members as follows:

"I believe it would be better for a great party to go down than to permit a few thousand office-holders, by virtue of patronage control, to become absolute rulers of six millions of people who are practically beyond any power to intervene. When neither protest, entreaty, divisions nor respectful demands avail, it is not likely that six million taxpayers will idly retreat before six hundred or six thousand of their servants, paid with taxpayers' money.

"Last Sunday the House of Lords of office-holders raised the flag of their Provisional Government for Pennsylvania from 1899 to 1903, notwithstanding the reasonable, persistent, proper and intense protest of the people for one hundred days past.

"The convention to nominate a Governor for the next four years for Pennsylvania met last Sunday. The session was held at Avalon, at the house of Mr. Becker, State Senator, author of the Becker bill, which intended to destroy the effectiveness of the provisions of the Bullitt bill. There were six persons present, convened by the boss—United States Senator Quay, State Senator Durham, State Chairman John P. Elkin, deposed from the Attorney General's office; Collector of the Port Wesley Thomas, State Senator Becker, Allen B. Rorke, contractor for the new Capitol and proposed candidate for Mayor.

“These six men, who toil not, neither do they spin, all office holders except the contractor of the Capitol, held the convention and put through the slate. It robbed W. A. Stone of the disguise he was traveling under as late as Saturday night last, by declaring him the candidate of the Republican party. On June 2, 362 men are to meet together in Pennsylvania, at great expense, to ratify this Sunday convention for Pennsylvania's Governor made in New Jersey.

SLATE MAKERS' SUNDAY SCHEMES.

“This great and powerful State must surrender to the Sunday slate-makers who care nothing for the people's rights or wishes. When June 2 comes the 362 are commanded to get down on their knees and worship the Quay image in Stone—set up by the chairman of the State committee, under boss orders. Did you suppose that the chairman of a State committee had a right to pick out the man the convention must nominate?

“But enough of this Sunday feast and its skeleton of the Republican party, once strong, united, unconquerable. The cup of its wrong-doing is nearly full—the world has moved on, and it sees not, neither will it hear. Better if on that Sunday they had read and thought of ancient Israel, when David waxed stronger and stronger, and Saul waxed weaker and weaker. Then they might have passed in their high-handed disfranchisement of the people and their electors to the June convention.

“A great popular verdict of condemnation of the discreditable tactics of party rule must follow as sure as spring, summer and autumn follow winter. He who will not answer to the rudder must answer to the rocks, is an old proverb. Were office holders generally taxpayers things would be different. As they ride over Pennsylvania they say: ‘All these acres have been presented to us to raise taxes upon.’ The wheat crop and the corn crop and the tobacco crop greatly vary, and sometimes are very poor, but the crop of taxes never varies except to increase, and this makes a politician's life one long, loud laugh.

REEDER AND HIS VANISHED CAREER.

“Day before yesterday Northampton county, the heretofore stronghold of Quay and Reedism, spoke through her Republican primaries, and I bring to the people of Huntingdon county to-night her message of warning to the bosses who are planning to place a destroying mine under the old Republican ship of Pennsylvania.

Since 1858 the Reeder dynasty has ruled supreme in Northampton county. The distribution of Federal offices and official favors by the Reeders for all those years, through the grace of the Cameron-Quay-Andrews machine, has builded in Northampton county a political despotism that has been absolute until yesterday. It is the first time the county has ever been invaded and the dictatorship of Frank Reeder disputed.

“Northampton county is the home of great corporations that are the recipients of large favors from the Quay machine. They are all bound to stand by Reeder. There is not an anti-Quay-Reeder Republican paper in the county. There was no anti-Reeder-Quay organization in the county, but in spite of all I am informed that a change of less than forty votes would have carried the county against the Reeder-Quay outfit.

“In Easton, the home of Reeder, where he begged for vindication, a change of seven individual votes would have given the Anti-Reeder people one-half of the delegates. In South Easton the assistant superintendent of a railroad company, who, it is said, has eighty per cent. of the Republican voters of the district under him, and who is a Reeder lieutenant, stood inside the voting room, and saw every man deposit his vote, yet the ward gave but two majority for Reeder and Quay.

“I received a message before I left Philadelphia which said that in the slate regions, where our party made speeches last Saturday, and which has heretofore been a Reeder stronghold, the anti-Reeder-Quay people elected forty-two out of the forty-five county delegates by winning every district in which a contest was made. This is the strongly Republican

end of the county, and the voting population is comprised almost wholly of workingmen, many of whom until last Saturday knew but little of the true meaning of Reeder and Quayism.

“Frank Reeder, to save the fight, became a candidate for Governor. Local pride was appealed to—corporations put on the screws—Reeder begged for votes for vindication and only won by a very slight margin. These are the kind of victories the machine is winning this year throughout the State. It is the kind of victories that forebode doom and disaster to the machine when the people get a chance to strike. There is sentiment with the people, if not organization, and when you analyze the vote of the county that which seems a victory for the Quay machine is clear evidence of defeat. It is notable that Bethlehem, where the Behlehem Iron Company holds sway, and where no public meeting could be arranged to get the truth of this political situation before the people, the vote was solid for the Quay-Reeder machine. Great is the power of the armor contractors who sell Russia American-made armor at \$249 per ton, and would at the same time charge their own tariff-protected country nearly double, or \$525 per ton.

“Is it any wonder that the tariff cause suffers from such frightful arguments so conspicuously presented against it?

“Were I a politician and after office I might think it bad politics for me personally to make these statements, losing me the good will of these corporations, but I am not asking any favors except for the public good.

LEGISLATIVE ROLL CALLS ARE COOKED.

“I have discussed in other speeches the many different ways that machine legislation is driven through the Legislature. The methods of intimidation, the uses of money, the promise of office, the pressure from great corporations, the wholesale distribution of passes and the law-éevading rules of legislative practices are further supplemented by the boldest and most flagrant violations of the law, by certain officers of the Legislature who keep the record of roll calls.

“When first my attention was called to this matter it seemed to me so monstrous that I was loath to believe it, but a careful inquiry and examination has proved its entire correctness, and the statements I make touching this matter are susceptible of the fullest proof. Many and very important laws are to-day upon the statute books of Pennsylvania that are said to have never received the constitutional majority of votes in the Legislature, but which were passed by being deliberately counted in by the clerks of the House or Senate.

“Millions of your money is appropriated every session by marking up the votes of members who are not present during roll call. The names of many members are recorded as having voted on scores of appropriation bills that have passed, by just the constitutional majority, or at least slender margins who were absent at the time the bills were considered, and who did not respond to the roll call. The marking up and padding of roll calls on important bills is openly and boldly done. It requires the most constant vigilance on the part of anti-machine men to see that the roll calls are kept correct during the session of the Legislature.

HOW ANDREWS GOT HIS SEAT.

“The closing days and particularly the last night of the session, when members have grown weary and indifferent by overwork, and when legislation is rushed through with dangerous and almost criminal haste, then it is that the rankest kind of fraud is attempted or perpetrated. Senator William H. Andrews, late of Crawford county, who just now is steering the State political machine towards the W. A. Stone rapids, would probably never have profaned the halls of the State Senate but for a most shameless fraud alleged to have been committed by a clerk under the direction of the machine in making up the legislative rolls. Andrews was defeated for the Legislature, and his opponent given a certificate of election which legally entitled his name to be placed upon the roll, instead of that of Andrews. But a chief clerk, by orders, it is stated, from Senator Quay, in making up the roll during an open session of the House, deliberately substituted the name of Andrews for that of his opponent.

“Under the law the man who holds the certificate of election is entitled to his seat as a member of the Legislature until the election contest is decided, but in this case the man holding the regular credentials was deprived of his seat to make room for Andrews, through the unlawful act of a machine-controlled clerk, who illegally made up the roll. Thus a man who, according to returns was elected a member of the Legislature by the people, and who is said to have held proper credentials, was never allowed to sit a day in the Legislature! The report of the elections committee, under the control of Quay and Andrews, was only a matter of form, and of course Andrews was permitted to retain his seat.

THE NOTORIOUS POOL BILL.

“If roll calls are questioned and the names of members who were not present are found to be recorded as having voted, it has been held that the roll call can only be corrected by the personal statement of the member whose vote is thus questioned, no matter if it is found that this one disputed vote is necessary to make the constitutional majority. In this manner a roll may be padded and though the Legislature has full knowledge of the fact, it is unable to correct it. The bill can be sent immediately to a machine controlled Governor, who can sign it and it becomes a law and can in no way be affected, though later a dozen members might testify they had not voted.

“During the last night of the last session an effort was made to pass the notorious pool bill. After the roll had been called, Representative Moore, of Chester, demanded a reading of the roll. The chief clerk tried to evade it; the demand for a reading was renewed, and again it was refused. Finally the Chief Clerk was forced to read the roll, when it was discovered that several members who were absent were recorded as having voted. The climax was reached when the name of Representative Sloan, of Washington county, who it was stated was at that time in Denver, Col., was read as having voted for the bill. His name is still recorded as having voted on the pool bill in the affirmative, Leg. Rec., p 3708. And

on the same day, July 1, 1897, He is recorded as having voted for the Grant monument junketing trip expense bill, Leg. Rec., p. 3714, and also for the machine revenue bill, Leg. Rec., p. 3712.

THE SALE OF POST OFFICES.

“I think it proper to add a few words about the barter and sale of post offices in this Commonwealth, which has been discussed very generally by the public. On the 10th of this month I received the following letter, not mailed to me until three days after it was published in the newspapers throughout the State:

“Washington, D. C., May 6.

“Hon. John Wanamaker, Philadelphia, Pa.

“Dear Sir: The statement made by you concerning the sale or offering for sale, of the appointment of postmaster at Tyrone, and my acceptance of, or agreement to accept, \$3,000, or any other sum of money for said office, as published in the Philadelphia Press and Somerset Standard, is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. It has no foundation in truth or in fact. I respectfully demand that you give this denial the same publicity that you have given your statements, and I request the name of your authority that I may give him an opportunity to answer in court. Respectfully yours,

J. D. HICKS.’

“Yesterday I mailed the following reply, which I put into this speech in order to give it the widest possible publicity:

“May 18, 1898.

“Hon. Josiah D. Hicks, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

“My Dear Sir: Referring to your letter of the 6th instant, I have to say that on the 28th of April last, at West Chester, I made the following general statement:

“To what depth of political infamy has the Quay control of Pennsylvania reached when post offices are practically put up at a form of auction and knocked down to the political

heeler who can pay the largest sum for the privilege of becoming postmaster, and who at the same time is capable of carrying the most voters for Quay! It is a notorious fact that at least in two Congressional districts it is boldly asserted and easily proven that post offices are offered for sale and have been sold. And these offices are in districts whose members of Congress are Quay's warmest supporters, and they look to him to secure the offices for the men to whom they are sold.'

"Listen to this:

"April 23, 1898.

"Dear Sir: I have filed my application with the Postmaster General for the post office at T——, but it is said that our Congressman is holding it for \$3,000. Now I do not think it right to buy the office and have not the money to do so, and write asking for your aid in the matter. Can you give me any, or suggest any course that will help me in securing it? If you can, I will be greatly obliged. Yours, etc.,

"'———.'

"What do you think of this, my friends, for political infamy? Of what value is your opinion, or your indorsement in the selection of postmaster? The post offices of Pennsylvania are sold like farm produce.

"Your letter apparently applies the above statements to yourself.

"Whatever is my responsibility for the foregoing statements I am ready to meet, and my attorney, G. Harry Davis, Esq., 608 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, will act for me. With respect,

"'———.'

"It will do no harm to say in this connection I have other information on this subject that will be forthcoming at the proper time. This is a sample, written by a reputable and reliable citizen:

“Hon. John Wanamaker, Philadelphia.

“Dear Sir: I see * * * the sale of post office in his district. If you can find one ——. I think at ———, Pa., who was an applicant for postmaster at ——— county, Pa., last * * he can give you some positive information. Almost any one in ——— can give you his address. He was formerly a ——— in ———. Yours.

“Here is another from entirely reliable people:

“‘———, Pa., May 13, 1898.

“‘It is needless for you to go to ——— county to find out anything about selling post offices and other offices. ——— accused Congressman ——— of selling post offices last ———. I understand all the offices here were promised when ——— was a candidate for renomination. The corruption in this county is so bad and our party here so rotten that it is a disgrace to civilization. Truthfulness, honesty and sobriety are lost for the sake of office. If the people are willing to uphold this corruption and dishonesty, God save the country. Congressman ——— must be an angel to our Congressman ———. I have been a Republican since 1860, but our party now stinks in the nostrils of any decent man. Yours very truly.’

“Fellow-countrymen, so patient to hear and so willing to be right, this is the time to call out our forces to fight these foes whose long course in political debasement has left them shameless.

“Political speculations in the Cuban war policies and speculations in post offices go hand in hand. With our facts exactly right, the power over conditions and circumstances ought to be complete.”

\$10,000 VOTED TO A FAKE HOSPITAL.

The Sick and the Insane of the State at Quay's Mercy.
Asylums and Hospitals "Held Up" at his nod.

How honest Legislators are forced to Vote
as the Machine directs—The Senate
at Quay's bidding voted \$10,000
to a Hospital that never
existed.

The way in which Quay holds a club over every hospital sick bed and insane asylum inmate was illustrated by Mr. Wanamaker in his speech before a great audience at Phoenixville on May 27th. This is what he said:

"Pennsylvania appropriates more than \$24,000,000 every two years for the running expenses of the State government, the public schools and charities. Every dollar of the vast expenditure must pass before the appropriation committees of the Senate and House. These committees are always Quay political organizations. Membership is dictated by Senator Quay himself, and their known subserviency to his will is responsible for the selection of a majority of both committees each session. Members are impressed and educated in manifold ways to understand that the \$24,000,000 of public moneys really belong to Senator Quay; that the appropriations to schools, hospitals, penal institutions and asylums must be regarded as the personal gifts of Senator Quay, and every gift of public moneys must therefore be made to yield returns to his political machine.

"While not wishing to reflect personally or individually upon the members of the committee it can be said that appropriations are made as much with the view of aiding the Quay machine as from a desire to serve the cause of humanity. Politics controls the appointment of trustees of State institutions, and politics controls the appropriations given to State institutions. The needs of overcrowded asylums and unhealthy hospitals count as nought against the request of the man with a political pull and who can deliver State delegates.

“The State is compelled by law to take care of State patients, and the State is compelled by law to pay all bills, yet the same grateful, appreciative and generous loyalty is demanded by the officers of these State institutions toward the machine for the privilege given them by Senator Quay to use the State’s money to pay the State’s debts.

“The following figures will give some idea of the magnitude of this branch of the machine. There are twenty educational institutions beside the public schools that receive State aid. The aggregate amount, including the public schools, that they will receive in 1898 is \$6,831,436. Under the machine construction of things this must be considered as Senator Quay’s personal contribution to the cause of education, and must bear just that many dollars’ worth of Quay results.

“One hundred and fifteen charitable institutions will receive State aid during 1898. The sum they will receive will aggregate \$843,800. Viewed from a machine standpoint this is certainly a princely sum for Senator Quay to spend for charity, notwithstanding he has ignored the overcrowded and unhealthy condition of so many of these institutions to meet the increased expenses for indemnity bonds, mileage grabs and junketing trips.

“Senator Quay’s committee will allow \$717,700 to be given to the support of the indigent insane this year. This is \$202,620 less than was allowed them in 1897, though the number of insane is constantly increasing and their overcrowded condition is becoming more aggravated every year. The eight penitentiaries and reformatories will be allowed \$302,583 for 1898, the same sum that was granted in 1897.

“For miscellaneous expenses \$226,720 will be allowed for 1898.

HOW CHARITY IS MADE TO PAY.

“The power the political machine generates from this source is almost beyond belief. Hospitals are the most important institutions in many legislative districts. The people of these districts, who have already given more of their labor and money than they can well afford, support men for

the Legislature who they believe may be able to secure appropriations for their hospitals. These members must secure the appropriation at all hazards. Their re-election depends upon it. These districts are well known to the machine managers, and political 'steerers' are put upon their representatives when they first appear in Harrisburg. They are first made to believe that Quay, and Quay alone, can give them their appropriation. They are promised a liberal sum for their hospital if they will follow the machine blindly. If they hesitate their appropriations are threatened.

"It is made very plain that charity is secondary to politics. Their constituents urge them to save the hospital at any sacrifice. They pause for a time between being independent, and losing their appropriation, or being subservient, and thereby aiding charity. The influence of this part of the machine cannot be overestimated. To secure aid for the most worthy charities within the State more than a score of members are compelled to support every machine measure, and the fear that no help will be given institutions, whose years of noble work is a part of the history of the State, controls many more votes.

\$10,000 FOR A BOGUS HOSPITAL.

"At the last session of the Legislature the committee was obliged to refuse actual maintenance for many of the most deserving hospitals of the State. Yet this same committee, under orders, passed for Senator Coyle, of Schuylkill, a Quay lieutenant, an appropriation of \$10,000 for the maintenance of the American Hospital Association, of Mahanoy township, which was an imaginary institution of Senator Coyle's, without capital, without a building, or without even a site upon which to build one. This fraud was fortunately discovered by Governor Hastings, who vetoed the nefarious scheme.

"I am informed by an ex-member of the appropriation committee that during a recent session of the Legislature the appropriation committee, after months of work and the unmerciful slashing of meritorious bills, had succeeded in making the total amount of appropriations fall within the

estimated revenues. Upon the last night that bills could be reported from the committee and be passed before adjournment, orders came from Senator Quay that more than \$500,000 of bills for powerful and rich institutions must be passed. These bills had all been considered by the committee on their merits and negatived. Upon orders from the "old man" they were considered and reported favorably within one hour. A prominent Philadelphia business man dared not contribute to the Business Men's League because he was a director in the Philadelphia Museum, and he had been notified the institution would lose an appropriation that upon its merits alone it is entitled to receive.

"This may be my last political speech before the Republican State convention, which will be held at Harrisburg on June 2d. The campaign, though filled with arduous labors, has grown more interesting and attractive to me every day. The explorations of the labyrinths of machine secrets and iniquities have fascinated me. I close the speech-making for the present with but one regret, viz.: That the time has been too short to discuss one-half of the abuses I have discovered and the damaging facts I have gathered. I promise you I have been saving the choicest morsels for dessert, but there have been so many courses that it cannot be reached before convention time. The meal may be only temporarily interrupted, and perhaps we may be compelled to finish it later.

"It has been said that Wanamaker is a very poor politician, and I believe the statement is entirely correct. I became a candidate against the advice of my political friends at a time when I could not safely count upon the vote of a single delegate in the State.

"When I told the people, and told them honestly, that I did not want to be Governor, my political friends said I had made an awful blunder. When I made speeches in counties that I knew would elect delegates against me my political friends said my course was well-nigh suicidal. When I criticised laws that unjustly discriminated against the weak and in favor of the powerful my political friends said it was poor policy.

“When I said that the corporate trusts of the State were usurping others’ rights and robbing the people my political friends predicted that the corporations would unite and crush me.

“When I said that beer was the most legitimate subject for taxation my political friends said that brewers would expend millions to defeat me.

NEWSPAPERS WILL NOT SUPPORT QUAY.

“When I said that the great news channels of the State were under Quay censorship my political friends said that the newspapers would no longer print my speeches.

“When I refused to entertain any suggestion of compromise and declared I would be bound by no deals my political friends predicted that I would find myself standing very much alone before the end of the canvas.

“When I struck at every ugly head that I found exposed, without fear or favor, my political friends said that politicians would become afraid to trust me, and would not dare to give me their support. When I showed that under Republican Quay rule the people were paying over one-third too much taxes and that any ordinary economical administration would save the taxpayers \$1,500,000 annually my political friends said that my enemies would make the Republican voters believe I was trying to wreck the Republican party. My policy has been at almost constant variance with my political friends. According, therefore, to modern political science and methods, I must have made an awful mess of this campaign.

“But if I have made mistakes that will cost me the votes of delegates it is all right. The election of delegates for me has been secondary to the real purpose of my campaign. I can truthfully say that I cannot tell within twenty-five of how many delegates will vote for me in convention. I accepted the commission from the hands of the Bourse meeting, and that commission did not command me to advance the political fortunes of Wanamaker, but to try to free Pennsylvania from a reign of political tyranny and help to save the Republican party from threatened destruction.

“If I have not succeeded in gathering delegates that will stand for me in the State Convention I certainly have presented startling and uncontroverted facts that will stand against Quayism in the future. I was mustered in to serve until June 2, and if the battle is not then won I promise you that I shall enlist again, not for time, but until the war is ended.

“In my letter of acceptance of the call of one of the most representative, intelligent and practical bodies of men that ever met in convention in my State, I said, after mature reflection, that I believed, in view of facts in my possession, that the political ring would be restored; that I believed the people had determined to act for themselves apart from the politicians and intended this very year to resume control of the rights vested in them, that had been wrested from them and withheld by force and fraud. The experiences in the last three or four months of close acquaintance with the people, listening to the true-souled patriots who have patiently waited for the time to come, satisfies me that the day of deliverance has come, and delay to recognize it means danger.

“A sporadic spurt of a faction is never dangerous, and such movements are temporary; but this organized resistance to bossism has come to stay until the old party returns to its old, true principles, or a new party is born to receive all the good that remains of the Lincoln and Blaine planting. Bosses, sub-bosses, big bosses, and little bosses, ward bosses, county bosses, township bosses, village bosses, post office bosses, State bank bosses may as well take notice that all attempts to hold together the Republican party by deceit and fraud any longer are futile and will be disastrous in the extreme. By the twenty years of uncomplaining suffering has come to-day to the people a giant's strength to tear out of the statute books the laws that have been enacted by political partisans to maintain ascendancy and protect the law-breakers who have bought and sold State and Federal patronage.

“The extreme gravity of the political situation carries us next door to a revolution. A Governor's mansion, with an

Oliver Cromwell in it, and a Legislature, with clean windows that the people may look into as they please, is the imperative necessity of the hour. Forty days of deluge will not wash away this demand of the people. They know that Senator Quay by electing his own Governor and Legislature, as a matter of course, becomes Senator, controlling for the next seven years all the appointments of the President for Pennsylvania—all the appointments of the State—its law-making and law administration, excluding from appointment of such Judges and District Attorneys as will not obey his interests. The population of the United States being 70,000,000, Pennsylvania having between six and seven millions, he has control of the well-being of one-tenth of the United States.

“It is idle to say that it is a faction that raises the commotion that exists from the Delaware to the Allegheny. It is not a mushroom of a day. The lightning of righteous wrath has struck in every county of our State.

“It was an unworthy slander on the old fathers and the faithful of our party to attribute unworthy motives to the four hundred members of the Bourse conference. They, much more than a cabal of six on a Sunday, represent the true heart of the old Republican party. What is a faction? Do you know that the Century Standard Dictionary defines it as one that seeks, by unscrupulous and subservient methods, to gain its own ends? Who dares to say that the Bourse meeting, held in open day, and its deliberations shared by scores, was not a respectful, long-pent-up appeal to the leaders of the Republican party not to drive on to ruin. What other methods have the Bourse patriots pursued than to disseminate the simple, unvarnished truth, without any ends to gain for any individual among those thus remonstrating against oppressive wrong?

“What is it that the dictionary defines a factionist to be—‘Active in forming factions and promoting dissensions, turbulent, extremely partisan dissensions.’ I call upon the 50,000 people whom I have had the privilege of speaking to if I ever indulged in virulence or venom even when unjustly attacked by committee-paid newspaper writers or hired trav-

elers sowing poisoning pamphlets filled with falsehood. Calmly and fairly I have held up the mirror of the acts of the Legislature and the acts of the State Treasurer as manipulated politically, and I have ever counseled reason and reconstruction and not dissension.

“The Legislature of '97 is a dead certainty and a living witness against the Republican party that there is no getting away from. You take one step into it and you are in for a long walk if you want to go to the end of as black a chapter as was ever written in any State's history—one or two instances, is it that you ask? Well, I will try.

“So many new and important instances of the blighting and destroying effects of Quayism that ought to be discussed are coming to my attention every day that it is difficult for me to determine which to take up first. In previous speeches I have analyzed nine distinct parts of the hydra-headed political machine that has prostrated manhood, prostituted every branch of the State government, and pillaged the people's treasury. To-night I will speak briefly of part number ten of the Quay political machine that rules Pennsylvania.

“Part No. 10 of the machine is the political manipulation of the great sums of money given by the State for educational, benevolent and charitable purposes. The insolent and crushing power that dares to profane the temples of worship, that dares to direct its political slaves to publicly blaspheme God in the streets of a Christian city on the eve of an important political convention, that dares to command its creatures to rob the people of millions of their money, that dares place at the head of the Republican organization of Pennsylvania a self-confessed participant in a conspiracy to unlawfully take a large sum of taxpayer's money from the State Treasury, at the time he was a State official, sworn to especially guard the people's money; that dares to sell favors and legislation to corporations against the interest of the State and her people, in return for gold with which to purchase elections; the power that dares to strike down honest men, to assassinate character and defame the honored names of defenseless women; that dares to wring the scant earnings

from the underpaid miner, the small savings from the over-taxed farmer, the bread money from the laborer, and that assaults the great public schools of the State and is indifferent to the needs of the unfortunate insane, whose health demands better homes, can only be expected to use the dire needs of the victims of accident and disease as political trading stock, and the just demands of education and benevolence as a political club to drive into supporting the machine those who feel it a duty to make any sacrifice necessary to obtain funds to carry on their good works.

THINGS FOR QUAY TO REMEMBER.

“To-night as we hear far above the turmoil of party strife the voice of 70,000,000 exclaiming: “Remember the Maine,” so I believe I voice the sentiment of a majority of Pennsylvanians upon this eve of a convention that may either redeem or unify, or disrupt, disorganize and destroy the Republican party, when I admonish the master to have great care in behalf of a long-suffering and outraged people before it is too late. I say to Senator Quay: ‘Remember the last Legislature; remember you were its master; remember you could have prevented its shameful acts; remember that the people know the responsibility rests upon you; remember the people are aroused as never before; remember they know that they have lost millions under Quay rule; remember they are ready to resent the assault upon the public schools; remember they know that they are paying an unjust share of taxes; remember they have shown how \$1,500,000 can be saved by the application of honest and economical business methods; remember that they know your political henchmen attempted to loot the State Treasury with your permission; remember that they know that you were present when the notorious indemnity bond was prepared; remember they know that mileage grabs and padded pay rolls were invented by the machine to pay political debts; remember they will take no chances of being compelled to pay the infamous Lexow bill; remember they stand with President McKinley and against Cuban bond speculators; remember they know the candidate for Governor that has been slated for two

years; remember they know the candidate that is Andrews controlled; remember they know the candidate that is corporation bound; remember the defeat of General James A. Beaver; remember the defeat of George Wallace Delameter; remember it is commonly mooted that you have said that you want to know how it feels to own a Governor; remember the history of wrecked banks and trust companies; remember the warning from Tioga county, a former machine stronghold; remember that a machine-labeled candidate was cut 1,800 votes in his native county, where he had no opponent; remember the will of 6,000,000 people should be paramount to that of one man; remember that Boss Tweed and John Y. McKane were thought invulnerable a few months before they went down; remember the parable of the pitcher that went to the well once too often, and that it was the last straw that broke the camel's back! And above all that the voters of Pennsylvania are not decrepit slaves, but vigorous freemen abundantly able to sink any fleet they train their guns upon."

THE FIGHT TO GO ON.

Mr. Wanamaker declares that the fight against the Quay Machine will go on until he is driven from power.

A remarkable Speech the day after the Harrisburg Convention—Elect the right
Men to the Legislature who
will do the People's
Will.

The day after the forced nomination of William A. Stone at Harrisburg, Ex-Postmaster General Wanamaker spoke to 1,500 people at an open air meeting at Oxford, Chester County. Then it was that he appealed to the people to elect the right men to represent them at Harrisburg, and declared that the fight against the Quay machine must still go on. He said:

"It was as a Republican I cast my first vote in 1862. I never voted any other ticket since. I was a Republican when I accepted the call of four hundred Republicans at the

Bourse conference of February 2. I was not a volunteer in their service, because I never wanted to be Governor, but as a drafted man I loyally took up the flag. I went to the convention yesterday as a straight-out Republican, and I came home from the convention a better and more hopeful Republican because of the 164 representatives of the people who stood up in convention and were counted against the machine.

“There are two developments of Republicanism in existence to-day; the small but strong body of Republicanism of the Lincoln, Grant, Blaine and Harrison stripe, and the other the latter-day saints of Republicanism that have grown up in Pennsylvania under the Cameron-Quay-Andrews dynasties; a body composed mainly of office-holding politicians and their secret and open beneficiaries. It is not of the people and for the people or with the people, but dead against the people. It is an oath-bound, banded and belted machine, pledged to the machine, wholly for the machine and sturdily against every idea and every man not with the machine. In the presence of these 700 witnesses, in this midday-meeting of the cultured, intelligent and important people of Chester County, I record myself anew as not being for or with the Republican Machine, Limited, limited to Quay-Andrews and office-holders and office-seekers only. That such a political machine should exist to-day, chartered by the blindness and indifference of the people, is in special evidence this morning throughout the State from the full accounts given by the newspapers and living witnesses of yesterday’s perfunctory proceedings of the convention at Harrisburg. It is a slick and sly machine; coyly in hiding behind State committees, bought candidates to trick counties to nominate favored sons for timely transfer a la Connell, Recder and Cooper, to machine, newspaper manufactured scarecrows, farcical primary elections, legislative steering committees, piled up promissory political notes, like those in the State banks, and printed dynamite planted with fiendish, Turkish and Spanish malice by adroit political engineers out of sight, like the treacherous mines in Cuban waters to destroy human life.

STONE-IN-THE-SLOT MACHINE.

“It is an ingenious machine; it discourses music in the air, post office tunes, collectorship solos, State ticket quartettes, county ticket choruses; it plays on slates, on Sundays by the sea, Gubernatorial anthems and culminates in the grand spectacular performances of red fire and brass bands at Harrisburg, with the brass bands of politics sufficient perhaps to hold fast the gouty foot bound people, but which cannot make the rank and file of the younger and coming party dance either obedience or votes to its old worn out airs.

“It is an automatic machine; you set it for a stone, it plays the stone you set it for, and there is certainly a great difference in stones.

“It is also at times a nickel-in-the-slot machine, receiving assessments or fees and holding them until the day of accounting without registering your weight or will, and refusing to repay the paid in charges. You put in your substance, your service or your vote and the machine receives it, but is deaf, dumb and blind, especially after the service is done or the vote given. One of the nickel-in-the-slot machines recently opened in one of the cities was found to contain nickels, wire, tacks, hairpins, buttons, buckles, bones, nails, sticks, postage stamps, strings, poker checks, railroad tickets and stones.

“When the June 2d Republican nickel-in-the-slot nominating convention machine is opened in November next it may be found to contain a stone that has been a millstone for us.

“I suppose that there will be some people ready to say Wanamaker is talking like a disappointed candidate. Kindly save your free criticism and unnecessary sympathy, most willing but unthinking gossip. I wish you could all have slept the dreamless, luxurious sleep I tumbled into last night with that convention behind me. One wants to knit up the tangled sleeves of care with refreshing sleep to be strong for the next duty.

MR. WANAMAKER EXPLAINS HIS POSITION.

“I would like to have had the whole of this gorgeous June day to roll in the grass and revel with the daisies and buttercups. Where is the man that can say I ever asked him in or out of convention to vote for me for Governor? There were two men I was hard against for Governor. One was W. A. Stone and the other was John Wanamaker. One of them wanted it too much, the other didn't want it at all.

“In the fray preceding the convention I simply did what I wanted to do, represent honest Republicans diametrically opposed to the machine. At the convention I did exactly what I always wanted to do, and had agreed to do, which was to withdraw whenever the interests of the Republican party could be furthered thereby. I came into the activities of the campaign by request of the Bourse meeting. I retired of my own option and upon my own judgment, after conference with conferrees. It was a double-quick movement when the enemy were in battle line, and intended to spike their guns. You are entitled to know that it was asserted on the streets and in the convention at Harrisburg that Wanamaker could not be persuaded to unite on any candidate, but was holding out for himself. The fact was, no one ever asked me to unite upon either of the old or any new candidate; they could not ask me or any one, for the orders had gone out, better be defeated utterly than surrender to the one and only candidate, W. A. Stone.

“By the letter, hastily written while the convention was listening to the Star-Spangled Banner of the land of the free voter and the home of the brave Republicans, I wrote my hasty letter, unfinished when the speech nominating me was going on, and hurriedly dispatched it to throw down a challenge to unite in the nomination of Charles W. Stone, who up to almost the assembling of the convention had in the convention more than enough votes to nominate him. Why they did not nominate Charles W. Stone and why his votes are said to have been bought away from the plucky hero of Warren is no mystery. Let me also say that even at the convention hour Charles W. Stone could have been nominated if he had

bought back his then missing votes, and I add further that all through the two days preceding the convention I held in my pocket a signed letter offering to deliver to me for cash a certain number of votes to give me a majority in the convention for any candidate I wanted.

“I must not fail to add that the Republican political machine is an all-powerful machine; it commands national and State leverage; it includes in its running gear steam railroad corporations, electric corporations, gas and armor corporations, contractors, jury fixers, Council lobbyists and employees of city departments who go to conventions and vote and make speeches against greenhorn adventurous citizens who think it worth while to attend Bourse citizens’ meetings. It was indeed rather a sorry sight and sound to see and hear a Philadelphia boss as old as the Leeds-Disston-Rowan combine—indeed, the oldest of them—slapping in the face four hundred business men whose candidate was in order in carrying out their instructions. Pity a resolution had not been offered there excluding letters from absent candidates and uncertain voters generally.

QUAY AND PENROSE AS POLITICAL MACHINISTS.

“This political machine, with all its newest patents and attachments, is best operated by its inventors. The Senate of the United States must do without two of them when the war revenue bill is up in the Senate. They hurry away to Harrisburg to see that the machine does not get out of order until the tune is finished and to play the ‘Punch and Judy’ of politics to the farmers of Pennsylvania.

“My friends, it would be delightfully ridiculous if it was not also serious. We might be quite willing to be amused, to be taken for light-headed, half-witted, unsophisticated clodhoppers of city and country were it not that the consequences are all tremendously fraught with evil. What do you and I care who is Governor if he be a man that owns himself and can be certified as honest, intelligent and guaranteed for fidelity to the people and not to any one man or a dozen men of the political machine now built or to be built hereafter? **What was the deliverance of the Bourse conference but a**

heartfelt, manly, Republican appeal and notice of determined and continuous protest against the Quay-Andrews machine? What was the three months' long, earnest, laborious, enthusiastic, fruitful crusade in a dozen counties of this State but an unfolding of the reasons why the political machine can no longer command support for long-slated, boss-marked, machine-riveted candidates? What was the meaning of the great assemblages of the people like this, day and night throughout the Commonwealth; the earnest, forceful, executive work of the old and true but not new style Republican press in our own and other States, counseling Pennsylvania Republicans to caution and pointing out dangers if slate and machine methods were this year persisted in?

"The convention has come and gone. What did it do? Exactly what it wanted to do and all the time doggedly meant to do; exactly what public sentiment, never before more crystallized, asked and urged it not to do. Whom has it served? The bosses, and the bosses only and their retainers. Who are its candidates? Their chief is the long back chosen manager who shall operate the machine for four years with the power of the Governor's office and his appointees assisting him. Who are the others? Respectable soldiers, honored civilians, each to have hold of the handles of the political basket to help carry it through the crowd and deliver it safely to the machine fishermen.

"What is the platform? A confused pound of mixture not up to its credited author's, General Bingham, bright standard; perhaps it was afterwards edited or unedited. As it stands it is a reminder of that man's way of telling the time of day who said: 'When the hands of my clock point to 2 and it strikes 11 I know it is half-past 7.' The most pitiful part of that platform is the congratulations to the brewers as supporters of the State and benefactors of the people in relieving them by license fees. It says nothing of the close to a million dollar appropriation to penitentiaries and work houses, known to be largely filled by the curse of intoxicating liquors, and saying nothing of the larger blight on families broken up by the business paraded in that platform by small

two-penny statemanship as reducing and relieving State taxation. Bear in mind I am not discussing a brewer's or liquor selling business. I am speaking of the infantile statesmanship that mistakes the condition of taxation and makes the farmers and all who live inside the State of Pennsylvania to pay their taxes a class of charity patients at the door of the brewer and barkeeper.

"I am also a Republican, unwilling to surrender the Republican party to help any Populistic, Liberty, Prohibition, Independent, Democrat, by insulting the taxpayers with being dependent upon the distillers and brewers.

"Honestly where is the man that is thinking all around, large thoughts over all the situation, and not over a small patch of the war or the present situation of politics. I believe I only know one in the country, and his name is William McKinley. In Pennsylvania I cannot find another not even by looking into my own looking glass.

THE FORCED NOMINATION OF STONE.

"Let me shorten to-day's speech by a brief summary of the situation:

"The forced nomination of William A. Stone for Governor stands for all that Quay wants and for all that Quayism means.

"The credit or the obloquy of the nomination is clearly defined in the specially selected candidate who is absolutely dependent on the power of the machine for his preferment. The history of this State is barren of a single instance in which a candidate, named and elected by Quay, was strong enough to assert official manhood in opposition to the corrupt demand of this exacting master. This boss makes no mistake in the selection of the agents to execute his will, and after months of dodging and deceit, of plotting and scheming, he comes into the open and avows himself for William A. Stone, in confirmation of the cabal of mercenaries who met at Avalon on that fateful Sunday in May.

"Whatever may be the individual merit of William A. Stone, it is wholly lost by reason of the corrupt advocacy of his nomination by such infamous managers.

“From almost every election precinct in the State is heralded an earnest protest against such machine methods, and the deep regret that the arbitrary power exercised at the convention must surely bring inevitable danger to its nominee.

“The outraged people are determined to save this magnificent Commonwealth from infamy and shame by rescuing the party from such disgraceful management. The repeated charges unanswered and undenied that this clique has systematically robbed the Treasury of the State, thwarted the President in maintaining the national honor, speculated in the public funds, Federal appointments and corrupt legislation and defied public sentiment, furnished grave reasons of warning when these bosses now seek to extend their power so that the vicious legislation which was defeated by the valourous ‘Seventy-six’ in 1896 shall be revived and confirmed by their Governor and their Legislature in 1899.

“Honest men everywhere are called upon by imperative necessity when this lawless band in control of the Republican party leads another march towards the Treasury and its power against the real welfare of the people.

“My argument is not ended, but it must close to-day by saying your only bulwark against what I doubt not will be worse than the Legislature of 1897—I mean thereby the Legislature of ’95—if you could only see the inside of it—will be to build a wall of honest men against the machine Governor in view by carefully selecting the men of 1899.”

MACHINE MUST BE OVERTHROWN.

**Mr. Wanamaker’s Address before the Business Men’s
Republican League at the Bourse, August 25, 1898.**

**The Machine must be Overthrown at all
costs—The Robber Barons of Politics
to be Driven from Power.**

Preparatory to opening the campaign of the Fall of 1898 Hon. John Wanamaker attended a meeting of the Business Men’s Republican League of the State of Pennsylvania, held at the Bourse, Philadelphia, on the afternoon of August

25th. Delegates were present from nearly every branch League in the State. The greatest enthusiasm marked the deliberations of the League. Mr. Wanamaker, who was called on to address the League, was received with hearty and prolonged applause. His speech on this occasion was one of those keynote utterances for which he is noted. He said:

“In projecting a new railroad it is possible at the outstart to map out the line and locate all the stations. Not so with political campaigns unless you own the machine and boss the people’s treasury and its branch banks. The building of the Northern Pacific across the continent was a small undertaking to this of yours, that of building a new Republican turnpike of upright politics and good government through this one State of Pennsylvania. It will be interesting as a matter of history to note that it was when Quay was making his second fight against Hastings, then Governor, to unhorse Gilkeson, his partner, and long trusted chairman of the State Committee, and at a cost that Mr. Quay is known to have stated as over \$200,000, that the first honest, determined moves were made against the Quay machine. This was in the autumn of 1895. A number of those men, some of whom are present here to-day, have never turned back and never swerved in the battle. They are soldiers who have been at the front and in the fray for almost three years. The originators of this Business Men’s Organization, some of whom are present to-day, started it early in 1896 to hold the State for McKinley, when Quay was either dead against him or corraling Congressmen and delegates for the purpose of bargaining.

“The whole force of this Business Men’s League was given in time, service, meetings and money contributions to the campaign to further the election of McKinley. In November, 1896, on the election of McKinley, the organization of this Business Men’s League was declared permanent, and its purpose fixed.

“That purpose was and shall continue to be to free Pennsylvania from its infamous management, and to lift the Republican party from the degrading control that it is said did not hesitate in Philadelphia by the use of National Com-

mittee money to defiantly buy the nomination and election of a Sheriff at a cost of 30,000 votes taken from McKinley in his hour of peril.

AN OUTRAGED STATE.

“The outraged State then entered upon a stubborn fight to elect a United States Senator. From the date of Cameron’s withdrawal letter efforts had been made by individuals to make it possible to secure the election of other than a machine candidate. The Business Men’s League stoutly refused to permit any issue to be made with the people on the Senatorial question until McKinley’s election was finally declared. There then remained but two months to make a public sentiment for any political candidate. The candidacy of the present speaker was not declared until November, 1896. That contest, actively entered into by the Business Men’s League, was the first potent attack on the citadel of the State political machine, and it marks the beginning of a new epoch in Pennsylvania politics. Destruction then settled noiselessly and unseen on political leaders and the Quay machine.

“Men became articles, pieces of furniture, in the Quay stock, with prices attached in plain figures, and the Republican ticket bore this plain device: ‘Buy me off with an office or money.’ Court rooms, Capitol rooms, corridors and close corners of hotels became the common market place for votes. The whole business of electing a United States Senator was an arithmetical problem and a check book. That same night—the night that settled the election of United States Senator—after the vote had been taken and become a matter of record, legislators and leaders, showing the character of the machine and the spirit of the men, made a procession in the streets with brass bands, conducting mock religious exercises with mock hymns, and kneeling on the highway in mock prayers, amid loud laughter and sacrilegious ribaldry, raised with bribe stained hands their altar of worship with shouting: ‘Great is our Diana of Pennsylvania!’ Did ever before in the history of any State Capitol, a Legislature and its henchmen on the night of its first meeting so defy the public sentiment and outrage decency

by making sport in public of religious things under the shadow of its State buildings? That was a short night, but out of it was born the day of doom. The dark cloud of blundering and crime, of disruption and destruction has never lifted for an hour. The processes of dissolution of the dominating party machine have steadily eventuated. It lives now only from day to day, and goes steadily on to an un-blessed tomb.

“Strong, determined, increasing, and unfailing as are the forces against it, the causes from which it must die are from the inside and not from the outside.

THE LAST LEGISLATURE.

“The last Legislative almanac is a black calendar of dark and dismal days for Pennsylvania.

“The hideous and profane orgies at the beginning of the season quickly begun, and persistent prosecution of the ‘Seventy-six’ who dared to stand out individually, and who thereafter compacted to stand against the Quay machine collectively, cursed from beginning to end and violently threatened by swollen lips as if the profanity and fury of the Quay machine could sweep the earth; the strange openly charged suspicious burning of the Capitol with its destruction of State papers—snuffed out like a candle; the onslaught on the Treasury by means of the Andrews-Lexow bills, padded pay rolls, junketing committee bills, investigating miners and oleo committees, padded appropriation bills, Grace Church scandals, culminating in the Reeder-Elkins-Mylin-Heywood and others’ indemnity bond, a crime so gross, a fraud so palpable that even a pliant, complacent State Treasurer halted in the presence of so great an iniquity and required seven of his companions to hold him up in his awful position by an indemnity bond; the desperate resistance of the Quay-Andrews machine to paying interest on State moneys, and narrow escape of despoiling the schools to keep the brewers’ bargain; the break up of the Governor’s Cabinet, Attorney General’s office, retiring the premier and Assistant Attorney General, followed by the astounding but partial disclosures of the People’s Bank with other State and trust companies and further bank failures lately added to by the

going down of the State Insurance Company, which was a State officers' political concern, and, like the Guarantors' Company, is still an unsettled quantity, all form a sum total so heavy that it would sink to the bottom the best and strongest political party on the earth. This is not the time to repeat the details. I can only say that each day's notorious revelations scalded the State from one end to the other as with boiling water, and that even to-day, a year after, the State is sore all over and crying for relief. While the Business Men's League in its offices at Harrisburg and at Philadelphia kept daily watch at one point for the snakes in the House and the Senate, and at the other point upon the corporations and concerns that backed up and sheltered Legislative committees, the press bureau established by them was doing its work spreading the information in city and country until the entire State turned its eyes on Harrisburg, and thus helped to keep in check the flood of iniquity.

DR. SWALLOW'S CANDIDACY.

"It was at this juncture in the contest about the 22d of February, 1897, that the Rev. Dr. Swallow appeared and added his services by assisting through his newspaper and by personal charges of robbery of the State, alleged falsified bills in the furnishing of Grace Church, and thereafter entered upon his candidacy for State Treasurer on the Prohibition ticket, receiving at the election 118,000 votes. The largest, in recent years, vote for the Prohibitionists being less than 25,000, the balance must be taken as the protest of the aroused people against the Quay machine.

"The Business Men's Republican League, without any candidate for office, and working upon settled principles for good government, demanding only the reform of the Quay machine or its retirement, never ceased to keep up its efforts through the press, and perfecting of organizations throughout the State. In February, 1898, it was instrumental in creating a public sentiment in the Republican party that culminated in the now famous Bourse Conference of 400, representing fifty-five counties of the State, when well-known and long-honored Republicans entered protest against the methods of the machine, and put forward tentatively a can-

didate for Governor. Those 400 Republicans in the Bourse Conference ventured to light a lamp for the machine to see its way in June, not to a particular candidate, but away from the one slated against the will of tens of thousands of voters throughout the State.

“Several weeks were permitted to elapse in order that the Republican party leaders might signify a disposition to halt and listen to their compatriots reasonable protest. When there seemed no hope of any serious consideration, a canvass of the State was entered upon to make clear to the people the dangers overhanging them through the prostitution of the whole governmental organization by the sordid, malign and rapacious power of machine corruption. Most vigorously and faithfully it was pointed out by a number of the aggressive members of this League that there had been plenty of profligacy before, but much of it had been concealed. The fidelity and courage of a worthy band of honest legislators uncovered it in the last Legislature as it had never been uncovered before. More than that, with an appetite which grows by what it feeds on, this machine power became increasingly insatiate. It debauched men of hitherto accepted respectability. It organized systematic raids on the Treasury. It menaced property rights and security. It assailed the bulwarks which safeguarded our municipal government.

THE FLOOD TIDE OF CORRUPTION.

“Alarmed and aroused by the flood tide of corruption, we sought the more earnestly to secure protection against its advance by making an impassable barrier in the Governor’s chair. That effort met with a popular response, which elected a majority of the convention. Unfortunately, the usual machine influences were again successfully exerted, and the result was a disappointment to the hopes of Republicans and good citizens of all parties, who wanted to see a control established which should be responsible only to the people.

“It would have been easy for the Quay machine to have represented the people in the June Convention, but it flatly refused to do so. It was warned of vital danger, and the

white gate of justice, honor and safety was open to it plainly, and for a long time, but it would not see.

“Such mistaken leadership of the Republican party seemed to distinctly affect the public press and the other great party, and the hope was held out that wisdom was gathering that would take advantage of the follies of leaders who had outgrown advice and warnings.

“But each machine gets an idea into its one mind, and the ideas of all other minds must come in only to sit at its feet. Platforms passed by each convention have been paraded and notifications have been made, and all that there is left is the plain fact that the Republican party knows that it knows nothing of the last Legislature and its evil administration of the State Treasury, and the Democratic party knows that it knows nothing of it having sold itself to Quay. Standing out among the breakers are these two monumental examples of self-inflation and self-idolatry. In the meantime, when the Business Men’s League was in the midst of its campaign, some weeks after the Lancaster opening speech, in which it was distinctly stated that the fight begun would be waged summer, autumn and winter, the Honest Government party nominated a ticket with Rev. Silas C. Swallow at its head, which ticket was quickly endorsed successively by the Prohibitionists, Populists, People’s and Liberty organizations.

“This ticket, thus launched, and representing but one section of the anti-Quay voters, is obviously an inadequate rallying centre for all the varied shades of sentiment composing the popular revolt; whereas, in the present contest, the single and supreme issue is the overthrow of the Quay machine and the effacement of Quay methods in the Government. Wisdom and good politics, it would seem, should have dictated a postponement of less imminent issues, and an effort at the unification of the scattered forces of revolution. The worthy advocates of prohibition cannot with safety to themselves ignore the exigencies which lay before all good citizens the duty in this critical hour of joining hands with each other in achieving the common end we all profess to have in view. When public thieves unite for plunder, surely honest men should not find it difficult to unite for defence.

ROBBER BARONS OF POLITICS.

“If the rescue of the State from the powerful robber barons of politics was not the burning question, and the election not pending to return to the United States Senate for six years more M. S. Quay, who is chiefly responsible for the deplorable condition of State politics—this year might be as good as any to record a testimony for temperance and prohibition. This experiment to test the Prohibition vote, swollen as it will be by offering a rallying point to all dissatisfied party men, will be costly business if it assists in fixing the Quay shackles on Pennsylvania until 1905.

“In view of the grave consequences impending hurried conferences have been held lately with Dr. Swallow and others in accord with him, taking a broad and disinterested view of the present situation, studying the possibility of a unification of all the forces opposed to the Quay machine, whether of the Harrisburg, Altoona or other forms, and making a thoroughly representative ticket, eliminating all present or past candidates or using them as might seem most practicable to form a winning ticket.

“Thus far some progress has been made, but not enough to build definite hopes of final success. Yet it is well to continue the efforts in more directions than one for a union of forces to overturn the Quay-Andrews machine. It would be well for us all to keep in view that time tries all things, and that the ever deepening human experience of men will critically and accurately place the responsibility of mistakes in the present political movement.

“Leaving for a moment in abeyance the State tickets nominated, and regretting that no door has been opened to unite the Quay opponents, except upon a surrender to Democracy, Prohibition or Populism, there is still open a plain pathway of duty for this Business Men’s League, which may also be made clear to all voters opposed to the reinvestment of the Quay machine. Thus far we have carried a banner of protest against the State Republican party and its leadership and manipulation. Patiently and persistently we have endeavored to get a hearing and gain attention to principles. No personal ambitions have ever been controlling forces in this

campaign, which is to be unending until freedom is secured from the slavery of Quayism. All the young men of Pennsylvania, Republicans or Democrats, are not willing to begin in life with a ready-made political creed; neither are the old men as willing as formerly to be satisfied with the ready made outfits of political machines.

"History may be lost on some people, but there are others who look backward and remember that they were victims to the sting of the moccasin. Their eyes are on the alert for the virulent old serpent; at least, to avoid it, if not to dig its grave. It is natural when many of one's ancestral family have been killed by rattlesnakes for the younger fellows coming on not to play with rattlesnakes.

"It is equally natural for the neighborhood to organize and arm for their extermination.

A PLAIN DUTY.

"This is the plain duty to-day of the voters and taxpayers of Pennsylvania, independent of old party lines or no parties. Exterminate the machine!

"In some form there must now be a general and well organized movement, guided by political experience, to crystallize and practicalize the impulse and purpose of the true men who for three years have fought for the redemption of the party and the safety of the State. The duty is clear, immediate and commanding. A Prohibition Governor with a Quay Republican and Democratic Legislature behind him will have but little more than an empty chair, so far as any practical good to the State is concerned.

"A Quay Democratic Governor or Quay Republican Governor with an anti-Quay machine Legislature against him can do small harm. Whatever else is impossible, it is to-day not impossible to elect a Legislature publicly pledged to three things—First, opposition, first, last and all the time, to the Quay machine; second, to the re-election of M. S. Quay for Senator, because his re-election means the continuation of the machine; third, to the election of any man to the United States Senate dictated by M. S. Quay or the Quay machine. Party caucuses and party loyalty must no longer be snares and delusions to entrap unsuspecting men. Mark higher

throughout the State all men that stand out for self-ownership.

"The Republican party of Pennsylvania and the controlling Quay machine cannot be right, and its State Legislature wrong, for twenty years' hand running.

"The fight must be carried into the election of the Legislature. The legislative halls are the fountain of corruption. We sought to stop the poison by damming the stream after it was started. We must go to the source, and purify it at the very origin. We must aim at the election of such a Legislature that there will not be need of Executive interposition as the only salvation from such monstrous wrongs as we witnessed a year ago last winter.

"There is a civic personality as well as an individual personality. They are closely allied. In seeking the explanation of the legislative life you are brought face to face with the men who control it. The architect is always behind the house he builds. Like master, like man. If the heroic fathers of long ago such as Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips, Washington and Lincoln, could have seen that Pennsylvania, one of the old thirteen, in the year of '97-98, would go down under the drunkeries, breweries, oileries, and briberies, bartering laws and franchises and offices at high noon in the market places, they would have wept tears of blood.

THE ONE ISSUE.

"For the first time the issue narrows to stopping the election of a Legislature pledged, publicly or privately, to vote for the Machine Architect and Builder, M. S. Quay, for United States Senator.

"The pendulum of the Pennsylvania clock of public opinion swings the hour for him to retire.

"Who his successor shall be is not important, provided he is an undoubted and unceasing enemy of the old Quay machine. Resentments and personal ambitions must have no place in this fight. All believers in good government, willing to do something besides talking, must get together for action with their batteries of time, personal service, and money to print truth. Mere intrepidity or sentiment will amount

to nothing. It is a great work and requires a type of men not given to hesitation or expecting failure. Men fearless of criticism, contempt and murderous hatred—Rough Riders taking their lives in their hands. Men

“Like him who

Never turned his back, but marched breast forward;

Never doubted clouds would break;

Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph.

Held always; we fall to rise; are baffled to fight better.’

“In the summer holidays we have not rocked our duties to sleep or imagined we were discharged. Rested and refreshed, we strip now for renewed battle. We know there were not two Septembers nor two Octobers in this year; but these two months before us must count six in invincible resoluteness and unflinching aggression.

“We have been keeping books of what was going on, calculating the verbal jugglery of caucuses and conventions, balancing platforms and purposes, measuring shallow differences and discovering controlling causes.

“We have watched the play of the one enemy with two masks. The air has been filled with hot currents of compromises on all sides, the Business Men’s League, its leaders and friends included. None of these airy balloons rise from us. They come from the swamps and flats and shooting grounds of our enemies. Overtures are as plenty as blackberries, from both political parties running down hill, out of wind and water, whose call to fall down and worship them falls on hearts that once trusted them, but still remember anti-election protestations and broken pledges. We are not compromisers, and cannot be bought, bullied or beaten in the long run, because our cause is just and our purposes true.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

“There can be no harmony in the State of Pennsylvania or the Republican party so long as the Quay-Andrews machine exists. The days to balance and consider are well-nigh past; the whole year is not summer. We are pushed on by the invisible spirits of our noble heroes who have passed away—the Blaines, the Stevens, the Wilmots, the Rاندalls and others like them. We are pressed hard by a great

living multitude, scattered throughout the State, whose hearts ache for the woes of our old Commonwealth. Good men and women everywhere, long burdened by the extravagance and corruption of legislation, and consequent overtaxation, make their appeal to us to deliver them from another Legislature like that of '96-97, and from the direful evils of the old political machine.

“Not to make herculean effort would be a crime.

“If Santiago were worth taking from the Spaniards, Pennsylvania, immensely more valuable, must be taken from a worse enemy—the Quay machine.

“‘The stars in their courses fight with us.’ The war with Spain, thank God, is over, and the false issue under which the despairing Quay machine hoped to retain power will no longer serve their ignoble uses. A thousand flags for McKinley and the brave heroes who have died in the nation’s defence, but the fair folds of our glorious and triumphant banner cannot be made to shield the deadliest foes of our national honor or confuse the patriots of Pennsylvania in achieving the victories of peace.

“To-day the friends of good government and enemies of Quay domination are a scattered and unrelated host, but they are a host, an overwhelming majority of the people. I confidently entertain the belief that even yet the fitly spoken word will be somewhere uttered or a deliverance as yet unheralded will occur that, like an alarm bell in the night will call together into one irresistible army good citizens of whatever party name or political faith. Born of an ardent hope and confident trust in the justice of our cause I will not believe that the forces of evil will forever triumph.

DEALING IN STATE FUNDS.

“Even as I pen this sentence I take up the morning’s paper to read the most timely and startling revelation of the iniquities of the-Quay plunderers that has yet appeared.

“Listen to the testimony of ex-Congressman Darlington, the President of the broken Chester County Trust Company, as it was given yesterday at West Chester. This institution, it will be remembered, was one of the Quay machine’s ‘pet banks,’ and a large holder of State deposits—the people’s

money. Under the pressure of keen cross-examination, President Darlington was forced to tell a large part, but still only a part, of the truth as to how the Quay harpies forced the people to pay for their own ruin. A morning paper says this company was required to donate 3 per cent. on a deposit of \$80,000 of State money to the Republican State Committee and the County Committee for political purposes. Listen to the report of yesterday's legal proceedings as taken from another morning paper. When asked what was meant by 'current expenses' charged on the books of the company, Mr. Darlington replied that they were political contributions.

"To the Republican State and County Committees?" asked Mr. Pennypacker.

"Yes."

"Were these expenses paid pursuant to an understanding with anybody?" he was asked.

AN IMPLIED UNDERSTANDING.

"A sort of implied understanding,' was the reply.

"An understanding with whom?"

"With the parties who were influential in controlling State deposits,' said Mr. Darlington.

"Was this understanding with the State Treasurer?"

"I did not say that,' said Mr. Darlington; 'it was an implied understanding.'

"Who was that understanding with?"

"With those who controlled State deposits.'

"Who were they?"

"Myself, for one.'

"Who else?"

"Various parties connected with the Republican organization.'

"Was the State Treasurer one of these parties?"

"I never had any conversation with him upon that subject. I was myself on his bond, and I had some say where the money should go."

"Question by the auditor: 'As long as the State deposit was in the trust company there was paid in contributions each year from 2 to 3 per cent?'"

“‘Yes.’

“‘It was simply an implied agreement between the trust company that received the deposit and those influential enough to get the deposit?’

“‘Yes,’ answered Mr. Darlington, and he was permitted to go.

“‘Permitted to go?’ What! Crime dismissed with a bow of courtesy? Surely this cannot be when Pennsylvania has an honest Attorney General, while the courts are open to the humblest citizen or the collective citizenship of the State, and the Grand Jury sits to make inquest for the Commonwealth.

FAITH IN THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

“Permitted to go? This crime to go unwhipped! These criminal conspirators not brought to the bar of justice! Light is breaking in Mr. Attorney General. Since daylight this August morning the alarm bell has rung. Fellow Citizens, verily, ‘the stars in their courses do indeed fight with the people. Tweed and his plundering partners fell in the very moment of their seeming greatest strength and power, and the descent was swift and awful to exile, to the criminal dock, to the convict’s tomb. And our faithless leaders and their banded followers may profit by the example. Will they seek in flight the immunity that the law denies? Yesterday’s West Chester revelations blaze the way of duty for all who hold commission in the people’s cause. Are there no other defunct political organizations that should be heard from and compelled to render up their secrets of crime and corruption? The probe has entered the wound; let it now be pushed on to the heart of the festering sore. Thank God, fellow-citizens, Henry C. McCormick is the Attorney General of the State, and bows not to the Quay mastery. He holds a brief for the people, and the people will not be disappointed in their legal representative. The day of doom is coming—nay, it is here. Again I say, let us rejoice that the Attorney General’s office still belongs to the people, and their servant there is able, honest, brave and faithful to the cause of truth and right.

“Our path from this hour more than ever is straightforward.’

THE QUAY MACHINE DISSECTED.

Wherein lies its strength—Corporations, Office-holders, Newspapers and even Charities are forced to stand up for it. Some of the mighty influences that have worked against the People and for Quay—A Speech to 25,000 Farmers.

On Thursday, September 2d, Mr. Wanamaker, at the request and invitation of the managers, visited Williams Grove, where the farmers of Central Pennsylvania hold their annual gatherings. Mr. Wanamaker's progress through the grounds was an ovation. When he reached the platform he was greeted by an audience of 25,000 farmers—men who had come to learn the truth. Mr. Wanamaker's speech to this vast audience produced a deep impression on his hearers. Mr. Wanamaker said:

“Whether there are 25,000 farmers here to-day or not, as I am told, I am free to say that I have never before seen a larger bundle of the mainsprings of Pennsylvania together. I offer you my hand as a country boy from the beginning. I shall never be anything else to the end. The city has never shaded down my sense of indebtedness to my country home, to my country father, and especially to my country mother.

“To me always the farmers and gardeners of the earth are the real aristocrats. The first woman and the first man were appointed gardeners. They still live in the open air where God started the first family. The city folk are mostly shut up in mills and workshops, where they see not much more than the length of their arms. But country dwellers are the sunrise people whose eyes are open earlier and keep open longer during each twenty-four hours than any other class.

“To see something beside machinery, brick houses and paved streets has much to do with our lives. Men accustomed to watch the clouds and depend upon the seasons grow a large crop of new and large thoughts that tend toward making larger men. Out of the farm houses comes the en-

richment of the world in health, honesty, valor, manhood and good citizenship.

"I am not given to serving taffy and shall not retail to you stale compliments, neither because I am at an agricultural meeting shall I trot out the old gray mare of supply and demand which I am told is a common topic of a farmers' meeting. I leave the standing dishes on the speech table to go together with you over to the unfailing creek of common sense for a fresh drink with which to start to-day into the Autumn.

"If I mistake not your earnest faces betoken that you are here for much more than hand-shaking and acquaintance making. The harvesting of this year is a notable one for the United States. A favoring Providence bade the sun write prosperity over your fields and to put down anew your names with rewards for honest labor.

"You are the men of full barns. More than this, Uncle Sam's barn has in it Santiago and Hawaii, and goodness knows how much of Manila and the Philippines. These are no longer near or far off neighbors with whom we are on visiting terms, but they are in the family, sisters of Pennsylvania. Jamiaca and the islands of the West Indies are knocking at your doors to get into the sisterhood. The United States is not as small as it was a year ago. It now stretches from Maine to Hawaii and from Alaska half way round the world to the Philippines.

"Greeting Ireland as the Emerald Isle of Great Britain, cast your eyes upon the Emerald Isles of Cuba, Hawaii and the Ladrões. These are the emerald setting of the old cluster of American jewels that we count by the stars on our flag.

"The four months' harvest of the uninvited war is immense. The contentions of years in our State Department closed when the 'Maine' went down. A wave of resolute patriotism swept the land. Those who believed that the spirit of 1861 had died out have changed their minds. When many a soldier's cap was lifted it uncovered the gray heads of old war veterans, and none of the highways to the front

were broad enough for the numbers of young men, recruits who hastened after the flag. Thank God! the boys are facing homeward. They come back to their old places at the plow and workshop. American boys are not tavern idlers, and they will find their homes and the work that awaits workers. God bless the unkissed heroes of Pennsylvania!

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

“This war, settled all too soon for the politicians and contractors, leaves much for statesmen to do. The new conditions cry for broad and unselfish thinking if we are to be true to the spirit and professions upon which we entered the battlefields. The masterful guiding of the Ship of State by one man who stands high up, quiet, cool, far-seeing—above all other men now that the smoke of battle is cleared away—is William McKinley.

“Beside the names of Washington, Lincoln and Grant embroider on your American flags William McKinley. The strength of character that came on time to shore and ship for the emergencies of war will not fail in the adjustments of peace.

“Pennsylvania, brave enough and alert enough to put the first troops in the field, and with thousands more eager for the fray, can hope to contribute but little toward making good government for Cuba while she is overrun with the wild steers who have trodden down every vestige of good government that our fathers planted long ago. With the pumps at home mostly broken or rotten we cannot supply water to our neighbors.

“Pennsylvania can fight well, give generously to feed, to nurse sick soldiers, send cargoes of grain to famine-stricken Ireland and Russia, but confesses its inability to govern itself by letting out its State Government practically to one man who has had a twenty years' lease and is arranging for a six years' renewal. The Quay machine would probably like to undertake the management of Cuba and all the rest if they could see any profit in it, and it could be done like Republican conventions from Atlantic City on Sundays. The fact is the Quay machine did undertake to govern McKinley in this war,

but found the only way to get along with the President was to permit him to have his head. It is odd to see those who cried mad-dog over his nomination and at his war policy asking you who have always been so loyal to him not to be hostile now.

CORRUPTION IN THE STATE.

“It is not my fancy only that sees the deep shadows of anxiety upon your faces as you think soberly of the corrupt and costly government of Pennsylvania, and your disgrace that Pennsylvania politically is only a cemetery for its freemen. You allowed our young, hopeful men to be fed on gravel stones until their teeth were broken. The doctors and nurses of politics in our State have nursed the youth with a wolf’s care, and when they could not suck their blood they strangled them. The candle of hope has almost gone out in Pennsylvania. You have suffered so long the interlopers of your rights have a right of way over your possessions until they now deny your ownership. You have cruelly slept in the delusion that by a Quay machine-promised miracle the tares that were sowing might raise a crop of wheat. You have, occasionally mowed down some of the weeds here and there, but never pulled them up by the roots and plowed and sowed the fields for thankful harvesting.

“This great company of grangers, with a power of its own outside of all political parties, is not a mere society of organized criticism, nor does it comprise affiliated self-seekers; it stands for organized intelligence and organized patriotism.

“Here are men who wear their own clothes, bought by their own money and stand upon their own feet. You are not supported by the State money, or under any bonds to support State bosses. You are the men who by hardness, by long struggles, by sharp self-denials have conquered the soil, which you have temporarily lost control of, but if you will, by hardness, by a few months’ struggle and by self-denial, you may reclaim and redeem it for the people.

“I am here to-day not as a candidate for any office, but as a private citizen, speaking to men who know how to do things, and who actually do them when they have a mind to; to men

who plow in January for next November's flour barrels; men who know full well that there must be political plowing in September and October if there is to be other than a hap-hazard crop of elected men in November and January.

SIX PROPOSITIONS DISCUSSED.

"My friends, I wish to present six distinct heads in this address, and I do not believe you will find either of them bald, small or empty. A drum-headed man said: 'Your speeches make me tired,' and he has never smiled on me since he was asked whether it was the fault of my speeches or his head:—

"1. What is the use of being a hard-working, economical farmer in Pennsylvania?

"2. Your enemy, the Quay machine.

"3. Its size and ramifications.

"4. Its corporation allies and partners.

"5. The money filched from you.

"6. The sure cure.

"First—What is the use of spending your time in discussing and introducing new systems of drainage and fencing and cattle feeding, adopting labor-saving mowers and more costly fertilizers if at the end of the year one hand only washes the other and nothing's left. Why does not farming pay better in Pennsylvania? Why will not untiring toil, rigid economy and personal sacrifice decrease or keep away the mortgage? What is the use of chattering this year like a lot of parrots and coming back next year to face the same results? Bountiful crops and great granaries full year after year, and no money in it for anybody but the mortgage owner and the tax gatherer! Only a bare living, not much, if any, above common laborer's wages for anybody on the farm.

"Prices, to be sure, are lower than fifty years ago when threshing was done by the flail, but the relative cost of production and the selling prices are about the same. No matter how much more you raise to the acre your profits are down to zero. To be dependent on a Leiter speculation or upon the disasters of failing crops and famine, to come out whole or with a profit is discouraging to all following the business of farming and a misfortune to self-respecting

people. I feel sure there is some rectification for all this. I would not change the large inlets to your barns and granaries, but I would lessen the size of the outlets from them. You pay too much taxes and too large tribute to the corporations. The fault is not wholly with your incomes; it is the fixed charges that eat them up. You have groaned and gone to sleep and woke up with the nightmare until she is the oldest mare on your place.

“Your mortal enemy is a political machine, in parts 40 years old, and for 20 years known as the Quay machine. Like a spectral figure of evil stalking through the land it has gone about, the very genius of ruin. You must try to understand what this machine is, its ramifications, its tens of thousands of paid workers, their gigantic strength, the alliances of county, State and national organizations.

“Second—What constitutes a political machine? It is a place of power like Senator, Governor, State Treasurer and a union or Sugar Trust of all such who hold places, a close and secret working together to keep themselves in and keep out all who will not divide with them; a confederacy to send to the bottomless pit all who interfere with their holding the office and each office-holder provided with an office, room and desk for political business at the public expense, in which to work during hours the salary paid by the public purse, though for days, weeks and even months, the only or principal work done is for personal or party gain. These men are at work continually taking the money to defeat the people’s will and to serve the machine.

“Third—The size and ramifications of this political machine—I have taken great pains to accurately gather some of the facts that I now state. It must not be understood that there are not exceptions of true men in the various departments of the Government service both Federal and State as well as hundreds of independent newspapers not dominated by the Quay machine, but when men like Senator Kauffman, of Lancaster, and Daniel Moore and Plummer Jeffries are whipped out of office for opposition to the bosses’ will, and the Finneys, Saylor and Lytles are set up on the front bench in high

places to show how to get on with the machine, the exceptions to subserviency to Quayism are but few.

PARTS OF THE QUAY MACHINE.

“Twenty parts of the potent, puzzling and destructive Quay machine, constituted of Federal and State officeholders, are as follows:—

“Part A—A Republican State Committee which in every part is subjugated to serve the personal interests of Senator Quay first and the party next, without respect to the will of the people.

“Part B—Great prestige and patronage, controlled by Quay as a United States Senator, with two votes, his own and the other.

“Part C—Thirty Congressmen, with their secretaries, sixty persons, whose salaries aggregate \$180,000 annually, and who are responsible to the machine for their respective districts.

“Part D—The 419 officers and employees of the State government, who receive in salaries \$1,034,500 annually, and who are selected only because they are supposed to be able to deliver the votes of their districts to any one the Quay machine dictates. These men are all assessed by the bosses and some of the documents in our possession will be curious reading some time.

“Part E—The State Senate, with every officer, from president pro tem. down to page boys, selected to do the machine's bidding. The expenses of the Senate last year were \$169.60±.

“Part F—The State House of Representatives, with members, officers and employees, 257 in number, who drew \$468,302 last year. All committees are selected by the machine, and are chair-manned by men who know no will but that of Senator Quay. Thus his machine absolutely controls all revenues and tax legislation.

“Part G—Eight thousand one hundred and twenty two post offices, with salaries amounting to \$3,705,446. Most post-masters are made the personal agents of the machine in their respective towns.

“Part H—Four thousand one hundred and forty-nine offices, a majority of whom are controlled by Senators Quay’s machine, whose salaries amount to \$5,000,000.

“Part I—The Philadelphia Mint, with 438 employees, who receive in yearly salaries \$326,565.

“Part J—The offices of collector of port, with 400 employees, who receive in salaries \$454,000.

“Part K—The internal revenue offices, with 281 employees, who receive in salaries \$356,400.

“Part L—The United States Circuit and District Courts, with forty-one employees, who receive in salaries \$95,000.

“Part M—League Island Navy Yard and State arsenals, with 585 employees, who receive in salaries \$725,000, making a total of 14,705 officers and employees who receive from the State and National Governments \$7,608,911 annually.

ORGANIZED TO SERVE QUAY.

“This great army of officeholders are thoroughly organized, and are at work every day in the year for the preservation of the Quay machine. To give you a clearer conception of what the machine is, I have taken, for example, a single county—that of Dauphin—which is eleventh in population and thirteenth in valuation, of the sixty-seven counties of this State. In this Quay stronghold there are seventy-three salaried county offices, controlled by the machine, with annual salaries amounting to \$70,500; also seven Presidential post offices, paying salaries amounting to \$12,000, and fifty-one fourth-class offices, paying \$8924, making a total of 131 machine agents, who are paid \$91,424 by the State and National Governments, at work in one county.

“Part N—The thousands of trustees, other officials and employees of hospitals, State and private; State prisons, reformatories, State asylums, charitable homes, State colleges, normal schools, soldiers’ orphan schools, scientific institutes and museums, who are expected to support the machine or the appropriations of their institutions will be endangered.

“Part O—The combined capital of the brewers of the State, their thousands of employees and dependent patrons whom they control. It is alleged to have been the money of the

brewers that paid the large sums during Superintendent of Mint Boyer's administration as State Treasurer, necessary to make good shortages, which saved the machine, when his cashier, Mr. Livesey, became a fugitive from justice.

"Part P—Besides the amounts paid for salaries of State officers which have already been accounted for, the appropriation committees, who are of Quay's personal selection, disburse \$10,000,000 annually to schools, hospitals, penal institutions, etc. The bold manipulation of these funds for the benefit of the machine has educated people to regard moneys received for these purposes as personal contributions from Senator Quay, in return for which they must render help to his machine.

"Part Q—The State Liquor League, whose members are in every city, town, hamlet and cross-roads throughout the State, and who maintain a permanent State organization, having headquarters and representatives at Harrisburg during the sessions of the Legislature, are always for Senator Quay's machine, and form an important part of the machine's operations.

"Part R—A large number of the Common Pleas Judges throughout the State, who use their license-granting power for the benefit of the machine, by rewarding those faithful to the cause of Quay, and punishing those opposed to the machine.

"Part S—The millions of withheld school and personal tax moneys that are used to further the interests of the machine. At 3 per cent. interest—the rate that Smedley Darlington testified, last week, under oath, his trust company paid—the machine has taken \$2,500,000 of your money since Senator Quay began his reign.

"Part T—The hundreds of subservient newspapers who are recipients of machine favors, with their army of newsgatherers and correspondents, who are forced to chloroform public sentiment and hide the iniquities of the machine.

CORPORATIONS AS ALLIES.

"Fourth—The principal allies and partners of the machine are the corporations. The 15,000 national and State office-

holders and the thousands of other officials connected with State institutions form a small part of the whole number of obedient machine men who are constantly at the command of Senator Quay, the admitted boss of the machine. The corporation employees of the State who are controlled for Quay's use increase the number to the proportions of a vast army.

"The steam railroads of the State employ 85,117 men and pay them annually in wages \$49,400,000. Of this number the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroads furnish 37,911, and 16,083 men respectively. The Vanderbilt system furnishes 12,432 men, the Baltimore & Ohio 3,615, the New Jersey Central 2,864, the Lehigh Valley 12,062, and the D. L. & W. 2,150. The great street railways of the State, who have received valuable legislative concessions for nothing, give the machine a loyal support with 12,079 employees, who are paid in salaries \$6,920,692 every year.

"That monopoly of monopolies, the Standard Oil Company, pays annually \$2,500,000 to its 3,000 employees, who are taught fidelity to Senator Quay's machine. The Bethlehem Iron Works, whose armor plates are sold to the Government for nearly double the contract price offered to foreign countries, influence their employees to such an extent that in the city of Bethlehem it has been found difficult to get men to stand as anti-Quay delegates.

"The thousands of workmen of the Carnegie Iron Works, it is said, are marched to the polls under the supervision of superintendents and foremen, and voted for Quay candidates under penalty of losing their jobs.

"The great express companies who furnish franks to machine followers, one of which is bossed by Senator Platt, with their thousands of men, can be counted on for great service to the machine.

"The telegraph companies, whose State officials can, it is said, be found at the inner Quay councils, with the thousands of employees distributed at every important point throughout the State, and before whom a large share of all important news must pass, is one of the most dangerous parts of the Quay machine.

“The interests of the corporations and those of the masses have been diverging for many years, until now what is for the people’s good will not suit the corporations, and what will seemingly satisfy the corporations is no longer safe to the people. The unlimited use of wealth and capital where there is free and full competition is not to be feared, but capital licensed by unjust and discriminating laws is the threatening evil of the day.

Capital with its manifold possibilities for good in itself becomes an agency of wrong and calamity when harnessed with favored legislation.

PURCHASING LEGISLATION.

“Fifth—Unscrupulous Pennsylvania corporations have been willing to purchase advantageous legislation and dishonest political leaders have made a business of selling it to them.

“Every act of injustice, every wrong that you have endured, and every dollar that has been filched from you by the greed of corporations has only been made possible by the venality and dishonesty of those to whom you have delegated the power to make your laws. The Quay machine in Pennsylvania has no competitor in its line of business. It deals exclusively in legislative privileges, and demands its price, and the corporations are its patrons. Every franchise, every privilege, and every law against your interest, and in favor of corporations, and every increase of taxation placed upon you to save the corporations, has yielded revenue in some form or other to the machine and its master.

“My friends, if you can be awakened to your true peril and see the hand that is holding you by the throat, you will be aroused to action, your day of deliverance will soon come. There is no use of scolding at the corporations that have only accepted what the Quay machine tenders them in return for tolls demanded of them for political purposes. I am sure that but few in all this assemblage fully realize the magnitude of the Quay machine and therefore I have told you briefly what this franchise granting, legislation selling,

monopoly fostering, corporation protecting, taxation increasing, liberty destroying and manhood crushing machine is.

“Farmers, it is this disciplined army of selected men who are paid annually nearly \$100,000,000 in wages backed by immense capital, that are constantly working to keep the Quay machine in power. The office-holders work to save their jobs, and the corporation employees to serve their companies’ ends.

“The one objective point of the political and corporate forces is to elect a Quay-controlled Legislature. Existing laws, however harmful they may be to the masses, cannot then be disturbed, and new corporation favors can be obtained for certain considerations.

“The politicians and corporations have adopted your motto and are ‘making hay while the sun shines.’ The sun will continue to shine for the corporations and the rain to fall upon you, so long as you give the machine the power to traffic in your rights. The corporations hiding behind the machine, which they have labeled ‘Remember party,’ with the Republican party’s flags and banners carried by a horde of political servitors, most of whom have assisted to disgrace and drag her colors in the mire, aided by fraud and deception, gather recruits enough from the rank and file of the party to keep the machine in power.

“Indisputable figures are at hand to show that economic management of State affairs will decrease your taxes 35 per cent. And could you obtain legislation restoring to you the rights that have been sold from you, and enact laws to adjust the inequalities of present conditions, you could save still more.

“It is not more crops, but less taxes that the farmers of Pennsylvania need to make them prosperous.

“The criminal daring involved in this political machine work and manipulation of franchises will not astonish you if I repeat here the common report for years past, that certain of the most active bosses are under the constant watch and tutelage of prominent State attorneys to keep guard to warn them of vital danger and save them from the jail door.

“Daniel is dead and cannot speak to the king, but there are living witnesses in the nature of passing events. Smedley Darlington, ex-Congressman and of worthy family, and highly honorable connections, never made but one speech that shook the whole Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and that was Wednesday of last week, when, under oath, he told the truth of the black hand upon him that helped to wreck the Chester County Trust Company and break the hearts and darken the lives of hundreds of too trustful people, who went down with that institution on the river of corrupt politics.

PAID FOR USE OF STATE FUNDS.

“Mr. Darlington said, putting the case plainly in other words, I was on the bond of the State Treasurer and helped my bank to State money. I was obliged to pay interest; the State did not get the interest; it was for use of politicians—committees or individual politicians not particularized. Why not tell all you know, Mr. Darlington, before you have to, for surely the Attorney General cannot fail to note your confession that you paid money for the use of State money that has never reached the State Treasury. How clearly Mr. Darlington lets in the light on the causes of the suffering in the State Normal and other schools and teachers throughout the State, whose appropriations were withheld. What did the banks and bankers care when they held the whip over the State Treasurer, who could not call in the deposits? Is it not clear that the bankers wanted to get money at 2 or 3 per cent. to lend at 6 or more, and at the same time serve and accommodate the bosses with dividends and loans for personal or campaign expenses?

“To use the language of an old and valued Quaker friend, whose letter I have: This money—referring to what Mr. Darlington said about the State money—this money deposited there, was your money (the people’s money) and all the profit made was the people’s. But instead of its going to benefit the people through the State Treasurer, it went to certain parties to be used in paying themselves while robbing you.

“You clear-headed, calculating farmers, take a pencil and count up, as you easily can, how much you have let go from

one source to this Judas bag of the Pennsylvania political ring in twenty years at 3 per cent. Take the annual balances in State banks for the past twenty years as \$5,000,000, which is less than the actual average, and calculate it at 3 per cent. interest, without compounding it, and you have the enormous sum of \$3,000,000. All this vast sum has in the main gone to establish and maintain the Quay machine. You taxpayers of Pennsylvania have really had to pay it.

BURDENS OF NEEDLESS TAXATION.

“When you look at the burdens of needless taxation you are bearing, begin your sum with this \$3,000,000, and when you like I will show you fifty million more that has been wasted by the State, or robbed from you in the last twenty-five years. Let the procession of the broken banks and trust companies and insurance companies led by the Chester County Trust Company pass on—the People’s Bank, the Chestnut Street Bank and Trust Company, the Guarantors and the State Insurance Company. Let the Attorney General call up some officer like Mr. Darlington to tell a plain story so far as it affects State money and politics. Let it be told without verbal wriggling so that the people may fully know exactly how things stand.

“It was a noble thing for that sturdy old Scotch-Irish Pennsylvania citizen, James McManes, to respond quick and true to his early training, and declare that neither the State nor individuals shall lose money in a bank of which for a long time he, the president, was incapacitated by illness. What he said he would do has been faithfully done, but how was all this money lost? It is not possible to wipe off with a dash the figures of four or five hundred thousand dollars lost in a State bank carrying over half a million of State deposits, the kept back school moneys of six million of people, to wipe it off as a boy wipes off a slate with a wet towel. There must continue to be State money deposits in large amounts in the banks, and there is no change in the system, but a politically hammered down one and one-half per cent. interest to be paid, and it is worth while to know what dangers these deposits are exposed to.

“The wind keeps on blowing hard from Politician’s Reef and over the dark caverns of the bankrupt banks where poor Hopkins was swept from his feet and shipwrecked. Who made the plots that miscarried? Are the only lips that could speak dumb in death? Were the knots all tied that not one will slip to the hand of the Attorney General or bank commissioner or receiver, whose business it is to unravel the mysteries that concern the taxpayers whose money was at risk without interest from the founding to the closing of the bank? This is a question of public interest and involves the methods of the conduct of our State Banking Department.

“I have spoken longer than I intended; the gravity of the occasion must be my apology if I have wearied you. You ask what can be done? We are on the eve of the most important election we have ever had, and you have the remedy in your own hands. To spend \$158,000,000 in four months in a national war to take the West India Islands, and permit a great State like Pennsylvania, by its misgovernment and fraud, to sap the foundations of Republicanism, seems idiotic and suicidal. I have no duel with any man. I have no controversy with Mr. Quay. I have never said a word about him as an individual. Instead, it is the Senator of this great State, rendezvousing with four or five of his machines, who seem to carry pocket telephones, to be advised of his hotel visits and railroad arrivals—always the same old four. I wish he were on this platform to-day and among these 25,000 voters. I would treat him with the utmost politeness, and repeat in his presence every word I have uttered. I never like to cut down a tree, not even a dead tree; I would rather plant a tree, and this is what I seek to do.

“There are to-day two Republican camps, and the largest one, I believe, is where the people are rallying for direct attack upon the corrupted machine that has thwarted upright and constitutional government. There will come from this uprising of those who refuse to follow the Quay machine an anti-machine free people’s organization that will forevermore guarantee to the people a true expression of their will. This is the day to put good government on its feet. No man should be elected to office, high or low, Gubernatorial or Legislative,

who is not publicly pledged against the Quay machine, its Legislatures, with their vicious levys of taxes and mastery of Republican politics. They have shattered and destroyed good government in Pennsylvania, and must now be shattered and destroyed themselves, since they scorned their opportunities.

CANDIDATE STONE'S BURDEN.

“For Candidate Stone to carry Quay, the master of and chief controller of the bosses and the machine, will be heavier than it was for Senator Quay to carry Stone through the convention.

“Through a party I am credibly informed that the Honest Government party came first with their nomination, followed by the Prohibitionists, People’s and Liberty parties, who afterward successively indorsed the one platform of the Honest Government party. The only thing I have against them is that there is not enough of them, but there will doubtless be more. The supreme object of this contest is without malice or meanness, by enlightenment and truth to rescue the government from the machine and restore it to the people.

“Sixth—Open all the doors to the facts. Organize meetings and workers throughout every county, down to the smallest school district and make it impossible for any honest man to vote for the dishonored Quay machine. ‘If any man pulls down the flag shoot him on the spot’ was one of the watchwords of the Civil War. In this contest to defeat the Quay tickets and elect anti-Quay tickets all along the line, and especially to the Legislature, where there is a certainty of success let every man in this State crisis keep up his flag, refuse fellowship to those who uphold the fraud, treachery, bribery and dishonesties of the last Legislature.

“Oppose stoutly every endeavor to create another Legislature to be governed by the same Quay machine. As the clock of the Maine stopped suddenly the night the battleship went down in the harbor of Havana, see to it that the clock of the Quay machine stops going after your votes are cast. I take leave of you confident of victory, and ready to help you lower your taxes and make a greater State. These are the days of final reckoning with the Quay machine. Let the State statute

book be the judgment book in settling its worthiness or unworthiness. Then the day after the November election shall be Pennsylvania's greatest Peace Jubilee.

REPLY TO CHAIRMAN ELKIN.

"I wish to add a few more words in reference to an interview handed me on my way here, purporting to be an official statement of John P. Elkin, chairman of the Republican State Committee. I will not tax your patience by entering at this late hour into as full a notice of this interview as I might otherwise have done if it had come to my notice earlier. I wish, however, to say that this interview gives evidence of the 'rattle' which the machine is evidently in. It is clearly a carefully prepared interview to take the people's minds off of the main issues and hammer a man who dares to show up the machine.

"To throw stones at me personally only weakens the Quay machine. I have lots of time and rather good temper to meet them if so disposed. All such interviews, or pronouncements of the Quay machine will weaken their cause. The contest now making has no reference to me personally. I am not before the State as a candidate, nor would I be willing to look to the Quay machine for a certificate of character, particularly from the chairman of the State Committee, the signer of the indemnity bond, who claims that there was no padded pay roll for which it was given, and that the Governor made a mistake in supposing him guilty and driving him from the Attorney General's office.

"I agree with Mr. Elkin that it is time to reply to the charges of misgovernment and the responsibility therefor of the Quay machine, but it was time six months ago, when the Lancaster speech was made. But the reliance upon confusing the people with the war made it unnecessary to notice the arraignment of the machine until they now thought the people were busy thinking.

"To show the audacity of the Quay machine, Mr. Elkin arrogates to himself proprietorship of the party and proposes to try to put me out of it. He will find that he has a pretty hard job. I was told to-day that a young soldier from

Wrightsville, York county, died at Santiago and was carried into the dead-house two hours before he was dead. Undertaker Elkin is trying to dig my grave Republican wise, and bears me into the dead-house with his interview at least two hours before I am dead, as he will find out. Neither am I willing, and many thousands more like me, to accept from Mr. Elkin an interpretation of what Republican duty is. I do not get my ideas from subserviency to bossism, nor am I paid in office holding to exploit temporary sub-bossism from the stool of the committee's desk.

“He totally misrepresents the facts of my relation to the President, for which I think I have the authority of the President's own words to me personally. Instead of disrupting the party, I am trying to save it, and I have labored earnestly to get its leaders to see that they were splitting it by their stubborn deafness to all counsel except the Andrews-Elkin-Saylor-Lytle type. It is a heavy load which it is carrying, which will surely carry it down.

“Mr. Elkin's effort to write me down as not being a taxpayer is amusing, when I paid within the last forty-eight hours between \$95,000 and \$100,000 in one payment. His confession that he does not believe in storekeepers who invest their own money and give large employments, numbering in my particular case to over eight thousand people, who get their support out of my business, is not of any consequence to the State. I have never been unwilling to pay personal taxes. I refused to protest against the increase proposed by the mercantile tax bill, as it placed additional burdens on all the small storekeepers throughout the State. The passage of this bill will doubtless be attempted again by the next Legislature if it is a Quay-controlled body. It is never a hardship to people of large business to pay taxes; the hardship is to the small people.

WANAMAKER AND THE GAS LEASE.

“It certainly is a misfortune for Mr. Elkin to have brought in the corporations, who, after officeholders, are the main support of the Quay machine. To show the personal pique of the disturbed chairman, he makes reference to the lease of the Philadelphia Gas Works. What relation that has to State

issues I do not know. To me has frequently been given the credit of having prevented the sale of the City Gas Works to the politicians, seven or eight years ago, and I am well satisfied with my position of having approved a well-fortified lease of the City Gas Works, enabling the city to get more than it ever did in money, and with a string upon the works, by which the city can take them back, if it chooses, at the end of ten years.

“It is most paltry and childish to attempt to make a shadow upon me because I was one of the original stockholders of the United Gas Improvement Company, as if a small interest on my actual investment could influence my judgment. I think I owned the stock when I obstructed the sale of the works to the city. I am opposed to the sale of the works, but quite in favor of an ironclad lease that breaks up a political jobbing establishment. I wonder whether Mr. Elkin knows I am a much larger stockholder in the city—being, it is stated, the largest individual taxpayer except one. It is a wonder he did not say that. When I went over to the City Council chamber, not of my own volition, but at the request of the chairman of Councils’ committee, asking me to give an opinion, my object was entirely to improve the quality of the gas for my establishment.

“The fact is, I might have stated at the Council hearing that I had disposed of part of my holdings in the United Gas Improvement Company after the lease came before the Council committee, not valuing the investment sufficiently to keep it until the lease was consummated.

CHALLENGE TO ELKIN.

“How can anyone confide in the judgment or honesty of the Quay machine when it puts up its chairman to say that the Republican party management is not intimately connected with the People’s Bank, the Guarantors’ and the State Insurance Company? If the facts do not prove that Mr. Elkin is wrong in this, I will take the stump with him and go about the State and put these matters straight before the people.

“The attempt to tie up the Keystone Bank failure in the category is purely malicious. I had no more to do with that

failure, directly or indirectly, as has been well proven, than I have to do with the padded pay rolls which Mr. Elkin claims never existed. At my own urgent request, I went before the city Council's committees and laid there all the knowledge I had in the premises. I am just as ready to do it again; there is not anything I care to conceal, neither will it annoy me. If it is any pleasure to the State Committee to misrepresent me, I am quite willing to devote my time, without any loss of temper, and give any information on this or any other point that their animosity to me desires.

"It is certainly clear to me that whenever the Quay machine volcano belches such sulphur and smoke it will help the people to understand the nature of the Quay machine, the spirit of its men and its determination to not allow the fair discussion of its operations without attempting to murder whoever is brave enough to be a soldier. Daubing with this kind of plastering and breaking up party machine is not going to help it. The people cannot be deceived by dragging in personalities or attempting to inflame passions.

"I have avoided carefully the use of a large amount of material reflecting on persons. My battle is to reconstruct the old party upon a principle of fairness to the people without any reference to me personally. There are thousands more like me that will never stop until this is done. It is a Republican party we prefer if we can get it, and the party killers are the Elkin-Mylin-Haywood-Andrews-Saylor-Lytle crowd, with the Quay machine as their captain.

"It is a burning shame that tens of thousands of self-respecting Republicans are driven away by the bossism that is exemplified in the Elkin interview. I have nothing to defend, but I am determined that even such a thin attempt to fool the people with facts shall not go unnoticed."

DR. SWALLOW'S LETTER TO QUAY.

Rev. Dr. Swallow, who spoke after Mr. Wanamaker concluded, briefly referred to the statements he has heretofore made regarding his candidacy for Governor, and then read a copy of the following letter, which he sent to Senator Quay to-day:

“Harrisburg, Pa., Sept. 1, 1898.

“Matthew Stanley Quay.

“Dear Sir:—My attention has been called to an article found in a recent number of your State organ in which you threaten me with prosecution for my connection with an article exposing your character, found in the New York ‘Voice’ of August 18.

“Permit me to say that my understanding of it is that this objectionable matter is almost identical with that published in pamphlet form over the signatures of a large number of reputable citizens of Philadelphia several years ago. It seems also to refer to the same charges made against you by the New York ‘World’ some ten years ago. The publishers of that paper offered to come to Pennsylvania if you would only prosecute them, and offered further to pay all the expense of the trial, including your attorneys’ fees.

“I join you in the opinion that you need vindication badly, and if the ‘Voice’ article is true would add that you need purgation and also fumigation. Having rested under this awful stigma so many years, is it worth your while to try to unload it now?

“However, to expedite your vindication, if you are bent on suing for it, permit me to say that I will be at my office all day to-morrow, September 2, also on Tuesday, September 6, when it will be my pleasure to accept and acknowledge service of summons. Personally, anything I can do in the interest of truth to render your reputation less monstrous than it has always been, I will be glad to do so.

“Yours, for the public good,

(Signed)

“S. C. SWALLOW.”

THE NEXT LEGISLATURE.

How the Machine is striving to control it—How the Bosses put their Bills through, as shown in the methods pursued in the last notorious Legislature—The Republicanism of State Chairman John P. Elkin.

In the Wayne County Court House on September 16th, at Honesdale, before an audience that overflowed the court room, at least 2,000 persons being present, Mr. Wanamaker made one of the most striking speeches of the campaign against the Quay machine.

The complete speech of Mr. Wanamaker follows:

“I have come at your call to dispassionately consider with you the present condition of political matters in our State. It is the last straw that breaks the camel’s back; it was the record of the last Legislature that tried beyond endurance the patience of a long-suffering people.

“The reckless defiance of honor and justice started the fire of revolution within the party that burst into a blaze that the Quay machine engine can never put out; all their noise and clatter will not avail.

“For a time the smoke of the war concealed the conflagration, but the clear skies of peace have not only revealed the exact political situation, but have brought intense apprehension to the machine politicians.

“With a most important election but fifty days distant the Quay machine regulars are running hither and thither like chickens without heads and tumbling over each other in their anxiety to make it appear that the issues of the campaign are totally different from what they really are.

“Candidates, chairmen and hirelings, by speech, letter, circular and paid-for newspaper editorials, each have the old pie woman’s collander, sifting over their wares a kind of white sugar to hide the real contents inside.

“A united effort is being made to have the people believe that the election in November is to give the vote of confi-

dence to Mr. McKinley that the two Senators and Colonel Stone, the nominee for Governor, with their Pennsylvania Congressmen under machine direction denied when the first steps of the war were taken. That it is to elect Congressmen to enlarge the trade of the United States in the new United States' islands; that it has something to do with the tariff and sound money, all of which is the baldest humbug and sheepest nonsense.

NO EVASION IS POSSIBLE.

"The tariff and money problems are practically settled for a time. President McKinley is not on trial in Pennsylvania and never can be put on trial by the Quay-Andrews-Elkin partnership. The Quay machine need not try to hide its black face behind President McKinley so that the people will not shoot at it.

"The people are gunning for the Quay machine and insist on the national question moving out of the way that they may have a good shot at it and destroy its costly mischief-making.

"Another contrivance of the cunning Quay machine manipulators is to shift the issues of the present election from its own maladministration to play the boarding school game of twenty questoins; to steer your inquiries to false issues and direct your minds to individuals who are not candidates, but only foremost in opposing a longer lease of power of the political Molly Maguires, is the common bunco game of the paid committeemen and speakers in the employ of the machine.

"The Quay-Elkin Committee carry a large stock of Quay-Elkin wall paper, with which the journeymen are trying to cover up the old cracks and stains of the party.

"I must speak plainly; the tremendous interests at stake call for it. In this busy life there is not time for soft words upon serious questions. I never liked to spend my time in driving nails into lathes of plaster; we are not children at the sea sailing paper boats. Our ships laden with lifetime toil are amid the breakers and beating up toward treacherous rocks and stormy waters.

“Let me ask you to clearly fix in your minds exactly what the November election is for. You are to elect one Governor, one Lieutenant Governor, one Secretary of Internal Affairs, two Superior Court Judges, two Congressmen-at-large, 204 members of the State House of Representatives, 25 members of the State Senate; 229 men, who, with 24 Republicans and one Democrat, who hold over, will constitute the next Legislature. You also elect county, town, borough and township officers.

“The people of each locality must take an interest and pride in selecting their officers, but should never allow the trading to the cost of larger interest, as was the case in Philadelphia when the Republicans traded votes for Bryan to get votes for Sheriff Crow, and thus decreased McKinley’s majority by 30,000.

“The chief interest in the State ticket centers upon the Governorship, the highest post of honor in the State government. A Governor nominated, owned and controlled by the machine is a dangerous tool against the people. He is subject to his masters, who make sure of his abject subserviency before his nomination is permitted.

“He has the veto power and can use it or not, as he pleases. It was the use of the veto sledge hammer by Governor Hastings that spoiled the carefully constructed operations of the spoils Legislature of 1896-97.

“If the veto axe in the hands of Governor Hastings were a frontispiece of the Elkin campaign book it would be much more appropriate than that of President McKinley, who has nothing to do with State issues, and whose position can never be strengthened by the success of those who sought first to defeat him and then to embarrass his splendid administration.

THE COMING LEGISLATURE.

“The election of 229 men to the Legislature is after all the most important event of each two years to the people. If the very same men who failed to carry their measures through the last Legislature are re-elected and more like them, with a Governor to match, the State of Pennsylvania

will be forced to deliver what Governor Hastings held up last year.

“In addition thereto, every class of men and industry, with every county or district that has dared to oppose the machine will be visited with Quay machine punishments to make them smart for their venturesomeness in thinking and acting for themselves.

“The State Legislature also elects one United States Senator, who serves six years from the 4th of March, 1899. Senator Quay, the acknowledged head and autocrat of the machine, is asking to be continued in all his power and privilege. To cure what to the Quay machine seemed like defects in their grist mill of last Winter they have made deadly and successful assaults against many men like Senator Kauffman, Daniel Moore, Plumer Jeffries and men of the incorruptible stamp.

“It is frequently said that the Legislature is composed of what the people elect. This is not true; the people do not get their votes counted, for delegates have no actual say as to who shall be nominated, nor do the conventions register fairly the will of the people.

“It is a common thing to order snap meetings, change hours of meeting and voting without fair notice and alter rules at the pleasure of the little bosses, who assume that anything they do is right if they deliver their districts.

“Guide posts at the cross roads painted with the wrong name and incorrect distances are promptly torn down or repainted, but political guide posts cannot be disturbed so long as the boss elects. The people are at terrible disadvantages under machine rule; they get what they did not expect and did not want, and cannot help themselves.

“It is not a race on equal terms upon an open road. There are sets of actors on the political stage, the national boss, who touches the wires that move the State bosses, and these in turn tie strings to every official, the assessor, tax collector, jury commissioners.

“To convict thieves who pillage the treasury and keep watch for each other against detection, who stand in to pro-

tect each other, is next to an impossibility. If a man threatens to squeal he is promised a promotion or a place for his brother-in-law, or a county bridge over his father's farm road, and so the carnival of crime goes on.

FOOLISH PLEAS BEING MADE.

"The leaders, chairman and hired men in offices who own newspapers and are compelled to dance when the boss jerks the string are in a kind of vertigo just now. The newspaper of the Librarian of Congress tearfully beseeches Pennsylvanians not to play with fire on McKinley's account, and points dolefully to the election in Maine, where there is a great Republican victory with but one speech of Tom Reed.

"Such silly, high-flavored office-holding talk of the ex-Minister to China, now snugly settled for life, is a poor compliment to the intelligence of the State he has moved out of to settle in Washington. The fact that State committeemen, and so many of the newspaper people, have offices that give them salaries out of the public lap may account for the loud beating of their various drums and their inconsistent conduct; but it does not excuse it.

"The bulk of a big chairman and a fourth column double-leaded editorial by an office-holder or adroitly-edited campaign books, decked with pictures of McKinley and flags by the dozen, does not prove patriotism or hoodwink the people. If you desire to become acquainted with the heart of darkest Africa you must become an explorer like Stanley.

"If you study your interest you can become an explorer in the desert of politics without going outside of your own Commonwealth; you enter the heart of darker Pennsylvania at Harrisburg.

"If you sail up the river of appropriations you will soon find yourself in the midst of awful cataracts and stupendous caves infested by the Committees of Appropriations, and smugglers of Government goods.

"It will be well worth your while to explore this mysterious land with its one great highway of politics. It may overwork you somewhat to study the specimens of this political

country, but it is altogether better that you should understand the regions of this dark country at your very door.

LAST LEGISLATURE WITHOUT EXCUSE.

“The Republican machine, through its State chairman and its nominee for Governor, is at the present time seeking by the most flagrant deception to deny responsibility for the bad record of the last Legislature.

“These champions of the dishonored Legislature of '97 boldly give credit to the machine for the seventy or more dangerous and vicious bills passed by that truculent body, but which were vetoed by an un-Quay-controlled Governor; and also for the scores of Treasury raids and plunder-yielding schemes attempted for unlawful machine profit, that were killed by the unfaltering opposition of the valiant “seventy-six.”

“To those familiar with Legislative procedure such claims from any party candidate must be received with astonishment and disgust. For the enlightenment of those who may have no other means of learning the truth, I will briefly outline the course a bill must take to become a law under the present State Constitution.

“First, a bill is introduced in either the Senate or the House by a member rising in his place and reading merely the title of the bill; thereupon it is referred by the president of the Senate or the Speaker of the House to some particular committee.

“Second, the committee in secret session considers, or is supposed to consider, the bill upon its merits and report the same back to the Senate or House, with affirmative or negative recommendations, and it is printed and placed upon the calendar.

“Third, upon three separate days the bill is read in full by the reading clerk and voted upon each time by the members, and after passing either House or Senate it is again referred to a similar committee of the opposite branch.

“Fourth, the bill then follows the same course through the second branch, viz.: considered by committee and reported,

read on three separate days and voted upon after each reading.

PROGRESS OF A BILL.

“Thus it will be seen that every bill before it reaches the Governor’s hands must at least pass before two different committees (those of the Senate and House respectively), and are read and voted upon six separate times, three times in the Senate and three times in the House, making eight different steps, at any one of which the controlling power of the Legislature can defeat the bill.

“But the real life-giving origin of all Legislative measures is the committee to which it is referred. The ownership of the committees of the Senate and the House controls the fountain head of legislation.

“Vicious bills, with machine backing, can always be favorably reported by machine committees and meritorious bills can always be killed, unless public sentiment is so strong that their consideration can be taken out of the hands of the committee by the Senate or House, as was the case with the Kauffman Treasury bill, providing for the payment of interest on State deposits.

“It is a matter of history that the Quay machine held that bill in committee three months. If that interest bill had been passed twenty years ago it would have saved the taxpayers of this State more than \$2,000,000, which Senator Quay and his henchmen have converted to their own personal use.

“The Quay-constructed committee was forced to report the bill, because of a resolution offered in the Senate by Senator Kauffman to discharge the committee from further consideration of the bill, and that the bill be reported to the Senate with affirmative recommendation.

“As the source of all legislation is with Legislative committees the kind of bills favorably reported by a committee unerringly portrays the political and moral character of the men composing said committees.

MACHINE MAKES COMMITTEES.

“The making up of committees is all done by the machine, and is the laborious work of weeks. Every man’s political leanings are first canvassed, his business affiliations are considered, and his strength of character examined.

“I am told it is necessary for a member to have the personal indorsement of Senator Quay before he can obtain a place on certain committees and that powerful corporations have the entire naming of other committees.

“A well-known member of the House was desirous of obtaining a place on a certain corporation committee and was directed by the Speaker of the House to make application to the office of a Philadelphia railway company, which he did, and, after giving the proper assurances, he was made a member of the committee.

The Appropriation Committees, the Ways and Means Committee, the Corporation Committees and the Railroad Committees are among the most important that determine vital questions affecting the interests of the people.

“The influences that controlled and the malign power that directed the action of the standing committees of the last Legislature are responsible for every bad bill that was placed upon the Legislative calendar with a favorable recommendation.

“The Senate and the House Appropriation Committees that reported favorably upon every mileage grab, every junketing job, every appropriation bill steal, every fake investigation bill, every padded pay roll item, were responsible for all the raids made upon the State Treasury at the last session of the Legislature.

“It is not always easy or even possible to properly place the responsibility for the passage of dangerous legislation, but in this case the accountability is made easy, positive and undeniable, as will be seen by an analysis of the makeup of the committees that gave these measures the first breath of life.

“The Appropriation Committee of the Senate was composed of twenty-one ultra-Quay men, two anti-Quay men and two Democrats. The Appropriation Committee of the House

was composed of twenty-three subservient Quay men, one anti-Quay man and five Democrats.

HISTORY OF SOME MACHINE BILLS.

“In other words, the committees which approved the attempted raids upon the State Treasury, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars, were composed of forty-three Quay men, selected by the machine for their willingness to obey any and all orders, three anti-Quay men and seven Democrats, four of whom took their orders from the machine.

“The infamous Becker bills to destroy the vital principles of Philadelphia’s city charter and deliver the city over to twenty-one Quay Councilmen was reported favorably from a committee composed of thirteen Quay men and two Democrats.

“The Kunkle fire-alarm bill, to require all stores, factories, warehouses, office buildings, school and public institutions to have automatic fire-alarms connected with the municipal system, and giving a monopoly of the business to a company of State politicians, was reported by a committee composed of sixteen Quay men, six anti-Quay and three Democrats.

“The Simon electric light bill, to compel municipalities to purchase existing electric light plants before being allowed to erect their own, was reported favorably from a committee composed of seventeen Quay men, four anti-Quay and two Democrats.

“The brewery license bill, to grant a license to any person, without regard to personal character or fitness, for the manufacture of beer, upon the payment of \$1,000 to the State Treasurer, and allowing breweries to be located next to churches and schoolhouses, was reported favorably from a committee composed of seventeen Quay men, three anti-Quay men and four Democrats.

“Though every person in the State of Pennsylvania except the Republican State chairman and the Republican candidate for Governor must know that the standing committees of all Legislatures dominated by the Quay machine are but convenient and pliable instruments, yet an examination of the Legislative records of ’97 discloses such startling evidence of

a single purpose, to serve only the interests of the machine, that I want to give you a few examples.

"The Becker bill, a Quay political measure to change the form of municipal government for 1,000,000 people, was introduced in the Senate on April 14, referred to the committee and reported affirmatively the same day by a committee composed of thirteen Quay men and two Democrats.

"The Saylor bill, to permit the State Treasurer to pay the expenses of investigating committees before such bills were passed by the Legislature or approved by the Governor, which would have given to Quay committees last session more than \$50,000 that was vetoed as illegal and excessive items, was introduced on April 29, and reported favorably on the same day, from a committee composed of thirteen Quay men and one anti-Quay man.

"The notorious Lexow bill, the anthracite, the bituminous, the oleo, the penitentiary, the Capitol fire, the Treasury, the insurance scandal investigating bills and the Grant Tomb and Washington Monument junketing trips, aggregating \$129,541.72, were all introduced and reported favorably on the same day from a committee composed of twenty-four Quay men and one anti-Quay man.

EVIL FATE OF GOOD BILLS.

"But how different with bills for the public good, that were opposed by the machine. The State deposit interest bill was introduced January 19, and on April 13, three months later, it was forced from the committee by Senator Kauffman's resolution to discharge the committee.

"The Bliss tax bill, to raise the rate of taxation on corporations, was introduced on February 8 and was not reported from a committee composed of twenty-four Quay men and one anti-Quay man until April 13, and then only upon promise that it would be recommitted.

"The two bills placing a tax on beer were introduced, one on February 10, the other on March 25, and reported April 8 and 9 respectively.

"I have on previous occasions referred to many of these bills, but never before to give the detail of their passages and

the personnel of the committees that were responsible for them.

"I have spoken by the book, and you can have further proofs to settle the facts whenever any one questions these statements.

"Some little attention has been drawn recently to the statements of John P. Elkin, who for a month past has been promising to refute the statements against the last Legislature and the Quay machine that have been made upon the stump during the past six months.

"Among the items of foreign news to-day it is stated that Vesuvius is now in a state of eruption and that hot lava is flowing down the mountain sides and destroying the foliage.

"It would seem that the Pennsylvania Vesuvius—the Quay machine—through one of its craters is in a state of eruption, pouring out the hot lava of falsehood and fable.

DISCUSSION OF CHAIRMAN ELKIN.

"I have been asked who Mr. Elkin is. I have but little personal acquaintance with him, but personally a pleasant one. I am unwilling to become engaged in any personal altercations in these political discussions. I am a citizen, a voter and an old-time Republican, and claim the right to discuss in good spirit and temper candidates for office and the managers of campaigns who are in point of fact nearly always supported by public money gathered by subscription or assessments.

"I am informed that Mr. Elkin was appointed State Deputy Attorney General by Governor Hastings in 1895, and soon after became a candidate for Republican State chairman. United States Senator Quay, fearing to allow Mr. Elkin's name to go to the front, became a candidate himself, and as soon as he was elected turned over the office to Mr. Elkin.

"Thirteen months ago Mr. Elkin was obliged to resign from the office of Deputy Attorney General because of his confessed participation in unlawfully conspiring with others to get a large sum of money from the State Treasury upon a padded pay roll.

"This, however, does not seem to have affected his standing or eligibility for State chairman. Notwithstanding he was

forced from the Attorney General's office in disgrace, he has remained continually at the head of the Republican machine and the commander-in-chief of a committee representing every county in the State, to whom is committed under his direction the conduct of the election.

"This State official, sworn to guard the public treasury, caught in the commission of an unlawful act, turned out of office, unblushingly attempts to justify his conduct upon the plea that the machine of which he is the sub-head has, by the same method, robbed the State for years.

"Public opinion was so strong at the time the lading out of the money of the Treasury was discovered that it drove him out of the Attorney General's office with quick step, but he has evidently now determined to meet the issue with defiance and audaciously defends the right of use of the money of the State Treasury without Legislative authority.

ELKIN'S IDEA OF THE PARTY.

"This is the same man who claims to be a law in himself for the Treasury; this is the same man who assumes to act as Pope to the Republican party of Pennsylvania, and excommunicate those who do not take orders from his camp.

"It would seem that the deposed ex-Deputy Attorney General and State chairman has discovered that the Republican party in Pennsylvania is not strong enough to retain in its ranks those who hold opinions of their own, that it means to establish a kind of Salt Lake settlement from which shall be shut out all others than the ring consorts, the Republican valets, the lawbreakers, Treasury looters, indemnity bond signers, padded pay-rollers, and such as will add, divide and be still.

"The thousands and tens of thousands who follow the old flag of Lincoln Republicanism from principle are to be denied a place in the home they have built.

"I am asked to notice that Chairman Elkin declares that he has made every effort to bring about harmony within the Republican party. The truth is it is the Elkin-Andrews-Saylor-Quay-Lytles, and even so genial and handsome a man as

Hardenberg, who has always trained with this set, that has brought on this condition of affairs.

“Only deaf ears have been turned to the people’s appeals for less machine and more principle, and setting the people aside by defeating such as Kauffman and striking out every man who has been independent enough to choose for himself his Legislative course has caused the dissensions and widened the chasm between the people and the machine.

“I grant that Mr. Elkin has followed the instinct of a machine-made politician in endeavoring to bring about a basis of harmony upon barter and deal. The Quay substitute chairman, who after all, is Quay himself, I believe, has been and still is perfectly willing to sit down and divide the people’s offices among the politicians representing opposing factions upon the condition that they will agree to support Senator Quay for re-election.

THE PEOPLE DISREGARDED.

“I cannot tell how many men the machine have been willing to favor for nomination as members of the Legislature and offered to discount candidate’s notes based upon salaries unearned by which assessments might be paid providing some kind of a bond is given to go along, as they term it, with the machine and support its bills and its people for re-election.

“Where do the people come in in these arrangements? What effort has he made to harmonize his machine with the people? What will he do to give back into the State Treasury the thousands of dollars illegally taken from it?

“Who will go security for the machine against indemnity bonds, padded pay rolls, junketing jobs, appropriation bill steals in the future? Can any one tell whether the machine in its efforts to harmonize with the people has favored the passage of just and equitable tax laws to lighten excess burdens now borne by rural lands?

“Who has received any promise or guarantee that the State contracts in which certain prominent party officials are said to be secretly interested, will be no longer continued?

“Where is there any agreement that the machine will cease its raids upon the Treasury through the State printer and

other departments? What efforts have been made to satisfy the people that the machine will not cut down the public schools appropriations again?

“Has the confident chairman harmonized with the farmers by promising protection to the pure butter interests? What guarantee shall the people have if they will harmonize that there will be no more Becker bills, electric light snakes, guarantors jobs, Andrews’ banking bills, fire alarm bills, pool bills, brewery license bills; what hope has he thrown out to the people that the Republican organization is not to be longer used as an individual concern for individual benefit?

“In the interest of harmony and good feeling within the party has the chairman ever offered to resign and relieve the party from the odium of having a head who was officially dismissed from office for crime against the law in connection with the State Treasury?

WHAT CHAIRMAN ELKIN KNOWS.

“Who will say that it is true that Chairman Elkin has done all he could to bring about harmony within the Republican party unless he has made all these particular offers? Surely it cannot be possible that the State chairman is ignorant of the feeling among the rank and file of the party.

“He must know that thousands of Republicans will not vote their party ticket this year, lest their votes would be considered an indorsement of the party chairman’s connection with the Treasury raid.

“Chairman Elkin must know that many of the people will not follow his leadership because he openly advocated and tried strenuously to take a million of dollars away from the public schools.

“Chairman Elkin must know that the farmers are not willing to follow the leading of any man who favors legalizing the sale of oleomargarine to the damage of the great interests of pure butter in this State.

“Chairman Elkin must know that the people of Philadelphia have not forgotten his efforts to pass the Becker bills, and he must likewise know that the people of Pittsburg remember his connection with the Ripper bill.

“Chairman Elkin must know that a man to be chairman of the Republican organization, justifying his signature to the notorious indemnity bond, must give some security to the people that when the W. A. Stone slate is carried out and W. H. Andrews becomes the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and Chairman Elkin becomes Attorney General he will not dip into the Treasury again with more indemnity bonds.

“Chairman Elkin must know that the widespread belief that he is to be taken care of by some fat office when his party succeeds in the Fall will drive hosts of voters away from supporting the Republican ticket.

“Chairman Elkin must not forget that it is very much in the way of harmony so long as the people remember his connection with the defeat of the reform bills and the passage of counterfeits that permit election frauds and crimes of the most flagrant character.

“Chairman Elkin must know that it would never be possible to harmonize the Republican party by management of the State Committee in the interests of a few favored office holders.

“Chairman Elkin may have forgotten, but the people do not forget, that when McKinley was before them for the Presidency, and sound money was the supreme object all over, that he and his satraps industriously endeavored to destroy Republican meetings in various parts of the State because the speakers were not of the ring stripe.

“Chairman Elkin must remember that he absolutely refused to allow meetings to be arranged at various parts of the State to assist McKinley’s election, because he objected to Mr. Wanamaker making the speeches, though he never alluded to other than tariff and sound money questions.

“Mr. Chairman Elkin, who is now wildly screaming for regularity, is upon the record for refusing to support a man for nomination for Governor within the party lines because he was not a ring man.

MR. ELKIN'S REPUBLICANISM.

“Chairman Elkin may forget that there are in existence quite a number of letters where in the Fall election of 1896, as Chairman of the State Committee, without solicitation, he distributed checks of the committees’ money ranging from \$200 to \$500 each, to be paid out of the subscriptions of good Republicans all over the State, but to do duty for Senator Quay as though given out of the Senator’s money and with the Senator’s compliments.

“Fine Republicanism this—to mass the State’s contributions and the collections from State banks, such as Mr. Darlington referred to in his testimony, and devote to the interests of one man to give him a mortgage upon candidates thus helped by the chairman’s checks.

“Mr. Chairman Elkin in his efforts for harmony in the whole party cannot be expected to bring it about by going into counties and openly interfering with primaries against Republicans who always stood loyal to the party, and using his official position to direct the campaign for the chairman’s good father’s re-election to the United States Senate.

“The fact that he has, as chairman, been busy in announcing Senator Quay’s candidacy and paying assessments in the various counties as though the State Committee was organized solely for the benefit of one man is not likely to promote harmony in the party.

“For illustration: Mr. Elkin will understand, if he will remember, that a check was sent to a central county for \$500 by his committee to a candidate to oppose the renomination to the Legislature of a member of the “seventy-six” who was known to be against the Quay machine.

“The people are not blind or dumb, at least not all of them, and if the men have had their eyes closed to the peculiar antics of the audacious Quay machine the wives and mothers of Pennsylvania have clearer vision and are doing a good deal of thinking and talking these days to relieve themselves of unnecessary burdens of taxation from wasteful legislation.

“Any party, no matter how many Republican flags it carries, that continues to do business under false pretenses, must perish from the earth. Truth long imprisoned is on its way through the State, and the ballots of voters are being charged with an electricity that will electrocute the party that settles down more and more firmly in the chair of corrupt politics.

“It would seem as though the time was at hand for a new beginning. What a funeral of shattered fortunes, broken political banks and trust companies has passed along before the taxpayers during the past year.

“One after the other the favored concerns of the machine have dropped dead and the crash of their fall still echoes in the public ears. On the 1st of April last upwards of a million of dollars of the people’s money were deposited in insolvent institutions. Little by little the story has leaked out of how the Quay machine enforced interest for the use of public money.

“Small morsels of truth have been tossed to the people by the Chester County Trust Company’s president. The sample bricks from the Quay machine kiln are in sight of the people.

PEOPLE LEARNING THE TRUTH.

“That machine of which Mr. Darlington confesses he was a part and acknowledges his dictation of where deposits should be made, and how long they should stay, and what should be done with the interest they earn, is still on the witness-stand.

“The curt refusal to disclose the names of the receivers of unlawful interest will not suffice the deeply injured State which has not only lost its interest money by the power of the Quay machine that has so long successfully prevented the passage of a bill, but has disgraced the party by the demoralization and debauchery of politics through the use of manipulated State moneys.

“It is the unknown quantity that has become the study of thousands of voters of this State during the last few months. Thoughtful men are examining the ruins of the People’s Bank, Guarantors’ Company, the State Insurance Company and plying serious questions that still remain unanswered.

“The Reeder-Loper-Boyer-Darlington presidents still walk the streets, though the grass of Summer has grown rank and tall on the poor suicide’s grave, whose wail is still in the city air.

“If it be true that no hope for better politics in Pennsylvania could be expected until the political control and uses of State moneys through the State institutions changed, it is of the first necessity that the law officers of the State should give to the people the causes that have brought about the conditions that have risked their moneys, lost the stockholders’ funds, disgraced the State and involved the Republican party in dishonor and shame.

“The wrecks upon the shore need some life-saving station for the future of the Republican party, and it is to the Attorney General and the banking and insurance officers of the State that the people must look for deliverance.

“It is only by the experiences of the past that we can learn safe steps for the future. Let no banking officer be driven to suicide through the mysteries of politically-protected State organizations. Neither let it be said that Pennsylvania law officers are tardy in administering justice.”

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 014 209 514 2

