

# REPUBLICAN RECORD.

FOR PARTISAN SERVICES HARRISON SHIELDED CRIMINALS.

The Baltimore Civil Service Law Violators—The President and Wamamaker Both Disregarded the Commission's Recommendation for Removal.

Nothing could more accurately show the attitude of the administration toward morality in the public service than the simple story of the Baltimore incident to be here related.

It reveals, first, the administration's complete contempt for the civil service law and its refusal to enforce the statutes against "administration workers" even in a case where those statutes had been criminally violated by acts punishable by a fine of \$5,000 and by three years imprisonment.

It reveals, second, an absolute disregard of ordinary standards of morality on the part of the administration in the selection and retention of men as public servants—an entire willingness to remain in the service and to protect by every shift device men who had not only committed crimes denounced by the civil service law, but who had testified falsely and were self accused of cheating in elections, ballot box stuffing, the destruction of ballot boxes, false counting and other offenses possible only to men too destitute of moral sense to be safely trusted in any position of responsibility.

It reveals, third, the methods by which the administration has molded the civil service into a compact cohort of workers for the re-nomination and re-election of President Harrison.

The story does not rest upon the testimony of any one hostile to the administration or to the Republican party. It is told by Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican civil service commissioner, upon the testimony of his own observation in part and in other part upon that of the men implicated in the rascalities. It is indorsed by the entire civil service commission as an official report to the president.

The Republican party in Baltimore is divided into two factions. One of these is called the Johnson-Airey faction, after the postmaster, Johnson, and the United States marshal, Airey, who are its organizers and leaders. It represents the federal office holders in Baltimore. The other is called the Henderson or the Henderson-Stone faction, after its leaders, who are disappointed applicants for the offices of postmaster and marshal.

In the spring of 1891 a Republican primary election was held which involved the question of dominance between the two factions. The contest was one of great bitterness, and was attended by extraordinary rascalities and some violence. The employees of the government, particularly those in the postoffice, were the most active participants in it, the authors of the violence and the instigators and perpetrators of the frauds.

Complaint was made to the civil service commission that the law was being violated; that assessments were levied and collected for a political purpose among government employees, by government officers and in government buildings, offenses specifically forbidden by the law under heavy penalties of fine and imprisonment.

Commissioner Roosevelt was sent to Baltimore to investigate. He witnessed the election and afterward diligently questioned the men who had been guilty of the transgressions of the law.

He found, by the men's own confessions, that money in considerable sums had been raised for factional purposes in the government buildings by assessments upon government employees; that government officers had exacted these contributions and had received the money—in short, that the law on this subject had been flagrantly violated in every possible way and the service debauched in an extraordinary degree. He found that the men who had criminally levied and the men who had criminally paid the assessments, instead of attending to their duties on March 20, devoted themselves to the work of carrying the primaries for their faction chiefs, though this is specifically forbidden by the postal regulations.

Incidentally he discovered the immoral methods they employed in doing this, and he tells of these things in his report. He tells us that there was cheating of every kind; that "padding" ballots—six or seven ballots folded together and cast as one—were freely used; that ballot boxes were broken open; that the judges of election themselves perpetrated the boldest frauds with brutal openness; that it was perfectly understood that whichever side happened to have two of the three judges at any voting precinct was certain to win there. He tells us that where cheating failed violence and brawls were resorted to; that Marshal Airey himself tried to control results by dragging a judge from the window; that at another precinct a custom house employee pulled down the window at which the votes were received and tried to stop the election; that the faction fighters "stood in" with the police to avoid arrest themselves and to secure the arrest of their opponents; that bribery, repeating and illegal voting were everywhere employed.

All this was freely confessed to Mr. Roosevelt upon the witness stand by the government employees concerned. With some of them it was the practice in giving testimony for each to accuse the other side of these offenses, and the commissioner remarks:

"I am inclined to believe that in this respect there is much reason to regard the testimony of each side as correct in its outline of the conduct of the other."

But not all of these men had moral sense enough to look with disfavor upon cheating even upon the other side. One custom house clerk named Horner testified on this point:

"I would have done the same thing myself. I believe in doing anything to win."

Another, named Reed, gave testimony without a blush as follows:

"Don't say I wouldn't cheat in the primaries. Whoever gets two judges wins."

Q.—Each side cheats as much as it can?

A.—Certainly; that's the way. I do it just the same as they do. They had two judges.

Q.—How do you do your cheating?

A.—Well, we do our cheating honorably. If they catch us at it, it's all right; it's fair. I even carried the box home with me on one occasion. I have broken up more than one election.

All this was formally reported to the president and to the department chiefs of the men concerned, and yet neither of these precious scoundrels has ever been removed or asked to resign from the public service! How long would any business man keep in his employ men whose moral sense made discriminations between "honorable" cheating and the other kind? These open professors of the ethics of the highwayman—who also "honorably" takes his risks in his depredations—have never had it in any way suggested to them that their moral conceptions are below the standard which the government is entitled to exact of its employees in positions of financial responsibility.

In his official report Mr. Roosevelt says that Charles E. Ray, one of the custom house witnesses, "was caught in the most flagrant falsehood," and adds: "I recommend that his dismissal be asked for on the ground that he has been guilty of flagrant mendacity with intent to impede an official investigation."

The civil service commissioners officially indorsed that recommendation, but neither the president nor any of his subordinates has ever taken any step toward the man's dismissal.

Again Mr. Roosevelt reported, and the commission indorsed his words, that "the evidence seems to be perfectly clear that both of these offices (the postoffice and the marshal's office) were used with the purpose of interfering with or controlling the result of the primary election, and that there was a systematic, though sometimes indirect, effort made to assess the government employees in both for political purposes."

This was in direct violation both of department regulations and of the criminal law, yet Johnson is still postmaster, and Airey, who, Mr. Roosevelt says, "furnished the brains" for all these proceedings, is still marshal, and the government employees they control by virtue of their official positions are still closely banded together for factional work, and are known indifferently as the Johnson-Airey faction or the administration faction!

Mr. Roosevelt's chief concern, however, was not with the general moral condition of the government officers and clerks at Baltimore, but with specific violations of the civil service law—acts for which the statute prescribes the removal and the criminal prosecution of the offenders.

He drew his information exclusively from the culprits themselves. He forebore to make adverse recommendations in any case which was open to the least doubt. He gave heed to every possibly mitigating circumstance.

Yet he was constrained to recommend the dismissal of two men from the marshal's office, two from the custom house and twenty-one from the postoffice—all for flagrant and admitted transgressions of the law, for which they were liable not only to dismissal, but to criminal prosecution as well. He mentioned others by name, inviting their superiors to inquire whether they were fit persons to be retained in the public service. In urging the dismissals Mr. Roosevelt gave it as his conviction that "the time has come to show by an example which everybody must understand, that punishment will follow proven guilt."

But punishment did not follow "proven guilt." The example set taught quite a different lesson. It gave notice to all concerned that under the present administration the prohibitions of the civil service law are dead letters; that the administration, in spite of its promises and pledges, scorns the spirit of the statute and is ready to evade its letter for the sake of shielding "proven guilt" on the part of those whose offenses are offset by partisan zeal for the administration.

Not one of these men, high or low, has been removed or even subjected to censure. Those of them who are in the postal service have been protected by the postmaster general himself, who in that behalf has resorted to quibbles, misrepresentations, perversions of truth and other devices of a shifty kind which it were gross flattery to call merely unbecoming.

At the time of the election of delegates to Minneapolis the better element of the Republican party, the men of character and self respect throughout the state, rose in revolt against the Johnson-Airey crowd with their organized force of government employees, and defeated them so completely as to leave them but four delegates in all. But notwithstanding this popular rebuke to their misdeeds these men still enjoy the countenance of Mr. Harrison and his cabinet, who thus, in effect, license crime and aid in setting the laws at naught. These men are still in office in spite of the earnest protests of the three civil service commissioners—two of whom are Republicans—and in spite of a scorching report on the subject from a select committee of congress, whose proceedings and report will furnish the basis for another letter in this series.

So much for Mr. Harrison's solemn promise for the "faithful and vigilant" enforcement of the civil service laws!—New York World.

Wasting Breath and Money.

The president of the United States has been very grievously imposed upon. He has been led to believe the stories of the Republican organs concerning the Alabama election, and has hearkened to the voice of the time server, the place seeker and the sorehead. Clearly he believes that his chances for winning the electoral vote of this state are excellent. Mr. Harrison is wasting his breath, and that money machine of his in New York is wasting cash by bestowing any sort of attention upon Alabama.—Birmingham (Ala.) Age-Herald.

# D. B. HILL HAS SPOKEN

HIS SIMPLE CREED, "I AM A DEMOCRAT STILL."

Universally Complimentary Allusions to His Brooklyn Speech, Which is Declared to Be the Greatest He Has Ever Made—No "Sulking in His Tent."



Senator Hill summons every Democrat to rally to the support of Cleveland and Stevenson. The reasons he gives for their election and for the ascendancy of Democratic principles are conclusive and binding, and if there be any man calling himself a Democrat and a friend of New York's senator who now falters in obedience to that summons let him strip his disguise and renounce fealty to the party and the man at the same time. The Democracy of New York state are united for Cleveland and Stevenson.—Albany Argus.

HILL'S MOST MASTERLY EFFORT. This latest speech strikes us as the most masterly one ever delivered by Senator Hill. It is a forcible onslaught on protection, well calculated to give us much anxiety to the Republicans as it must encouragement to the Democrats.—New York Herald.

RECKONED WITHOUT THEIR HOST. The Republicans have depended upon Democratic treachery in New York for Harrison's success, but they have reckoned without their host. They will find to their sorrow that where the victorious Democracy, represented by leaders like Hill, Murphy, Sheehan, Croker and McLaughlin, is the strongest Cleveland's majorities will be relatively the largest.—Troy Press.

A GRIEVOUS ERROR. The senator's appearance thus early in the fight will be very disagreeable to our Republican brethren. They try to console themselves by predicting that it will be his last appearance. But in this, as in many other matters relating to the Democratic campaign, these partisan prophets will find themselves deep in error.—Buffalo Courier.

HILL'S POSITION CLEARLY DEFINED. Senator Hill has defined his position. He has come out flat footed in behalf of the Democratic ticket. He declares that it should receive the support of every Democrat.—Boston Herald.

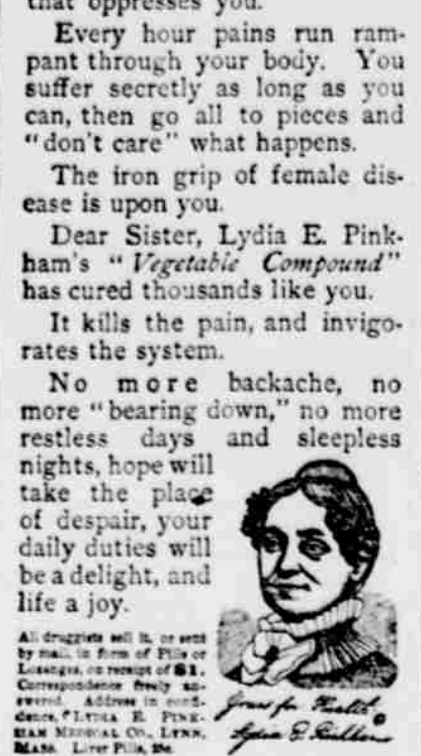
WHOLESALE AND COMMENDABLE ADVICE. In his speech at the Democratic ratification meeting in Brooklyn Senator Hill planted himself firmly upon the platform of the Chicago convention and declared his purpose to support its nominee. "I am a Democrat," said the senator in his well known speech in Brooklyn in 1885. He now amends that saying by adding, "And I am a Democrat still." Now that the national convention of the Democracy has spoken, it is the duty of every Democrat, the senator holds, to "accept its decision with loyal acquiescence." This is wholesome advice and is to be commended.—Baltimore Sun.

THE WAY TO VICTORY MADE PLAIN. If the measured and weighty utterances of Senator Hill are to be accepted as true indications of the spirit animating the New York Democracy the friends of Mr. Harrison in that state have a task before them compared with which the struggle of 1888 was mere child's play. Burying all resentment and resolutely stifling all manifestations of disappointment, Senator Hill rises to the occasion and sets an example of fealty to Democratic principles which his political associates and followers should eagerly emulate. "I was a Democrat before the Chicago convention and I am a Democrat still," is his simple party creed, concerning which there can be neither confusion nor error. With the New York Democracy united and standing shoulder to shoulder for Cleveland, defeat in the election would seem to be impossible. Senator Hill's manly deliverance has made the way of victory plain.—Philadelphia Record.

NO SULKING IN HIS TENT. Those who have expected or hoped that Senator Hill would sulk in his tent and give the Democratic ticket a merely perfunctory support will be disappointed upon reading the speech he made at Brooklyn. While Mr. Hill doubtless was sorely disappointed at the action of the Chicago convention, every line of his speech breathes devotion to the principles and candidates of the party, and as a whole it is an earnest appeal to Democrats of every shade of opinion to present a solid front to their political opponents, sinking all personal preferences and factional prejudices.—Philadelphia Times.

A NOTEWORTHY CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION. No public address ever made by the senator from New York will be read with more interest than this Brooklyn speech, made by a Democrat to a stanchly Democratic audience. It is in truth a noteworthy contribution to the oratory of this campaign. For its able argument showing the necessity of political organizations, its sharp characterization of guerrilla warfare in our contests, and its brilliant contrast of Democracy with the party of privilege and centralization. Senator Hill's Brooklyn speech is certain to command great attention. Nor can it fail to exert widespread influence for the cause to which the orator has so eloquently affirmed his loyalty and devotion.—Boston Globe.

Loved ones say it. "Restless, irritable, excitable, and exacting" is the charge against you by those nearest and dearest to you. They don't know the horror that oppresses you. Every hour pains run rampant through your body. You suffer secretly as long as you can, then go all to pieces and "don't care" what happens. The iron grip of female disease is upon you. Dear Sister, Lydia E. Pinkham's "Vegetable Compound" has cured thousands like you. It kills the pain, and invigorates the system. No more backache, no more "bearing down," no more restless days and sleepless nights, hope will take the place of despair, your daily duties will be a delight, and life a joy.



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