

THE RECORD STEAL.

How the Publication of the Legislative Proceedings is Made to Do Duty for Machine Protection--The Frightful Padding, Enormous Indices and the Costly, Confusing and Exasperating Results--When the Contract Price Falls the Cost to the Taxpayers Increases--What an Honest and More Intelligent and Useful Performance of the Work Would Save.

The printing and distribution of the Legislative Record involves a shamefully reckless waste of the public money, and, if it does not include a straight steal, the facts which the figures divulge show a mighty close approach to it. Its distribution, by issues, during the sessions, which was intended to keep the people apprised of what their servants at Harrisburg are doing with their time and opportunities, was for years a scandal, owing to the dilatoriness on the part of the publishers, but even more specifically of the printers' and folders' departments of the senate and house. The men appointed to service in these departments are the working politicians in the districts of those senators and members who have the strongest pull during the sessions. They receive close to \$1,000 per session as salary, but a large proportion of them never do any of the work. They are content to pocket the pay and perquisites and to appear upon the records as pasters and folders, but either because they regard it as demeaning, or because they have something else to employ their time, or because they are adverse to toil of any kind, they refuse to perform the incident labor and employ substitutes to perform it, at from one-fourth to one-half what they receive from the state. These substitutes are generally very cheap and incompetent men, often boys, and as a result it is happening constantly that even when the printing has been reasonably prompt, the distribution is unconscionably delayed, the pasting and folding rooms being gorged with stacks of the stuff which should long before have been in the mails. However, as has been stated, there has recently been some little improvement in this regard, because of the persistent and long continued protests of citizens against being served with printed copies of proceedings a month or two old and long after, as news, they had lost all interest and value.

The total cost of the printing and distributing of the Legislative Record, as set forth in the various auditor general's reports, was, in the years severally named, as follows: 1885 \$22,820 1886 28,675 1887 32,091 1888 36,161 1889 43,550 The figure for 1897 is made up by adding the \$5,600 paid on account in 1897 and the state treasurer's estimate of the sum required to complete the payment in 1898.

A corroborating comment in this steal in the index. The reporting of the proceedings and the printing of the Record is paid for, under contract, at so much per page. Bids are received and the award made to the lowest bidder. A maximum price of \$10 is fixed and the competitors bid so much percentage off that price. The president of the senate and speaker of the house make the award and get, by the way, \$100 each for the few hours spent in doing it, while their clerk gets \$50.

The contract price for 1895 and 1897 was \$3.96 per page. This, be it understood, is for both reporting and printing, \$300 in addition being always allowed for the compilation of the index. Now, the ponderous tomes that contain the proceedings of the legislative session of 1897 cover a total of 5,772 pages, distributed as follows: Proceedings 3,732 pages Report of the committee 565 pages Report of the penitentiary investigating committee 231 pages Index 2,237 pages Blank pages 7 pages Total 5,772 pages

Here are almost two-thirds as many pages of index as there are in the report proper. Add to these the 803 pages of reports and blank pages, and we have a total of 3,940 pages, or not far from half of the whole number which the state paid for as having been stenographically reported, as well as printed, whereas not a line in any of them was reported. Whatever is the difference between the cost of reporting and printing and that of the printing alone is, as to these 3,940 pages, sheer robbery. The volumes are padded by reports, index, etc., to the extent of over 80 per cent of the total payment, and this is exclusive of the constant repetitions and not only useless, but confusing superfluties in the proceedings themselves, and which, it is safe to say, constitute fully two-thirds of the total bulk. What this adding costs at \$3.96 per page, independently of that in the proceedings proper, is as follows: Index \$8,858.53 Aliens' report 2,237.40 Penitentiary report 514.78 Blank pages 27.72 Total \$12,038.40

to above as the aliens' report is the report of a committee appointed by authority of the legislature of 1895 to ascertain the number of aliens quartered upon the commonwealth in the various public institutions thereof. As a printed public document it is of no more value than would be a second tail to a cat. The 565 pages covered by it contain nothing but the names, sex, nativity, etc., of the individual aliens found to be in the various prisons, hospitals, almshouses and other like institutions of the state, each case being made to consume eight lines, or about one inch in the length of a column, as follows: John Smith. Sex--male. Nativity--Kamschatka. Number of days treated--Thirteen. Cost per day--One dollar and thirty-one cents. Total cost--Sixty-one dollars and fifty-one cents.

Any sane private individual having such a thing to print would put it in this way: Jno. Smith, Kamschatka; treated 13 days at \$1.31 per day; total, \$61.51. But that would have consumed only two lines, and would have lessened the grab of the Legislative Record contractor \$3 out of every \$4.

It is safe to say that a far more intelligible record of the proceedings of the legislature could be reported and printed, with a comprehensive index to the book, for about \$10,000, or less than a third of the cost of the present publication, which is most exasperating to all those who have to consult it because of its cumbersome and other described faults, and that the sum named would include a fair compensation for both the reporter and the printer.

But suppose only half the present expenditure could be cut off, the saving would still be close to \$20,000, and that sum would materially help in caring for the indigent insane and other wards of the state, now in large part neglected by reason of this and other machine corruption and waste in the handling of the state's moneys.

Regularly every fourth year the contract price for reporting and printing the Record has fallen, owing to the introduction of improved facilities for printing, such as machine type setting, etc. In 1883-85 the price was \$6.56 per page; in 1887-89 it was \$5.72; in 1891-93 it was \$4.90, and in 1895-97 it was \$3.96. The contract for the ensuing four years, 1899-1901, has been awarded to the same parties who have had it for several years past, at \$3.41. And the Wilkesbarr Record, a Republican paper, has this to say regarding it: "The contract for printing the Legislative Record for the next two sessions has been awarded to the same party who had it the last four years. As the price will be lower than before, the work is likely to be also worse, provided that is possible, which is doubtful. Parties who have had this contract heretofore and failed to comply with its requirements should have been ruled out of the competition. But the officials who award state contracts are not in the habit of doing business that way."

Passing by this Wilkesbarr editor's criticism of the character of the work done on the Legislative Record, though it is even more than justified, it is worthy of remark that, though from 1885 to 1891 the contract price fell from \$6.56 to \$4.90 per page, the cost of the reporting and printing kept constantly increasing. The lower the price the higher the cost. In 1893 and 1895 there was a small drop in the cost, but not at all in proportion to the drop in the contract price, but in 1897, by force of the successful padding already detailed, it went up again.

If there is an office in connection with the state government which, under Republican machine rule, does not involve a theft or criminal profligacy, the fact has not yet been made apparent.

A MACHINE INFAMY.

Exploiting the Schools, Prisons, Hospitals and Charities, Etc., for Base Partisan Purposes--Full Details as to the Methods of Achieving This Great Outrage--Senator Penrose's Attempt to Deceive the State as to the School and Charity Appropriations Fully Refuted From the Records.

At the late Republican convention that met in Harrisburg to express its contempt for honesty and economy in the state government the boss sent the junior senator to represent him and sing a strenuous song into the ears of the people which, if it did not deceive them, might still be used by the heeled or such clamor as should confuse and drown the cries of the reformers. Mr. Penrose made a very valiant, but manifestly very laborious effort to fulfill his task. He, of course, ignored the detailed, specific and widely published evidences of the Republican machine's theft and waste of the public moneys, because it is impossible for him or anybody else to fairly meet and successfully refute them. But sweeping them aside, as with a wave of the hand, he undertook to account for the constantly increasing cost of machine rule by ascribing it to a greater liberality to the schools, the hospitals and eleemosynary institutions of the state, leaving it to be inferred that Mr. Quay and the machine were being criticized and abused, not for any real wrongdoing, but for their enlarged liberality in caring for the helpless wards of the state.

Even if it were true that the differences in the gross annual outlay of the state were accounted for solely by the larger appropriations to the schools, the hospitals, etc., these appropriations are themselves made to dishonestly and unlawfully contribute to the maintenance of the machine, whose astute chief and ever watchful lieutenants would consider themselves grossly derelict in permitting such large sums to pass through their hands without gathering on it some profit on the way. But the excess of the cost of maintaining the state government as between 1883 and 1897 was almost three and three-quarter millions of dollars greater, leaving wholly out of the consideration the cost of the schools, the penitentiaries, the insane and the charities, as the following figures will show:

Table with 2 columns: Description and Amount. Includes 'Payments 1897, less interest', 'Excess of current payments for 1897', 'Excess of total payments in 1897', etc.

Excess for ordinary expenses in 1897 \$3,700,863 And this says nothing of the fact that the state treasurer in making up his estimates of expenses for the year ending Nov. 30, 1898 (which reach a total of \$17,346,823, as against an anticipated revenue of \$11,561,000), includes, among others, the following items: State tax due counties \$1,505,255 School app'n 1897 due 3,439,998 Due U. of P. on app'n 1895 75,000 Due W. U. on app'n 1896 45,000 Appropriation for new capitol expected to have been paid in 1897 and appropriated for that year 275,000

The account, fully made up, therefore, stands about as follows: Excess payments of 1897 over 1883, exclusive of charities, schools, penitentiaries, insane, interest, loans, etc. \$3,700,863 Moneys that were appropriated to schools, charities, etc., and should have been paid in 1897, but remained unpaid at end \$5,340,253 Total \$9,041,316

This is a long, long way from verifying Mr. Penrose's contention that the only reason why it costs more to run the state than it used to is that we now give so much more to the cause of education and in beneficence to the helpless and suffering. Going to the official records for the facts completely upsets his slyly conceived declarations and insinuations, as it will be found to verify every plea made by the machine apologists in explanation and extenuation of its crimes.

And the appropriations for the schools and the charities, the poor, prisoners and the insane, are all in numerous ways made to do duty for the machine. Of the \$5,340,253 due Nov. 30, 1897, on appropriations made that year and before, and not paid at that time, \$5,453,988 was, as will be noticed, owing to the schools and \$120,000 to the charities (see treasurer's report, page 14), at the same time that a balance of \$5,128,700 was in the treasury. Here is confession over the official signature of a leading beneficiary of the machine that moneys are wrongfully withheld, and no same man, for a moment doubts that the purpose of the withholding is to accommodate the favorite banks and insure the machine's contributions for its campaign funds. There are comparatively few other moneys that could be withheld in the same way, so that, were it not for the large appropriations to the schools and the charities the banks would have to surrender their deposits and the machine go to some other source for means to deceive and corrupt the voters.

Then the myriad of officials that administer the affairs of the institutions under consideration are practically all expected to shout the praises of the machine about election time and do what they can to confound its enemies. At the beginning of each legislative session the governor has 700 or 800 appointments of various kinds to submit to the senate for confirmation. A large proportion of these are connected with the educational, charitable, penal and reformatory institutions of the state. All of them must sooner or later pony up in some way to the machine, either by money contribution, lip service or repressing what they know and feel would like to tell. Refusal to do this in any direction is regarded as threatening the appropriations for that direction next due. For many of these places, even where neither salary or perquisites attach, there is always warm competition, and in such cases the machine steps in and, regardless of the local situation or the equities, determines the contest in favor of those who are likely to prove most subservient to its behests.

There are 117 homes, hospitals, asylums, aid societies, missions, etc., organized and controlled by the state, or managed by private corporations and receiving state aid, to which appropriations were made by the last legislature. These are exclusive of the deaf and dumb and blind schools, the institutions for the training of feeble minded, etc. In many localities these institutions are looked upon as of such importance that the men chosen to represent such localities are expected to make sure of the appropriations for them at whatever sacrifice. Urged by their two or three thousand officers, managers, directors and employes and depending upon the machine as the sole arbiter in the appropriation committees, these poor legislators are often forced to choose between voting conscientiously and losing the appropriations or voting with the machine and getting them. Thus even the charities of the state, the sick and the crippled are made, unconsciously, to contribute to the maintenance of a rascally gang at the head of the state's affairs and their conscienceless robbery of the taxpayers.

Mr. Wanamaker said in his speech at Phoenixville, May 27: "Politics controls the appointment of trustees of state institutions; politics controls the management of state institutions. The needs of overcrowded asylums and unhealthy hospitals count as naught against the request of the man with the political pull and who can deliver state delegates." And he might have added that the controllers and officers of the institutions not under control of the state, but receiving state aid, for the most part are but in a degree less the servants of the machine.

The appropriations are notoriously inadequate for the support of the state institutions, notably the insane asylums. The payments for the insane were \$78,200 in 1896 and \$67,544 in 1897. The appropriations were \$920,520 for 1897 and \$717,700 for 1898, but of the former

\$200,000 was for a deficiency in the appropriations for 1896, and \$83,950 in 1897, and a like amount in 1898 was for an extension of the reservoir and new buildings for the Harrisburg institution. The committee on lunacy of the board of public charities has been for several years insisting that a new asylum for the indigent insane be built for management under homeopathic auspices, that a hospital specially devoted to the treatment of epilepsy be erected and that the chronic "slits in the corridors and taken care treatment, nursing and special care" should be taken from the hospitals and put in an asylum by themselves. They further recommend that legislation be enacted to induce and encourage counties, municipalities, etc., to build institutions for the care of their own insane by the offer of a fixed sum, say \$1 per week, paid out of the state treasury, for each patient supported therein. Wisconsin has pursued this plan with highly satisfactory results for 16 years, the per capita cost per patient being \$1.75 per week, or less than it costs in Pennsylvania. Notwithstanding the fact that all the insane hospitals are seriously and even dangerously overcrowded, hundreds of beds having to be made up at night in the corridors and taken down in the morning, the legislature has persistently ignored all these recommendations, excepting when in 1895 they passed an act looking to county care for patients, which was so loaded down with provisos and impossible requirements as to be wholly inoperative.

It was owing to the extravagant appropriations for party and factional purposes that, as Mr. Wanamaker said in his Phoenixville speech: "At the last session of the legislature the appropriations 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, an appropriation of \$10,000 for the maintenance of the American Hospital, a subsidiary 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."

And yet as showing how even the state board of charities itself is compelled to pose as apologists for the machine, the secretary of the board said in his report Jan. 1, 1897 (see report, page 8): "At the session of the legislature of 1895 we earnestly urged that provision be made for both the insane and criminal classes. Bills for these purposes were presented to the legislature, but unfortunately, owing to the financial depression of the treasury, failed to become laws." And yet it is notorious that in multiplying useless offices and expending the legislature of 1895 outdid all its predecessors and was not a whit less culpable than that of 1897.

Following up this subject Mr. Wanamaker says (again the Phoenixville speech is quoted from): "I am informed by an ex-member of the appropriations committee that during a recent session of the legislature the appropriations 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 negative. Upon orders from the 'old man' they were reconsidered and reported favorably within an 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 was notified that he must not oppose Quay or his institution would lose an appropriation that upon its merits alone it is entitled to receive."

It is not generally understood, but it should be, that the state does not support the penitentiaries and reformatories. The state provides the buildings and pays the salaries, but the counties pay for maintenance. Of the state appropriations to the penitentiaries for 1896, \$50,000 of the \$52,000 went for salaries in the Eastern and \$60,000 of the \$65,000 in the Western. These well paid officials are, of course, another contingent of the machine's active electioneering forces.

More than half of the cost of maintaining the indigent insane patient is paid by the counties, and from a third to a half of the total income of the insane hospitals from all sources goes for salaries. Here, again, the machine finds profit and support. In the furnishing of supplies it is the same thing, and it is notorious that the cost of feeding the patients is much in excess of what it should and would be under honest management. In his Philadelphia speech, June 27, Dr. Swallow said: "Through the average charity inmate of our asylums gets service, clothing and food that costs less than 50 cents a day, the expense to the state is greater than though they were board at a first-class hotel." This, like nearly all of the reverend doctor's allegations, is a haphazard statement, demonstrating the impractical character of the man and the unwisdom of depending upon his "statistics," and yet it is approximately true.

The weekly per capita cost for maintenance of patients in the five state hospitals for insane for 1896 is set down in the official report of the committee on lunacy of the board of charities (see report 1896, page 24) as follows: Harrisburg \$3.75 Danville 3.60 Norristown 3.15 3-5 Warren 3.61 Dikmunt 3.89 Average \$3.60 3-5

It has already been stated that the cost of the insane to the state of Wisconsin, where they are cared for in the counties, etc., is \$1.75, and "the quality of care is excellent," says our board of public charities, and the board further says (See report 1896, page 5): "In Pennsylvania there now is some excellent county and municipal care of the insane, at far less per capita cost than that charged in the state hospitals."

A board of charities, whose officials would give less of their time to moving about the state doing the work of the machine and the party which it controls, would see to it that naked maintenance of at least as good a quality as is now furnished, was provided wherever money is specifically appropriated by the state for maintenance, at considerably less cost.

The educational, penal, correctional and charitable institutions of the state, whether supported in whole or only in part by the state, are as will fully appear from the foregoing revelations, virtually all industriously exploited for the support of the Republican machine. Every dollar of moneys voted to them in one way or another, directly or indirectly, pays tribute to it. A great liberality is incidentally and defiantly utilized to assist the basest of political aspirations. The mere money outgo is not nearly so large as Senator Penrose tried to make the people believe, and is far from covering the difference between the cost of honest government and the cost of Republican machine government, but it is a great sum nevertheless, fully sufficient to inspire successful revolution, to instill the machine and the men who are responsible for its cruel and wicked maladministration.

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Robbery by Apportionment. A Gross Injustice Perpetrated by the Republican Party Upon the Democratic Citizens of Pennsylvania. How One Republican Has a Greater Representation Than Five Democrats--Ignoring the Constitution to Serve Party Ends--Candidate Gobin's Share in the Crime and the Spoil. The present constitution of Pennsylvania was enacted in 1873, and went into operation on Jan. 1, 1874. Section 18 of Article 2 is as follows: "The general assembly, at its first session after the adoption of this constitution, and immediately after each United States decennial census, shall apportion the state into senatorial and representative districts," etc., etc. A like provision is made with reference to the judiciary of the state, and common fairness suggests that the congressional districts should be apportioned just as frequently and at the same times.

How the Republican party in Pennsylvania has treated the mandatory provisions of the constitution above quoted is shown in the fact that the last apportionments were enacted as follows: Senatorial, 1874; representative, 1887; congressional, 1887. For 24 years, therefore, they have been persistently refusing to do, with reference to the senatorial apportionment, what the fundamental law commands: for ten years they have been similarly derelict with reference to the representative apportionment, and for a like number of years they have allowed a congressional apportionment to stand, which, by a fair rendering of the people's will, should at that time have been set aside.

How the reason is plain. They derive a large advantage in representation from their remissness. Not only do they shut out the Democrats from their fair share of senators and members, but they also checkmate that element of their own party that chafes at "bossism" and the innumerable evils that always attach to it.

To illustrate the gross injustice of these procedures to the Democratic party: In the senate of 1897 there were 44 Republicans and 6 Democrats. In 1896 the Republicans reached their high water mark as to majorities in the vote for president. In that year there were cast for McKinley 728,300 votes, and for Bryan 453,228 votes. By dividing the number of senators for each party into the party vote it will be found that

there are: One Republican senator for each 16,563 Republican votes. One Democratic senator for each 73,204 Democratic votes. Make a like calculation as to the members of the lower house of the state legislature, which had 171 Republicans to 33 Democrats, and the following will be the result: One Republican member for every 4,259 Republican votes. One Democratic member for every 13,128 Democratic votes.

The American system makes every citizen politically equal, and the laws are supposed, and in fact, are constitutionally ordered to be made to enforce that rule; yet here we have a method of electing senators in Pennsylvania that makes one Republican as good as four and a half Democrats--that is, that gives one Republican as large a voice in this matter as four and a half Democrats. As to the congressional representation, the injustice is even greater. Including the two elected at large, Pennsylvania has 30 members of the national house of representatives. Of these 27 were elected as Republicans and but three as Democrats. Here we have: One Republican member for every 26,933 Republican votes. One Democrat for every 144,409 votes. Which makes every Republican vote count, in this regard, as much as five and a half Democratic votes.

As showing the gross injustice of the present senatorial apportionment, many specific instances might be cited. Let one suffice. According to the census of 1890 Luzerne had a population of 201,203, and Lackawanna a population of 142,108, making a total of 343,291. The senatorial districts in these two counties, under the act of 1874, which is still operative, overlap, part of the Luzerne district extending into Lackawanna. Together, they have two senators, or one senator for 171,646 of population. The county of Lebanon has but 43,131 population, yet she has a senator by herself.

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