

### BALLOT POLLUTION.

**How It Flourishes Under the Rule of the Republican Machine—Philadelphia's Elections the Most Corrupt on Earth—Some of Their Leading Infamous Features—How the Machine Downes Attempts at Ballot Reform. Machine Leaders Who Boast of Their Shame and Make Jest of It.**

From machine rule to debauchery of the ballot box is a logical evolution. No machine ever held sway for any length of time without it. Even the Republican party of Pennsylvania, complacent as are its followers, ready as they are in their prejudices and bigotries to tolerate almost anything that comes in the name of and labeled Republicanism, could not have been so long and so completely bossed but for the aid the bosses have had from unlawful purchase and coercion of the voters, falsification of election returns and kindred inequities.

The writer of this article has himself seen 37 colored men voted in Philadelphia out of a single four-roomed house. It was perfectly manifest that they did not regularly live there, that they were there for election purposes only, and would be in perhaps a half dozen other precincts or wards for the same purpose on the same day. Yet, so far as their record showed, they were legal voters, and their right to cast ballots could not be successfully disputed.

It is not probable that elections are more corrupt anywhere on earth than in Philadelphia. Fully half the Republican majorities returned from there are manufactured. By far the greater number of the election officers are men who have absolutely no respect for an oath, and will hesitate at no crime provided they are liberally paid for its commission, and the machine leaders are never without ample funds for this purpose. It makes no difference how the votes are secured, they will return whatever majority they are ordered to. Men are regularly paid to pose as Democrats and stand as Democratic candidates for judge or inspector, or to become clerks of election. In order that the perpetrators of these shameless frauds may be made secure against detection and conviction. In the rear of nearly every polling place on election day there is an improvised gin mill, where free liquor is dispensed to those so depraved that they can be influenced by it. The liquors are paid for out of the party coffers, and dealt out by party heeled. Policemen, who owe their places to the machine, are posted at the entrances of the alleys on which these demoralizing dens are located, to protect them, and to arrest and imprison, on trumped up charges of drunkenness and disorderly conduct, any one who may show a disposition to kick at the business.

A few years ago an attempt was made, under the auspices of one of the many evanescent reform movements that are forever hatching up there, and falling to pieces before anything is accomplished, to purge the registry lists in some of the down town wards of the thousands of names of fictitious voters with which it was known they were padded. The gentlemen composing the committee charged with this work were so annoyed and threatened by the Republicans of the purities under the spur of their respective local leaders, that they were compelled to abandon their undertaking. This did not follow, however, that they had ascertained that from 25 to 50 per cent of the names on the lists were illegally there, and that in one instance a dog had actually been registered.

That these outrages are not only tolerated, but encouraged, by the Republican party as a whole is made manifest by the fact that in every election contest that comes before the Pennsylvania Legislature the decision is invariably with the Republicans, no matter whether he be the contestant or the contestee, and regardless of the evidence in the case. Some of the testimony in the Saunders-Roberts case, which was up at the '97 session, showed a degree of shamefulness in the manner in which the Republicans conduct elections in Philadelphia that almost passes belief.

Most of these wrongs are expressly forbidden in the law. Some, however, find condemnation in the statutes. This is notoriously the case with reference to the men employed by the party to assist "incompetent" voters in making up their ballots. These helpers are the hand-picked of the party bribed money. They buy the voter, and then make it a condition that he shall declare to the election board his inability to mark his own ticket, and call them into the booth with him, in which way these scoundrels make sure that the goods they have paid for have been delivered as per the contract.

enable the people to vote intelligently. I submit it might be had for some of us. It might, perhaps, endanger the return of some of us to the legislature." Under Republican rule there is certainly "successful government" from his standpoint, for Lytle, in recognition of his unwavering subservency to the machine, has since been made by President McKinley Naval Officer at the Port of Philadelphia. He is a smooth, sleek, plausible fellow, and has about as much respect for public opinion as a Pelee Islander.

E. A. Coray, of Luzerne, Republican, said the Baker ballot law was a failure, so far as protecting the voters was concerned. In his county, he added, men were paid to act as helpers, and stood around the polls until they had marked 40 or 50 ballots.

Foster, Democrat, of Centre, said his constituency were not in favor of the law as it stands, being satisfied, after recent contests, that it was defective, and are ready for any change that will improve it.

Gould, Republican, of Erie, said: "The present ballot law is not an aid to voters, and the machine politicians have got hold of the blanket ballot today, and can move up their phalanxes to vote just as they ever did."

Roger, Republican, of Philadelphia, said: "The system proposed by this bill is in vogue in Massachusetts, and is a Republican system." Within my own experience at the election last November (1896) I observed the most flagrant violations of the law, and yet I had to stand mute."

Here Pocht, of Union, one of the most blatant and unblushing of the machine tools in the body, interrupted and asked Roger if he did not vote for Crow, the Citizens' candidate for sheriff of Philadelphia, the imputation being that no man who would in the least degree protest against Republican machine edicts could be honorable and straightforward.

Roger replied hotly in the affirmative, and added that Crow would have been the regular Republican nominee but for police interference (under orders from Boss Martin (at the convention, "I stand," continued Roger, "for Republican principles and not for corruption or boodle, and that is why I am standing here. \* \* \* God only knows that every reform that has come to the city of Philadelphia has come from the rural portion of the house."

T. J. Baldwin, of Delaware, another of the men who never refuse prompt and joyful compliance with whatever may be the orders of the machine, said that it is "all buncombe to come up here and prate about reform."

#### UNCONSTITUTIONAL SALARIES.

**Flagrant Abuse of the Constitution in the Interest of Adjutant General Thomas J. Stewart.**

Thomas J. Stewart was appointed by Governor Hastings on Jan. 15, 1895, to the office of adjutant general at the then salary of \$2,500 per annum. He accepted the appointment, and at once entered upon his duties. Before assuming the duties of adjutant general Thomas J. Stewart did solemnly swear or affirm that he would "support, obey and defend the constitution of this Commonwealth." When he thus pledged his support and obedience Thomas J. Stewart must have known that Section 12 of Article 3 of the constitution reads as follows:

"No law shall extend the term of any public officer, or increase or diminish his salary or emoluments after his election or appointment."

Four months and fifteen days after he had accepted his appointment Thomas J. Stewart had his salary raised, in defiance of the mandate of the constitution by an act of the legislature, approved by Governor Daniel Hastings, said act reading as follows: "Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., that the salary of the adjutant general of the Commonwealth shall be four thousand dollars per annum." See P. L., 1895, page 123.

In the general appropriation act for the years 1895 and 1896 the sum of \$3,000 was specifically appropriated for the payment of the salary of the adjutant general. See P. L., 1895, page 64. In the general appropriation act for the years 1897-8 a like sum was specifically appropriated for a like object. See P. L., 1897, page 477. The detailed reports of the auditor general and the state treasurer show that Adjutant General Thomas J. Stewart has drawn the full \$4,000 per annum unconstitutionally voted to him by members of the legislature, who were also sworn to "support, obey and defend the constitution of this Commonwealth." The report of the auditor general for 1895, page 257, shows that the salary of the adjutant general began the date of his appointment, Jan. 15, 1895. What think you, citizen taxpayers, of this flagrant violation of the constitution?

### THE BANKING DEPARTMENT.

**A Fake Scheme Costing the Taxpayers About a Quarter of a Million Every Time the Legislature Meets—Examiners That Never Examine--The Federal Government Does For Nothing What the State Government Robs Us for Not Doing At All.**

Six thousand six hundred pages of printed matter, at a cost to the state of many thousands of dollars, with another volume to come before the expiration of the current year, represents the work of the bank department of Pennsylvania from the date of its organization in 1891 up to the present time. That it has been of any use to any mortal man or woman other than those employed in the paper making, the type setting and binding the eight huge volumes, and the commission-ers, deputies and clerks who compiled them, no sane man, familiar with the facts, will undertake to maintain.

Prior to 1891 bank statistics were compiled and the banks looked after by the auditor general, without costing the state one penny in excess of what would have been paid to that official and his subordinates anyhow. As to the efficacy and adequacy of this old time method, Mr. Charles H. Krumbhaar, who was the first chief of the new department, in his report for 1892 says: "The (auditor general and his assistants) were always ready to act in case of trouble overtaking an institution, and have rendered service in discounting the business of weak institutions which were endangering the community." If the new and costly department has done even as much as this in the cause of honest banking and the safeguarding of depositors, the fact is not apparent, but seems to be quite fully disproved in the recent and unprecedentedly disastrous bank failures in Philadelphia.

The banking department was created by an act of June 8, 1891. That act provided for a superintendent, to be appointed by the governor, to serve for four years, at a salary of \$4,000 a year, and not more than three clerks, whose annual salaries should not exceed \$1,400 each. During 1892, according to the report of the auditor general, there was paid out of the state treasury for the support of the banking department the sum of \$1,500. In 1893 it was \$19,214.32, and in 1894 \$13,182.16. But during all these years the department was self supporting, the expenses of examination, paid by the banks, amounting to more than the expenditure for salaries, etc.

But in 1895 another act was passed, creating a bank department, that had already been created and in operation for four years, and giving to it the supervision of "banks and banking companies, co-operative banking associations, trust, safe deposit, real estate, mortgage, life insurance, guaranty, surety and indemnity companies, and all other companies of a similar character, savings institutions, savings banks, provident institutions and every other corporation having power and receiving money on deposit, and mutual savings funds, building and loan associations and bond and investment companies." By this act the salary of the superintendent was fixed at \$6,000 per year, and he was empowered to appoint, in addition to his three clerks, a deputy at \$2,500 per year. Also from time to time, to appoint examiners "in such numbers as may be necessary for the conduct of the business of the department, not to exceed ten in number," at a compensation of not more than \$10 per day.

In the same year (1895) the general appropriation act was made to give to the banking department (for two years), which three years before had cost the state the modest sum of \$1,500, the following amounts: Salary of chief (two years)... \$12,000 Salary of deputy (two years)... 5,000 Salary of clerks (two years)... 8,400 Salary of examiners (two years)... 99,000 Salary of stenographer and typewriter (two years)... 1,800 Salary of messenger (two years)... 1,800 Contingent expenses ..... 5,000 Total ..... \$124,000

At the previous election one B. F. Gilkeson, an attorney and professional politician of Bucks county, had been chairman of the Republican state committee in that position he had shown himself a master of boodle methods in politics, and as a reward for such services it was decreed that the salary of the bank commissioner should be raised 50 per cent and Mr. Gilkeson given the place. Accordingly, on the 11th day of February, when the legislative session was as yet but a few days more than a month old, the necessary act, having been rushed through both houses, was signed by Governor Hastings, who obediently and immediately proceeded to fulfill the decree of the machine, and Gilkeson became the commissioner.

In 1897 the appropriation to the banking department was again fixed at \$124,000, and the commissioner and his deputy and his three clerks and his ten examiners continue to luxuriate on the fat of the land, while the banks go on collapsing in greater number and with greater loss to the taxpayers than ever before.

Speaking of the examiners, it is a somewhat remarkable fact that, as shown by the state treasurer's reports, the monthly payments to them always amount to just as many hundreds of dollars as there are secular days in the month. Ten examiners at \$10 per day make exactly \$100. See! and yet there are no examinations required by law and none are ever made. The places of these men are absolute sinecures. They are nothing more than barnacles on the good old ship of state, helping by their dead weight to sink it in the sea of bankruptcy and disgrace.

In addition to being a gross fraud upon the taxpayers, the banking department exists in violation of the express mandate of the constitution, which requires that all such matters shall be subject to direction by the secretary of internal affairs. When the miners of the state sought to have a mine department created as a thing separate and distinct by itself, which the miners themselves should have some voice in controlling, the law officers of the Commonwealth were quick to find that such a project would infract the fundamental law, though how that instrument can be construed to permit a separate bank department and disallow a separate mine department, only a conniv-

ing attorney, in the pay of the machine, can explain.

The 1896 report of the commissioner of banking, which is the last printed volume we have from his hand, shows that 194 institutions, banks, savings banks and trust companies made report to him. In the state of Pennsylvania there are 450 national banks. The United States are a great power, with apparently unlimited means, and yet they managed, in the interest of a proper economy, though each bank is required by law to be actually examined at least twice in each year, to do this work without any expense to the government, the regulations exacting from the banks a sum that in the total balanced the cost of the department. Another somewhat significant fact is that only five examiners were required to look after the 450 national banks, while Mr. Gilkeson has ten \$10-a-day assistants making believe to watch and correct such fraudulent and dangerous practices as the 194 state banks, savings banks and trust companies may venture.

While on this branch of this most interesting subject let us again go back to Mr. Krumbhaar, who organized the department under Governor Pattison, and who seems to have some conception of the seriousness of the business in which he was engaged. In that report Mr. Krumbhaar said: "While I recognize the efficacy of periodical reports and the publication of a sufficient portion of the same to acquaint the public with the condition of our several institutions, and the names of those responsible for the management, experience has shown that no department can be safely run by dependence upon reports. Many matters of management and objectionable practices may be readily omitted therefrom, which would be most apparent upon a personal visit of an efficient and trustworthy examiner." This was six years ago, and yet to-day the banking department of Pennsylvania depends exclusively upon reports, makes no examinations until after the newspapers have told that the banks are failures, and the time for examination has gone by, and Mr. Gilkeson and his fourteen assistants pocket an eighth of a million dollars annually for work that is purely perfunctory and of no more use to the state than nothing at all. In addition to all this there are the strongest reasons for believing that in conjunction with the management of the state treasury the banking department winks at practices by certain of the banks that are depositories of the state's moneys, that being notified to the people, would make them the objects of a very proper distrust. Mr. Wanamaker referred to this phase of this matter in sundry of his speeches. A machine banking department is a rational and very probably profitable adjunct to the political banks that do business on the state's moneys, contribute a large share of the funds that help keep the machine in power, and, like the late Mr. Kemble's institution in Philadelphia, go down in their turn to a chorus of depositors' tears, general execration and notorious suicides.

#### WHAT IT COSTS

**To Run the State Department Under Quackism as Compared With the Cost Under Democratic Management.**

Here are some figures showing the cost of certain branches of the state government under the appropriation acts of 1883 and 1897 respectively, the former having been the nearest approach to a Democratic year the state has had since the war:

Executive offices	.....\$517,000	\$1,511,971
Legislative expense	.....541,111	724,823
Judicial expenses	.....967,000	1,242,632
Printing and binding	.....605,863	1,130,984
		\$3,590,980
		\$4,722,465

These figures need little explanation. They show that in fourteen years, by increasing the already large number of clerks and other employees, by adding enormously to contingent expense to fee party favorites, by awarding pay for regular committee services, by creating whitewashing and fraudulent investigating committees (whose perquisites were not vetoed), by piling up the cost of contested elections, etc., they have swelled the charge upon the people for holding a legislative session about \$200,000, or over 35 per cent.

They show that the expenditure for printing and binding the often worse than useless state publications has almost doubled since 1883, although the actual cost of doing that kind of work has been very materially reduced in the interval.

They show that even the bench has been made to contribute to the imposition largely by laws that multiply the number of judges beyond all reason and then making statutes that enable some of them to add almost 50 per cent to their legal salaries by holding court in other districts in years when, in order to keep up with the trial lists, they must have other judges come and hold court in their own districts.

They show, in brief, that under Republican rule, the system is rotten from core to rind, and that there is but one chance for real reform, which lies in electing a Democratic executive administration and a Democratic legislature.

#### A WEEK'S NEWS CONDENSED

Thursday, Oct. 6. The recent storm off Georgia's coast swept Butler's Island, drowning 100, mostly negroes.

The cruiser Boston and gunboat Petrel have left Manila for China, to protect American interests.

It is considered certain that General Maximo Gomez, despite his declination, will be elected president of Cuba.

General Ernst, with the Sixteenth Pennsylvania and Third Wisconsin, has been ordered home from Porto Rico. Hospital ship Missouri and transport Panama arrived at Newport News, Va., with 537 sick soldiers, including men from the Sixteenth Pennsylvania.



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