TURNING THE LIGHT ON PENNYPACKER

Why Quay Wants Him Elected to the Governorship.

HIS SERVICES TO THE BOSS

Starting Out as an Independent, He Deserts Cause of Reform to Follow and Uphold the Machine.

HOW HE WAS MADE JUDGE

While on the Bench He Edits Quay's Book, Defends the Ring Chief and Condones His Abuse of Honest Citizens.

STORY ALL VOTERS SHOULD READ

Special Correspondence.

Philadelphia, Sept. 15. — It is the privilege and duty of American citizens to be accurately informed concerning the history, character and evident purpose of those who come before them as candidates for public office. There never has been presented as an aspirant for the governorship of this state a man so little known beyond his home limit as Samuel W. Pennypacker. It is proposed herein to make a faithful transcript of the record, that every voter may read for himself. For more than forty years Pennsylvania has been the scene of a contest unknown elsewhere, a battle for individual and conscientious freedom of thought and action against machine despotism; for clean politics against degrading and corrupt methods; for honest, economical and efficient administrative and legislative methods, against the debauchery of political organizations and the prostitution of official power to the promotion of selfish personal ends.

Against the Machine in 1882.

In 1877, in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, there were successful movements against corrupt bossism. A little later this extended throughout the state, resulting in 1881 in the defeat of a machine-selected candidate for the United States senate, and in 1882 in the election of a reform Democratic governor. The revolt against Cameronism and Quayism that year was participated in by a large number of the best men in the Republican party. It appealed to the highest instincts of unselfish patriotism. In Philadelphia, Samuel W. Pennypacker was one of a group of professional men who heartily sustained the new declaration of independence adopted by the Independent Republican State Convention, which arraigned the Cameron-Quay machine for its high crimes and misdemeanors against the people. The action taken was an inspiration to those who believed in true American principles. Mr. Pennypacker had been so zealous in this work that he had been made secretary of the Civil Service Reform Association. His law partner, the late S. C. Hollingsworth, Esq., was likewise earnest in the cause of political purity. Mr. Pennypacker was made a member of the Independent Republican State Committee, and became an independent candidate for the legislature, against a notorious tool of the machine, being endorsed by the Democrats and the Reform Committee of One Hundred. He made an active canvass and was in full sympathy with everything that was said and done in aid of the cause of political freedom and righteousness. He was one of the vice presidents at the great Independent Republican Ratification meeting, at which its candidate for governor, Hon. John Stewart, made the most brilliant speech of his life, his ringing words bearing a striking parallel to the situation today. He said:

History of a Former Crime.

"We are opposed to the so-called regularity of the work of the Harrisburg convention, the nomination of Gen. Beaver and his associates, because it owes its existence not to popular choice, but to the individual preference of one autocratic senator. His by creation, it represents his power, and its success would be his personal and political vindication, and would result in the deeper debasement and servitude of the Republican organization. The convention might have been dispensed with on the ground of economy. The ticket was shaped and fashioned by Mr. Cameron. It was selected to suit his purpose, to strengthen his rule and its election would be his vindication. Are you prepared for that? (Cries of "No!" No!")

"Twice before, Gen. Beaver sought this nomination and failed because he did not look to the boss. He then turned to the latter, but it was a fatal day. At the Republican National Convention at Chicago, in 1880, he betrayed his constituents, attempting to enforce the unit rule against the will of the people of Pennsylvania. His active zeal in a political conspiracy deserved and received the condemnation of the American people. He gained the favor of the prince, but he lost the title to himself. He gained the alliance he sought at fearful cost—his independence as a man and the forfeited confidence of the people. The nomination he has at last secured will fall to ashes in his hands. The empty promises of reform which have so often been made we denounce as mockery. The people of this commonwealth know by sad experience the enormous power developed through the abuse of political and official privileges. They indignantly demand that this shall cease."

He Echoes Hoyt's Ringing Words.

On November 3d, Mr. Pennypacker, with Mr. Stewart, Colonel McMichael and others, addressed a meeting at Oxford Hall, in his own district. Mr. Wharton Barker read the memorable letter of Governor Hoyt, which appeared that day, denouncing Cameronism and Quayism in tones which were heard throughout the nation. Every word of this historic indictment was heartily applauded by Mr. Pennypacker. Let us recall, as vividly applying to the conditions of the hour, some of these burning sentences. Governor Hoyt said:

"When standing room is no longer allowed to the members of a political party, with a margin for self-respect, revolution is an appropriate remedy. There is an unqeniable justification for your uprising. Its grounds are open and plain to the people. In the name of decency, and in behalf of my successor, I wish to emphasize the curse of this whole business and sound a note of warning to the whole people. Peace and reform will never come until the moral forces in politics you have organized prevail. If their courage be added to their conviction, the masses of voters will promptly rally to your standards, and aid you to an overflowing success; and such is the duty of the voters of Pennsylvania."

His Case Worse Than Beaver's.

No intelligent citizen can deny that the words of John Stewart and Henry M. Hoyt are as truthful and just an arraignment of the present senatorial boss as they were of the despotic ruler of 20 years ago; that they as aptly, forcibly and patriotically apply to Quayism as to Cameronism. There has been a change of masters only; the same methods, intensified and even more corrupt, degrading and defiant, prevail. The case of Pennypacker, indeed, is much worse than that of Beaver, as the latter had a large measure of popular support, while the present candidate of the machine was absolutely without strength, at home and elsewhere, and could not have secured the election of ten delegates in the convention on his own account. He was selected by the senatorial ringmaster and his nomination was the result of naked corruption and the most shameless betrayal of public trust ever witnessed in this state. History has thus repeated itself, and doubtless will continue to do so, until the final chapter is recorded, on the night of November 4, 1902.

How He Got Upon the Bench.

Relapsing into obscurity, Mr. Pennypacker was unheard of in connection with public affairs, except as a member of the board of education, during the next six years; but he had, in some mysterious way, cultivated the friendship of the servant who had passed his master and who had become the despotic arbiter of political destinies in Pennsylvania. In the latter part of 1888, Mr. Quay was at the zenith of his power as the successful national Republican chairman. His goings and comings were like a royal progress. His will was supreme at Harrisburg, and this state never witnessed such exhibitions of sycophancy. December 17, six weeks after the election of Judge Mitchell to the supreme bench, his would-be successor, Samuel W. Pennypacker, was noted amongst the impatient crowd which dogged the heels of Mr. Quay, while visiting Philadelphia, a local paper stating that he was regarded as the "personal choice" of the senator. "Cousin Sam" was a plodding member of the bar, who had been in practice more than 20 years without appearing in a notable case. He was chiefly occupied with compiling court reports and decisions and mousing amongst the historical records of Pennsylvania, with a view to enrolling his family name in a place of honor. No one thought of him for a place on the bench; for the prospective vacancy another lawyer of prominence and ability was urged by many citizens, members of the bar and influential politicians. But at the proper time, early in January, 1889, and at Mr. Quay's personal demand upon the governor, Mr. Pennypacker was appointed. To the amazed popular query: "Who is this Quayite?" echo simply answered: "He's a Quayite," and that was enough.

Shows His Devotion to Quayism.

Ten years later the long-time dictator found himself outside the senatorial breastworks, repudiated and condemned by the people whom he had so deeply discredited. He also appeared as a defendant in the criminal court over which Judge Pennypacker, in his turn, presided every year. The judicial friend of the prisoner could not have failed to observe that his all-powerful patron was compelled to take refuge behind every possible technicality of the law to escape punishment on the charge of misusing the public funds. That his sympathy was deeply aroused was evident. He was prepared to publicly demonstrate this feeling, and took early advantage of an opportunity to show devotion to a discredited and baffled political leader that would enkindle lasting gratitude on his part, which might make a long-time dream of the governorship a reality. Thus, to the astonishment of friend and foe, Judge Pennypacker addressed himself to the extraordinary task of making an heroic historic figure of M. S. Quay, even placing him upon a pinnacle of fame equal to the greatest men this state has produced, and proudly pointing to him as "Pennsylvania's most distinguished statesman."

Risks All For His Master.

There has been a misconception with regard to this matter, it having been widely stated that Judge Pennypacker's defense of Mr. Quay and eulogy of Quayism was only incidental to a literary effort in exaltation of Pennsylvania as a leading factor in the development of our national life. Let us have the facts clearly set forth, in chronological order. It will then be seen how this aspirant for the highest office in the gift of the people of Pennsylvania has demeaned himself; derided just public criticism; been an accessory in the attempted perversion of political history; set a vicious example to the virtuous youth of the commonwealth, through holding aloft for their emulation one who has earned the execration of honest and patriotic citizens, and who has thus indissolubly linked his own literary, professional and political fortunes with the one man who has done more to degrade and corrupt Pennsylvania politics than any other who ever lived.

Notwithstanding all the promises of the Republican state conventions of 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1898, the subsequent legislative sessions grew worse and worse in their utter disregard of public decency, until the shameful climax of 1901, when a flame of indignation arose from every virtuous fireside. The carnival of corruption attendant upon and following the reelection of Mr. Quay, exceeded anything in the annals of the commonwealth. While the people of all classes, and irrespective of party, were denouncing the crimes committed; while the press was ringing with shameful exposures; while the tide of revolt was rising higher and higher, Samuel W. Pennypacker, in grateful acknowledgment of what he had received as a beneficiary of Quayism, and eagerly looking forward for the bestowal of new and higher favor, while holding an honored place upon the bench, and pretending strict adherence to the inviolable unwritten law of judicial separation from partisan affairs and the selfish schemes of political intriguers, was engaged in confidential co-operation with the head-centre of the Republican machine, in a most unworthy, unfair, unpatriotic and unjust attempt to embalm him as one of the master minds and purest patriots in American history.

Mr. Quay's Swing Around the Circle.

So desperate was his situation in the fall of 1900, Mr. Quay, fearful of the return of another legislature which would put the final seal of condemnation upon his unhallowed ambition, for the first time in his life took to the stump and made a series of alleged speeches. Upon many occasions he had the audacity to declare that he was not a candidate for re-election, of his own wishes, or through his own action. In a score or more of public appearances he did not make more than six deliverances of any length or dignity. The rest of the time he merely showed himself and begged off, on the ground of his well known "indisposition." When he did speak he almost uniformly indulged in sarcastic abuse of those Republican voters who refused to regard Quayism as synonymous with Republicanism, or bitterly denounced the conscientious efforts of good citizens to wipe out the political evils of our time. The future historian who stumbles over these remarkable outbreaks of a chastised political miscreant, justly smarting under the lash of public criticism, will regard with amazement the silly words of effusive commendation with which they are set forth by the editor of "Pennsylvania Politics," the volume in hand, Samuel W. Pennypacker, whose eulogistic introduction is dated April 26, 1901.

Hard Sledding to Make History.

The annals of American history may be searched in vain for such a travesty upon statesmanship and literature. The book covers 200 pages, nearly two-thirds of it being white paper, the publisher bitterly complaining to this day that he was made the helpless victim of a vain-glorious attempt at "padding." The printers reveled in the "fattest" take of the year. There are twenty-three lines of pica type to a page and nearly one-third of the pages are blank. Leaving out the senseless repetitions, apologies for persistent attacks of "indisposition," the references to a mythical medical adviser, supposed to be the "wet goods" commissary of the caravan; the continuous ladling out of "soft soap," for the benefit of local communities, and this great book of a great man's greatest efforts could readily be placed within the covers of an ordinary political pamphlet. An up-to-date newspaper condenser would put the whole of it, worth even temporary preservation, within a half dozen columns, and yet this, barring the polyglot tariff speech of 1893, contributed by generous friends, in quantities to suit, is to be the sole contribution of "Pennsylvania's most distinguished statesman" to American history! May the fates preserve us from another like it! Let us tage a brief look at some of the contents of this wonderful joint production of M. S. Quay and S. W. Pennypacker, the latter having read the final proofs and given the picturesque editorial finishing touches.

Editor Pennypacker's Fulsome Praise.

In his introduction over his own signature Editor Pennypacker, referring to notable men of the past, Penn, Dickinson, Rittenhouse, Binney, West, Meade and Stevens, in a preliminary burst of admiration, says:

"The capacity shown by Mr. Quay for the organization and direction of men in masses in the important field of statecraft, with a view to the accomplishment of those ends for which human society is instituted, has rarely, if ever, been equalled in American politics, and approaches genius. The cavil which has followed him, the temporary effusion of unhappy inefficiency, is, in its final analysis, but further evidence of his real greatness."

In this finely wrought sneer the critics of Quayism, who certainly represent an overwhelming majority of the people of Pennsylvania, will clearly perceive the contempt with which they are regarded by Judge Pennypacker, who is completely lost in adoration of the "genius" of one who is a past-master in the black art of political degradation. Further, we read:

"Mankind is always benefitted by the opportunity to closely inspect the work of its masters in thought in every line of human effort. The speeches of Mr. Quay in that campaign were so remarkable for their breadth of view, for their freedom from asperity, for the evidence they gave of literary research and skill, that it has been thought wise, for the credit of the state, of which he is the foremost representative, and for the instruction of citizens of other states, who may be misinformed as to his personality and accomplishments, to preserve them permanently."

Now we will pick some choice morsels from this flashing intellectual mine, the possessor of which is so highly praised as a "master in thought."

Masterpieces of Falsehood.

Mr. Quay made his debut as a political orator at West Chester, where, with a sober face, he told an incredulous audience that he was not a candidate for the senatorship; that the Republican State Convention "insisted upon the presentation of my candidacy to the people and I submitted with some reluctance to their judgment. To me that high office is no longer attractive." After the tremendous fight Mr. Quay had made for re-election and vindication and was then making, such a statement was monumental in its audacity. But Mr. Pennypacker pretends to accept it as the solemn truth. Therein he shows at the first step his loyalty to Quayism.

In this speech Mr. Quay referring to ballot reform, made his famous proposition that the friends of an honest ballot might frame "any fair statute which is a manifest improvement over the present one, and the Republican organization will aid in its passage, and this action will, I have no doubt, be approved by the executive, who sits beside me." The manner in which this promise was dealt with is part of recent history. No honest attempt was made to keep it; and elsewhere, at Altoona, Mr. Quay frankly acknowledged that all the boasted reform measures of previous sessions had been "buried." Just so, and by orders of the machine.

Pennypacker's Friends "Knaves and Fools."

At Harrisburg, Mr. Quay, referring to some prominent Republicans citizens who have been misled into the Pennypacker trap for political innocents, said: "These are the men who make reform impossible. When false apostles of reform erect altars where knaves, ministers and fools kneel, as in Pennsylvania at present, progress and reform are alike retarded." To characterize some of his most effusive friends as knaves and fools, evidently impressed Judge Pennypacker as "breadth of view," as "speech free from asperity."

At Huntingdon, Mr. Quay made this gentle and refined allusion to the combination of honest men against his corrupt machine, "You have a mule ticket, made up of one Republican and one Democrat. The alliance seems illicit and unnatural." Further polite reference was made to the gentlemen meeting weekly in Philadelphia, "in illicit intercourse with the Democratic party."

Again at Altoona, Mr. Quay thus paid his respects to Mr. Pennypacker and his former associates in the Civil Service Reform Association, "Reform is a catching cry. It cozens alike babes, sucklings and grown men. It is solacing to self-love and vanity to proclaim the short-comings of the world, for this is an assertion of our superiority to common humanity and a parade of our perfection." At Lebanon, the supporters of the anti-machine legislative ticket were fiercely denounced as "political assassins," given to "stabbing in the back."

Coarse Abuse of Honest Men.

At Phoenixville, Mr. Quay said that the friends of good government "have raised a large amount of money to expend in your county and other pivotal points. They will bribe piously. They will bribe prayerfully. You can scarcely say them nay. Take their money; lay it carefully out of reach till after election." At other times and places Mr. Quay made allusion to the Independent Republicans and honest voters of Pennsylvania in this same offensive spirit, for which his judicial admirer and eulogist has such large-minded admiration. In winding up his swing around the circle, in Philadelphia, he thus coarsely referred to the newspapers and reformers generally: "They have no argument except personal detraction and falsification and wanton defilement of the fair name of our state. They have in common only personal malice and certain political miseries. They are helpless even with the aid of the five subsidized newspapers of Philadelphia. I have no desire to flutter the cote of these soiled doves of Pennsylvania journalism. They wire in and wire out at the heel of their charmer, everywhere slobbering venom in their slot. Of one of them, when intending to convey the idea of absolute mendacity we say of a man: 'He lies like the Philadelphia Press.' No doubt Judge Pennypacker is ready to insist that this sweet-tempered allusion to his journalistic friends must be considered entirely allowable—under the circumstances; but there may be a difference of opinion upon that point.

For Christians and Workingmen.

In his speech in Philadelphia "Pennsylvania's most distinguished statesman" essayed the part of a seer, and made this extraordinary declaration, which no doubt struck his judicial reviser as wonderfully peaceful, something that should bring to his support the religious world in general:

"Christianity has failed in Asia in peaceful missionary effort, and if the cross is to prevail there it must be preceded or accompanied by the battleflag. God, in his infinite wisdom, seems to have ordained that the sword shall open the bloody road for the coming of the gospel of peace and love. The world cannot endure one-third Christian and two-thirds heathen. One or the other must perish." For the son of a Presbyterian minister, this sounds rather "strenuous." But Mr. Quay squares the account by thus extending the right hand of fellowship to his Christianized Ah Sin. Standing on the same platform, a few months later, receiving the congratulations of his friends upon having finally bought his way through the Pennsylvania legislature, he said: "We should respect China for what she has been and sympathize with her in her trials, and look forward with hope to her future and the fulfillment of her mission." Evidently Judge Pennypacker believes that consistency is the refuge of weak minds. He has unbounded admiration for the politician who can skin the cat with neatness and dispatch.

Pennypacker's Crowning Offense.

Having thus set forth Mr. Quay as a great man, the judge followed up his timely work, doubtless a labor of love, a few months later, by writing his celebrated reply to a New England magazine article which scathingly showed up Quayism and what it stands for. Apparently encouraged by what he had already done, he went further and stooped lower in his defense of Mr. Quay and his methods, heaping upon him words of praise, utterly without warrant, reflecting upon his own intelligence and wounding the pride of self-respecting citizens of his own state. He declared that Pennsylvania "had no ills worthy of mention," and, forgetful alike of what he had done and was doing, he said it was not for him "to express an opinion concerning Mr. Quay's political methods or principles," and he then proceeded to speak of him in extravagant terms, concluding: "His fame is assured as a statesman who deserves well of his country."

He Gets His Reward—

The logical outcome of all this was the naming of this pretentious, yet inconsistent and weak creation of Quayism, as its candidate for the highest office in the state, though without the imperious orders of our political Caesar, Judge Pennypacker would have been entirely unheard of in the convention. There was no popular demand for his nomination, no suggestion from the press or any other source, not a word from the bar nor the associate judiciary, nor from politicians of high or low degree, that he should be chosen for this post of honor and great responsibility. As in 1889, so in 1902, he was the sole choice of his political creator.

The manifest choice of the Republican state convention publicly and indignantly declared that two-score delegates were taken from him by foul means, and the Philadelphia Inquirer, the most stalwart Quay paper in the state, openly and furiously denounced this disgraceful "theft of delegates" and corrupt betrayal of trust. Nothing like it was ever known in the history of Pennsylvania. All the facts were widely proclaimed. There could be no concealment of them. They were simply brazenly ignored, even by Judge Pennypacker himself, who deliberately accepted this besmirched nomination, without a word of protest, without a word of reproof for the odious methods pursued. Thus this candidate of the Quay machine stands before the people of Pennsylvania today. This terrible fact cannot be wiped out, explained away nor covered up. It shows why Mr. Quay is willing to put such complete trust and confidence in his candidate. He is satisfied that his selfish interests will be safe in the keeping of his own creation.

His Defiance of Public Opinion.

The day he left the bench, Judge Pennypacker, far from repudiating, apologizing for or asking public pardon for what he had done, so greatly to his own discredit and to the amazement and grief of his sincere friends, to the bitter disappointment of those who in their ignorance and faith had believed and expected better things, defiantly repeated, added to, intensified and emphasized his expressions of admiration for and supreme confidence in Mr. Quay. He manifested anew his disregard for the patriotic sensibilities of his long shamed and long suffering fellow citizens. He boldly held up before them his title papers to the first place in the trust and confidence of the political tyrant of the hour in this state, who permits no divided allegiance on the part of those whom he selects to do his bidding. Let the straight facts be considered. Let the duty of the hour be deeply impressed upon every self-respecting voter who desires to preserve the honor of the commonwealth, protect the virtue and maintain the rights of all its people.

Spread the truth. Each issue of this paper, from now until election, should be read by as many fair-minded Republicans as possible. Hand it around courteously. The revolt against organized public robbery is growing stronger every day. Help it along.

The Quay machine is hard pushed for money this year, and the rich Republicans are not coming down with the cash as usual. One prominent member of the Philadelphia Union League, who is earnestly supporting Governor Pattison and the whole Democratic state ticket, sarcastically observed that he would act in accordance with the suggestion of the begging circular received and contribute "according to inclination." His check will not be made payable to the order of the boss this time, and he has plenty of company.

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