

THE PEOPLE DEFIED.

How the Popular Will Was Defeated in the Joint Caucus.

DESPERATE TACTICS EMPLOYED.

Reckless Use of Money, Coercion and Other Vicious Methods Resorted To. Hired Ruffians Called Upon to Intimidate Respectable Business Men.

HARRISBURG, Pa., Jan. 12.—There are some dark pages in the record of past political happenings in this state, but no part of its history is so black as the story that must be written of the events of the five days in this city immediately preceding the joint caucus which terminated the contest for the United States senatorship.

It is a picture so revolting, so directly opposed to what an educated, intelligent people would willingly recognize even as a probability in an enlightened community, where there is supposed to be at least tacit compliance with law, and even partial regard for order and decency, that there will be no surprise if the plain story of the repulsive details will find many people who will hesitate to believe it.

Yet even the calm contemplation that comes after the heat of the conflict has died away cannot rid it of its hideous features. Never before was there so wanton a display of political depravity; never before was the power of the bribe giver so recklessly exercised, and, it is safe to say, never before were the wishes of the people of the state so flagrantly ignored by their public servants.

Such were the desperate tactics of desperate plotters and, while they proved to be of temporary advantage, the spark of victory that comes to the people out of the embers of apparent defeat is that, by its complete exposure, the villainous abuse of power will lead to its own undoing; will lead to the total political annihilation of those who practiced it. Representative citizens from all parts of the state were in the city during that turbulent time, and when they went home they carried with them new ideas of "practical politics," and the lesson will linger long in their memories, and will spur them to renewed efforts to rid the state of the despoilers of its fair fame.

Hired Thugs Abundant.
The plan of battle is accredited to Senator Andrews, who was the sponsor and chief backer of Candidate Penrose. When it proved to be the only way in which the will of the people could be defeated Senator Quay gave it his approval. Long ago it was inaugurated by sending paid spies to ingratiate themselves with those interested in Mr. Wanamaker's campaign, for the purpose of gaining and betraying their confidence. This requires long cunning, and entire absence of self respect, and it will be accepted without reservation that men who would undertake such work could not be men worthy of belief. But all their lying, all their deceit, all their base treachery of friendship—supposing such men to be capable of such sentiment—availed them nothing, and had no result save to add to the flame of indignation, which will lead to a swift retribution.

An alleged detective firm, known as Buring & McSwaney, furnished these "agents." There is not a decent detective in the state who recognizes this agency. It is known at all the police headquarters within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth as almost as dangerous as half the offenders against the law with whom they have to deal. No mission is too nefarious for it to undertake, and proof of this lies in the fact that the one sensation these marplot-attempted to create, by the arrest of E. A. Van Valkenburg, was based upon the alleged affidavit of a mythical person, at least of some one who has not yet ventured to show his face to the light and who, by some, is thought to be an ex-convict. Yet they dared to attempt to imperil the liberty of an honest man by such means. It was nothing that would bother their conscience, but what of the people who employed them? For, after all, these latter must stand the condemnation, because the element of pity is so strong that it can extend to the poor, misguided and despised wretches sordid in the moral attributes by long careers of depravity.

But the work of this agency extended further. It had its hirelings on hand here to take their share in the despicable work outlined. It could not supply all the help that was needed. From other quarters, thugs, jailbirds and nondescript ruffians were gathered to harass and to annoy and to antagonize the respectable people who came here to make known their views to the men who had been elected by them to press these views by their votes. Spies logged their footsteps. No one was safe from this espionage. Old friends of Quay's, friends who had rendered him faithful service for years, were dogged and spied upon, simply because in this issue they did not conscientiously stand with him. This band of secret service scoundrels only tried to drive the respectable people out of the city. They threatened them, and in several instances at least they assaulted them, and they made it dangerous for them to be abroad after nightfall. Never before were such things done in a community that pretends to civilization, and it is to be hoped that the day is long in the future when such violent oppression and such lawless methods will be known and felt again.

The most striking evidence of the character of the people gathered to assist Penrose was to be found at his headquarters. There was a noisy, turbulent mob, which allowed up the few respectable people who had an honest interest in him. Burly ruffians, adorned with tin badges designating them as "detectives," stalked about the corridors. The scum of Philadelphia crowded the lobby, and specimens of the worst type of precinct politicians passed and out, choking up the entrances and spitting the pavements. All these, and more, were furnished with free transportation and expenses, made up by the crowd. The mad shouts of the drunkard added to the general din, and all night long, night after night, was this kept up, the places where those who succumbed to the strain and were exhausted being taken by fresher and stronger recruits.

At the Wanamaker headquarters there was no such disorder. The pointed criticism of the proprietor of the hotel where the contest was established is the best illustration. "Never, in all my experience," he has seen such a gathering of representative men of the refined element of the people in this hotel during a hot political contest.

Bribery and Threats.
The mind almost fails to grasp the enormity of the desperate efforts of the enemies of Mr. Wanamaker. He had a long fight, and they knew it. Nothing that would be effectual was too hideous to attempt. Business men who wanted to speak to their members were not permitted to approach them. The "heelers," as they are called, kept pushing them away, using as much force as was necessary. That was one scheme.

Some members were locked in their rooms in the hotel, and before the doors were stationed detectives to keep the people away. This is something for the mind to dwell upon. Hired ruffians actually standing guard over elected representatives to keep their constituents from advising with them. Where this would not avail, other methods were employed. The members from Bucks county, for instance, where the sentiment of 95 per cent. of the people was unquestionably for Wanamaker, were kept under guard, this being carried so far even as to compelling them to sleep with their county leaders, so that they could not escape.

In other instances open bribery was resorted to. The use of money was reckless and wasteful. It seemed to be very abundant, and according to common rumor the source of supply was the trusts and big corporations with which the Quay machine is identified, such as the sugar trust, the Standard Oil company, the Pennsylvania Railroad company, the Reading Railroad company, the Carnegie Steel works, etc. Members who could not be bribed were threatened with ruin if they did not fall in line. In one case a young lawyer was met with a threat that the bulk of his practice, which was mainly among corporations, would be taken away from him if he voted for Wanamaker, and he, with tears in his eyes, begged to be released from his pledge to the latter. There were many affecting scenes in the Wanamaker headquarters, for it was heartrending to see strong men moved to tears, with their honor at stake on one side and their future interest threatened on the other, feeling that all the odious power of a thoroughly disreputable combination would be brought to bear against them.

When neither bribes nor threats would avail, the effort was made to influence members through their relatives and friends in whom they had deep interest. Promises were as thick as showers in April—and they will prove to be just as uncertain. There is a certain member who has an invalid brother-in-law. This brother-in-law was promised a \$5,000 position, and a signed contract that he would receive \$10 per day until the position was secured for him if he would induce his relative to vote for Penrose. There were several instances of the kind. A Philadelphia member was promised an appointment as collector of internal revenue if he would turn in. But he didn't do it.

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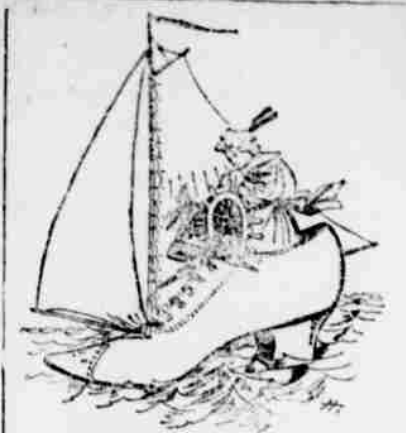
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