HISTORY OF LORIMER CASE

Investigation Began In Iilinois Two Years Ago.

TRANSFERRED TO SENATE.

Inquiry by That Body Was Upon Request of the Accused Senator Himself-Taft's Name Was Brought In. Roosevelt's Part.

The investigation of the Lorimer scandal, which resulted in the unseating of Senator William Lorimer by the United States senate, began first in Illinois, which Mr. Lorimer on May 26, 1969, was chosen to represent. State Attorney Wayman began in Chicago on May 1, 1910, an investigation of certain bribery charges in connection with the election of Senator Lorimer. The most important charges were made by Representative Charles A. White, who declared that he got \$1,000 from Lee O'Neill Browne to vote for Lorimer. His alleged confession was published in a Chicago newspaper and attracted widespread notice.

Additional evidence came to Attorney Wayman's hands in the shape of confessions of bribe taking to vote for Lorimer from Representative H. J. C. Beckmeyer of Carlyle and Michael Link, Democratic representative from Mitchell. It was also said that the district attorney obtained an allegation that it cost \$200,000 to elect Lorimer to the senate, of which the ringleaders got \$50,000 and individual members of the legislature the remainder.

The evidence in the investigation into Lorimer's election, together with one or two indictments for bribery and perjury, were referred by an "association of Illinois voters" to the United States senate. Lorimer himself requested that his colleagues investigate the charges and the senate committee on privileges and elections was authorized to go to the bottom of the matter. The subcommittee who undertook the investigation consisted of four Republicans-Burrows of Michigan, Dillingham of Vermont, Gamble of South Dakota and Heyburn of Idaho-and three Democrats-Frazier of Tennessee, Paynter of Kentucky and Johnston of Alabama. Senator Burrows was made chairman of the committee.

Report Cleared Him.

The report of the subcommittee made to the senate on Dec. 22, 1910, cleared Lorimer of the charges of bribery and corruption. It was signed by all the Republican members of the committee except Senator Beveridge and by all the Democratic members except Senator Frazier. Senator Beveridge immediately presented a minority report from the committee of privileges and elections holding that at least seven and possibly ten votes in the Illinois legislature were tainted with corruption. Senator Beveridge and Senator Owen of Oklahoma also presented a resolution declaring that Lorimer's seat in the senate was invalid.

The second investigation of the Lorimer scandal was ordered by the senate on June 1, 1911, every senator in the chamber voting for the reopening of the case. The resolution of the minority leader, Senator Martin, providing for an investigation by the committee on privileges and elections was adopted as a substitute for a proposition made by Senator La Poliette creating to conduct the investigation a special committee made up entirely of new members who had not previously passed on the Lorimer charges.

President Taft's name was brought into the case on June 29, 1911, when Edward Hines of Chicago, president of the Hines Lumber company, told the senate that the president through Nelson W. Aldrich, then senator from Rhode Island, had favored Lorimer's candidacy and had practically forced the election on Lorimer. A vehement denial of Hines' statements was issued from the White House on the evening of June 29.

Roosevelt's Connection.

Ex-President Roosevelt's connection with the case began on Sept. S. 1910, when he angrily refused to attend a dinner at the Hamilton club in Chicago to which Senator Lorimer had been invited. Lorimer was advised not to show up at the dinner, and Roosevelt in his speech that evening told why he had delivered so quick an ultimatum in regard to his attendance at the dinner. Mere legal honesty is not enough in public office, the ex-president declared.

Lorimer answered Colonel Roosevelt's snub by resigning from the Hamilton club the day after the dinner. On July 1, 1912, when Lorimer was in the midst of his personal defense before the senate, he attacked Roosevelt, who had been speaking against him throughout the country, and presented three affidavits from southern delegates to the Chicago convention charging that Roosevelt's people tried to bribe them to vote for the relonel at Chicago

It was thought that when Vice Pres-ment James S. Sherman went to Chicago on May 25, 1912, with the avowed purpose of obtaining Lorimer's resignation the investigation would be brought to a satisfactory close. The vice president refused to comment on the subject of his visit when he returned to Washington on the 26th, into there appeared to be no doubt in the minds of the senators that the mission had falled

The National Progressive Party Is "In the Ring"

Its First Convention Will Be Speculation as to Its Fu-Held In Chicago on Aug. 5.

By JAMES A. EDGERTON.

here, and Roosevelt is its prophet. The newspapers call it the "Bull Moose" party, and the politicians call it names not fit to print. Anyway, it is in the ring and will have to be reckoned with by all concerned. Guesses as to the number of votes it will poll range all the way from a few thousand to as many millions, the number varying with the political complexion of the guesser. Some assert that it will not carry a single state, while others are just as certain that it will sweep most of the great Republican states of the north and west and may even break into the solid south. All we know for sure is that it will hold a national convention in Chicago on Aug. 5, that it will nominate Colonel Roosevelt for president and that it will be called the Progressive party. As for the rest, it is on the knees of the gods, whatever the knees of the gods may have to do with politics.

The first national gathering of the Progressive party will be a mass convention in which each state will be entitled to as many votes as it has seaators and representatives in congress. the territories being deprived of representation. In other words, the convention will have exactly the same number of votes as the electoral college, or less than half the quota of either old party convention. Yet each state may have a number of delegates in excess of this number, as many, in fact, as the state itself may provide and can get to attend.

What does the move mean? Is it to be only a temporary disturbance, a nash in the pan, or is it to be the be-ginning of a new departure in Ameri can political history?

Its Coming Predicted.

The writer is especially interested in this move because more than a year ago in the Review of Reviews he predicted the formation of a national progressive party this year. Colonel Roosevelt was not then a candidate, nor did it seem probable that he would be. The injection of his personality into the situation has changed matters in some degree, although the principles remain the same. At the time I wrote this article it was my belief that the members of the new progressive party would come from both of the old par ties. The nomination of Woodrow Wilson has in some degree satisfied progressive Democrats, so that as large an influx from that party may not be expected as would have gone over under other conditions.

These are only minor variations, however. The great fact is that the new party has come, and in much the same way that it has been apparent to close political students for some time that it must come. However we look at it, the conclusion is forced upon us that its effects will be tremendous. Even though they never succeeded nationally some of the third parties have changed political history.

No one man or group of men can er ganize a new party. Like poets, parties are born and not made. They are born from great impulses of public opinion. They are the result of material conditions and of human psychol-One of the mysterious facts about these new parties or at least of a certain line of them is that one comes into being about every twenty

The Recurrent Reform Wave.

The Republican party was born in 1854 and two years later participated pie's party, having served on several of Governors, senators, congressmen and in its first presidential election. It started as a third party, but rapidly tary of its national committee for tion have declared in favor of the new drove the Whigs from the field and became one of the two leading parties. John C. Fremont, its first presidential candidate, polled something more than 1,000,000 votes, but was defeated by James Buchanan. In their second elec- nation. Its death was a high example tion in 1860 the Republicans succeeded of laying down its life to find it again. owing to a division in the ranks of the It died that its principles might live. Democracy.

1874, when the national Greenback sixteen years they have been a disruptparty was organized. The shibboleth ing force in both of the older parties. of the Greenbackers was a people's money, and the party supported other issues that looked to the people's rule. While it never polled a very large vote in a presidential canvass, the Greenback party did east about a million votes in one election, choosing a number of governors and members of congress. Its identity was lost through fusing with the Democrats, although it was still a factor up to 1884.

Eighteen years after the formation of the Greenback party the People's party, generally known as the Popusome ways it represented the same spirit as that of the early Republicans and Greenbackers, which in a general way may be described as the rule of the people as against special interests. Infiltar with the history of these move-In its first election, with James B. ments it is easy to show how the Peo-Weaver at its candidate for president, ple's party was in a general way the the People's party polled more than 1,000,000 votes and by 1804 had nearly bow the Progressive party is taking up 2,000,000. In 1806 it fused with the Democrats, but elected a large fumber of governors, senators and congressmen. While it went out of existence movement of 1872, which nominated

ture-History of Other "Third Parties."

thrive and have been vital from that HE long expected third party is day to this.

The Rise of Populism.

The People's party first advocated the initiative, referendum and recall, postal savings banks, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, a people's money as against what it called the "money power," and other policies in kind. It became involved in the free silver fight, although it is a mistake to suppose that the free coinage of silver was one of the original fundamental issues on which the People's party was formed. In its essence it was an antimonopoly party and was against railroad domination and fought the machines of both old parties. Its great strength was in the west and south, threatening Democratic supremacy in the south almost as much as Republican supremacy in the west.

The formation of the Progressive party this year occurs at the end of fornia has been one of the chief Roose another twenty year period. Thus the dates fall as follows:

1854—Republican party organized. 1874 Greenback party organized. 1892-People's party organized.

1912-Progressive party organized. The interval in each case is twenty is eighteen years, a deviation not great enough to be important.

hibition party and the Socialist party. Two third party movements appeared in 1896, but only for one campaign. One was that of the Gold Democrats and the other that of the Silver Repub-

The periodical third party movements may be likened to waves of the sea, each wave mounting higher than those preceding it. With the incoming of this reform tide one wave will advance farther than all the rest, breaking over all barriers and reaching the mark. Is the Progressive movement to prove such a wave?

The organization of a new party is a prodigious task, as is now being realized by the Roosevelt managers. The states have widely varying election laws, and the ticket must be placed upon the ballot in each. In New York, for example, the obstacles in the way are well night insurmountable. Other states are almost as diffiult. In some states, it is understood, there will be an attempt made to take over the cutire Benublican organization, electors and all. This plan will be fought by the Taft men and may nd up in the courts. The progressive will organize throughout the both and will make a pronounced effort to carry some southern states. It will also make a vigorous campaign in those northern states carried by Taft in the preconvention struggle

Senator Joe Dixon on Guard.

The general of the Roosevelt forces will be Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana, who had charge of the colonel's campaign for the nomination. Governor Hiram W. Johnson of Calivelt lieutenants, presiding over the meeting of delegates in Chicago that first put the former president in nomination and also naming the committee that has had charge of the organization of the new party. In New York state William H. Hotchkiss, former years, except from 1874 to 1892, which insurance superintendent, is in charge of the Roosevelt forces. In New Jersev are such doughty warriors as for The writer was intimately associationer Governor John Franklin Fort, d with the organization of the Peo-George L. Record and Everett Colby.





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Headquarters in New York of the National Progressive party, showing George L. Record (at the left) and Edward W. Sims, Upper left insert is Senator Joseph M. Dixon. Governor Hiram Johnson is the other insert.

Its committees and having been secreeight years. Since the disappearance of that organization it has been a matter of great interest to observe the manner in which its principles have taken root and grown until they fill the In the soil of its self sacrifice they The second great uprising came in have thriven mightily. During the past

The Incoming Tide.

Having gone through that fight, I have lived in the belief that in time another new party would be formed, cherishing the same spirit and in a general way the same ideas, which would sweep the nation. Is the Progressive party to be a realization of that belief? Has it come to finish the work starfed twenty years ago? The time was not ripe then to perform this work completely, but public opinion has marvelously changed in the two list party, came into existence. In decades that have since elapsed. Per-

haps the hour is now striking. There have been other third party movements, although not in the direct line here mentioned. To any one fasnecessor of the Greenback party and many of the principles of the People's party. Outside of this direct line may be mentioned the Liberal Republican as a party, its principles continued to Horace Greeley for president; the Pro- paign.

other leading men throughout the naparty, although a number of the Roosevelt leaders in the Republican national convention have refused to follow the colonel outside of the party. Notable among these are Senator Be rah of Idaho, Governor Deneen of Illinois and Governor Osborn of Michi-Senator Cummins has also de clared himself against the formation of a new party. Other progressive leaders, such as Governor Hadley of Missouri, have said that they saw no need of a third party in their states. since they would control the regular Republican organization.

Such a situation has never before ap peared in American politics. The possibilities arising out of it are stagger-One is an entire new alignment of political parties. Another is that presidential electors will refuse to obey the mandate of their party's national convention. For a third, there may be no election of president at all by the electoral college, which would throw the election into the house of representatives. As neither party has a majority of states in the house, several states being exactly tied, this would almost certainly result in a deadlock, in which event no president at all would be elected, a contingency for which there is no constitutional pro-

Any one of the above results would be ecvolutionary and in the present excited state of the public mind might actually precipitate revolution. It is this sort of political dynamite that is contained in this unprecedented cam-

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