

THE JUNKET BUSINESS.

How It Has Grown to its Present Awful Proportions—Democratic and Republican Rule Compared.

In connection with state politics in Pennsylvania there are few things more interesting or instructive, and almost equally nothing more fully demonstrable of the curse of the machine rule than a study and comparison of the various general appropriation acts of the state legislature. Mr. Wanamaker has fittingly supplemented the work of the Democratic party, its conventions, committees and press, in explaining to the people that the acts of the many monstrous extravagances and villainous steals. There are not many of the features of them more prolific and astounding in this range of development than those that touch the sums voted for legislative junkets, "extra services" of legislative committees, and the multitudinous commissions that are constituted for the sole purpose of putting unearned money into the pockets of the henchmen and retainers of the dominant party throughout the state.

A carefully compiled table, made up from an item-by-item search of the general appropriation acts for the past 15 years shows that in 1855, the first year of Governor Pattison's first administration, there was a total of \$7,848.91 awarded for these purposes. These included the expenses of investigating the State college, the clerical force of the several state departments, the western Pennsylvania insane asylum and penitentiary, and the accounts of that expensive appendage to our state government, Mr. John C. McWhorter, then occupying the position of Librarian of the senate, which had no library.

They covered also the cost of the Bosler-Wagner contested election case (\$1,185) and of a commission selected to report a comprehensive system of bookkeeping for the several departments.

In the year 1855 there were still fewer appropriations of this kind, the total being but \$2,518, out of which an item of \$1,200, for the expenses of the committee to investigate the Standard Oil trust, Governor Pattison vetoed, leaving a balance of but \$2,718.43 taken from the treasury by the general appropriation act, as finally made a law, for these purposes.

In 1857, however, General Beaver having in the meanwhile become governor, these appropriations swelled to \$16,965, an increase of several hundred per cent. As illustrating the careless and fraudulent methods that had already begun to prevail, \$6,000 of this total was voted in a lump sum for four investigations, an excursion to Gettysburg and a member's funeral.

It was not until 1859, however, that there was anything like a really riotous revel along these lines. Beaver was still governor, and the aggregated items in the general appropriation bill for these unnecessary and unlawful uses reached the enormous sum of \$123,588.50. These included \$17,560 for a horse contest and \$32,753.72 for a senatorial contest, entirely unaccounted for. \$15,000 for a committee to examine and report upon the charitable and correctional systems of the commonwealth, \$6,000 for a commission to codify the road laws, another \$6,000 for a committee on industrial education and \$10,700 laid out in taking the legislators to participate in the centennial inauguration of George Washington as president. And Beaver never interposed a single veto. A unique item in this list is \$100 for a committee on amended orthography. There was certainly a bad spell of appropriation legislation about that time. It was so bad, in fact, that its cost to the taxpayers was greater even than the accomplished and proposed similar steals of the 1857 legislature, including both those in the general appropriation bills, and the citizen who believes in honesty and economy in state expenditures may be pardoned for asking where were Wanamaker and Swallow then?

In 1861 the Democrats again had the governor and that year the appropriations for junkets, &c., in the general act were but \$73,859.33, and of these Mr. Pattison vetoed items aggregating \$34,116, leaving the actual outlay but \$39,743.23, or less than a third of Beaver's last term figures.

In 1863, warned doubtless by these vetoes, the legislature made the general appropriation act cover only \$3,466.12 of such expenditures.

But the Republicans came in again in 1865, and that year the total was \$115,486.92, or about \$15,000 more in the general bill than there were in 1863 in both the general and the special bills together. Here again was a sharp summons to Republican reformers, but they either ignored or failed to heed. Hastings had not yet fallen out with the machine. His vetoes, in 1865, of this class of items amounted, all told, to \$40,715, leaving a balance awarded of \$74,771.92, or nearly 22 times as much as the total for Pattison's last term.

The 1867 legislature voted for purposes within the category under discussion \$41,401.43 in the general bill and \$60,123.92 in special bills. Of the aggregate, \$101,524.45, Governor Hastings vetoed, all told, but \$29,823.90, leaving the actual waste or fraud at \$70,691.55. There was absolutely no excuse for more than probably a tenth of this outlay. It comprehended, as fully explained in another article, very many audacious swindles in addition to the handful exposed and overruled by the governor. And yet the cost to the state of the whole business was much less than that of 1865 or that of 1863, though, in those years the Democratic protests went utterly unheeded by the so-called Republican and Prohibitionist reformers, and the perpetrators of the scoundrelly grabs pocketed the swag and were in many instances triumphantly returned to the places they had disgraced.

THE RIGHT MAN FOR GOVERNOR

Why a Palmer and Buckner Leader Supports Mr. Jenks.

A Vigorous Communication From Samuel Dickson, a Leader of the Philadelphia Bar—Facts For All Honest Citizens to Ponder.

The strongest men in Pennsylvania, regardless of partisan, factional or financial views, are rapidly getting into line for Jenks and reform. The Philadelphia Ledger, notwithstanding its large proportion of Democratic readers, has been hitherto very unfriendly to Democratic nominees for governor, being inspired to this course by certain well known influences which were against the Democratic party two years ago. But the tide of public indignation against Quayism, and the manifest determination of the people to rise superior to party and to overthrow the enemies of honest government, is showing the Ledger the error of its ways, and that journal is now devoting every day a large amount of space to the Jenks meetings, and editorially is pursuing a much more commendable course with regard to the state contest. Our contemporary gives a solid column, on its editorial page, to Samuel Dickson, Esq., one of the leading lawyers of the country, who shows in his language not only why all Democrats of his way of thinking should support Mr. Jenks—and he was one of the Palmer and Buckner leaders in 1866—but all other good citizens as well. Mr. Dickson thus writes:

"As many independent voters are apparently in doubt as to whether to vote for Quay or Mr. Jenks, a statement of some of the reasons which will lead many of the sound money Democrats to vote for the latter may be of interest. The first is, that the powers conferred and the duties imposed upon the governor of the state are of such transcendent importance that the question of personal fitness in the choice, in point of fact, the office of governor is of singularly little consequence relative to party politics. He has but little patronage, and, in recent years, at least, he has not been a party leader. On the other hand, he has a controlling influence in the making and amending of laws of the state, which really come home to the people. Every one, who knows anything, knows that the laws which govern the tenure of property, by which every man holds his house and his goods, which relate to the effect and enforcement of contracts, taxation, to schools, to roads and all the interests which really enter into our daily life, are state laws. Now, when it is remembered that at the session of 1857 over 400 new statutes were enacted, making up a volume of over 500 pages, it is apparent that the incessant tampering with our laws is an imminent danger to every property owner and to every taxpayer.

It must be conceded by every one who will reflect that the first and fundamental questions as to the candidate for the high office of governor of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania are those of Jefferson: Is he capable? Is he honest? Tried by this test, there is one candidate and one only who satisfies the requirements of the office. For half a lifetime Mr. Jenks has been known as a leader of the bar of Pennsylvania. His life has been an open practice of his profession, and is known to his neighbors and the bench and bar of the state as an open book. It is the common and concurrent testimony of all that he had enriched a vigorous and capacious intellect by unremitting and the most searching study, and the effect of his powerful and logical arguments is reinforced by a character so genuine and open and sincere that the listener gives absolute confidence to every word he utters. He has not only had the leading practice in his own county, but he has been sent for to appear in every court in that section of the state, and his arguments before our own supreme court, and the supreme court of the United States and the electoral commission have given him eminence among lawyers in the entire country. In addition to his forensic ability he is an exceptionally calm, wise, judiciously minded man—a safe and good counselor as well as effective advocate. It is impossible that one of such intelligence and character could be deceived by bad advisers or coerced or cajoled into doing what his own conscience condemned. No single voter, if required to select a lawyer to advise or act for him in that part of the state, would fail to consider himself fortunate to have secured the services of such a man. Now that he is compelled to choose one as our adviser and representative at Harrisburg, why should we not do collectively what any one of us would do if acting alone?

"Without making any invidious comparison, it may be said with entire confidence that no one would engage the services of Dr. Swallow to represent him in any private matter calling for knowledge of the law, or solely for judgment, or prudence in action. On which ever side the account between him and Governor Hastings the balance should be struck, the fact is that he was convicted of libel before Judge Simonton, as accomplished a judge as sits in any court of the state; and when called before the committee of investigation, composed of men of all parties, he offered no justification or excuse for his charge of incendiarism in the fire which destroyed the capitol building. It is inconceivable how any business man would be willing to trust one so reckless and incautious to pass upon the revision of our laws, or to use the National Guard to enforce orders. He is simply impossible. As to Mr. Stone, it is enough to say that his political life has always displayed the qualities becoming a follower—none of the qualifications of a leader.

"The sentimental influence upon national politics, by the election of a suitable person for governor, is likely to be beneficial rather than otherwise, even if temporarily prejudicial, it is always wise to bear in mind that as true reform can only be worked out through

one or the other of the two great parties, it is essential to the safety and welfare of the people that they should be kept as nearly as possible in even balance. Nothing could be more salutary for the Republican party itself than to have its old adversary restored to equal strength, so that each may know that the only hope for preference in the popular vote is in greater diligence for well doing. There is no discipline for official misconduct like defeat, and there is no safeguard for the party in force like a powerful opponent; but no permanent party organization can be effected and maintained in this state or in this country upon only one of the Ten Commandments.

"When the machine shook the 'plum tree' for the benefit of its friends, in the People's bank it started the state, although the public was not unprepared for the cropping out of that sore on the body politic. But nearly ten years ago the Democratic minority in the state legislature, led by Mr. S. M. Wherry, of Cumberland county, not only pointed out a whole orchard of golden fruit, dropped into the laps of the favored banks of the state, and asked for other purposes, but attempted to divert treasury plum tree shakings in the future. On the 22d of March, 1883, Mr. Wherry introduced the following resolutions:

Resolved, by the senate and house of representatives in general assembly met, that the sinking fund commissioners shall invest, on or before June 1, 1883, all of the cash surplus in the sinking fund in the United States 4 per cent bonds, except six months interest on the state debt, and enough to meet any actually pending negotiations for the purchase of state loans, and \$250,000 additional, provided such funds can be purchased at no higher premium than 25 cents on the dollar, and that after June 1, 1883, all the cash surplus in the sinking fund on the first day of September, the first day of December, the first day of March, the first day of June in each year shall be invested in United States 4 per cent bonds, except six months interest on the state debt, and enough to meet any actually pending negotiations for the purchase of state loans, and \$250,000 additional, provided such funds can be purchased at no higher premium than 25 cents on the dollar, and that after June 1, 1883, all 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