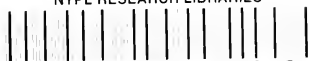
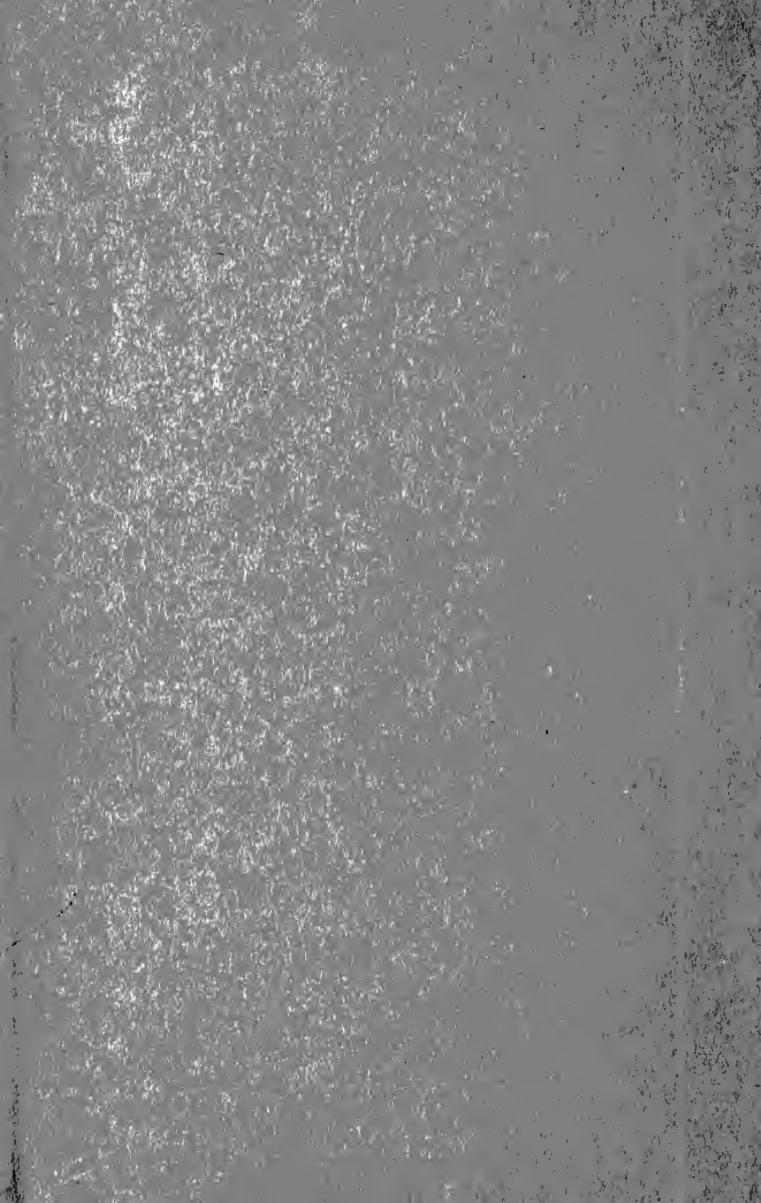


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# The Fall of Bossism.

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A HISTORY  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED,  
AND THE  
REFORM MOVEMENT IN PHILADELPHIA  
AND PENNSYLVANIA.

BY GEORGE VICKERS.

VOL. I.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE possession of political power, the abuses to which it leads, and the corrupt or crafty means resorted to for its preservation have in all ages furnished themes for the historian, the statesman, and the moralist. A melancholy perversion of great talents, treachery, artifice, and fraud have been the familiar and ready instruments adopted by those who have sacrificed patriotism to ambition, and trampled under foot the good of the State in pursuit of personal ends. The rage of party and of faction has frequently endangered the cause of good government. The importance of party supremacy has been unduly magnified, and men have been too easily persuaded that opposition to the powers that be is deserving of condemnation and reproach. The fears of men, their cowardice, their reluctance to face the odium of rebellion, their dread of being stigmatized as traitors have been skillfully seized upon by autocrats as the means of suppressing all murmurs of discontent. The foul dishonor of the word rebellion has often stained the holiest

cause ever won or lost by tongue or sword, and many an ardent reformer has sunk into the grave disheartened or disgraced by the charge, however undeserved, of lack of loyalty. Harrington, the profoundest political philosopher of the time of Cromwell, shrewdly observed that corrupt ministers styled themselves the State, in order that good men might not oppose them, for fear of having their loyalty suspected. This sagacious remark, based upon a close study of political phenomena, is a happy statement of one of the commonest means by which unprincipled men have endeavored to preserve their possession of ill-gotten power. A few illustrious victims, sacrificed without pity or scruple, were found sufficient by way of example to awe the crowd. Indifference to the egregious assumption of a minister that he is the State, or bold defiance of such arrogance has shut up many a man, like Raleigh, in the Tower, or sent many a proud head to the block. In our own day, men, some of whom have never heard of Harrington or read a line of his works, ignorant even of the misdeeds of former days, but keenly alive to the weaknesses of human nature, have maintained for years despotic sway by simple denunciation of all patriotic efforts at reform as treason and re-

bellion. "I am the Party." Such is the imperial edict of the party boss. "It follows, therefore, that nothing that is distasteful or dangerous to me can be tolerated. Disorganizing doctrines must have no place in party platforms, political free thought must be stifled; the people are not entitled to representation upon party tickets, and can have no hand in shaping policies. The man who prates of lofty principles is a lunatic: he who dreams of freedom is an enthusiast: he who refuses to be a slave is an outlaw: he who hates corruption and denounces it is a sore-head. He who strikes at me is an enemy of the people, because I am the people. The man who has a conscience is an idiot—politics must be practical; while he who considers the science of government as one of the noblest subjects of human speculation, or who agrees with Arnold that the highest earthly desire of the ripened mind is the wish to take part in the great work of government is a dangerous aristocrat, as his studies must lead him to distrust me." This is the political creed of a modern politician. His sphere may be large or small, it may boldly embrace the nation or a state, or it may be confined to the limits of a ward precinct in a town; it

matters not, within these bounds he aims to be supreme.

Our view must be limited, however, to the narrow field of municipal politics.

At the close of our great civil war, when a grateful people rewarded with their confidence the party that had saved the Union and made free the slave, the unscrupulous speculators who dealt in local politics as a trade and who grew fat upon the spoils of office, saw and seized their opportunity. While great men were debating high questions of statesmanship, they slowly but surely were forging the fetters of "The Machine." With infinite tact they allied themselves to popular doctrines, and while careful to preserve the forms were industriously destroying the substance of public liberty. They cunningly bound local issues to national interests, and thus having confused the duties that a citizen owes to the Nation, to his State and to his City were able to turn to their own advantage his mental bewilderment. So inseparable did the union of national and municipal interests become that the latter were often wholly sacrificed, and good men stolidly voted for the most odious and unworthy candidates upon the local ticket, rather than endanger

the supremacy of the party in national affairs. This popular devotion to the Union was made a shield of protection to public robbers. The assassins of Liberty, disguised in her own mantle, crept close to her heart and there sheathed their daggers. The patience and incredulity of the people knew no bounds. It could not be true that the party of high moral purposes, of rectitude and progress, the chosen guardian of human destiny, could ever prove false to its high trust. Thus while the people slept an enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat. The harvest soon came—a harvest of shame and dishonor. Virtue, ability, integrity were rarely seen in public life; rapacity, cunning, trickery, fraud, ignorance and violence supplanted them; men of character were driven away, self-respecting voters remained at home, men who busied themselves with public affairs fell under the ban of suspicion; debts, state and municipal, were piled mountain high, necessary public works were neglected, public money was squandered or stolen, offices were sold and the spoils divided, new, useless, and expensive offices were created, salaries were enormously increased, fees became extortionate; even the courts of justice were invaded, the jury fixer plied his nefarious trade, while crime stalked in the streets

defiant and unrebuked. Councilmanic appropriations attracted clouds of vultures which fed on the offals of contracts; conspiracies and plots were organized to plunder the State Treasury, and in a moment of reckless daring the bribery of the Legislature was attempted. Neither sex, age, nor condition provoked the pity or stayed the hand of the despoilers; pauperism was stripped of its rags to clothe the shivering dependents of the Ring, and the copper of public alms was transmuted by the alchemy of politics into gold for political lazars. Taxes grew into grievous burdens, and though vast sums of money were annually collected the treasury was always empty.

Means were devised to perpetuate this system, the results of which were so profitable to the leaders, under the pretence of maintaining the boasted party supremacy. The cry was raised that to defeat the party in the city was to defeat the party in the nation. Party organization was carried to such a pitch of refinement that, while it rendered hopeless all efforts at reform within the party, it could not fail to excite astonishment at the ingenuity and skill of the architects. In short, the party rules consolidated all power in the hands of a City Committee, an arbitrary and irresponsible body clothed with un-



limited authority. Coercive measures were adopted to insure success, and the political dice were loaded. Conventions were packed, delegates were gagged, election returns were falsified, office-holders were mercilessly assessed, the police force was converted into a Praetorian guard; the right to cast a ballot as conscience dictated was flatly denied, to scratch a ticket was felony. Remonstrance, argument, persuasion, entreaty, threats were all in vain. Reform was jeered at, sneered at, stormed at, and denounced. To be a Reformer was to be a traitor to Republicanism. To fight for honest government was to be a Democrat, a sympathizer with disunion, with State-rights and civil war. This was enough. The men who styled themselves *the party* well knew that good men would not oppose them for fear of having their loyalty suspected. Old Harrington was right.

The situation, though desperate, was not hopeless. Slowly did the people awake to full consciousness of the fact that the men whom they had trusted had betrayed and wronged them, that they were political defaulters, and that if vigilance committees were not soon organized, there would be nothing left of public liberty or

virtue but the name. Citizens' and Tax-Payers' Associations were formed and gradually gained strength: the Municipal Reform Association for eight years waged heroic but almost unavailing war. Fraud with her crooked fingers tampered with returns and filched the fruits of victory. The ardent Henry Armitt Brown, whose spotless character and brilliant eloquence caused men to build high hopes, fell a victim to his excessive labors in the field of exalted patriotism. The skies darkened, and doubt and fear again fell with crushing weight upon the hearts of all lovers of pure and free government. A handful of brave and good men continued the fight, hoping against hope for better days.

The political Renaissance, however, was at hand. The perils that had threatened the life of the nation aroused men to the dangers at their own doors. A gigantic conspiracy to violate the unwritten law of the Republic by the novelty of a Third Term was happily defeated at Chicago. The vicious features of the Unit rule were disclosed and the secrets of the machine laid bare. Bossism must be destroyed. Bosses had been ignominiously beaten at Chicago; bosses must be driven, like the Tarquin, from Philadelphia. The hour had come for an appeal to the people,

and in response to popular demand the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred sprang into vigorous being. The secret of its strength and its success lay in its sympathy with public indignation, its thorough knowledge of public wrongs and its intelligence in dealing with them. Though in strictness a self-constituted body there was nothing aristocratic or oligarchical in its composition, for reflecting as in a mirror the popular thought, its acts were in harmony with the wishes of the people, and were solemnly ratified by them at the polls. The history of its services to the community is the subject of the following pages and need not be here detailed. One by one were the departments of municipal government wrung from the grasp of the spoilsmen. The great principle was established that partisan politics should have no place in municipal affairs. National, state and municipal politics were severed, and each was assigned to its proper sphere. Faith in the ability of the people to govern themselves was renewed and purified.

Posterity will treat with respect and admiration a body of men who, without experience or previous political training, abandoned their counting houses and offices and zealously labored by day and by night to overthrow one of the most pow-

erful and corrupt political rings that ever disgraced this country. They have not wholly escaped from errors of judgment, nor have they been entirely free from human frailties, but in purity and unselfishness of purpose, in courage, in determination, in intelligence and activity, in a generous — almost improvident — devotion of themselves, their time, their money, and their strength to the public good they will compare favorably with many bodies now historic and destined to live in the grateful recollection of mankind. Institutions such as ours can fail only when such men no longer exist to defend them. In the quiet contemplation of their own good works, and of their dearly-bought success, they have their rich reward. Sustained by the righteousness of their cause, and by thousands of good people at the polls, they have saved Philadelphia from the fate of Actaeon, who was devoured by his own dogs.

HAMPTON L. CARSON.

THE FALL OF BOSSISM;  
OR THE  
REFORM MOVEMENT IN PHILADELPHIA  
AND PENNSYLVANIA.



CHAPTER I.

A GOVERNMENT OF THE BOSSES.

THE year 1880 will be memorable in Philadelphia's political history. It found public affairs in their worst stage of mismanagement, extravagance and corruption. The public departments, with one or two exceptions, were the centres of all that was dishonest, vicious and demoralizing in public life. Political dictators, working together with the smoothness and system of a skillfully constructed machine held within their grasp the secret of manipulating elections, and everything ordered by their imperious will was swiftly executed. Public service, where fitness for the discharge of appointed duties should prevail, was degraded to the level of an auction shop where the largest consideration that could be advanced to comport with the personal interests of the political autocrats was the price at which all appointments, whether of subordinate officials or executive

heads, were made. William S. Stokley was Mayor, and twelve hundred dependents in the form of police were powerful agents in enforcing in the various wards and precincts the will of the petty rulers of the city, in the matter of elections. Behind Mayor Stokley in various degrees of illiteracy and with an incapacity for nothing so much as government in its legitimate sense, stood his political masters. To say that he faithfully executed their bidding is to give him credit for steadfastly observing a custom which through long experience under their insolent domination had come to be an unwritten law among city officers. It was the price for which they elevated men to public position, and for any officer thus dependent upon their favor to refuse to perform their commands, was for him to invite political death.

Of the group of political satraps who had thus assumed the reins of city government there was one who, for his boldness, his defiance of the public will and his assumption of an authority which even the prerogative of the sceptred head of a monarchy might have failed to yield, stood above all others conspicuous. Over Mayor Stokley and the chiefs and subordinates of City Departments, James McManes held sway as an imperious and exacting taskmaster. Artful in politics as a Machiavelli his name was synonymous with all that an autocratic and unscrupulous control of political machinery and methods could imply. His hand so active in secret manipulation and scheming, was seldom seen but his power was felt in all departments of the city government, in the City Councils, and even in the Legislature of the State. Entrenched in a political position which he had converted into a veritable fortress for purposes offensive and de-

fensive, he had gathered about him as his aids and lieutenants men who were apt and skillful in executing his orders and prompt in sharing his spoils. Thus, to the hands of men emerging from the obscurity of taxgatherers, public messengers and miscellaneous trades, was the control of the destinies of the city confined. To enter public service, whether as a Councilman, a member of the Legislature, or as an officer of a public department, was to first give satisfactory proof of allegiance to these men, to their claims and methods with no reference whatever to personal scruples or to convictions of personal duty. The ease with which these combined spoilsmen made and unmade public officers could find no comparison that would better illustrate their power than to say that the process was performed with the facility of a simple wave of the hand. Under their rule, although elections still went on with their accustomed regularity, and it was pleasant to believe that therein the supreme right of citizenship still had force, every material outcome of such elections was in the interest of the self-constituted dictators and against the interests of the people. To the cause of the former, Mayor Stokley with his twelve hundred police officers was a powerful auxiliary. A Republican himself, he enjoyed a thorough understanding with James McManes who, with his associates carried on his practice of spoils-gathering through his professed devotion to the principles of that party. Yet with the people Mayor Stokley possessed some popularity. Before his elevation to the office of Mayor he had in the City Councils displayed considerable ability, championing the interests of the people in some things which required no

little courage and foresight. As Mayor of the city, however, there was one practice which aroused much public discontent. The use he made of the police in elections, met with almost universal condemnation. It was one of the most potent agencies depended upon by James McManes and his political co-partners to secure their triumphs at the polls. That neither regard for the rights of men nor for existing laws were allowed to stand in the way of these political schemers where the object sought was the control of public affairs, the case of William Conway well illustrates. He was a resident of the Fifth Ward, by occupation a merchant, in politics a Democrat, but so free from partisanship and self-interest in his advocacy of public measures, particularly in the matter of public education, that he was greatly respected alike by Republican and Democrat. In the canvass preceding the Municipal election of February 1880, Mr. Conway, yielding to the solicitations of citizens of both parties, became the Taxpayer's Candidate for a seat in Common Council. Opposed to him was the candidate of the McManes clique, John Carpenter by name, a man of untried character, with no claim on the favor or the consideration of the people. On the day of election Candidate Conway going to one of the precinct polling places saw, under the eyes of the police, a professional repeater in the act of casting fraudulent votes. Turning to the officers he requested them to take the offender in charge. What was his surprise to find himself roughly seized and, amid a flourish of hostile maces and a clamor of threatening tongues, hustled into the street and commanded to take himself away under pain of arrest and imprisonment. Smarting under the indignity, he repairs



to headquarters and reports the affair to Mayor Stokley, the gray hairs of sixty-odd years being a successful passport through the gauntlet of politicians—for it is a great day at the Mayor's office—to the official presence.

Upon the Mayor's ears the story falls lightly; is even received offensively. "Would not your party do the same thing if they had the power?" he asks with elevated brows. Strange words to the ears of one who has come as a citizen to claim the protection of his Chief Magistrate. Amazed is Candidate Conway. Is this the Mayor of Philadelphia who is speaking and shall he, a citizen of Philadelphia, standing within shadow of the towered Cradle of Liberty, upholding still that ancient bell, whose voice, world-wide in its life-like thrill, rang out in the hour of dead midnight, year 1782, news of the young Nation's glory at Yorktown, and whose tones yet reverberate through the generations, appeal to him, not for discriminating favor, but for simple justice only, to be slighted and affronted? William Conway turns away disenchanted. A word of warning will he give as he departs. He reminds this man of power that it is no light thing for him, the head of the Police Department, to justify such outrages; that the patience of the people may become exhausted. Furthermore does Candidate Conway, in mild language, yet not less impressive, predict that the Mayor's indifference to his plea in this instance shall cost him his re-election. Which prediction he leaves the Mayor to ponder over, there being yet plenty of time for such mental occupation the Mayor's present term continuing yet another year.

The result of this election in the Fifth Ward, in

William Conway's case, remains on the Court records, a glaring instance of the high-handed methods employed by infamous craft to thwart the people's will and defraud men of their rights. Of the large vote cast—more than twenty per cent. fraudulent, thanks to the Mayor's partisan use of the police—John Carpenter was returned elected by a majority of less than one hundred, and was in due time sworn in as a member of Councils. William Conway, however, disputed the legality of his election, caused an investigation to be instituted under direction of the court, and after a contest protracted for nearly eighteen months, established his right to the seat, proving, by the testimony of voters themselves, the casting of a large number of votes in his favor which, through a conspiracy between certain of the precinct election officers and tools of McManesism were not credited to him in the returns. To say that the political corporation, with all its power, was defeated for once—although with reservation, considering that during half the councilmanic term the seat of the rightful occupant was retained by a political adventurer—is to acknowledge the important service rendered to the cause of good government by William Conway, who made his battle against intolerable presumption and despotism, not for his own particularly but for all men's rights. To those who would inform themselves of the condition of the city with reference to its political affairs at this time the printed record of the testimony in the case of Conway *versus* Carpenter, with its several thousand folio pages, is in itself a vivid history. If conspiracies within conspiracies, and plots and schemes, having for their sole object the defeat of the people's choice in elections,

ever had place among the political marplots of a community, they had there, where wrong-doing ran without license and criminal disregard of law and everything else calculated to act as checks upon lawlessness were conspicuous in the acts of those representing the political group familiarly calling itself "the party."

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE CRY OF DEMAGOGUES.

BUT to this partisan use of the police,—that it must either come to an end, or be kept up until the pleasant fiction of "people's rights" at the polls shall cease to be a pleasant fiction, and become rather an unpleasant one, must be to all persons obvious. Friend Stokley can do nothing to abate the trouble, lest his good friend McManes shall put an end to his official life and as the Mayor is looking forward to a fourth term, it is not the time to put friend McManes in a bad humor. But the people meantime suffer. This they are likely to do for some time to come, since the Mayor has yet another year in office, and to keep in favor with the political autocrats, it will be necessary for the police to keep up the business of beating, kicking, cuffing, dragging and maltreating citizens, especially if they raise their voice, above a whisper on election day against wrong-doing and corruption.

The boldness with which the police perform this business, is surprising; even astonishing beyond belief. If

William Conway's gray hairs and seventy-odd years were not protection enough for him, what chance does the voter stand whose hair is not yet gray and whose years are under seventy? If the punishment is increased by inverse ratio must not the glossy raven locks of thirty-five stand a chance of being killed outright? So much more then will be the inducement for men to vote the ticket of the city's political rulers, and learn to control their tongues.

But, stop! there is still another mode of escape; why need a man expose himself to the clutches of the police? Why need he go to the polls at all? To be abused and treated like a ruffian, haled along the street like a common thief caught in the act of picking a pocket is not pleasant for peaceably disposed men who pride themselves on their character and their exemption from police and lock-up experiences. To be assaulted by policemen for committing the crime of putting into the ballot-box a ticket not favorable to the interests of their bosses is bad enough; to be unable to get any redress is worse. Best stay away from the polls; the police will not take the trouble to hunt a man up and abuse him for simply *thinking* against the cause of their bosses.

Thus reasoning, many persons who love peace and quiet as things more profitable than noise and fighting, reason themselves out of the notion of going to the polls; which fact causes McManesism to grin and rub its chin significantly. Clearly the policy of intimidation pays. Our foes surrender without striking a blow; and the glory of the victory shall belong to the swollen-eyed criminal and brawler who guards the polls, the *fruits* of the victory to the party managers. Of which

fact let the reader take note. This man with the scarified countenance, the swollen face and bleared eyes, who swaggers and jostles the voter who votes not his ticket, is, for the time being, an important personage. Last night he slept in a place of circumscribed dimensions; his supper reaching him not even on the most ordinary crockery, but on tin, through a narrow aperture to the tune of a gruff-voiced turnkey. To-day he struts defiantly before the eyes of Respectability, and questions its right to vote save in the way he wishes. To-night he shall receive his reward which shall be proportioned to the degree of violence and rascality he has practiced during the day, the more effectively the exercise of his criminal propensities on such occasion the more valuable his peculiar services. Moreover shall the easily acquired wealth of politicians serve to screen him from constables's warrants and the law's consequences. Such able adjunct do we see rendering aid to a partisan police, the combined efforts of both against men's civil rights being calculated to render such things as law and order in elections somewhat unpopular.

Yet after all there is something about the position of the police that is pitiful. They would gladly do their duty, no doubt, which is not to meddle with elections, but to clap wrongdoers into dungeons and combat with mace and bludgeon the effervescence of whisky, if their political taskmasters would permit them. But they have their orders, and the hungry mouths of wives and little ones demand that they shall obey. Look! hear the statement of one of many of their number, who, being discharged with his fellows for not taking part in politics, a little

over a year later—when Mayor Stokley was running again for that fourth term and had arrayed against him the newly organized but formidable Committee of One Hundred, and needed all the help he could get, and more, too, as the result proved—held a “discharged policemen’s” meeting up in old Kensington and invited newspaper men to attend and report their speeches—wherein they stood upon an equality with King McManes—of which *The Times* next morning, date January 15th, 1881, gave this account:

“One of the organizers of the affair, when questioned about the object of the movement, said it was political, but neither in the interest of Keim,\* nor any other man in particular, but for anybody to beat Stokley, and that it had attained formidable proportions all over town. To give an idea of it, he said, there have been over 3,500 men discharged for one cause or another since Mayor Stokley first went into office, the vast majority of whom went off for trying to keep a little political independence. When Stokley ran the last time against Caven, we were assessed \$25 apiece and thought that was all, but it wasn’t very long before we were compelled to pay \$10 more. That was \$35 altogether.”

Mulcted out of thirty-five dollars pay to help elect the Mayor again, in addition to being robbed of their political independence! Well, William Conway might forgive and forget so far as the police are concerned, if he knew all and saw things in their right light. But who is to rescue the police from this cruel species of thralldom in which they are held? It is unlikely that a ray

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\* A Republican opponent who, however, failed to get the nomination and ultimately withdrew from the contest.

of magnanimity will fall upon Mr. McManes and prompt him to be easy with Mayor Stokley and allow that official also to be magnanimous. It is still less likely that Mayor Stokley will take things into his own hands, and be magnanimous of his own accord. From the people the only help can come. And will it come? Wait!

A sadder sight than that even is pictured by Mr. John Field, Chairman of the Committee of One Hundred's Campaign Committee, as he tells his committee in meeting, nine months later, how the employes of the Gas Trust out at Fairmount were roused from their beds by heartless bosses, early in the morning of election day, in November '81, and driven like sheep to the polls and commanded to cast ballots which were put into their hands. And Mr. Field, as he tells about it, warms up and with wonderful eloquence, spontaneous from his earnest nature, says in words not to be forgotten by any one who heard him, that his heart bled for those men and that being enlisted in the cause of reform, he will work night and day, sacrifice his rest, his time, his money, if need be, until they are emancipated from a political thralldom worse than slavery.

Meantime, in other quarters there is mischief. The city's debt is more than seventy million dollars and has been increasing at an alarming rate. Hordes of men are employed in the various departments who are unnecessary, being useful only as a sort of hot-house product which will ripen and be ready to be served up about election time when votes are needed. In the Gas Department, where Chief McManes in an official position by virtue of the discerning powers of an accommodating and obliging city Councils, can more particularly see to

the quality of the voting stock, there is a mighty army of employes, the exact number of which is not known, because Mr. McManes keeps under lock and key his pay rolls, and Councils, which is the only power that can rightfully command him to produce them, does not do so for the reason that he has kindly taken it into his hands to elect his own Councils, and has succeeded so well that they never ask him troublesome questions.

This swarming of human voting stock in the public departments, equal in magnitude and disaster almost to the swarms of locusts that plagued the life of Pharaoh, is a fearful disturber of the public exchequer, causing it to collapse and look thin and thinner. More than this, it is a tax upon the morals of the community, and especially is it bad for that sentiment which hangs about the sanctity of the ballot. If these legions of public pensioners do their duty, as they have been bidden, they will long before election day have planned systematic ways of repeating, stuffing the ballot-box, changing the returns, personating voters, preventing voters from casting their ballots, and doing many other things which seem strange in a place where the ballot is supposed to be free and pure. They will have arranged methodically, with the aid of skilled and experienced heads above them, to defeat the people's will, to throw out thousands of genuine votes and put in their place tens of thousands of spurious ones. They will execute their plans as formed, and all the effects of continued corruption, extravagance and greed, which are piling so high the city's debt, will continue.

But there is a law against violating the purity of the ballot! How strange that in this statement there should



lie the least cause for fear. As for the law, the political rulers have taken care that the road to its execution in such cases shall be well blocked. They have not done their work slipshod. As for lawyers, let their underlings be arrested for repeating, or for any other grade of election crime, there will be no lack of able counsel to take charge of their case. The funds come from,—well, no matter where. If the worst comes to the worst, and it is healthy for some one or more of the accused persons to flee the city and State, his expenses will be paid, and he will be provided with a place elsewhere. It is all done “for the good of the party.”

Poor party! If ever word was misused and abused that one is, being contracted on special and particular occasions to the dimensions of half a dozen crafty and ambitious politicians who, through the brains and fiery rhetoric of hireling advocates, make more noise on the score of that meek, overburdened term than could be stirred up by the whole world together, in the face of the threatened destruction by some awful human mischance of this terrestrial planet.

## CHAPTER III.

### FLASHES OF REFORM THROUGH DARKNESS.

In the City Councils these days there is room for cultivating a feeling of respect for old-fashioned maxims on the excellence of honesty. New things have come into vogue with wonderful spontaneity, and the conduct of public affairs is tinctured with a spirit of loudness which is not in accordance with the ideas of a strict and methodical application of official faculties to the concerns of public business. Yet the loudness is only with respect to immaterial, or surface things; beyond official mannerisms, in the *recesses* of official transactions nothing can be more suppressed, nothing more quiet even to the point of being suspiciously quiet. Officialism at its desk is different from officialism in boon companionship on the street or in the club-room. In the latter respects it is in its most conciliatory and generous disposition and displays qualities of exuberance and effervescence which uncharitable critics would call *gush*, and furthermore exhibits a tendency for drawing out with considerable flourish and parade, rolls of greenbacks from every pocket, as if hastily thrust in at random and expending them with promiscuous liberality suggestive of the ease with which they were obtained. Yet the dash and *éclat* of such festive occasions wholly disappears when seated at its desk with endless streams of public tribute-bearers thronging its apartments, on which occasion nothing but non-committal sternness will serve as a substitute for

strict rectitude and spotless integrity, and to ward off curious questions and prying insinuations. Likewise has officialism a fondness for shining silk hats and heavy jewelry whereby those of its guild may be distinguished apart from other citizens anywhere save as regards one particular class known as *gamblers* who not infrequently are confounded with them, not any more by reason of similarity of personal appearance than by reason of a certain resemblance as to loudness in the display of money and a recklessness in spending it.

Yet of the many evidences of heavy incomes in lucre which a life in politics seems to yield, this is but one and among the least. Others are seen in various forms, and in larger ways. They are seen in the driving by our dashing politician of fast horses, accompanied by trappings that would do honor to the establishment of an Oriental prince; in the sudden change of circumstances from a life in a dingy tenement in an alley to brown stone or marble mansions on Spring Garden street or Green street, or some other equally pleasant thoroughfare, and in the rapid elevation of the subject from his former unknown position in society to the dignity of partner in a large and flourishing business establishment, or stockholder in or president of some large corporation. The rapidity with which the change in his worldly condition takes place is among not the least of the things which make men marvel. A period of six or seven years as Receiver of Taxes or City Treasurer, it has been demonstrated, is sufficient to elevate a man from a condition of poverty in an humble dwelling owned by somebody else, to a state of affluence on a fashionable street in an imposing establishment owned by himself.

To all of this public interest opens its eyes wide with wonder. Sometimes becoming very suspicious and being possessed of the idea that large embezzlements of public funds have taken place, it gets together through a few of its representatives and forms an association which association goes to work investigating and does unearth some enormous frauds which in itself is one thing and to convict the parties guilty of the offense another; for the statute of limitations too often conveniently steps in and saves the culprit, or if it serves not as a protector there is generally another safe reliance in a system of falsifying accounts and mixing up figures to such an extent that no investigating committee or investigating expert can ever hope to reach the truth, and public interest losing patience in the matter drops it summarily, leaving the plunderer to enjoy his ill-gotten gains unmolested.

But sometimes these investigations have another effect. If plundering officials cannot be brought to justice their profligacy may be checked and the treasury protected from their wholesale raids. Such work did the Citizens' Reform Association accomplish, with Henry C. Lea as its President, in the matter of a public work, known as the Hart Creek sewer contract, executed under the supervision of the Department of the City Engineer, on which occasion citizen Henry B. Tatham, of that association, was detailed to ascertain by the aid of experts the actual cost of performing the work and executed his mission so well that more than twenty thousand dollars of the city funds were saved in a single instance which act stands among the rare and notable accomplishments of the early efforts of citizens to secure reform.\*

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\* See Appendix.

Meantime while Officialism and its extensive family of politicians revel in luxury the interests of the city are languishing in the opposite extreme. The debt is rapidly increasing; large improvements are projected and begun with money appropriated for the purpose by a profligate Councils, when there is not money enough left in the treasury to pay for cleaning the streets which are in a condition that scandalizes sober-minded citizens and appals strangers. And thus the city of Philadelphia, otherwise the "City of Homes" and "clean Quaker City," comes to be known all over the land under the new dispensation, as the "City of Dirt"† which contrast in titles bears a striking analogy to the change of standard in its administrative heads during twenty years and illustrates strikingly the extremes of the transition in that respect.

The City Councils upon which all *official responsibility* for the evils which obtain in city affairs at this time is placed, appear not to shirk the seemingly unpleasant burden, but rather to enjoy it as a capital joke. The material of which the Councils are mainly composed is not the sort of stuff that permits responsibilities of any kind to weigh heavy upon it; being exceedingly indifferent to public comment or public opinion, and naturally indifferent to any promptings of its own moral nature that do not largely partake of the consideration of self. The example of James McManes and his fellow dictators in

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† Mr. John Walter, proprietor of the *London Times*, while making a tour of the country in the latter part of the summer of 1851 visited Philadelphia, where he spent several days as the guest of Mr. George W Childs, of the *Public Ledger*. Being pressed on one occasion for his views upon Philadelphia he, after some hesitation, said in allusion to the unfinished public buildings: "You are rearing here one of the grandest structures in the world and its walls look down upon the dirtiest streets that the sun ever shone upon."

looking after self-interest finds here a large amount of emulation, the competitors being exceedingly active and promising. It is not, however, by any means a gratuitous performance, but has motives and objects as tangible and well defined as anything that appeals to the eye of business, for which state of things Mr. McManes and his Gas Trust colleagues are in Bossism's carnivals frequently toasted as "skillful and successful party leaders" who "know how to take care of their friends."

The Councils, which, like the national Congress, or the Legislatures of States, have also their upper and lower house, are *de jure* in city affairs supreme. But as there can be no Councils without councilmen, and as councilmen are only men with common desires and common weaknesses, the critic of councilmanic performances will use some charity when he comes to record that during these times the supremacy of Councils was somewhat of a fiction so far as actual facts are concerned, its prerogative being for most of the time either "farmed out" or "to let." The landlord who at all times appeared to have the refusal of the property was James McManes, though to say that he enjoyed the distinction exclusively would be unjust to his aids and lieutenants, each one of whom was represented by "men" in the Select or Common chamber, which men had a nice faculty of dancing readily when their masters piped.

But there were circumstances under which discord sometimes arose to disturb the otherwise soft music. An inharmonious spirit will oftentimes break up the club. Common Councils with its 83 members has three such spirits, and Select Council with its 31 members has one. Worse still, one of these three in the Common Chamber

occupies the position of President and is besides, with one exception, the oldest member in continuous service in the chamber. A household word in every home where there is a taxpayer is the name of President Caven. Alone has he stood, and almost single-handed has he fought, in that chamber for the past seven years in the cause of right, with only such encouragement as "Citizen's and Taxpayer's Association," in his own Fifteenth Ward, headed by veteran Reform leader and advocate, Counsellor George H. Earle, have been able in stirring ward meetings and resolutions of confidence, to give; or as similar associations in the Fifth Ward, headed by William Conway—whose politics, though opposite from those of President Caven, rest upon the broad and philanthropic base of "good men for public service," and prompt him nightly to forego comforts of the fireside and trudge to citizens' meetings there to help foment that slow developing public feeling against political Bossism and spoils-seeking which is destined like the small cloud, in the course of time to spread and overcast the entire corrupt political sky—may by their earnest speeches and enthusiastic endorsements afford; or, as President Henry C. Lea and his Citizen's Reform Association with such earnest co-laborers as Henry B. Tatham, Charles Wheeler\* and T. Morris Perot, are, through their artillery volleys of innumerable civil service reform circulars—which at times cover the streets and door steps like an early fall of snow—able to yield. Such encouragement from without, from the broad field of *the people* comes in to President Caven in his lonely struggles. But still, that most needful of all, a comrade-in-arms to stand with him shoulder to shoulder in Councils

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\*See appendix.

and help bear the shock of attack from the minions of Bossism, whose masters, tireless and exacting, are bent upon getting out of them the worth of their money, is slow in coming, for the people are not yet aroused, and election results that contain a grain of substantial encouragement are meagre. Yet, in time there is something; two sterling grains, as subsequent events prove, have been beaten out in the fierce contest between the Citizens' Reform Association and Citizens' and Taxpayer's Associations and political Bossism. From the suburban Twenty fourth Ward, in green and fragrant Philadelphia-beyond-the-Schuylkill comes plain John Hunter, fresh from the spindles and woofs of his manufactories, to devote a goodly portion of his time for three years, not to manufacturing but to the interests of city legislation without pay. And from old William Conway's Ward, the Fifth, a telling evidence of the labors of the "Citizens' and Taxpayers' Association" comes S. Davis Page. Oh! William Conway and Citizens' and Taxpayers' Association! You know not what you have done in giving to the service of the city of Philadelphia this man! If any one in the Citizens' and Taxpayers' Association has suffered indignity or humiliation or anything else from vindictive and remorseless McManesism, let him rejoice now for he has helped set a fearful Nemesis on its insolent track. Forever while he remains in Common Council is Davis Page destined to be a painful thorn in the side of James McManes and of every political boss great and small; forever is he fated to be coming at them with cool head and terse little resolution attempting to undo this harmless looking ordinance or that harmless looking resolution all of which in their aggregate effect are salient



roots in the boss system in whose destruction the citadel of corrupt political domination falls.

Yet Davis is not unduly sanguine—he is not sanguine at all, but cool and deliberate—and does not expect actual visible results from his numerous little resolutions, striking so close to the heart of things; he only puts them forth “for what they are worth,” well knowing that with such overwhelming majority against him they will suffer ignominious death. Yet is he not right? Is there not an object gained in thus vindicating his convictions and sending the cold shudders of “what may be” through the vulnerable carcass of McManesism? That he is successively defeated in all his radical measures matters not; that he has struck fierce blows for the right is something gained for his cause, something lost from the cause of Bossism. The blows he has inflicted leave marks which, unlike the spear-thrusts of fable, cannot by any magic elixir be effaced but which may thereafter, like felon’s brands, prove troublesome and hard to explain away. Already Davis’ branding qualities have been felt and among the subjects thereof the verdict is that they are severe. Dreadful is it to some who before were among the boldest in vindicating Bossism’s rights and in showing contempt for the public will, when Davis—who has a taste for mathematics—gets up and with carefully written manuscript in hand gives statistical examples of the manner in which the city’s treasure is melting away under the reckless extravagance of department officials and their political masters. On such occasions there is always a sensation; Bossism’s minions are on their feet with flat contradictions and a conglomeration of inuendoes and sneers and unfavorable reflection. But

the mathematician is not of the pedagogue sort,—who is notoriously no man for repartee and sharp encounter,—but having been dipped in a compound of gall and vitriol in youth, is at home with scorn and sarcasm. Scorn is met with scorn thrice ten times as severe, and in the verbal melee that follows, poor tired President Caven who has been fighting single handed for so many years gets a chance to rest. This he may well do, for Davis Page is so capable of taking care of himself that it is a pleasure to see him stand battling alone. Cool as an Arctic ice-berg, villification and denunciation fall like harmless pellets upon his impassive face. The weak points of his opponents which rage and excitement have left bare, are scourged with sarcasm, sharp as polished steel; the abuse and detraction hurled at him with such reckless defiance of grammar and parliamentary proprieties react upon the shrinking assailant's head. The combined forces of the majority of nearly seventy members is no match for this mathematical assailant (which seems to be an incongruity) fortified as he is by the conviction of right and having the aggressive vigor and tenacity to strive for its vindication.

Meantime suburban John Hunter, whose manufacturing interests must take care of themselves much of the time now, for the manufacturer is looking into the system and methods of Dr. McFadden, Chief Engineer of the Water Department, is, in his line, doing equally effective work, while weary President Caven from his presiding chair looks delightedly on, as one having in the two new champions a paternal interest. But it is not by looks alone that he shows his interest, for the long single handed fight being now in a measure over, he darts from

the presiding chair frequently and goes to the rescue of his two lieutenants, to whom his long experience in the chamber, and his knowledge of the affairs of the city are invaluable. Caven, Hunter and Page soon become linked together in a combination that becomes as familiar to "taxpayers and citizens," as was the name of Caven before. Before the eyes of the people they stand, making their battle for people's rights and against public plunderers,—pursuing the business under the name of "party leaders"—which designation is a glaring misnomer—for months conspicuous. And results begin to appear in due time, which gives another occasion for drawing a comparison apropos of the dripping water wearing away rocks.

In the Select Council with its aggregation of representatives; one from each of the thirty-one wards, although no Davis Page flourishes there to cause a quaking of knees and to add an impetus to the development of re-partee, there is the counterpart of President Caven's experience before the acquisition of his two lieutenants, in the spectacle of lonely Selectman King. Like Caven he has been fighting single handed for years. Unlike Caven he has been in Select Council continuously since 1860. Yet would he not have been there more than one term, if a little bright glimmer of reform sentiment up in the Eleventh Ward had not been fanned by the breath of public opinion into active life and burned brightly ever since, receiving the additional brilliancy of a "Citizens and Taxpayers'" organization, between which such a feeling of independence of political domination has been cultivated that James McManes cannot get a foothold there and Samuel G. King can be, if he desires, continued in Select Council perpetually.

Yet destiny may have something in reserve for Selectman King. His unswerving faithfulness to the people's interests is proverbial. His high ideal of municipal government constantly finds expression in his acts. His keen knowledge of city affairs is unsurpassed and his great usefulness as a city legislator has been demonstrated so frequently that even his enemies in Councils would feel it a loss to not have him there. An impressive picture does he make among his thirty colleagues. The visitor, when he enters the chamber, may see nothing striking in the personal appearance of any one of thirty members, but when the eye alights upon the well-shaped head and the iron gray mustache of the rather small man sitting over to the right, whose dark eyes incessantly flash, whether in speech or in silent contemplation of the rest of the chamber, the gaze will stop there and the ideal of a dignified appearance will be realized. When Selectman King rises to speak the chamber is hushed and spectators and members alike give marked attention to his words, because the style and manner of the man command it.

Not all the eloquence nor the high example of Mr. King, however, can redeem his chamber from the blight of political miasma which permeates the carcasses of two-thirds of the members. Yet, like Davis Page he can fight, though perhaps with less vitriol which, however, is not a cause for regret among his colleagues; especially after they have stepped across the corridor and seen Davis at work in the Common chamber. But he nevertheless does effective work. Like Davis Page he is a Democrat, but this matters not. Caven and Hunter are Republicans, yet they are working shoulder to shoulder

with Page, with a calm disregard of possible eruptions of nature which are commonly supposed to find their provocation in the spectacle of such heinous political offenses. It begins to have its effect, too. The eight hundred and forty odd thousand citizens of the "City of Dirt" are awakening to the belief that there will soon be at hand a time for some unusual action. Journalism which has been industriously sounding public opinion can bear testimony to the fact that people are growing restless. The spark of dissatisfaction is kindling; it may yet become a flame!

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#### CHAPTER IV.

##### A BREAK IN BOSSISM'S WALL.

Men's minds are so taken up with the pursuit after lucre that they see nothing else save with casual vision. The wheels of government must go on; this much they see clearly. Taxes must be paid; this much additional they see, or if they do not, they are likely to have the fact brought to their attention by accommodating functionaries, whose official peculiarities are familiar. As for other matters of public concern, all are more or less vague. Only by chance, by accident, through frequency of recurring opportunities do they *stumble* upon things which stir up suspicion, and there begin to be faint murmurings, upon which men say, "the public is being aroused." Not eager and quick of thought and action is this public, but rather preoccupied and, as concerns the performance of its political duties, sluggish. Other

things, its family members have to think about, things private and of individual concern. Politics for those who love politics; for themselves anything rather than such. Out of which feeling grows "rings," and "bosses," and political corruption. Politics the outcast, the ignored, becomes politics the Tyrant, who makes ease-loving, pleasure-seeking man tremble. Formidable does his power for evil grow under the tutelage of those unwatched and unchecked ones who, finding him ignored and despised, take him up, house him, and develop him as a business which assuredly shall become profitable. Not in sympathy are those men with the scoffers at politics; nor in sympathy with them are the scoffers. Irreconcilable are the two elements, the one too high for the true and practical objects of politics, the other too low. Yet are the latter the fortunate ones, in being in reality the rulers of the others under the cunning guise of servants; which distinction our ease-loving ones discover in time, much to their regret and pecuniary disadvantage, whereupon ensues a struggle for the mastery, high ones descending from their pedestal and learning something of the ways of politics as an imperative necessity. Which imperative necessity is just now being seriously felt in Philadelphia; there being among the 850,000 people therein resident some thousands who are heavy tax payers and some thousands more who are tax payers not heavy yet not so favorably conditioned but they feel the lack of every dollar which goes into the vaults of the Tax Department and can illy afford to see taxation increased. Yet, that it is increased, and that professional politicians are growing rich, are unquestionable facts. In these propositions lie cause for serious reflection, the tendency

to which among taxpayers large and small even now is apparent. Thus does politics come to be a broader question which has its place among the practical affairs of man's life, and which claims a share of his attention. With disinterested judgment does he see the effects of his indifference and begin to count the cost.

So the whole subject is being pondered and reasoned over with salutary effect. Men are being aroused. While political bosses have built high their walls, and within do revel with their secrets for overcoming the popular will in elections, and while there arises the loud guffaw, mingled with the clinking of brimming glasses in which the discomfiture of the public is repeatedly pledged, the cries of that public are heard on the outskirts like the distant baying of hounds. Like hounds too, long baffled but now keenly on the scent, they are coming nearer, and finally reach the walls, where the baying does not cease, but only grows louder and fiercer. Though the walls are high they spring up and almost over. Nay! at times they *do* spring over and spread confusion among the spoilsmen within, as in that case in which Bossism lost the City Controllorship, which was plucked in a moment of temporary panic from its paralyzed grasp by the then young man Pattison. The wall here broken down it can find no immediate way of mending, which is bad, inasmuch as it breaks the chain of power which it has hitherto had girded around the City Departments. True, all other departments remain; it still has the Highway Department, the Water Department—into which John Hunter is pouring continually a stream of reform light much to the discomfiture of the suave Dr. McFadden—the City Pro-

perty department, the City Treasurer's department, and other and minor departments, the respective Heads of which, having the unchangeable leopard-like spots of "spoilsmen" covered with an artificial coating labeled "Republican," can at least make the democratic Pattison experience a slight feeling of loneliness. Young is the Controller in years, but in official integrity, in stern, unswerving principle, a veteran. Soon indeed does Bossism begin to discover the meaning of his election. Though new in official life, into which he has been inducted while yet fresh in the sphere of law, his standard of things, as people see and recognize, is high. His old-fashioned notions as to his duties as an official, are hailed with delight by reformers. The office of Controller, under his administration, assumes a new importance; an importance not dreamed of apparently under the reign of his predecessors who, drone-like, performed certain perfunctory duties with as much sense of responsibility as would be displayed by a school-boy in the role of mimic pedagogue; which official lack however received a striking contrast in the alacrity with which they periodically went through the formalities of drawing a salary of ten thousand dollars a year.

In the new light in which Mr. Pattison interprets the duties of the Controller, the office is transformed from that state of "happy nations," which proverbially have no history, into a state of vigorous activity and eventfulness. The office which heretofore scarcely had place in the thoughts of the people—save when, through laxity of its administration, fraudulent bills would be approved by the bushel and the city treasury emptied thereby—giving it a sudden and unenviable prominence which



would be accepted as a matter of course,—now became the chief bulwark of the reform structure which citizens were slowly but surely erecting. Men saw in the Controller an effective instrument for detecting fraud, checking extravagance, and for framing in councils measures of prevention in the future. With President Caven, John Hunter, Davis Page, and Selectman King, in the city's legislative body, Controller Pattison earnestly co-operated and between them they became formidable as opponents of the cause of McManesism in every form and wherever found. As a result, Controller Pattison and his associates soon began to receive that praise universally accorded to men of aggressive honesty in public life—abuse from the dishonest and criminal classes of society, and the vindictive assaults of their dependent “newspaper” organs. Public contractors, who had grown rapidly rich from their frauds upon the city government; Department-heads, who had conspired with and shared the spoils of those contractors; employes and underlings of every description, whose easily-earned salaries depended upon the maintenance of the old order of things, and, above all, political bosses who drew directly and indirectly, tribute from the entire lot of lesser spoilsmen, made Controller Pattison the especial object of their dispraise. His hand it was that stopped their eager and indiscriminate reaching for the contents of the treasury; his eye that detected the fraud that began to send some to prison, and others into the less unpleasant obscurity reserved for fugitives from justice. Department-heads, more politic than contractors and their hirelings, expended the energy of their antagonism rather in the direction of complaints than of vilification. Pattison

was violating the law; Pattison was interfering with the course of public business, and Pattison was "clogging the wheels" of city government. Thus does the office-holding element fume and chafe under such restraint perpetually. Contractors more out-spoken, and having less official responsibility, denounce the Cerberus of the treasury with his lynx eye as an up-start, a sham reformer, and a humbug. The little organs whose life-blood, so sparse of that bracing quality which attends a healthy organism, ceases to flow the moment they cease piping the tunes of the bosses, are nothing these days but vehicles of vituperative terms, and suggest the assiduity with which their conductors must apply themselves of nights to the study of opprobrious characterizations.

It does not appear, however, with all this, that Controller Pattison stays his hand when those hungry digits are thrust with such unanimity toward the city's money vaults; on the contrary, the owners thereof are driven back to the outer gates where they stand in a solid phalanx with hands raised high overhead, shaking therein amid confusion and a clamor of tongues, a vast number of unapproved bills, which in their nervous fluttering in the air, might easily be mistaken at a distance for a great flock of rapacious birds, holding council over some intended object of prey.

If the methods of Pattison are bad for Department heads and contractors and their retainers, they are worse for the political Generals in the citadel of bossism, the corner-stone of which structure is the Gas Trust. Upon the cupidity of the first class of spoilsmen the latter have built their power, and if they fall, all falls. As the

Generals have been engaged in the business of spoils-gathering for a longer period of time than those in the ranks, they have necessarily amassed more and have more to lose in the event of the triumph of reform. Their houses, their investments of various kinds, stand as monuments to their fame as skilled and successful politicians, and as examples for the youth of the city contemplating a political career to emulate. The practical effects of the operation of their genius for economy on the one hand, and for acquisitiveness on the other, are a revelation to struggling, fortune-seeking humanity. What could be more original and advantageous than a device whereby men of no previous means in the way of lucre, may become suddenly possessed of large amounts of taxable property, and then may happily escape the usual consequences of such acquisition by being exempted from the payment of taxes? \* The records of the tax office, which show that the political Generals who furnish the material for governing the city and executing its laws have not for many years paid taxes, are strong illustrations of the extent to which the virtue of frugality may

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\* Theodore F. Hanel, an ex-clerk in the tax office under Receiver Thomas J. Smith, stated during an investigation of the charges of mismanagement and fraud under Receiver Smith's administration, by a committee of Select and Common Councils—consisting of Walter E. Rex, John Woodbridge Patton, George R. Snowden, Henry Clay, William B. Irvine, and Frederick Halterman—beginning in 1881 and continuing through 1882—that it was the Receiver's custom to exempt many of his political friends from the payment of taxes, and in other cases to remit penalties imposed by law upon all taxes which are not paid up to a certain date. If, on the other hand, a poor woman entered, having a little property in some humble quarter of the city, and having been unable until the arrival of the time for adding the penalty, to raise the money to pay her taxes, her appeal for a remission of the penalty would be in vain, and if she could not pay the amount demanded, her property in due time would be sold by the sheriff to satisfy the tax claim.

be carried. But this result is obtained more through their foresight in having elected to the office of Receiver of Taxes persons of their own class and guild, than through any merit in the current methods of economy.

But meantime there will be an end to this agreeable state of things if the Generals do not weed out of the political garden-patch these noxious reformers, Pattison, Caven, Page, Hunter, and King. That they are of different political parties is bad, and means trouble for Bossism which is deprived of all opportunity of engendering party feeling and thus weakening in people's minds, the effect of their work on behalf of the public. With no party prejudice to blind men and no party strife to make them forget real issues, there is danger for political spoilsmen, who flourish best when partisan bitterness runs high, and when crimination and recrimination among party followers drown the quiet voice of truth and reason. Best call up the political trumpeters and the political clackers, and set the vast clamorous army of Bossism's pride and strength in motion, and perhaps men's eyes may be drawn away from those damaging facts in connection with Bossism's stewardship, and men's minds made to underrate the importance of the disclosures which the investigations by Pattison and his councilmanic friends are bringing about. Poor clackers and trumpeters! Upon their shoulders rests a heavy task. They must blind men's eyes to plain facts, to unanswerable arguments, and simply by a hurly-burly sort of process, by tumbling them and shaking them about, get them far enough away from the evidences of Bossism's cupidity to make them think next election time there is nothing wrong, and that the sun will cease to shine if

the clackers and trumpeters' masters are not re-elected. "Fealty" to the party, "treachery" to the party, "ingratitude" to the party, "traditions" of the party, and a score of other terms are the chief staples in the line of argument which the clackers and trumpeters glibly ring the changes on, and which are expected to reason men into a belief of the error of their convictions.

Meanwhile events are moving, and party bosses and "people's" champions are pulling in their separate ways with fierce vigor. Between the two there is no middle ground upon which both may stand. At extremes they must be from the very nature of things, or rather at swords' points. One is making its struggle that many may live and thrive, the other struggles that a few may live and thrive. One sweeps with comprehensive vision the dome of nature's sky, and wishes well of all underneath, while the other with cunning, avaricious sparkle in its short-sighted look, sees nothing but its own immediate personal surroundings, its own aggrandizement, and self-interest, to promote which it has labored to beat into men's pates the doctrine of "fealty to party," as the cardinal doctrine of their existence. Safe are party bosses and with impunity may people's rights be abused, as long as they manage to have "party lines" held superior to man's sense or right and justice. Wedded to party-prejudice men must become conscience-callous to the evils of their political organization, or they must divorce themselves therefrom, the last of which alternative requires courage. "What has conscience to do with politics?" demands the politician; "is not the good of the party superior to all other considerations?" Let the man of conviction attempt to reason with him; all

his arguments will be rank heresy, his mildest remonstrances high treason, and himself a traitor of the basest degree, save only that culminating point of degradation reserved for him when he abandons the party.

Caven and Hunter, Republicans; King and Page and Pattison, Democrats!—all waging war against a republican administration in general, and republican and democratic corruption in particular. To bosses in both parties these heretical disturbers of the old order of things are most obnoxious. If such disrespect to party prejudice and party traditions extends in its practice to the people at large, what may not happen? All the safeguards of political Bossism and Dictatorship will be as rotten sticks. If only men were less intelligent, if only newspapers would talk less and not be so independent, the prospect for Bossism would look more hopeful. As it now is, it is most aggravating. The aggressive Pattison and his fellow champions can make no discoveries these days prejudicial to Bossism, that are not within a few hours thereafter proclaimed to the people with all the attendant details in the news columns of the scandalous daily papers. The bosses of both political parties these times—who are held together by the spirit of the magic word “spoils,” however their political followers may be kept at variance—have not command of language sufficient, as they meet in secret back rooms to parcel out and divide their spoils, to denounce the press and their conductors, whose lives, if threats were swords, would long ago have been forfeited. Well may they feel incensed against the press, for what has it not done? It has, day after day, for three hundred and sixty-five times in a year, kept on exposing their methods, and encouraging

in their work of reform Caven, Hunter, Pattison, and their associates, and it has furthermore continued in connection with these performances to give advice to the people, who, in consequence, are becoming sharper-eyed, are beginning to distrust their leaders, and are beginning to speak slightly of "party fealty," intimating that the party Dictators, who meet together so often in secret with congenial spirits of the same sort in the opposite party, are, after all, hardly perfect examples of the faithful observance of the doctrine which they preach. How often have Republican bosses been detected in the act of "selling out" to Democratic bosses when it was known that the candidates of the latter party would be more subservient to the uses of the bosses of both parties? Has the reader ever heard of the Pilgrim Club? If not, let him go back to the files of *The Times* of 1875-6, and read there of the practices of mutually interested bosses, Republican and Democrat, who were accustomed to meet together in fraternal council and arrange their plans whereby each was to do his part in the election, in the interest of certain of the candidates of the other, in return for which they would all have a share in the profits of the respective offices; which state of things being exposed in *The Times* columns by Colonel McClure, had the effect of speedily breaking up the "pilgrims," who giving a practical meaning to their title, became pilgrims in fact, selling out their household effects at public auction, and taking a sudden departure from their club-rooms, which thereafter knew them no more.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE WORK OF AMATEURS.

Patience McManesism ! patience Bossism ! This Pattison has been a lion in the pathway of your practices ; a sore and perplexing annoyance which nothing but *votes* can remove,—or rather nothing but skillful manipulation of the voting prerogative since votes themselves are not in question with you in the usual sense of popular majorities. The opportunity for such use of the prerogative will come ; *is* coming rapidly as you well know. Before the sober days of November are half gone it will be here. Then, in the din and turmoil of an election for a president of the nation, there will also be an election that will more immediately interest you ; an election for a Controller to succeed the obnoxious Pattison. Difficult may it be for you to place in that office a man to your liking, especially if Pattison is called upon by the people to stand again ; but you have almost unlimited resources and you will tax them all to the utmost in very desperation to win success. Now will the urbane Dr. McFadden with his Water Department retainers, and the bland head of the Highway Department, find use for their voting stock which in pestiferous swarms will be found, even long before the arrival of the day of this election, in wards and divisions, near and remote, in back rooms of taverns and club houses “fixing up things.” For, nothing is done without system and arrangement ; only by close attention to details, to the screws and rivets of the political machine, have you built up your power and influence, and having so built it, there is all the more need for you not



to let your hands forget their cunning. Public contractors, too, and their hosts of dependents, all savage and bloodthirsty against Pattison, will need less urging this time than ever before, for their own special grievances of having their bills shorn more or less as matter fraudulent and excessive, will be stimulus enough.

If voters' eyes could but look behind the scenes and see the operation of the system that makes candidates, and discern therein the barter-and-sale aspect of the business, the interestedness of vast hordes of men who somehow, in a topsy-turvy way "make a living out of politics" without possessing in mind or character the qualifications necessary for any legitimate return for their political maintainance, there might be less indiscriminate voting and more inquiry into the suitability of candidates for public office.

Meantime in tippling-houses and numerous convenient resorts, familiar to Bossism in its ramifications throughout the city, with its thirty-one wards and seven hundred odd divisions, or *precincts*, Bossism's emissaries from the various city departments swarm and are busy. This man must go into convention, that man must be kept out. This voter must be looked after, that voter must be suppressed, or his plain talk may do harm. A sinecure position in the Gas Department, in the Water Department, or in some other department, will stop his tongue; it always does stop men's tongues, no matter how virulent they may have been against Bossism beforehand. And after a brief lapse of time they will be found so far convinced that Bossism is right that they will be taking a hand in ward politics themselves in its interest, and not unlikely will be found presiding over a packed ward convention,

with the result all settled beforehand, and with only a slight requisite in the way of pluck and audacity to officiate as principal conductor of the farce which printed announcements dignify by the name of "nominating conventions." But farces, if presented too often, become tiresome even to the most patient of audiences, and if people can get nothing better they are apt to stay away from the Thespian shop and perhaps inaugurate something in the line of the "legitimate drama" themselves. Happily there is no law against such independent departure and the "legitimate" may go ahead and do its best with the assurance that amateurs are sometimes more powerful than professionals in shaping out of unfavorable circumstances favorable results. For, after all it is a question not so much of what people think, as it is of what they can be made to think that has force in the game of politics. Habit is so often allowed to serve as a false leader, so often allowed to play false to men's thoughts that the masses of mankind are content to drift, taking but a casual glance at things around them with no suspicion that "things are not what they seem," so long as they keep moving with the current. Uncertain, irresolute, they float on until some one more courageous, and self-sacrificing than themselves shall arise and give definiteness to their formless purposes; being at the mercy meantime in the domain of politics, of craft and intrigue, which notoriously prosper when men's ideas are undisturbed by enlightening discussion and controversy. Yet, inasmuch as they are victims of habit and only need to be aroused to see things differently, the tenure of professional politicians is necessarily, like the temper of their constituents, uncertain. Let the treachery of habit once

be made clear to them, then will they awaken from their torpor and follow valorous leaders through a "bloodless revolution."

Such revolution may come in the natural course of things sooner than men expect. Meantime, as a fact not prejudicial to the revolutionary tendency of matters it is to be recorded that Republican John Hunter, with a printed address in hand is going among the people, Republicans like himself in the sphere, not of politics but of business, inspired by a weighty mission. The Address bears testimony to the valuable services rendered to the taxpayers by Controller Pattison and contains space whereon these business-like Republicans may sign their names as favorable to his re-election to office. James McManes and his lieutenants and official retainers (Col. McClure calls them "heelers"), who hear of the Councilman's doings and who are almost compelled to a belief that the earth will change its complexion, if not be visited by prodigious internal disturbances, have nothing left them to do but to solemnly disown the renegade Republican; which act is performed with all the violent expletives and anathematical fulminations peculiar to such ceremonies and is then necessarily reproduced in the party-organs with such elaboration and improvement, as the burning zeal of professional apologists of political adventurers may suggest. Councilman Hunter bears the ordeal like a born ingrate; does not even stop to read the organs which contain the words of his doom. He leaves his manufactory, which gets even less of his time than usual, and traverses Philadelphia's business districts, where heavy taxpayers abound, and popping into counting-room and office presents the inevitable Address for

signature. He may tell you, too, if he is disposed to talk, that he is meeting with a success beyond his expectations. He can point to names on that unequivocal foolscap which represent influence in the social and business world, and which have heretofore from force of habit figured on the Republican books as supporters only of the "straight" ticket. One name which should be there is not. Pioneer reformer, Henry C. Lea, president of the old Municipal Reform Association, which did so much for Pattison when he first ran for Controller, is cruising in his yacht somewhere off the West Indies and will not return for months. Another absent citizen whose name is desirable is John Wanamaker, who is in Europe. Professor Morse's lightning courier carries a message from Mr. Hunter to Mr. Wanamaker in London, to which the answer comes promptly authorizing the use of his name and another "heavy taxpayer" is added to the list of those who would have it demonstrated that party ties are not to be held superior to the interests of the people.

Councilman Hunter's foolscap has now grown, from frequent enlargement to accommodate signatures, to such proportions that it is quite a bulky affair and looks as if all the Republicans were turning Democrats. And yet there was much in the nature of things, when Mr. Hunter undertook his mission, that well might have caused him to hesitate. It was not an "off" year in politics. A Presidential election was fast approaching. The canvass had been of the most vigorous character. No argument had been left unused by the participants of either party in the effort to keep men within their party lines. Where reason was deemed insufficient as a means of persuasion, other means were resorted to. Men were

terrified, coerced and driven into the support of one ticket or another by both parties. Party lines had never been more tightly drawn. Under the circumstances it required no little courage and determination to take upon oneself the position assumed by Mr. Hunter. The fear among Republicans of the class in which he sought support for his Democratic protege, of doing anything that would operate against the chances of the Presidential ticket might be expected to have yielded his efforts nothing but failure. That fear did move some to decline to support the Pattison movement at first, but as time elapsed, there were few among those who had been applied to who did not reconsider their determination. A conspicuous illustration of the caution with which the proposition to break party lines in a campaign of such importance was received at the outset, is furnished by the case of Mr. E. Dunbar Lockwood. The Union League Club had no Republican who was more conservative than he, albeit his Republicanism had long been at war with the methods of those who had constituted themselves not leaders, but dictators of the party and whose policy was embodied in that one word which had lately come into universal use, Bossism. Yet, Mr. Lockwood, being a strong supporter of Garfield for President was unwilling, much as he applauded any movement that would crush out Bossism and McManesism,—which in Philadelphia were synonymous,—to sign his name to the address in Mr. Pattison's interest, when solicited to do so by Mr. Hunter, believing the Pattison scheme might impair the chances for the election of Garfield. At the same time he expressed sympathy for the movement and stated that he meant to vote for Pattison. After events brought a change in

Dunbar Lockwood's mind, and he too was numbered among the "renegades"—and worse! For there came a time very soon afterward when he was most active in organizing a movement that was destined to sweep over the sadly misgoverned city of Philadelphia like a strong, health-laden wind over a land of pestilence, destroying the strongholds of corruption and laying low in the dust the structure of Bossism and all its attendant evils. The occasion when Mr. Lockwood's declaration in favor of Mr. Pattison's re-election was announced was most timely. It was within a week of the day of election. The movement in favor of Pattison among the people, irrespective of parties, had been so spontaneous that it may be said to have been unanimous. Of all the orators who had been pressed into service by McManesism there was but one who ventured to differ with the practically unanimous sentiment of the people, and to assail Controller Pattison. This orator was General Wagner, or "Recorder" Wagner, as he was familiarly known by reason of his official position as Recorder of Deeds. There was a time before his election to the Recordership, when General Wagner in Common Council was so active in the cause of reform that he was classed with such conscientious representatives as Messrs. Caven, Hunter and Page. He was then a strong supporter of the methods of Controller Pattison. The change of views which his election to an office of profit seemed to involve, subjected him to much criticism on the part of his former associates in Council, President Caven particularly, in public speeches in the Pattison campaign being fond of drawing comparisons between "Wagner the Reformer" and "Wagner the Recorder." He was likewise criticised

by Journalism which, being long of memory, compared the views of the General Wagner of the past with those of the General Wagner of the present, and caused the friends of that misunderstood disciple of reform to feel some concern. The General's speech against Controller Pattison was delivered within ten days of the election. One of the first effects it produced was a letter\* to Controller Pattison, from Dunbar Lockwood, who up to this time had been silent, in which he announced himself as a supporter of the Controller for re-election and explained the causes which had prompted him to withhold his signature from the address when called upon by Mr. Hunter. "No better beginning of the work of Municipal reform can be made than your re-election," wrote Mr. Lockwood, "as it will encourage all good citizens to make a determined effort in February next to secure honest government for this city."

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\* Mr. Lockwood's note, which, coming as it did unexpectedly, created a sensation in political circles, and greatly encouraged the supporters of Pattison, was as follows:

Philadelphia, October 27th, 1880.

ROBERT E. PATTISON,

*Dear Sir:*—When in August last I was asked to sign the address recommending you for re-election as City Controller I expressed my sympathy for the movement, although a Republican, and my intention to vote for you, but declined to then sign the paper submitted, as I believed it to be the duty of every Republican, however uninfluential, to refuse to do anything that might impair the chances of the election of General Garfield in the slightest degree, believing the maintenance of Republican principles in national affairs superior to all local issues.

But Philadelphia and Pennsylvania are now sure for General Garfield and Republicans who desire to rebuke the "ring" can safely vote for you for City Controller, and thus assist in the overthrow of that combination of "bosses" who have too long ruled Philadelphia.

No better beginning of the work of Municipal reform can be made than your re-election, as it will encourage all good citizens to make a determined effort in February next to secure honest government for this city.

Yours truly,

E. DUNBAR LOCKWOOD.

P. S.—I concluded to write this note after reading General Wagner's speech.

Meantime the Democrats have renominated Pattison. James McManes sees the struggle for the Controllershship is going to be desperate. He finally decides upon a candidate to stand against the formidable young candidate of the Democracy,—Mr. Joel Cook, financial editor of the *Public Ledger*. Mr. Childs and his *Ledger*, however, have been rapidly drifting to the support of Pattison. Before Mr. Cook's letter of acceptance has been two days in the light of publicity the *Ledger* comes out in editorial announcement defining its position. It will support Mr. Pattison notwithstanding one of its most trusted and valued employees is the candidate of the party of which the *Ledger's* proprietor is a member.

Complications beset the pathway of McManesism from this hour. Most serious of all is the discovery that Mr. Cook in his younger days was a Democrat. Journalism in the interest of Pattison unearths from the archives of a past era a Democratic speech which Candidate Cook delivered in his school-boy days before he had attained a sufficient age to entitle him to vote, which speech sounded strangely like that of a sympathizer with secession. Enough Candidate Cook! Opposition journals freely parade this speech before the eyes of the Republican people, and Mr. Cook, to relieve his party from embarrassment, withdraws from the field.

The day of election is close at hand. James McManes and his political aids realize that they must act quickly if they would recover vantage ground lost. Hastily do they seize a new candidate, who, to journalism is somewhat of a stranger. E. Harper Jeffries is a name that has not been familiar in politics. Yet, that he is the candidate of McManesism is considered evidence enough



that he is not unacquainted with the Gas Trust Chief. After some inquiry about the new candidate enough is learned by the newspapers to warrant the placing before the public of a brief biography, by which it would appear that Candidate Jeffries has upon a time been unfortunate in business, for which reason his friends would fain give him office that he might with, the Controller's salary, repair his lost fortunes.

In the meanwhile the unorganized Reform element, Democratic and Republican, have been active in the cause of Pattison. The contest at this stage was peculiar. Notwithstanding the feeling that in the excitement of a Presidential campaign the effort to elect a Democrat to the Presidency would be most formidable, the Republican as well as the Democratic friends of Reform determined to leave no stone unturned in the endeavor to return Pattison. It was decided to hold a mass meeting of Republicans to urge his retention in office because of his non-partisanship and efficiency. At a time when the streets were filled with the parading organizations of both parties and the public halls were devoted to the discussion of great political questions, it seemed a hazardous undertaking to induce an excited population to listen to reason, and to discriminate in favor of so apparently humble an officer. The meeting was held on October 30th, 1880, and the little band\* that gathered

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\*"On the stage were \* \* \* Edward T. Steel, Joseph L. Caven, Councilman John Hunter, Thomas Walter, John J. Ridgway, Jr., John Field, William Arrott, Robert R. Corson, George H. Earle, Richard P. White, Uselma C. Smith, James Spear, James Shedwick, Godfrey Keebler, T. Morris Perot, John A. Clark, William Bradley and many others. Shortly after eight o'clock, John Field proposed that Edward T. Steel be elected Chairman of the Meeting, which was unanimously agreed to. The following gentlemen were elected Vice-Presidents:—John Hunter, Evan Randolph, Henry C. Lea, Charles Wheeler,

on the stage of Horticultural Hall, as they looked on the partially filled benches, and heard the music and huzzas from the great Republican mass meeting in the neighboring Academy of Music, could not but feel that it was a hopeless fight amidst such great contending elements. The meeting was called to order by John Field, who, like Dunbar Lockwood, before many weeks had numbered this occasion among the things past, was destined to play a still more important part in a broader sphere, in that new movement which even now was in its incipient stage. As presiding officer, they elected by unanimous vote, Edward T. Steele, whom we know as President of the Board of Education. Though the number was small and the enthusiasm of the hour seemed to be monopolized by the great Republican demonstration in the interest of the National ticket, next door, where a Republican orator\* was electrifying the proud and confident followers of the leading party by a summary of the things great (without any mention of the things small) which it had accomplished in its eventful career, it may be doubted if the humble gathering in the modestly appointed hall did not represent the principles of the founders of the Republican party more truly than did its

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Clayton French, James Long, George Burnham, James Whittaker, E. Dunbar Lockwood, John McLaughlin, Wm. G. Knowles, R. C. McMurtree, Thos. H. Shoemaker, James H. Gay, Thomas A. Harris, Edw. H. Rowley, Wm. E. Lockwood, Wm. G. Steel, S. A. Coyle, J. T. Audenreid, Chas. T. Parry, R. S. Paschall, Solomon Smucker, John Penington, Joseph Irvine, Wm. Howell, Alex. Whilldin, Thos. B. Cope, Wm. Rotch Wister, John P. Woolverton, Jno. B. Garrett, Fred'k Fraley, Adam A. Catanach, Edw'd W. Woolman, Blaney Harvey, Thos. Biddle, John Blakely, Isaac Bartram, E. W. Clark, Joshua L. Bally, Thomas Bradley, Jos. B. Townsend, Edmund Lewis, Chas. Spencer, Geo. W. Elkins, Jos. R. Rhoades, Isadore Schloss, Jas. K. Young, Wm. M. Wilson, T. Morris Perot, Jas. Trimble, Thos. Scott, William Wood."—*The Times*, Oct. 31, 1880.

\*Colonel A. Loudon Snowden

pretentious neighbor. In the latter case the meeting was mainly under the auspices of the Federal office-holders and place-men of the party, and could, therefore, hardly be described as representative in character. In the former instance the occasion was altogether under the charge of Republicans drawn together, not by considerations of self-interest, not for the purpose of advancing one of their number that their own political welfare might thus be secured, but that they might insure the re-election of a faithful Democratic Municipal officer on whose behalf they appeared there wholly from a sense of duty. Not with the principles of the party were these men at war, but with the methods of those, who, in Philadelphia had constituted themselves the party leaders. The distinction was well explained by Presiding officer Steele as he took the Chair. "These men," said he, speaking of those who had so long controlled in the politics of the city, "have no authority from the Republicans of Philadelphia, nor have they any sympathy for the humanitarian or patriotic purposes of the party. As a pirate ship hauls to its peak the flag of a great nation to protect itself, so these persons have raised the sublime banner of the Republican party to preserve them from the indignation justly engendered by their arbitrary acts."

Bold and fearless words! Such sparks of dissatisfaction have lately begun to be alarmingly frequent. Here on this night away from the glare of party temptations and party folly do we see other familiar faces,—those of President Caven, John J. Ridgway, Jr., and bluff Reform agitator, Thomas Walter. Mr. Ridgway, who is introduced as the next speaker, is no stranger. For years has

his name shone with extreme brilliancy in a galaxy of young Reformers, typical of which was the much lamented noble young orator Henry Armitt Brown; and also is he known as a member of the old Citizen's Municipal Reform Association which, however, for the past two or three years has not, as an organization, participated in election contests. Citizen Ridgway, to whom the business of urging the claims of faithful officers to the consideration of voters is consequently not new, now speaks eloquently for Candidate Pattison. He tells his hearers that the Controller has administered the duties of his office for the best interests of the whole community; that a judicious policy would have prevented a nomination against him, but such policy has been scouted by the "leaders" who hope that in the heat of a bitterly contested Presidential election "citizens will not exercise intelligence and deliberation enough to divide the issues." Such course he believes is a mistake; for, through the continuous efforts of the Municipal Reform Association for the last ten years, the masses of the people have been educated to a higher standard of political determination. Year after year the Reformers had stood in the breach, and the people were being gradually brought to see that partisanship in municipal affairs was a most unworthy and expensive guide. "If the people will rise to the occasion," says Citizen Ridgway, "they will find they have firmly planted themselves in a position which must lead to further advancement to that reformed city government which is so much needed in Philadelphia."

Citizen Thomas Walter next makes an earnest appeal for the young Controller. Plain and blunt, and rugged

in appearance, is this man; a scoffer at fine spun phrases and studied periods, believing that man's reason is most easily reached by unpremeditated, extemporaneous speech. In the delivery of which unstudied harangue, one finds him versatile, entertaining and original; his address abounding with quaint comparisons, striking similes, scriptural quotations and with frequent bursts of irresistible humor. Last of all do we hear the speaker of the evening, the noted President Caven, without whose presence in these times a Reform meeting would seem to be lacking one of the things essential to its proper classification. Before the Reform people he stands to-night, his official designation, "Councilman" Caven, being a justification of the work of Citizen Ridgway's Municipal Reform Association, as also of the efforts of Citizen Walter and Citizen George H. Earle who, as fellow-residents with the Reform Councilman in the Fifteenth Ward, have done their part in the agitation which has given their ward such a worthy representative.

Clear and logical, and in some respects, remarkable, is the speech of President Caven's, the din and thunder of applause in the neighboring Academy detracting not from his earnestness but adding to it by tacit appreciation of the contrast. "As a Republican," says the speaker, "I propose to vote on next Tuesday for General Garfield because the best interests of the country demand that no change be made in the National administration; and I propose to vote for Robert E. Pattison for Controller, because the best interests of Philadelphia demand that no change be made in the administration of that office." Which utterance is received with spontaneous applause. The speaker has something to say about the course of

“Recorder” Wagner; proceeding to answer in detail\* the charges made by that nondescript official in his speech against Pattison, which answer is received by his audience with demonstrations of approval. And, in closing, there is a peroration, which is not alone remarkable but prophetic; which peroration electrifies the audience, evoking the wildest and most enthusiastic applause of the evening. “We hear,” says Citizen Caven, “mutterings and rumblings of a political storm which will be upon us after the Presidential election. A storm that promises to sweep away the Gas Trust with all its vast patronage,—closed doors, unvouched accounts and great political power. If you want that storm to do any good, if you desire the forked lightning to clear the political atmosphere, then I beseech you do not permit the citadel of the Treasury, the Controller’s office, to pass into the hands of a ring. If you do, any victory gained afterward will be as the vine of Sodom and the fields of Gomorrah.”

Such was the tone and the character of this last important Reform meeting held before the Presidential election of November, 1880. Important because it was held at a time when the movement for Reform in Philadelphia had reached a crisis, the turning point being the election to come off three days later, when it would be decided whether the Reform teachings of the past few years had taken enough hold on the people to produce a sufficient number of discriminating Republican voters to re-elect the faithful Democratic Controller to office, notwithstanding the excitement over the National contest in

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\*See appendix.

which each party was exerting itself to the utmost to carry the day. The proceedings of this meeting, spread before the people by the press, had their effect. The result was a political phenomenon in the history of Philadelphia. The rest of the Democratic ticket was defeated by over 20,000 votes, while Pattison was elected by more than 13,000!! A change of nearly 34,000 votes. It was evident that the people were aroused, and needed only leadership to defeat the combination that had so long held them in disgraceful thrall.

## CHAPTER VI.

### RETROSPECTIVE AND INFORMAL.

By this election of Pattison several things are demonstrated. First, it is clearly shown that "able politicians" are sometimes bad prophets; that their predictions, however carefully framed and sagely delivered will, in spite of reputed skill and sagacity, at times turn out to be not wise predictions, as one might suppose from the philosophic deliberateness with which they are uttered, but rather the wildest sort of wild guessing. Heavy majorities, which are so surely going to "vindicate" the whole brood of party pensioners, although widely and triumphantly announced beforehand, are not forthcoming, which would seem to indicate that promises are cheaper in the political shop than performance. Only a few days before the election of Pattison James McManes was a most sanguine man. Mr. Jeffries was not only going to be elected Controller, but he was going to be elected by a great majority. Such ill-success in the prophet-business under ordinary conditions one might suppose would weaken the faith of humanity in the prophets, but whether from the gift of an abundance of audacity which enables these political Elishas to overlook a slight



circumstance, like a failure of fulfillment or from some other cause, they invariably return to their prophet's habiliments with renewed confidence and unfailing garrulity.

Another fact demonstrated by Pattison's election is that the body of the people is stronger than cliques and combinations however much schooling in secret and questionable arts the latter may have had; and further, that the people are not yet ready to make a change in the old order of things that would reverse the positions of master and servant, particularly when it is seen that the latter has some very bad traits of character, principal among which is a tendency toward filching. It demonstrates also how weak are political conspiracies after all when built upon abused trusts and violated principles; upon sacrificed public interests, outraged confidences and privileges perverted and misused. It shows that there is a point which a base and unscrupulous class of men under certain peculiar conditions in a community, may reach in the operation of their secret schemes for enrichment at the public expense, when the tide of success changes and under the wrath of their thoroughly aroused victims, their fortunes take a downward turn to the certain destination of men's contempt, whether such destination involves prisons or the lasting stigma of felons unbranded by statute law. To what depth the politics of the city was degraded under the influence of such men, let the non-partisan journals of the time bear witness. Their columns teemed with accounts of the lawless methods employed by them to overcome the people's will at the polls, chief among which was the importation of a large number of criminals and desperate characters from

other cities expressly to take a hand in polluting the ballot. Into the various wards they flocked like hungry vultures come to destroy. By pre-arrangement with the police they had practically a clear field and were free to pursue their lawless course with little fear of interruption and indeed with the assurance from those who held the police department under their power, of aid and protection in the work of pollution and crime. With their immunity from arrest guaranteed it may well be imagined, taking into consideration the character of the men, that opposition on the part of orderly and well disposed citizens would find but little toleration. Accustomed to resort to violence upon the smallest provocation these men, with the police at their back, intimidated and bullied wherever they appeared. And not among the police alone in the category of responsible officials did they find support and encouragement for their acts. The election officers were in many cases persons who had been placed in their positions solely to further and complete the criminal work. There was scarcely a ward or a division in the city in which the Election Boards were not represented by some one or more of the employes of the Gas Trust, of the Water Department, of the Highway Department, of the Tax Department, of the City Treasurer's Department, or of the smaller political strongholds over which the political dictators held unlimited sway. When these creatures of corruption were not found on the Election Boards, they might safely be looked for among the horde of visiting repeaters and ballot-box stuffers whose knowledge of the city was aided and whose criminal operations were facilitated by the local workers. These foreign desperadoes were for the

most part from Washington. They came in large numbers from the public departments there and may be said to have represented the worst type of the political methods of almost every State in the Union. It mattered not whether they were from Maine or from California, from Massachusetts or from Texas, they all had been schooled in the same vicious political practices, and they proved most effective in thwarting the people's will and prolonging the lease of power of the adventurers who had entrenched themselves in the strong places of the city government. They were led by one Russell, himself a Philadelphian, whose former services in corrupting the ballot in his native city where he early figured in politics, had earned for him substantial recognition from the political great men of Philadelphia who through their political influence had placed him in a profitable position, in one of the government departments. He had acquired for himself a peculiar distinction as a leader of repeaters and ballot-box stuffers of the worst type, and no important election came on that he was not looked for anxiously by his political patrons who placed such a high value upon his services. The strictures of Col. McClure in his *Times* upon this notorious personage had, for several years before the Pattison election, caused him to curtail somewhat the flourish with which he was wont to appear at the head of his ragamuffins, and his work had latterly been performed with some circumspection. Nevertheless it was bold enough and, in its effects bad enough. In many instances his acts alone frustrated the people's efforts and saved to the politicians important city offices.

That the government departments at Washington

turned out such disreputable raff to prey upon the rights of the people in election times had long been a cause of complaint among citizens in various parts of the country. Of late, however, the evil had forced itself more clearly than ever upon the attention of patriotic men of both political parties and was enlisting discussion in the newspapers and periodicals of the land. Philadelphia with its proud revolutionary history and its enviable patriotic record had seen with humiliation the rights of its people frittered away, the even course of its government interrupted and rudely transformed from a government of the people to a government of political Bosses whose power had been built upon this pollution of the ballot and upon countless forms of bribery, upon the corruption of legislators, councilmen and public officials generally. At the bottom of all the trouble, this cheating at the polls, this temporary outflow from the the public departments at Washington of ballot-box stuffers and repeaters for distribution throughout the country to do their knavish work, seemed to be the one evil that was tangible, that was clearly enough established and defined to take hold of and, if possible, to crush out of existence in the name of the law. Fierce and unceasing were the assaults of Col. McClure upon the wily Russell and his desperate crew ; louder and more general became the murmurs of citizens of both parties over the fearful demoralization of the police and of the election boards, until at the time of the Pattison election the signs of a coming change were apparent in the political sky.

If Bossism ever reflects there is no time like this, when the flush of enthusiasm is still red on the cheeks of the

Pattisonites to do so. It will find much to conjure up, much to think out, before it can thoroughly reconcile itself to its latest misfortune. Reasons for its defeat it professes not to see. And in this fact there would appear to be evidence of an obtuseness of perception not consistent with the idea of clear-sighted performances. That it should have its own way absolutely even to the smallest details of things is rather too much to expect of any power or persons this side of royalty, and even not always there. Counter influences of more or less effect there always will be to curb the avarice and vain ambitions of men, and such influences have been at work here long, patiently and, at times, noiselessly. Was there not a memorable meeting of citizens held in the office of citizen Henry C. Lea, renowned writer, thinker, and publisher of scientific and medical works, nine years before in the publisher's building on Sansom street, at which there originated a "Citizens' Municipal Reform Association,"\* which association came into being to

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\* The act, signed by Governor Geary in the summer of 1870, creating the Public Building Commission, may be regarded as the origin of the reform movement in Philadelphia. By creating a body with unlimited tenure of office, with power to fill all vacancies, with authority to tax the community and to spend the public money without restriction or supervision, this act was so subversive of all the principles of self-government that when its provisions came to be fully understood, it aroused general indignation. When the Legislature met in the winter of 1871, an agitation therefor arose for its repeal. Petitions to this effect, bearing upwards of twenty-thousand signatures, were sent to Harrisburg, and at a crowded meeting held in the Academy of Music in March, a committee was appointed to wait upon the Legislature and endeavor to secure the passage of a repealing act. †That committee in its report stated that its object could not be effected without the expenditure of money, and that public rumor at Harrisburg openly designated the sums which had been paid to defeat the measure.

A mass meeting, held in June, 1871, to which this report was made,

†See appendix.

“reform the government of the city and secure a better class of representatives in the Legislature,” a movement which as a Counter Influence, did in reality perform great things. It discovered Caven and elected him to Councils, and it discovered Pattison in 1877 and placed him for the first time, notwithstanding Bossism’s opposi-

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considered the whole question of local misgovernment, of which this legislative corruption was only a single feature, and it authorized its presiding officer to appoint a committee consisting of two citizens from each Ward whose duty it should be to select the best candidates from the party tickets, and to make independent nominations for municipal and legislative offices, when neither of the regular candidates was worthy of support.

It was not an easy task to find citizens to serve on this committee. The violent partizanship resulting from the rebellion was still generally diffused throughout the community. Municipal burdens were lightly felt in an era of expansion and paper money; the attention of the people had not been called to misrule and corruption, and there was not a newspaper in Philadelphia to espouse the cause of reform. During the hot months of summer no action was possible, and at that period there was but one election held in the year, on the second Tuesday of October. When September came, therefore, the Committee was but partially formed, and it had but three weeks in which to conduct the campaign, when it organized with the following membership: R. Rundle Smith, Charles H. McIlvaine, Thomas Webster, Charles S. Ogden, George Bull, James Page, Edward Pennington, Jr., Richard Garsed, Archibald Campbell, Matthew Baird, Henry C. Lea, Caleb H. Needles, L. P. Ashmead, Charles Rogers, David W. Sellers, Charles Wheeler, Robert R. Corson, B. P. Hunt and H. McAllister, Jr.

The registry and election laws in those days gave to the majority party almost unlimited power to decide who should vote and how the vote should be counted. There was also a technical device which greatly enhanced the difficulty of the canvass for independent candidates. This was known as the “slip-ticket” system, under which the names of all candidates voted for were required to be printed on a single slip of paper, headed by the number of the Ward and election division; so that, if a single independent candidate for a municipal office were placed in the field it became necessary to print a separate and complete ticket for every one of the six or seven hundred election districts in Philadelphia, bearing the names of every candidate to be voted for, from governor down to election officers—while, if votes were expected from both parties, a complete duplicate set of tickets became requisite.

tion, in the office of Controller. It had been fighting for good men and principles up until the city elections of 1878, when it contested fiercely with Bossism for the offices of Mayor, Receiver of Taxes, and City Solicitor, presenting for the suffrages of the people the names of Caven, Craycroft, and West. That it was unsuccessful

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Despite these difficulties, the Committee made up a ticket composed of the best candidates of both parties, with two or three independent nominations, and conducted a spirited canvass. It was, however, unable to perfect any organization of the city; it was the object of attack by both parties; in many wards its ticket was not obtainable on the day of election, and in many cases those who attempted to canvass it were driven from the ground. Still, it was credited with 3500 votes in the returns and it had reason to believe that it had polled at least double that number.

Encouraged by these results, it was determined to form a more complete organization. With this object in view twelve citizens assembled at the office of Henry C. Lea, on Sansom street, on the 26th of October, 1871. At this time the abuses prevalent in the city government were so deep rooted and far reaching that their pernicious effects upon the public service were practically without check and without limit. The men sent to Harrisburg to represent the city in the Legislature were, with a few notable exceptions, a scandal and a reproach to the name of Philadelphia. Their excesses, their drunken orgies, in times when the pitiable condition of their city,—swamped with debt and groaning under the impositions and the exactions of the political bandits whose heels were on its throat,—should have appealed to any spark of patriotism that lingered in their hearts, were a shame and a disgrace to the city of American independence, whose groans of humiliation were heard throughout the entire State. In the city itself at this time, beyond the small handful of self-sacrificing citizens already mentioned, there seemed to be no corrective agency or influence. These men in Harrisburg were the creatures of Bossism, of the Gas Trust, that centre and cardinal point of political corruption. With the instinct of common interests and objects, alliances were formed with men of similar condition sent to the Legislature by the same influences from other parts of the State. Combined they were all-powerful in securing whatever of legislation their masters bade them secure, and when they returned to their homes it was not to meet with and explain to the people at large their acts, but to come together with their masters in secret club room, or gambling house and, to the music of clinking glasses and boisterous laughter, recount the means whereby they had swindled the people and bartered away their rights.

there was not defeat,—only triumph postponed. The earnest work of six years shall not be fruitless; when the proper time comes there will be a harvest worthy of the careful husbandry which has planted the seed and tended the young growth. Such movement, springing from men's deep convictions, does not, once it begins to

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Such was the character of the majority of the men who were sent to Harrisburg by the Gas Trust to represent Philadelphia in the Legislature at the time this new reform element was ushered into existence. Those citizens who answered the roll call at the first meeting were twelve in number, viz.: Henry C. Lea, Charles Wheeler, Charles McIlvaine, James Page, Thomas Webster, John P. Ridgeway, Jr., Caleb H. Needles, Robert R. Corson, R. Rundle Smith, Edward Penington, L. P. Ashmead and John J. McKenna. They organized themselves into an executive committee, to which were afterward added the names of William Henry Rawle, J. Hughes Edwards, and Richard Garsed. R. Rundle Smith was chosen President of the Association, Charles Wheeler Treasurer, and L. P. Ashmead Secretary. In its subsequent career T. Morris Perot, and especially the late Henry Armit Brown, George H. Earle, John McLaughlin, William Welsh, J. Hays Carson, Henry C. Thompson, William Conway and Henry B. Tatham, were active and efficient members. In politics the Association was non-partisan, though with a few exceptions its members were Republican.

The object of the Municipal Reform Association, as proclaimed at the outset, was to secure an improvement in the management of municipal affairs, regardless of party lines; and the measures to which it specifically devoted itself were the substitution of fixed salaries for fees, the modification of the registry and election laws, including the "slip-ticket" system, and, in the then approaching constitutional convention to obtain such changes in the constitution as should limit the control of the Legislature over the city by depriving it of its powers of evil in the matter of special legislation. In all these objects the Association was successful; and it gradually, in spite of the sneers and opposition of political partisans and leaders on both sides, was enabled to educe and cultivate a public sentiment which rendered further reform possible, when enough citizens to control the balance of power became accustomed to regard the public good as superior to party considerations, and to co-operate in independent action. The second election of Pattison, in 1880, showed that this had been accomplished, and that wise and energetic action alone was needed in the future to guide the political force which thus was demonstrated to exist.

The method of the Association in city political contests had been to organize auxiliary Associations in the various wards. It elected a num-



gather force, stop half way and harmlessly retrace its course. Like the tornado it belongs not to the order of things that rise spasmodically and threaten, then fall and disappear without destructive effects. Destiny has a use for those vital forces in man which are stirred by an influence that seems above and beyond himself—the in-

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ber of good men to Councils, conspicuous among whom was President Caven. In the Controllershship contest, in 1877, it co-operated with the Democrats who had nominated Pattison, and through its aid he was elected. It also persistently and energetically labored to effect, by the substitution of fixed salaries for fees, the reform of the fee system of official remuneration. No abuse was more glaring and flagrant than this. In Philadelphia, at the time the Reform Association came into existence, this system amounted to nothing less than wholesale public robbery. Five officers put into their pockets annually, in the aggregate, the enormous sum of \$223,000, or an average of \$44,600 each, almost \$20,000 more than the amount received annually, at that time, by the President of the United States. These offices and their respective emoluments, according to an exhibit made by the Reform committee, were the office of Recorder of Deeds, \$80,000; office of Receiver of Taxes, \$85,000; office of Clerk of Quarter Sessions Court, \$35,000; office of Prothonotary of District Court, \$15,000; office of City Commissioner, \$8,000. So effectually did the Municipal Reform Association bring this monstrous robbery before the attention of the people that the framers of the new Constitution, when they assembled in Philadelphia, in 1873, to enter upon their labors, encountered a unanimous demand for a change of the system. This convention from time to time advised with representatives of the Municipal Reform Association and many of the suggestions of the latter were embodied in the Constitution which was adopted by popular vote in December, 1873, when the fee system was abolished and the salary system took its place.

Mr. Lea, the originator of this reform movement, who had for years been celebrated not only in his own country but in Europe, as a profound scholar and writer on scientific subjects, would seem especially here to claim some attention. His ideal of government was high, his understanding of political systems was most complete. He had been for some years past an industrious contributor to the political literature of the country. He had been from the time of the breaking out of the civil war in 1861 a prolific writer of pamphlets and addresses upon political subjects. In addition he had been a practical worker and a liberal contributor of money to the cause of the Union during the struggle for its preservation. One of the earliest members of the Republican Union

fluence of justice and truth—which is the sustaining power of all earnest effort in a cause that is right. So the six-years of trial and discipline which the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association has undergone that convictions might be vindicated and wrongs rebuked have assuredly an influence which in all its subtle workings

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League of his native city he held important positions in that organization as a member of the Board of Directors, member of the Military Committee, and of the Committee of Publication, in which latter capacity he wrote many of the addresses issued by the League in support of the principles and policy of the Republican party during the war. He was also active in another respect. At a time when the public mind was agitated on the subject of drafting citizens for soldiers, he originated the system of offering bounties to volunteers which subsequently was generally adopted. At a later period he was active as an advocate before the Legislature for the reform of the civil service. Conservative always he had no sympathy with a political system the paramount motive of which was the possession of the spoils of office.

Now in those trying war times, while Mr. Lea and others of his kind were laboring incessantly and giving largely of their means for the benefit of their country, there came to the front of the party organization in Philadelphia a baser element which might well be termed, to use a familiar characterization, the rag-tag and bob-tail in politics. They were the moths of humanity, drawn from the four quarters of the earth to the staid Quaker city by the glare of opportunity. One party to them was as good as another so far as principles were concerned. The main consideration that influenced their actions was opportunity for self-advancement. With the Democratic party laboring under reverses and the Republican party successful in city and state, their lot was, of course, cast with the latter. These political Ishmaelites worked darkly and noiselessly. With great policy and much humility they knocked at the doors of the Union League, and presenting a respectful mien asked to be allowed to enroll their humble names in membership. At a time when every vote in the Republican party was needed, they were accepted without question. They at once made themselves useful, showed a practical disposition to look after the welfare of the party in the city and thus, in a measure, relieve the real leaders of the party, some of whom were at the front, braving the enemy's fire for the safety of their country while others, like Mr. Lea were occupied with schemes for raising volunteers, and at the same time for keeping the party lines intact throughout the state. Thus, the welfare of the party in Philadelphia was left practically in the hands of these men. Carefully and with great system did they lay their plans and

cannot be reckoned directly, but which in due time may be reckoned by inevitable results.

Is not the election of Pattison in this autumn of the year 1880 proof that the principles of reform have taken a hold upon the people? This much has been done by the people unorganized, by popular sentiment crystal-

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push their fortunes. They began to place men in the Legislature who could be relied upon to introduce new measures, and to influence legislation solely in their own personal interest; who could be depended upon to introduce bills for the creation of new offices with enormous emoluments, and to rehabilitate offices already in existence in the direction of increasing their fees to three and four times the original amounts. They began to place men in the City Councils who could likewise be counted upon as subservient tools; who could be trusted through city legislation to throw numerous safeguards around the stealthy plunderers on the one hand, and to divert the public money into their pockets on the other. Their schemes were executed with promptness and skill. It was not until they had attained their consummation, that the people became suspicious, and even not then. Not until the insolence of suddenly acquired wealth and power began to flaunt itself in the faces of citizens, did Philadelphians awake to the realities of the situation. The war was come to an end and men now began to see some of the latent costs which had not previously been taken into consideration. They found that while they had been aiding in the struggle to save the life of the nation, there had been a subtle enemy at work at home. This new element which had crept into politics on hands and knees, as it were, now stalked erect with high head and insolent mien. Well might it do so; for it had left no loop-hole of danger unprovided for. Laws had been enacted in its interest, and Judges on the bench were perforce compelled to construe the laws as they stood, however obnoxious they might be. The party machinery also was completely in its hand. Disciplined and trained party workers were already under its sway in the shape of hordes of employes in the various departments over which it had so completely assumed control. To such a state of things Henry C. Lea, having done his patriotic labors on behalf of his country, came back as one who opens his eyes to an unpleasant realization after a troubled dream. He saw in high places of power men who a few years before had been humble beneficiaries of the city, state, or national government, in the form of clerks messengers or letter-carriers. He saw party politics debased and the city government corrupt and vicious in practice and influence. That antagonisms should spring up between two elements of the Republican party at this time under the circumstances was not unnatural; that there should grow

lized into tangible opposition. There will be more yet to do, before the force of this movement has been exhausted; there will be need of more energetic work before its purpose shall have been fulfilled. For there is yet to come the trial of trials between Bossism and the people. In the month of February—only three short winter months off—there will occur another city election in which a Mayor, a Receiver of Taxes, and a City Solicitor must be elected. Bossism, encouraged by the memory of its triumph in 1877, is looking forward already with expectations. It is even now centring its power and influence there for a desperate conflict. Either triumphant vindication or disastrous overthrow will attend it, and it is not unnatural if it feels, under the circumstances, some concern. If the latter event happens, what consequences may follow? Loss of prestige,—loss of power,—public investigations,—exposures,—courts of justice,—prisons! “Liberty” and the blessed rights of citizenship have been nice things to prate about unmeaningly to the

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therefrom a fruitful crop of trouble for the party in the future was to be expected. Fealty to party lines and “party ties” had theretofore been deemed the weightiest consideration that could influence the political action of men, and it was destined to have a potent effect in the canvass for political offices for some time yet to come. The evil consequences of blind partisanship, however, must sooner or later appear; the motives which prompted these men who now held the places of power in the city government could not long be concealed. The vulgar and disgraceful scramble on their part to get rich, proved that the temptation had been too strong for their prudence, and that public sentiment and public decency were recklessly defied in the presence of an opportunity to fill their pockets with the public money, regardless of law and of morality. Two hundred and twenty-three thousand dollars of the public money going into the pockets of five city officers in Philadelphia yearly! What did that incontrovertible fact show? Simply that under such a state of affairs “political party” was a misnomer and that “public freebooters” was a more appropriate title.

masses in the election times in the past. Strange if the praters should come to realize finally what a blessing such things truly are by discovering through compulsory experience the things that are opposite.

Toward the February elections then many eyes are turned. The three offices to be filled are offices of chief importance. As to the Mayor's office, friend Stokley who has already enjoyed two terms and is known to aspire to a third, looks out respectfully from his waning lease of power upon all elements, and points to his "past record." What the future holds in store for him it does not show at this time, which is perhaps best. It is doubtful nevertheless if the spectacle of twelve hundred policemen participating in elections on every occasion in the interest of the party of their superior, meets with favor among the class which has demonstrated lately in Pattison's case that it knows how to exact respect for its opinions. But if there is one office which popular sentiment has become excited over, and which Bossism has determined with desperation to fight for, it is that of Receiver of Taxes. This office has been the subject during the last nine years of some great scandals. It has been held as one of the richest prizes of the political spoilsmen and no effort that has been made by Councils has been successful in penetrating thoroughly the mystery of the operations of its official head. An investigation by a committee of Councils in 1876 revealed some startling things. The inquiry originated from the confession of one of the Receiver's clerks that he had frittered away in losing speculations upwards of forty thousand dollars of the public money. As the investigation progressed it was discovered, in the light of

other frauds, that this was among the smallest of the cases of peculation which seemed general among the attachés of the office, not even excepting the bootblack, who being detected on one occasion robbing the office was arrested, tried, convicted and sent to prison. The Receiver at this time was Thomas J. Smith, a man who from small beginnings in politics came to be a most serviceable instrument of James McManes, the acknowledged chief of the political cabal that controlled the elections. It is doubtful if a more incompetent man could have been found for the responsible position of Receiver of the city's taxes than Receiver Smith. His own testimony, during investigations, inaugurated both before and after his term of office had expired, revealed the fact that the business of the office was conducted utterly without any system. The frequent peculations of the tax clerks under him, each of whom seemed to be in a position to pocket any amount of money he chose to take, were ample corroboration of the truth of the Receiver's statement. The looseness which prevailed in the management of this most important Department was simply a reflection of the evils which obtained in every office under the city government in which the political power of McManesism was supreme. Nevertheless in the Tax Office there existed peculiar opportunities for originating and encouraging flagrant abuses, and the condition into which the administration of the duties of the department had fallen\* at the time the Committee of One Hundred

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\*" One the most important offices within the gift of the people is the office of the Receiver of Taxes. The office is said to be worth a quarter of a million dollars yearly. Its perquisites are so enormous as to cause a frightful demoralization in the ranks of both parties. The whole community cries out for a repeal of the iniquitous law which gives large fortunes to a few individuals at the expenses of the Taxpayers."—*Councilman Samuel G. King's Letter to Democratic Mayoralty Convention*, Jan. 27th, 1881.

came into existence, was the strongest evidence that could be adduced to show that nothing that could be utilized in the interest of a corrupt and venal body of men was neglected. While the poor were groaning under the burden of taxation which had been growing heavier with each successive year, the rich politician was chuckling over the good fortune of those who created Tax Receiver's and whose services were so highly esteemed by their creatures after assuming official functions that they were only too happy to exempt them from the payment

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"The Tax Office is regarded as certain to afford a quarter of a million of dollars of fees and perquisites for those who can obtain possession of it. This immense revenue is wrung from the poorer class of taxpayers who are unable to pay when they could secure exemption from extortion."—*Times*, Jan. 30, 1881.

"This man (Receiver of Taxes) is to get \$200,000 a year, squeezed out of the widows and the unfortunate poor. I call it blood money. The President of the United States gets \$50,000 a year. Lincoln—the great and noble-hearted Lincoln—got \$100,000 for his martyrdom. The Tax Office is the graduating place for Gas Trustees."—*President Caven's Public Speech*, Feb. 4, 1881.

"During the existence of the Delinquent Tax Office—a mere tender to the Receiver of Taxes, the Delinquent Collector being appointed by the Receiver—the salary and the fees of the Receiver of Taxes have never amounted to less than \$150,000 and have often amounted to nearly \$200,000 per annum."—*Evening Telegraph*, Feb. 12, 1881.

"For all the iniquity of the Tax Office, as well in the law as in its administration, the 'ring roosters' of Philadelphia are directly and solely responsible. They concocted and had passed every oppressive measure of which the people complain. When Taxpayers asked for relief the Bosses replied with the pitiless act of 1879 which put every tenant of a delinquent landlord at the mercy of the tax-gatherer."—*Chronicle-Herald*, Feb. 15, 1881.

"Long and patiently the people submitted to the spoiler until patience ceased to be a virtue and further forbearance a crime. The defiant bosses had laughed to scorn the idea that successful resistance could be made against them. Entrenched in the strongholds of corruption, supported by the very worst elements of both parties, flushed with dishonest spoils already secured and thirsting for more they went into the contest confident of getting through somehow."—*Evening Star*, Feb. 15, 1881.

"When it is remembered that the profits of the Delinquent Tax Office are \$728 a day and that the Democratic and Republican ringsters who are to share such big spoils do not number over a score, any school-boy can figure up the amount that will fall to each. One of the bosses is credited with receiving \$40,000 as his annual share of the present profits."—*Evening Star*, Feb. 2, 1881.

of taxes. Not strange is it then that James McManes and his followers should be anxious about this office. A Receiver, not of their kind, means for them a great deal that would likely prove annoying; while one of the kind they have been used to supplying would give them all that could be desired. Meantime the people will likely take a hand in settling this question at the coming election for there have been frequent indications of late that they are becoming aroused.



## CHAPTER VII.

### DISINTEGRATION AND DISORGANIZATION.

Bossism has been so long in business it has become philosophic ; nothing being more conducive to philosophy than the thwacks and cuffs its family members receive in their probation period when, under the discipline of experienced masters they are trained, as in a school for thieves, after a rigorous system which looks not toward leaving them unprovided with resources in times when fortune deserts them and justice, to a greater or less extent, secures her vindication. To accept defeat like philosophers, then, is the first duty of its followers; the next, to recruit their strength and plan their campaign for the all-absorbing struggle of February. Past experience bids them hope; these November battles have been lost before and still the more important February fights have been won. Thus does Bossism reason in the endeavor to convince itself that things are not as bad as they might be and that good dame Fortune is with it a permanent guest. Yet men know this fascinating lady and know how unreliable are some of her most flattering promises. Justice to her, however, demands that she shall not unwarrantably be set down as the beguiler of Bossism on this occasion, her deft fingers being strangely absent from the signs that mark the dubious prospect,—dubious even to a degree that causes the political prophets to be unusually wary and reserved, a spectacle so rare that it is enough to create alarm throughout the entire political brotherhood. For Bossism has reached a critical stage and old tactics and methods are about to be

taxed beyond the limits of anything ever contemplated by its most far-sighted leaders. The point of human endurance has been reached and passed and certain inevitable consequences are arising, like armed men from slumber, to the work of indiscriminate, spontaneous retribution. The *unprofessional* politician is arising, whose number is legion and whose occupation that of payer of taxes, and his ominous frown beclouds and darkens Bossisms entire low-hanging sky.

In the meantime one of the aggravating causes of the present revolutionary spirit of citizens are the public journals, Not to Philadelphia alone is the journalistic agitation confined. The *Herald*, of New York, has for weeks past, through the medium of its correspondent, Mr. Julius Chambers, been exposing what appear to be gigantic frauds in the Gas Trust. Intense is the excitement which these disclosures produce, the subject being followed with great persistency and determination, incendiary threats against Correspondent Chambers notwithstanding. Finally the public sentiment over these revelations becomes so thoroughly aroused that the Gas Trust is compelled, in its own defense, to ask the City Councils for an investigation of its stewardship, a resolution having been introduced in the Common Chamber by one of the members\* providing for the appointment of a joint committee of both branches for this purpose. Meanwhile, Citizen E. Dunbar Lockwood, perceiving that in the aroused state of the public feeling against the Gas Trust, a favorable time has arrived in which to give this creature of despotism and corruption its death blow, goes among influential citizens on a weighty mission.

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\*Councilman Bardslev

Business men and "heavy taxpayers" approve of his idea as, in counting-room and miscellaneous business places, he dilates upon it, and soon the interest in his scheme becomes contagious. If the people are truly ready for a change, and only wait for wise leadership to prompt them to arise in a mass and overthrow the pretenders who have sought to rule them in a spirit almost approaching barbaric despotism. could there be a better time for action than the present? Dunbar Lockwood hurries on, well pleased with the prospect of a speedy fruition of his hopes and purposes. Leaders! leaders! Well, if these are all that are lacking the people shall have leaders, and they shall have principles to fight for, and system and courage and faithfulness and perseverance. For Dunbar is deeply in earnest and those whom he visits and consults with are in earnest and they are, moreover, (some of them) experienced, tried and proven veterans. Are there not among them President Henry C. Lea, Charles Wheeler, T. Morris Perot, George H. Earle, John McLaughlin, Henry Winsor, L. P. Ashmead and Henry B. Tatham, of the old Municipal Reform Association,\* the latter two Democrats, and diffident about connecting themselves with Dunbar's movement for Dunbar's sake and the movement's sake, believing it to be the part of good policy to have the new organization distinctly Republican, supported at a later period by another citizen's organization distinctly Democratic. Yielding to the advice of veterans Ashmead and Tatham, Mr. Lockwood passes Democratic reformers by,

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\*The Citizens Municipal Reform Association, although not disbanded, ceased to act politically as an organization after the February elections of 1877.

and seeks support for his scheme among Republicans who enroll their names on his informal foolscap with an encouraging display of resolution.

Clear sailing, without a ripple in the current, in this preliminary stage of things would be too much to expect. Obstacles here and there spring up among perverse and perplexing humanity, all of which, however, be it known, are in the end brushed aside by the swift flying organizer of citizens' movements and become only incidents of the progress toward great results. Jealousy and prejudice are not absent. In different forms they show themselves, but prove to be of no more account than petty annoyances. In some cases they take the form of deliberate action through counter methods to defeat Dunbar's plan: being not overscrupulous about circulating false statements as to the object of the movement. In other cases they take a gastronomical form\* and seek through the in-

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\*A few days before the arrival of the time originally fixed by Mr. Lockwood for the "meeting of citizens," for the purpose of organizing a Citizens Reform Committee, he received an invitation to attend a dinner to be given by a gentleman who had been prominent in previous reform efforts. The invitation was followed by a request to him to postpone the time of meeting in order that the dinner might take place first. Mr. Lockwood assented, and when he arrived at the residence of his host he met a number of the gentlemen who had pledged their support to his movement, among them Messrs. Wheeler and Perot. There was also present Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, who was destined to become a few months later the Nation's Attorney General under President Garfield. Wharton Barker, "original Garfield Republican," was another guest, as was also Hampton L. Carson, the eloquent young Republican orator and leader of the Independents. After dinner, to the astonishment of Dunbar Lockwood, the host abruptly entered upon the subject of his Reform Organization movement and made a speech against it as ill-advised and premature. Eight or nine other guests followed with speeches, among them Messrs. Barker and MacVeagh, all of whom, with one exception, took the same view of the subject and urged Mr. Lockwood to withdraw his call. Five of those speakers had previously

fluence of hospitable wines to induce the Organizer to forego his intentions.

All of which, however, is preliminary to the statement that on the 15th of November, 1880, Dunbar Lockwood called a meeting of citizens to order in the office of the Lockwood Manufacturing Co., and called upon Amos R. Little, a Germantown merchant, to preside. The election of Pattison had taken place only a few days before. Nineteen days ago Mr. Lockwood had written to the Controller that letter announcing himself as one of his supporters and speaking prophetically about an effort on

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engaged to attend the meeting, but the opposition to the movement having changed their minds they informed the author of the movement that they would not be present.

When, in the order in which the guests were seated, it came Dunbar Lockwood's turn to speak, he arose and with considerable spirit declined to either recall his action with reference to the meeting, or to modify his plans. He assured those present that the meeting would come off whether they attended or not, and that their places would be filled by others. He was warmly supported in his position by Messrs. Wheeler, Perot, Rudolph Blankenburg, John McLaughlin and Joseph Lapsley Wilson, who determinedly announced that they would stand by him in his movement, and do their best to carry it forward in the interest of reform though everybody else deserted him. Surprised at this evidence of determination the opponents of the movement had nothing further to say and the party broke up without having accomplished the purpose which a good many well-meaning but misguided gentlemen had at heart. They did not however despair, On the day upon which Dunbar Lockwood's meeting was announced to come off, some of the same gentlemen had quietly called a meeting on their own account at another place, and had drawn thereto a number of those who had been invited to attend the other meeting. Dunbar heard of the affair within a few minutes of the time appointed for the opening of his own meeting and went in person to the place. By the exercise of a little diplomacy, proposing to those present the name of their own chairman, Mr. Amos R. Little, as the presiding officer of his own meeting, he induced them all to accompany him to the office of the Lockwood Manufacturing Co., on South Third Street, where the preliminary meeting of the Committee of One Hundred was held.

the part of "all good citizens in February next to secure better government for this city." The preliminary step toward the fulfillment of that prophesy was now about to be realized. The meeting was in session for several hours during which time the last of the opponents to this scheme of reform raised his hands and besought those assembled to do nothing, immediately after which he was metaphorically killed and buried with summary rites. Chairman Little was empowered to appoint a Committee of one hundred business men "to consider the subject of the nomination of proper candidates for municipal offices to be chosen at the February election." The meeting then adjourns and Bossism forthwith, as it hears the news, becomes unusually grave, for the proceeding looks as if the Reformers mean business.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE.

Over the result of this citizens' meeting McManesism is said to be not lightly exercised. Such meetings have been held before and have been productive of more or less mischief. Primarily the mere announcement of their occurrence is bad, having a tendency to prejudice the minds of voters. That citizens have assembled for a purpose such as this, presupposes the existence of dissatisfaction with the present order of things, and dissatisfaction being sometimes contagious, there is danger that it may become universal and find forcible expression in

the elections. Meantime, with busy tongue, Rumor is furnishing plenty of exciting topics for all classes, and Journalism in many directions is scouting for the latest and freshest revelations to satisfy the popular craving. From his towered sky-retreat Colonel McClure, godfather of Revolt and Disorganization, looks with cold philosophic eye upon the threatening clash of belligerent elements, and hides beneath a calm, self-contained exterior a deal of genuine satisfaction. Well does he know the forces that are slowly working out a solution of this political problem; for, has he not, in many private conferences with Dunbar Lockwood, in that towered chamber, otherwise *sanctum sanctorum*, for weeks past advised and suggested ways and things expedient to the object in view and to the circumstances of the hour, this doing as experienced politician and able editor combined, whose forty years of political life, enriched by a varied experience of ups and downs and five years' life in Philadelphia journalism, has served to give him a knowledge of men and things which is used with most potent effect, in any cause he undertakes. To the Philadelphia public Colonel McClure addressed his journalistic salutory, before reform in that city had found a foothold, since which time City, State, and Nation have felt the power of his vigorous pen. These political revolutionists has he encouraged and incited, the cause of the people has he espoused, their wrongs proclaimed, their self-appointed masters fiercely denounced, for all of which he has earned the cordial hatred of those masters to whom the mention of his name is disturbing and irritating as salt and vinegar upon raw flesh. In no circumscribed sphere of action has he received his training. From the

remote southern tier of Pennsylvania counties, where the fertile Keystone soil mingles with the limestone rocks of sunny Maryland, and where, embosomed among the hills of the blue valley of Cumberland, in the heart of Franklin County, lies the historic little town of Chambersburg, with its hollow-sounding turnpikes and its mountain-inns, came Colonel McClure in the early days of Philadelphia reform, when people's movements and organizations for popular rights were in their incipiency, and for a time was not heard of in politics, having settled down quietly to the practice of the profession of law. Not long, however, was he destined to remain thus, in retirement. The struggles of the unorganized and politically inexperienced people against the banded and organized hosts of the ringsters had already begun, and the crying need of the hour was an experienced leader. Back through the years of political strife and turbulence, of which sturdy Pennsylvania had had its share, were the meteor-like traces in Legislative hall and Nominating convention, of Colonel McClure, and never did they shine with a gladder light than to these struggling and politically unpracticed Reformers now, when, as if by an inspiration-flash, an idea possessed them. Here in their midst, seeking public favor no longer, nor yet free from contempt for the practices of political adventurers—wearing the guise of devotees to party principle only that they might steal—was the veteran of many stirring conflicts, friend of Lincoln and of "war-Governor" Curtin, and the type and representative of a nobler and more lofty aim in politics, whose skill and unbounded resources, tried and proven so often in the past, might well spread confusion and dismay through the forces of the enemy.



With enthusiasm and courage new-born the Reformers seized Colonel McClure, dragged him, with stern disregard of the question of individual liberty, from his law-books and legal surroundings and nominated him in a great people's meeting as their candidate for Mayor against the candidate of McManesism, none other than Councilman William S. Stokley. Then began a contest the like of which Philadelphia never before witnessed. In stirring oratory, night after night, did Colonel McClure picture to the people the profligacy and corruption among their public servants, who had in reality become masters, and enthusiastically and effectually did his young lieutenants, irrespective of party, from among the people fight for their leader, until the popular feeling against Bosses and adventurers reached flood-tide, and into the ballot-boxes on election day went thousands of votes for Colonel McClure, in excess of those voted for candidate Stokley. But the resources of the Bosses were not yet exhausted. They controlled the election boards, or such as they did not control they speedily bought, and they were leagued together, Democrat and Republican, in closely knit brotherhood whose interests were mutual, and, making common cause against the people's champion, the election returns were falsified without limit and election officers bribed to perjure themselves, by which means the official count was made to result in favor of candidate Stokley, which acts have ever, among the many dark things done by the political conspirators, been openly admitted.

But, presto! what have they done? Rejecting a Mayor who would have been an obstacle to the success of their practices for not more than three years at the worst, they

have made an Editor who will be with them evermore, while their lives run, a fearful Nemesis on their tracks, whose very shadow becomes an object of dread. Fatal act! Never from that day have they had an undisturbed hour, never have they been exempt from the wasting fire of the journalistic battery which their own knavish deeds provoked into action.

Consequences swift and disastrous grow out of this crime. Men's indignation and destructive fury are accelerated in their effects under the stimulating power of this aroused victim of an infamous wrong. Weary and well-nigh disheartened Reformers feel their hopes revive and their strength return under the bold and methodical warfare which this man, relying upon no man's opinion, consulting no man's judgment, but depending upon his own instinct and planting himself firmly upon the principle of all men's rights, inaugurates against a political oligarchy, as insolent and arrogant as any that ever reared its head in the despotic climes of the East. Under the fierce vigor of his attacks retribution appears to be truly a speedy minister. Though far from vanquished, or being dislodged from their entrenchments, the Bosses nevertheless see their erst powerful band of followers, broken and diminished, some flying, with prison haunted vision, to unknown parts for refuge, while others, less fortunate even than fugitives from justice, are driven, despite the influence and ready methods of their masters, into jails and prisons, there to expiate their crimes after the manner prescribed by law for the punishment of felons, all of which are among the first indications of the tendency of a sentiment to evolve tangible results out of the opposition of the people to self-constituted Bosses.

Meantime the work of organization among citizens is going forward. Presiding officer Little, acting out his instructions, proceeds to select a committee of "not less than one hundred business men," in which task he is aided by Dunbar Lockwood, Joel J. Baily, Joshua L. Baily, Rudolph Blankenburg, James A. Wright and Francis B. Reeves. Their meetings are held daily in the second story room of Dunbar Lockwood's manufactory, and the proceedings are, for the present, a secret. After a lapse of eleven days, or on the 26th of November, the work of Chairman Little and his colleagues is completed, and on the following day the list of the permanent Committee members\*, one hundred and seven in all, is

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\* The names and occupations of the members of the Committee of One Hundred, as originally constituted, were as follows, viz.: George N. Allen, merchant; William Allen, manufacturer; J. T. Audenreid, coal operator; William Arrott, manufacturer and insurance manager; Chas. B. Adamson, manufacturer; Joel J. Baily, merchant; Alexander Brown, banker; William B. Bement, manufacturer; William Brockie, shipping merchant; Joshua L. Baily, merchant; H. W. Bartol, sugar refiner; Henry C. Butcher, merchant; John T. Bailey, manufacturer; James Bonbright, merchant; Charles H. Biles, cashier; Rudolph Blankenburg, manufacturer and importer; George L. Buzby, secretary board of trade; David Branson, coal merchant; Robert R. Corson, secretary; E. R. Cope, manufacturer; B. B. Comegys, banker; John F. Craig, broker; George V. Cresson, machinist; Matthew H. Crawford, gentleman; Chas. J. Cohen, manufacturer; H. T. Coates, publisher; Lemuel Coffin, merchant; Samuel Croft, manufacturer; Edward H. Coates, merchant; A. A. Catanach, builder; Thomas T. Child, jeweler; James Dobson, manufacturer; A. J. Drexel, banker; William P. Ellison, merchant; George H. Earle, attorney; Oliver Evans, merchant; George W. Farr, jeweler; Clayton French, wholesale druggist; John Field, merchant; W. W. Frazier, Jr., sugar refiner; Phillip C. Garrett, retired manufacturer; Jabez Gates, merchant; R. H. Griffith, farmer; D. R. Garrison, lumber merchant; James Graham, merchant; John E. Graeff, coal operator; Henry C. Gibson, merchant; Thomas Hart, attorney; F. Oden Horstmann, manufacturer; Thos. S. Harrison, manufacturer; Samuel Hecht, merchant; R. E. Hastings, manufacturer; Theodore Justice, merchant; N. E. Janney, real estate agent; William H. Jenks, merchant; Eben C.

published in the newspapers and read with varying emotions by different persons. Some of them have been familiar Reformers who have given many uneasy hours to Bossism in the past;—among them Henry C. Lea, Charles Wheeler, T. Morris Perot, George H. Earle, and John Field. The majority of them, however, have been unknown in politics, being strict business men who have heretofore taken no further interest in political affairs than is involved in the casting of a vote, and not always have they gone this far, the political surroundings of the polling places being, as a rule, not inviting to self-respecting persons, a fact which accounts largely for the

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Jayne, wholesale druggist; Chas. O. Knight, merchant; Godfrey Keebler, baker; Henry C. Lea, publisher; Edward Longstreth, manufacturer; Henry Lewis, merchant; Amos R. Little, merchant; E. Dunbar Lockwood, manufacturer; J. Frederick Loeble, manufacturer; Louis C. Madeira, insurance agent; Thomas G. Morton, surgeon; James S. Mason, manufacturer; Theodore Megargee, manufacturer; George D. McCreary, coal operator; John McLaughlin, merchant; Aquila Nebeker, physician; Morris Newburger, manufacturer; H. M. Oliver, manufacturer; T. Morris Perot, malster; James Peters, merchant; Joseph Parrish, attorney; H. W. Pitkin, manufacturer; Thomas Potter, Jr., manufacturer; Chas. Roberts, manufacturers; Charles H. Rogers, banker; Francis B. Reeves, merchant; Charles Spencer, manufacturer; David Scull, Jr., merchant; William Sellers, manufacturer; B. H. Shoemaker, importer; F. R. Shelton, banker; James Spear, merchant; Seville Schofield, manufacturer; Samuel G. Scott, merchant; J. C. Strawbridge, merchant; Alexander Simpson, Jr., attorney; Oswald Seidensticker, teacher; Wm. Henry Trotter, importer; A. C. Thomas, importer; John P. Verree, manufacturer; Charles Wheeler, manufacturer; George Whitney, manufacturer; George Watson, builder; John Wanamaker, merchant; Edward S. Whelen, banker; John C. Watt, manufacturer; Ellis D. Williams, attorney; James A. Wright, shipping merchant; William Wood, manufacturer; Henry Winsor, shipping merchant; Alexander Whilldin, merchant; E. R. Wood, manufacturer; Christopher Wetherill, wholesale druggist.

Of the composition of the committee the *Press* of the 27th of November, 1881, makes the following analysis:

“In the foregoing list certain sections of the city, in which the Reform element is **not extensive**, have very small representation. For instance,

frequent success of Bossism, Demagogism, and all the other isms that, from a political source, curse the people.

These names no sooner see the light of print, than speculation and gossip run wild. In club house, hotel, public vehicle and on street corners, they stimulate the wagging of tongues. Names are there, which constitute base and superstructure of Philadelphia business enterprise, which commemorate in the third, fourth and fifth generations the integrity of the city's early founders and still shed lustre upon the religious faith of Penn. Verily, the uprising is formidable, as James McManes himself even does admit, adding, with smooth desire to placate, that he "does not wish to antagonize the best element of the community," which expression of magnanimity comes rather late.

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the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Ward, have but two representatives on the Committee. Mr. Loebler from the First, and Mr. Watt from the Fourth. The Eight Ward has twenty-six gentlemen on the Committee, the largest representation, as might be expected, in a district so largely populated by extensive property owners. Following it is the Twenty-Second Ward (Germantown and Chestnut Hill) in which reside so many wealthy merchants, with sixteen representatives. The Seventh Ward is represented by nine gentlemen, and the Ninth by seven. Both these Wards have within their limits Spruce, Pine and Arch streets, on which are the residences of many wealthy and influential citizens. The great Reform Ward of Philadelphia, the Fifteenth, where Mr. Joseph L. Caven resides, has ten representatives, only one of whom has ever been prominent in political life. The Nineteenth Ward is represented by Mr. Peters, alone, and the Twenty-Third also has but one representative. The Twenty-Fourth Ward and the Twenty-Seventh Ward, in the former of which John Hunter resides, and in the latter W. Ellwood Rowan, have each four names on the Committee. Manayunk, with its great manufactories, has two representatives. The other Wards that are without representation at all in the Committee are the Fourteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-Fifth and Thirty-First. Every gentleman named on the Committee is Republican in politics.

## CHAPTER IX.

### READJUSTING POLITICAL BALANCES.

Now there will be an end to this one-sided management of things political, an end to the usurpation of narrow cunning and audacity and consequent wholesale misrule; and an end, too, to the domination of insolent and offensive political bullies and types of a brute force in politics whose influence upon men has ever been vicious and degrading, and who, through indifference or lack of vigilance on the part of the people, possess themselves of the reins of government and utilize the power thus acquired not for the public good, but for their own vulgar aggrandizement and self-exaltation. Long enough, McManesism, have you been making your war against the unorganized people; long enough have your unkempt followers and curb-stone heelers proficient in rascality in every form, stood as a menace and a terror to men whose offense has been that they sought to exercise their citizen's rights and cast their votes, without dictation or advice from you. Now you shall witness a change. The sleeping lion which you so persistently kicked and prodded and abused, has at last been aroused and you shall find, by a test more practical and compulsory than will be to the suddenly acquired luxury of your tastes agreeable, how insignificant, after all, is this power by which you have awed and intimidated men in the past. Fools may you well be called. The vulgar love of tinsel and scarlet, outstripping discreetness and smothering honesty, has led you to believe that with your trickery and political jugglery you could build up and maintain a limited

Despotism, and that, too, in a city which, upon a time, under the goad of cruel oppression, arose in its young vigor and might, and rang out a Declaration that smote tyrants with pallid fear, and in stern, unequivocal speech taught kings to be humble. Short-sighted, puny creatures! Independence, which has been the thews and sinews of the Nation, was not born here to be overcome and eradicated by you,—crafty interlopers of unheroic stock; nor has that sacred hall, white-towered, and eloquent in dumb pleading, with its age-tarnished bell, lost the power to stir men's souls when their rights and liberties are threatened, whether by you or by less treacherous foreign foe.

There is old William Conway! Though his appeal for his citizen's rights has been slighted and mocked, there is fire in men's hearts that will be kindled into a dangerous flame by that act. Too much of "nature's nobility" is here among men, too little of that artificial quality which elsewhere is reserved for the "favored of the king," and in which lurks merely a verbose and ear-wearying title, to permit a failure to arouse men at sight of such doings. Mark well the fact: consequences will grow out of it.

Even now events, springing from the perturbed souls of men, are crowding thickly one upon another. Currents and counter-currents are setting in and beating savagely against the foundation of Bossism's strongest fortress which yet stands firm, with windows and port-holes guarded, and with white, anxious faces looking out upon the raging waters. Bland Mayor Stokley is there, not so much a Boss as formerly, but with deep policy written on his countenance and with manners conciliatory and re-

respectful. Difficult is the Mayor's position now; waters pressing against him from without, yet with some kindly favored currents; and half suspicious glances from friends and household members from within. Upon the outward tumult the Mayor looks with benign self-composure, as if he were one of the promoters of the uproar, and had been merely cast away and borne to the enemy's stronghold by mistake, and now was anxious to escape. Such is the Mayor's expression when looked at from the standpoint of the attacking forces without; how his countenance appears to those who view it from within, the outsiders cannot know.

The Reform fever, meantime, is spreading and many persons are becoming infected. In the most unexpected places it breaks out; dissatisfied humanity, emulating the Committee of One Hundred, is colloguing together with a view to forming clubs. The public ear soon becomes familiar with the names of the Veteran's Association, the Union League of America, the Minute Men the Keim Club, and a host of other designations expressive of a stout determination to give the people a chance, through each aforementioned organization individually, to annihilate Bossism and accept what they have to offer in place thereof, each separate club having a candidate of its own for Mayor, upon whose election depends the overthrow of the entire system of Bossism, which view of the matter the numerous clubs vie with each other in endeavoring to impress upon the minds of the One Hundred. There is the name of Keim! Plain citizen, business man and loyal Republican. He is looking confidently forward to the party nomination by the Republicans for Mayor against Mr. Stokley; believes two terms ought to



be enough for Mayor Stokley, despite the plea of the latter's friends to the effect that his vigorous suppression of gamblers and housebreakers should secure him the office for life. Nevertheless Mr. Keim has hopes, as he has reason to have, for assurances have been given him by persons influential with the dispensing power in politics, that he shall have the nomination; and his friends throughout the city go on forming their clubs and hiring bands of music to develop enthusiasm in the interest of their candidate.

Quietly the work goes forward on the part of the One Hundred; quietly they formulate their plans and discuss their prospects. The 3d of December is come, and with it comes their first meeting as a body, Temporary Chairman Little in the chair, Francis B. Reeves, Secretary, and the meeting place the Board of Trade Rooms. Important is this first meeting, for there is to be elected a permanent chairman, who has already been agreed upon in the person of citizen Philip C. Garrett of Germantown, retired merchant, with leisure and pecuniary means which will enable him to give time to the work devolving upon him, as the Committee's Executive. Preliminary to the business in question, Mr. James A. Wright submits a motion to the effect that the officers shall consist of a Chairman, first and second Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and a first and a second Assistant Secretary. Mr. John E. Graeff offers a motion for the appointment by the chair of a committee of three, whose business shall be the nomination of officers, and the chair appoints Mr. Graeff, Joel J. Bailey and Henry Winsor as the committee, which at once retires, and the meeting takes a recess until it returns.

After a brief absence the committee appears and submits its report: for Permanent Chairman, Philip C. Garrett; First Vice-Chairman, James A. Wright; Second Vice-Chairman, Francis B. Reeves; Treasurer, A. J. Drexel; Secretary, George W. Farr; First and Second Assistant Secretaries, Robert R. Corson and Charles B. Adamson.

The report is accepted, the officers unanimously elected and amid demonstrations of applause Chairman Garrett takes the seat which is resigned to him by his friend and neighbor, Mr. Little.

Mr. John Wanamaker presents the first resolution under the new chairman. It is to the effect that "in order to perfect the organization the chairman be authorized to appoint the following committees: an Executive Committee, to consist of twenty-five members; a Committee on Legislation, to consist of fifteen members; a Committee on Finance, to consist of twenty-five members; a Committee on Public Meetings, to consist of fifteen members; and a committee on Ward Organization, to consist of thirty-one members; "and inasmuch," citizen Wanamaker's resolution goes on, "as there is not in the membership of the Committee one representative from each of the thirty-one wards, the chair be hereby authorized to constitute a committee on Ward Organization, consisting of, at least, one member from each ward," which resolution is also unanimously adopted.

Another motion, by Mr. John Field, that the chairmen of all Standing Committees shall be *ex officio* members of the Executive Committee, is carried; as also is a motion by Mr. John McLaughlin, to the effect that all resolutions and communications received by the General Committee

be referred to the proper Standing Committees, without debate. Mr. Rudolph Blankenburg moves that the Executive committee, when appointed, be requested to report, at an early day, a plan of action and rules for the government of the organization. The meeting then adjourns, to come together at the call of the Chair. Yet, a word more: two significant things have happened, which rather indicate the importance the Committee has already acquired in the eyes of other political organizations. The City Executive Committee of the Republicans—composed largely of obsequious supporters of Bossism—has sent a letter congratulating the Committee on its determination to battle for Reform, and diplomatically pledging itself to co-operate with the latter body in its work and assuming that the latter will, as a matter of course, renominate Mr. Stokley.

The other communication is from the Union League of America, which is supporting Mr. Keim, and hints that the proper thing for the Committee to do is to nominate Mr. Keim which letter, with the other, is taken charge of and laid away for future use among the Secretary's papers.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE GAS TRUST "COURTS INVESTIGATION."

The "dear people" have as much as they can do, watching events in this now wide awake city. To keep trace of everything that is turning up politically, is a task requiring sharp eyes and ears. So much is happening these days, so much more is threatening. Leaving out of question that which is yet unrealized, enough will be found in the record of each day's acts to impress the mind with an idea of the extent of the influences which are working a change in the political balances of the municipality and laying a sure foundation for new doctrines which have long been frowned down and sneered at by those whose interests were best served by the continued supremacy of Bossism and its pernicious methods.

In this preliminary political skirmish two distinct sets of fighters are discernible as aggressors. The Citizen's Committee, among the people, in radical ways, though yet scarce fully equipped, are sapping the enemy's strength. President Caven and Messrs. Page, Hunter and King in the City Councils are engaged with equal vigor in the same operations, conducted under parliamentary restrictions. Upon the actions of both, the interest and the sympathy of the populace are centred. From the wards and precincts, where the despotic hand of Bossism has for years stifled all political independence, come words of encouragement and hope. The dissatisfied, the wronged and the abused alike, rally around the standard of the popular cause, and crave a place in the ranks, to

do whatever work may be assigned to them, content if they be only allowed to contribute their mite toward the overthrow of the mischievous schemers against men's rights.

The Councilmanic proceedings at this stage of things will bear watching. The virtue of figures is being exemplified in a notable way; and the usefulness of Controller Pattison, as an adjunct to the Reform quartette in Councils, is being strikingly illustrated by daily acts in connection with certain matters somewhat distasteful to that formidable source of popular dissatisfaction, the Gas Trust. Since Mr. Pattison's re-election there has been a considerable amount of night-work; considerable examination of books and records on the part of the skillful Chief Clerk Hirst, and there have also been conversations and quiet meetings over the result of Chief Clerk Hirst's work, between the Controller and the quartette of Reform Councilmen. Latterly the press has discovered that something important is passing between them, and the continuous agitation of the mystery in its columns only serves to intensify public curiosity and excitement.

In Councils, meantime, the Gas Trust servitors are becoming more irascible, and they frequently exhibit evidence of chagrin and annoyance, a fact which Davis Page can bear testimony to, inasmuch as he finds them so much easier to arouse these days than heretofore, though in justice to Davis as a vitalizing influence, it should be observed that they have always had a sensitive hide for his caustic touch. No marvel is it to him, who has been making war on the Gas Trust from the beginning of his Councilmanic career, that its puppets in Councils dance easily now, since there is so much more cause. What

Mr. Page should marvel at, if he does at all, is the existence, after his present term expires, of the remotest chance of his return to Councils, if James McManes and his brother Trustees continue to be a power in politics. Not without many warnings of vengeance does the aggressive Councilman pursue his fight. Abundant cause would he have to hesitate and ponder over probable consequences were his nature of a softer mould; but being aggressive and of uncompromising convictions, he goes steadily forward, knowing no course but that of stern duty. No small thing is it to wage a fight against the Gas Trust; for, so great has become the power of this political Goliath, of late years, that few indeed, are the ones who care to brave its wrath. If examples of the consequences of such rashness are needed, there is one close at hand in the person of aggressive Councilman Clark, of the Ninth Ward, champion of people's rights, like Davis Page, and like him also mathematical, which intellectual gift kept him always puzzling his brains over Gas Trust official reports, until forced to the conclusion that they were incomprehensible which fact he boldly declared in Common Council, at the same time demanding a clearer exposition of the Trustees' methods of management of the public property entrusted to their care, which the Trustee's did not give, but instead gave an exposition of their methods of carrying Councilmanic elections, where obnoxious candidates are concerned, and boldly defeated Mr. Clark next time he ran, which is an example of the treatment accorded all persons who dared raise their voices in protest against loose system and mismanagement in city affairs

Meantime, popular feeling against the Gas Trust has

been so wrought up by the publication of charges of mismanagement and fraud that the demand for an investigation of the accounts of the Trustees becomes too strong to be resisted, and Mr. McManes, as chief spokesman of the Trust announces, with smooth politic air and in time-honored phrase, that he and his colleagues "court investigation." A resolution providing for the appointment of a joint committee of investigation, composed of six members from each chamber is, accordingly, on the 13th of November, introduced in Common Council, by Mr. Bardsley; and in pursuance of its provisions President Caven appoints as the Common Council Committee Messrs. Bardsley, S. Davis Page, John Hunter, Samuel C. Collins, and Walter E. Rex, with himself as member *ex officio*.

Now on this particular day accident or design contributes very decidedly, in the Select branch of the Councils, to the advantage of the Gas Trust. The President of that body is a citizen of standing in the community, Mr. George A. Smith. Although President Smith has not at any time distinguished himself as a Reformer, he has perhaps done the best he knew, and has kept himself until this hour comparatively free from the strictures of the press; perhaps more free than he has deserved. At any rate, no act in his official career has ever been calculated to try the patience of the people to the extent which his conduct in this crisis of affairs in the Councils tries the confidence of men on this important day. When the joint resolution for the appointment of the Committee comes over from the Common chamber to the Select branch for action, President Smith is absent from the Chair; has left at the mercy of one of the strongest

partisans\* of the Gas Trustees to be found in either branch of the Councils, this legislative body. The result is what would naturally be expected. The Select Council part of the Committee is made up entirely of men who are friendly to the Gas Trust, who owe their election to its political influence, and who, in times past, have ever stood as the defenders of this most insolent self-constituted arbiter of men's political rights.

The thing has been done; it is useless for the people or their leaders to waste words in vain regrets. Parliamentary rules do not define as a crime the act of a presiding officer who abandons his post in such an hour, nor do they restrict him in the choice of a substitute to serve in his absence, in view of which facts, time spent in brooding over an opportunity lost is energy wasted.

To follow the proceedings of this Committee to their close is to follow one of the leading issues of the contest between the Reformers and the Bosses in the fierce struggle for the possession of the important city offices during the next three months. At the very outset the friends of the Trustees on the Committee show their bias, and more than show it. To anything like a full and clear investigation they make their opposition felt in a manner that is annoying and obstructive; and to the

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\* President Smith, on the day this joint resolution was presented in Common Councils, vacated his Chair in the Select branch on the plea that important business engagements required his presence elsewhere, and called upon Councilman John McCullough to preside in his place. Mr. McCullough was, therefore, in the Chair when the resolution came over from Common Council and, having been concurred in by the Select Chamber, he proceeded to appoint as the committee from Select Council, Adam Albright, John G. Brooke, Wm. E. Reyburn, James L. Miles, Wm. McMullen, with President Smith, as member *ex officio*.



stranger who sits as a spectator during any of the Committee sessions, it would be most difficult to discover from observation whether some of the Select Council members of the Committee were in reality members acting in an official capacity or whether they were the paid attorneys of the Gas Trust. No technical point that can be raised to exclude important testimony as to the mismanagement of the affairs of the Trust, is allowed to escape their notice, but is seized with alacrity and presented as a barrier to the progress of the inquiry after simple facts.

Thus the inquiry goes on through the months, with Caven and Page and Hunter searching with careful, laborious application, into the truth of such transactions as they have record of; and such as they do not have record of, letting alone for the present. The discouragements they meet with are frequent; the impediments thrown in their way are constant. Transactions here, on their face suspicious, require certain corroboration which is only to be found in books and records securely hidden away in the vaults and tight chambers of the Gas Trustees' headquarters, on Seventh street. Repeated civil requests for the production of these necessary instruments are met by various excuses, and also by frequent promises of compliance. Yet they never appear. From requesting their production to demanding their production is not any more successful. Ingenious pretexts are day after day put forward before the Committee in explanation of the absence of the data which is to establish the integrity of these complacent gentlemen who "court investigation."

Finally a new plan is adopted. If written evidence cannot be secured, the Committee will call the Trustees

themselves, and also their chief accountants. The Trustees are requested to appear, but they pay no more heed to the request than they would to the voice of the wind. The requests are repeated, the time and the place are invariably appointed for them to meet the Committee, but they never show their presence, nor signify by word or sign any acknowledgement of the receipt of any notice.

The Committee next endeavor to secure the attendance of the Cashier. The evidence of this employe is most important. Nothing would more certainly throw light upon the long-hidden mysteries of Gas Trust management or mismanagement than the testimony of this man, if he told the truth. Messengers are dispatched after Cashier White, and notes are written to him, none of which produce the least effect, the Cashier being too busy to respond in any form. At length he is indulged to the extent of a visit from members of the Committee, whom he receives from behind an open ledger, with one pen in his mouth and another behind his ear, in which position he looks doggedly at the Councilmanic delegation, through steel-rimmed spectacles. The brief parley the visitors have with him, is anything but satisfactory. The Cashier bluntly tells them he has no time to attend investigations. The request for books and papers to aid in the investigation is again met by an ingenious excuse. It is in vain the Cashier is told that his employers have assured the public that they "court investigation." The Cashier seems to be supreme in his position for once; appears to take no instructions from his employers who blandly assure the Committee that they have ordered him to appear and to furnish any books and papers that

may be desired. And thus the Cashier still maintains his position behind the desk, with his ponderous ledger before him, and with his numerous surplus pens scattered all about him, the investigation, meantime, going on with such random scraps of evidence as the Committee is able to get together. There will be a report to deliver, one of these days; and therein will be shown some surprising results, notwithstanding the discouragements now thrown in the way of a fair and impartial inquiry.

The chairman of the Committee of One Hundred has been occupied, in the meantime, selecting members of the several Standing committees.\* On the 11th of December the second meeting is held, and the committees are announced by Chairman Garrett, whereby considerable public curiosity and expectation are satisfied. The Executive committee, which is the important body at this stage of the organization, assumes its new functions with promptness, and under the lead of its chairman, Mr. Little, retires to a corner of the room, to pre-

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\* The members of the Standing Committees, as announced by Chairman Garrett, at the second meeting of the Committee of One Hundred, were as follows:

Executive Committee: Amos R. Little, chairman; James A. Wright, Rudolph Blankenburg, Henry Winsor, Francis B. Reeves, John Field, William Arrott, George Whitney, James Bonbright, George N. Allen, J. C. Strawbridge, J. T. Audenreid, John Wanamaker, John E. Graeff, Joshua L. Baily, George H. Earle, Samuel G. Scott, Thomas S. Harrison, E. Dunbar Lockwood, H. W. Pitkin, T. Morris Perot, Theodore Justice, Benjamin H. Shoemaker, William Wood, Ellis D. Williams. Members *ex officio*: Philip C. Garrett, Joel J. Baily, John McLaughlin, E. R. Wood, H. W. Bartol, George W. Farr.

Finance Committee: Joel J. Baily, chairman; Henry C. Lea, Charles Wheeler, Edward S. Whelen, William Sellers, Alexander Brown, B. B. Comegys, George Whitney, Wm. B. Bement, Henry C. Gibson, Charles H. Rogers, James S. Mason, Henry Lewis, Eben C. Jayne, Lemuel Coffin, W. W. Frazier, Jr., Edward Longstreth, John T. Bailey, David Scull, Jr.,

pare a report to be submitted to the general Committee. This report, which is presently read by the Secretary, Mr. Ellis D. Williams, presents first, a method for governing the proceedings of the general Committee, and proposes that the rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, so far as applicable, be adopted as the rules of the Committee of One Hundred. The order of business shall be: first, roll call; second, reading the minutes; third, reading communications; fourth, reports of committees; fifth, unfinished business; and sixth, new business. The general Committee by a unanimous vote adopts this part of the report.

The remainder of the report, among other things, defines the duties of the other Standing committees. The duty of the committee on Ward Organization shall be to organize, in such manner as shall afford all persons

A. J. Drexel, F. R. Shelton, Charles J. Cohen, Amos R. Little, Charles H. Biles, W. H. Jenks.

Legislative Committee: Edward R. Wood, chairman; Thomas Hart, Jr., Ellis D. Williams, Joseph Parrish, Clayton French, Samuel G. Scott, Charles Spencer Edwin R. Cope, James Spear, William H. Trotter, A. C. Thomas, Alexander Whilldin, William Brockie, D. R. Garrison.

Committee on Ward Organization: John McLaughlin, chairman; George H. Earle, Seville Schofield, John C. Watt, David Branson, John P. Verree, James Dobson, Godfrey Keebler, John F. Craig, H. M. Oliver, Matthew H. Crawford, J. Frederick Loeb, Alexander Simpson, Jr., Charles Roberts, Samuel Croft, A. A. Catanach, Theodore Megargee, L. C. Madeira, Oliver Evans, James Peters, George Watson, Jabez Gates, R. H. Griffith, Samuel Hecht, R. E. Hastings, Thomas Potter, Jr., George D. McCreary, H. T. Coates, Rudolph Blankenburg, Thomas J. Child, James S. Mason, Alexander Whilldin, James Graham, A. J. Drexel, D. R. Garrison.

Committee on Public Meetings: H. W. Bartol, chairman; Edward H. Coates, Wm. T. Ellison, Thomas G. Morton, Oswald Seidensticker, Henry C. Butcher, N. E. Janney, William Allen, George V. Cresson, James Graham, C. Wetherill, F. Oden Horstman, Charles C. Knight, George L. Buzby, Morris Newberger.

desirous of cooperating with the Committee of One Hundred an opportunity to give effect to their wishes, auxiliary committees of citizens in every ward. The Committee shall also constantly, during the political campaign, report to the general Committee, as early as possible, for its approval the best nominations for Councils and for Ward offices.

The mission of the Committee on Legislation shall be to report to the general Committee such measures as are necessary in the interest of Reform; and to submit an act, if expedient, "modifying or repealing the Act creating the office of Collector of Delinquent Taxes, so as to make it a salaried office, the fees to revert to the city Treasury." And also "to inquire into and report as to the practicability of the repeal of the Recorder's bill." These sections of the Executive committee's report were also adopted by unanimous vote, and the report was then adopted as a whole.

Meantime, the members of the committee on Ward Organization have also been getting their heads together and have a report to make, the tenor of which is the addition of new names to their committee, in accordance with citizen John Wanamaker's resolution adopted at the last meeting, in order that each of the thirty-one Wards of the city shall be represented by at least one member on the committee on Ward Organization. The new members proposed are John S. Stephens, Robert V. Barber, Wm. W. Taxis, Peter Boyd, Fred Glading, Morris Carpenter, Dr. J. K. Knorr, Isaac A. Sheppard, David H. Kolloch, Clermont Smith, Constantine Thorn, and James Dittie. The report is adopted by the general Committee, and the persons named become members of the committee on Ward Organization.

Two motions are offered before the Committee adjourns, which are fraught with significance, and might well be accepted as an index to important consequences. Prim and clean-shaven Oliver Evans—who is a good friend to Mayor Stokley—in his Quaker garb, presents a motion to the effect that the Executive committee be requested to report at an early date the names of suitable persons for City Solicitor, Receiver of Taxes, and Mayor.

Dunbar Lockwood arises immediately and offers a motion to the effect that the auxiliary Ward committees of citizens, co-operating with the committee on Ward Organization of the Committee of One Hundred, be requested to communicate to the Executive committee their views as to candidates, in order that the latter committee may have the benefit of their suggestions. Both motions are adopted unanimously, and the motives of their authors now seem to be in harmony, yet there will come a time when both shall stand face to face sternly and uncompromisingly opposed to each other.

## CHAPTER XI.

### DEMOCRATIC AUXILIARIES.

The position occupied by the Democrats during the early stage of this Reform uprising is a subject of much speculation and of no little concern. Their organization in the city for the past few years has been represented by a small group of men whose character and methods, in politics, are such as may well cause Reformers of Republican faith, eager to absolve themselves from any obligation to support the corrupt and venal practices of McManesism, to hesitate before casting their lot with those who have constituted themselves spokesmen of the Democratic party. To discern any difference in objects, in methods, or in moral standards between the men who occupy a position of prominence before the people as "Democratic leaders," and those who have long been known as Republican Bosses would appear to require clearer and more discriminating vision than has so far been demonstrated to exist among men. That the two elements are not only thoroughly congenial together, and understand each other much better than do their duped and betrayed followers, but that they secretly conspire together to defeat candidates of the people at the polls there is, and long has been, evidence abundant and undisputed; such evidence being especially plain and glaring in the case of Colonel McClure, the candidate of the people for mayor, on which occasion Democratic and Republican Bosses combined, making common cause against the interests of citizens generally and vying with each other in their efforts, inside and outside the polls, to

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perpetrate monstrous frauds under the guidance and the protection of the police.

In consequence of this state of things, the fact that the Committee of One Hundred is exclusively a Republican organization, does not promise much in the nature of encouragement for those so-called political rivals of McManesism, who, at every opportunity, so ostentatiously proclaim their devotion to "the principles of pure Democracy," and, in wildly impassioned speech, invoke departed spirits to sustain their peculiarly vicious acts. Toward all movements in favor of a reform of public abuses their attitude is as hostile, as uncompromisingly antagonistic, as has ever been toward the same movements the attitude of their Republican prototypes. Witness the case of the stable Controller Pattison. The only Democrat occupying a conspicuous position in the City government, he commanded alike, the respect and the support of the people, independent of party. The highest ideal of a faithful administration, and of a painstaking and capable official, was represented in the conception the people had formed of the management of the Controller's office, and of the character of its official head. In spite of the prestige of repeated successes at the polls, however, where other members of his party had failed, Pattison found little countenance from his own party leaders. Among them his triumphs awakened no spark of enthusiasm, and his enviable public record, the theme of praise even among his political opponents, brought no word of encouragement or of commendation from those who professed to uphold, in common with himself, the principles of the Democratic party. Rather were they chagrined and sullen, as if resenting the success of



one Democrat in view of the defeat of so many others more in accord with their peculiar aims, however they may have been with the aims of the people.

The chasm between Pattison and this class of his party members seemed to grow perceptibly wider with the inauguration of the One Hundred's new scheme of reform,—with which he was known to be in active sympathy—and with the beginning of the investigation of the Gas Trust, to which he contributed valuable assistance. His official conduct, in brief, proved beyond a doubt that he had no sympathy with the objects and purposes of these men, and that his elevation to a position of power and influence meant no advancement of their personal or political fortunes. More than this, he seemed to have no regard for the stock supply of crude and indiscriminate “traditions” of the party which the most unprincipled and untrustworthy of “leaders” so largely depended upon in their efforts to keep the zeal of their followers inflamed in order that they might the more effectually betray them for a sordid consideration into the hands of their political foes; and even less regard for the venerable party oracles who, surviving through countless disasters—which they had no small share in contributing to—nevertheless held themselves ever ready to tender advice and to exact homage and flattering recognition as among the least of the returns to be expected, for the inestimable privilege of consulting their venerable judgment upon all important official and party questions. In every sense he represented a new and more progressive element of the Democracy which the old pensioners of the party could not but regard with disfavor.

The election of Pattison and the organization of the

Committee of One Hundred then, while they brought anything but cause for congratulation to those eager and expectant persons known as "Democratic leaders," did bring out of a seclusion induced by an antipathy to the disreputable associations and methods of those leaders, a new element of the Democratic party, composed largely of young men of character and ability who were determined to be swayed by no partisan consideration, but to do their part as good citizens towards securing better government and reforming the abuses in the Public Departments. That they had the right from a party standpoint to claim a share of the credit for reforms thus far secured, or for reform movements recently inaugurated, the acts of Mr. Page and Mr. King in the city Councils, of Mr. Pattison outside the Councils, and, still further back of Messrs. Ashmead, Tatham, and others of the old Municipal Reform Association bore unmistakable testimony. Before proceeding to take any steps in the way of organization, however, there was to be considered a question of vital importance. The Committee of One Hundred, as yet, had not signified any disposition to coöperate with any Democratic organization in this work of Reform, nor had it by any word or act indicated that it was likely to go outside its own party to secure candidates for the three important City offices. Earnest and disinterested in the Reform cause as were these new and conservative recruits from the ranks of the Democracy, they must have been more than human did they not hesitate to give their aid to Chairman Garrett's Republican organization while there was reason to believe that the latter body was not disposed to free itself so completely from partisan considerations as

to enable it to make its selection of candidates without regard to the claims and the prejudices of party. For the office of Mayor, of Receiver of Taxes and of City Solicitor, there had been no mention by the Committee of any candidates who were not Republican. On the other hand there had been a decided feeling among the best element of the Democrats—the Pattison wing of the party—in favor of Councilman John Hunter, a Republican, for Receiver of Taxes. The candidacy of Mr. Hunter was very strongly urged by his Democratic colleagues in Councils, Messrs. Page and King, and by Mr. Pattison. In the meantime some of the Democrats had been recommending as a candidate for City Solicitor, a member of their own party, Mr. Edward R. Worrell. The office of Mayor, according to the unwritten rules of party etiquette (the Republicans being in the majority in the city) belonged to the Republicans, and there was a general disposition among the Reform Democrats to concede to the Reformers of the opposite party what they believed to be no more than one of their rights. At the same time nothing was more clearly established than the fact that the nominee for this office, in order to gain the Democratic support, must be one whose record was absolutely free from partisanship and who could command the respect of the best people of both parties. By some of the members of the Committee of One Hundred, several names had already been mentioned, among them, that of Edward T. Steel, a retired merchant of large means, resident in Germantown, who had never sought political honors of any kind but had for some years past rendered useful service to the cause of public education as a member of the School

Board and latterly as its President. The name of Mr. George De Benneville Keim also continues to be canvassed, but his candidacy is generally viewed in the light of a partisan affair, Mr. Keim's friends being hopeful of his nomination by the regular Republican Convention. Another Republican favorite is Richard Peterson, whose friends carry his name before the Committee of One Hundred, and let it be known that he too is a candidate. So many candidates, in short, were seldom before seen in a single campaign, nor was there ever heard of virtues in such compactness as appears, according to friendly representations, to exist in the corporeal dimensions of each separate man who is mentioned for a public office.

## CHAPTER XII.

### ADVANCE, YE FORTUNES OF STOKLEY.

McManesism has been quiet and non-committal; a silent observer of Reform doings; a close student of political complications, following its art with diligence, yet visibly disturbed by unfavorable circumstances, not the least of which is Councilmanic investigation of the Gas Trust, which is giving the newspapers a great deal of unpleasant matter to spread before the people at a most inappropriate time, being so near the February elections. The Committee of One Hundred, too, seems to be disagreeably active and confident, and, worse than all, invariably disposed to keep its eyes on this investigation, as if desirous of informing itself upon the subject of Gas Trust business methods as a branch of learning that may be useful in its new sphere of action.

Meantime on the 20th of December, in the Rooms of the Board of Trade, the Committee again assembles on business of unusual importance. On this day the Executive Committee will report to the General Committee a Constitution and Declaration of Principles and there is going to be, if rumors are to be credited, other business under the qualifying term of "new" which may be of some interest to an observant public. If untraceable and numerous reports are to be given one atom of credence there would seem to be a danger threatening the Committee on the threshold of its career more grave and serious than at first appears; danger of a disagreement and a break on the subject of bland and politic Mayor Stokley; there being a growing impression that the

Committee has in its membership a majority favorable to the Mayor, which majority will not permit their favorite to be cast aside no matter what his association with McManesism or Bossism may have been or now is. Suffice it that the Mayor has of late been talking a great deal about Reform, and has been complimenting, in no measured terms, the members of the Reform Committee.

The Committee on Ward Organization with its herculean task of organizing in wards and divisions miscellaneous humanity into compact Reform Phalanxes, which shall stand up against fraud and intimidation, and police persecution on election day, and see that justice obtains at the polls, has the first report to make at the meeting of the General Committee; it has added some additional names\* of citizens to its list, and reports progress. The Executive Committee, whose report has been anxiously awaited, submits, through Secretary Williams, the Declaration of Principles, and!—what in brief phrase is this! “the names of suitable persons to nominate for City offices!” Who expected this, and what is the substance of those two resolutions which go up to Chairman Garrett’s desk, there to be read by the Secretary in tones which cause each member present to bend forward his head and strain his ear in order that not one word may escape? “Resolved, that John Hunter, by his dignified, independent and honorable course as a member of Councils from the Twenty-fourth Ward, and as Chairman of the Finance Committee, has secured our confidence and

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\*The additional members of the Committee on Ward Organization as reported at this meeting of the General Committee were as follows: Jacob Grim, Samuel T. Child, Eli Hartley, James A. Main, Thomas V. Williams, James Hambleton, Wm. Dunlap, Lewis Taws, Wm. Harkness, Aquilla Nebaker.

esteem, and that believing him eminently fitted in every respect to discharge the duties of Receiver of Taxes, we hereby recommend him to the Committee of One Hundred for nomination to that office."

No sooner does the Secretary's voice cease than enthusiastic applause breaks forth from every member present, and several minutes elapse before Chairman Garrett's voice can be heard directing the Secretary to read the other resolution. Another Councilman to play a part in this impromptu drama! "Resolved, that in view of his long services in the interest of Municipal Reform the Executive Committee desires to express its utmost confidence in the integrity and ability of Joseph L. Caven, and do recommend him to the Committee of One Hundred, for their nomination to the position of City Solicitor."

Again does the storm of applause burst forth and for a time the enthusiasm of the assemblage runs wild. When it recovers sufficiently to warrant a continuation of business, it speedily is brought to its soberest senses by grave things. Mr. Drexel, Treasurer of the Committee, renowned banker and man of influence in financial circles and of repute world-wide, offers this resolution, the brevity of which is in no wise indicative of its magnitude and important consequences: "Resolved, that William S. Stokley be recommended as the candidate of the Committee of One Hundred for Mayor."

Unerring test! Grave business men, accustomed to systematic application to things, to cool blood and firm heads, forget themselves in this exciting moment. Impulsive Rudolph Blankenburg is not there, a member of this Reform body, to give countenance to Mayor Stokley

in any way. Too often has he suffered and seen others suffer from police interference at the polls, to permit him to sit for a moment silent now, when this unexpected move of the Mayor's friends in the Committee threatens to see consummated the very thing he joined the Committee to help prevent.

Mr. Blankenburg immediately offers a substitute to Mr. Drexel's resolution; moves that the name of Mr. Edward T. Steel, President of the Board of Public Education, be substituted for the name of Mr. Stokley. Alas for unaccountable complications! William Arrott, from President Caven's ward—the Fifteenth—arises, and reads a letter\* from Mr. Steel, anticipating Mr. Blankenburg's action, and declining, in positive terms, the nomination.

Mr. Blankenburg's ringing voice is now heard protesting against the nomination of Mr. Stokley. The Committee of One Hundred has been organized in the interest of Reform. Shall they, at the very threshold of their movement, give themselves over to the enemy,—that enemy whose intolerable acts have provoked the Committee into existence? What will be the thought of the people, upon whose support they rely for success, if they thus throw away their principles, and act from motives, inspired not by a design to advance public interests, but by feelings of personal obligation, and considerations based upon selfishness. What is Mayor Stokley's past record? Who have been, and are still, his associates and counsellors? Have not James McManes and his entire political household of unsavory Gas Trust memory been the Mayor's supporters, and will it

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\*See appendix.



not be a complete surrender to them for the Committee to make this nomination?

The meeting now was in an uproar. Chairman Garrett beckoning Citizen James A. Wright to the Chair, took the floor, holding in his hand certain correspondence\* which had passed between Mayor Stokley and himself. The announcement that he would read it with the consent of the meeting, brought immediate silence and acquiescence. The correspondence, summed up in brief, defined Mayor Stokley's position and embodied pledges from him to support certain Reform measures advocated by the Committee,

Mr. Blankenburg's motion to substitute the name of Mr. Steel was still unacted upon; and sagacious Francis B. Reeves now took it up and moved, as an amendment, that "candidates nominated by the Committee be required to endorse in writing the platform† adopted this day by the Committee, and that they report the same in writing to the Committee."

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\*See appendix.

†The Declaration of Principles as reported by the Executive Committee and adopted by the General Committee at this meeting as their platform, was as follows:

The time has come when the people demand a thorough reform in the methods of party management in matters of municipal government.

Believing in the principle that party interests must be subordinate to those of the whole city, we demand that the departments shall be restored to the honest administration of the early days of the municipality, and shall no longer be prostituted to the service and enrichment of a few men who arrogate to themselves the rights and powers belonging to the public.

The government of the city in all its departments should be a model of efficiency and economy.

Public office and public work constitute a high trust to be administered with fidelity in the interest of the whole people.

Wise and cool-headed Mr. Reeves! No act has yet been done in this Reform body half so important as this; no measure has yet been offered that goes half so deep nor means so much, as does this amendment; and so time shall prove. Other precautions and devices about the organization may yet be weak; glaring loopholes there may be, which even now the enemy may have its eyes upon, and which skill, experience and cunning, may easily master, and with incendiary hands plot and scheme to destroy, but this one radical safe-guard will save all; being linked with still another safe-guard,\*—formulated

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The incumbents of office should be at the very least, law-abiding citizens, known for their sobriety, morality, trustworthiness and general fitness. Their allegiance should be to the people and not to their party constituents. There should be the smallest possible number of offices and employees. Ring rule and Boss rule reverse all this. Offices and public service are not regarded as trusts, but as vehicles for gathering fees and emoluments and as aids in securing patronage, the direct and inevitable result of which is the exaction of heavy taxes and exorbitant fees from those having business with the public offices. The more money expended the greater the amount of patronage and dividends. Instead of economy of the public money and the best service of the public we have a profligate waste and poor service of all degrees down to no service at all.

The Committee proposes to cooperate with the people in enforcing the right remedies. Of these there are two: Good men who will administer the offices wholly and solely in the public interest, and legislative measures of Reform.

Such rules and methods as are usual in private business as to appointments, hours of service and compensation of employees, should apply in all the City Departments. All official appointments and removals should be based on the needs of the service and the fitness of the appointee, uninfluenced by party consideration and no office should be conferred as a reward for party services.

*The Mayoralty.*—It is the duty of the Mayor to execute the laws and to insist on their enforcement by his subordinate officers to the full extent of his power. To call attention to every abuse with a view to its remedy by the proper authorities; to suggest to and cooperate with Councils in all financial and other measures looking to the welfare of the community; and the veto power vested in him should be executed without fear or favor.

\*See footnote, page 115.

by the same sagacious Mr. Reeves,—whose potency in withstanding the most desperate machinations of McManesism shall yet be demonstrated.

Citizen Reeves' amendment being stated by the Chair, is put and carried. The substitute by Mr. Blankenburg, however, is lost, and thus the amendment is also defeated. Mr. Reeves does not despair but offers the amendment again as an amendment to Mr. Drexel's resolution, which that gentleman accepts. The amendment is adopted and Mr. Drexel's resolution, declaring Mayor Stokley the nominee of the Committee for the Mayoralty also passes.

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He should appoint and maintain a police force above the influence of party politics, and continue men in office during good behavior; he should forbid them to take part in politics, except to exercise their right to vote. They should not be assessed for political purposes nor hold any political office while on the police force.

*Receivership of Taxes.*—Offices of enormous emolument have been created for the express purpose of rewarding successful party leaders. This great abuse demands prompt remedy by legislation. Inasmuch as the existing laws relating to the collection of Delinquent Taxes are so framed as to give to one official an almost princely income, we demand such a change in the law as shall reduce this to reasonable compensation without impairing the collection of taxes. We also demand the repeal of the infamous Recorder's bill, by which a supernumerary office has been made to involve an enormous cost to the community.

*City Solicitorship.*—The City Solicitor, the legal defender and advisor of the city, should not only discharge the formal duties of his office but be zealous and vigilant in his efforts to protect the treasury from the unscrupulous raids of contractors or jobbers; and the fees and penalties collected in this and in other offices and departments of the city should be paid into the City Treasury.

*District Attorney.*—It is the duty of the District Attorney to prosecute as speedily as possible, without fear, favor or partiality, every case of infraction of law brought to his knowledge and to correct the many abuses which have crept into the administration of this office.

*City Councils.*—No man should be elected to Councils who makes party caucus paramount to his oath of office; nor who favors the office-holder at the expense of the taxpayer; nor anyone holding an official position in any department of the city government nor any employee thereof.

The resolution passes, but not without a storm. Fifty-two members have voted in favor of it, and thirty have voted against it. There are forty members absent, and the opponents of Mayor Stokley raise the point that a majority of the total membership of the Committee not having voted in favor of his nomination the resolution of Citizen Drexel should be decided as lost. The Chairman, however, rules against them.

Another scene follows. No sooner is the resolution adopted and the nomination of Mayor Stokley a fact, than radical Mr. Blankenburg arises, and his ringing

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Those elected to Councils should be men who have an intelligent comprehension of their duties and who are of such independence of character as will lead them to vote as their conscience dictates.

*Highways, Water and Gas.*—We demand well-paved and clean streets, an abundant supply of pure water and gas, and we believe that these can be secured at a much smaller outlay than the amounts usually expended on these Departments.

*Vagrants and Paupers.*—We demand the enforcement of the laws for the suppression of vagrancy, and favor the employment of able-bodied paupers now supported in idleness at the expense of taxpayers.

*Public Schools.*—Believing the education of our children has suffered from the political manipulation of our public schools, we demand that they shall be managed without party influence; that only competent and intelligent men be elected as School Directors and that their appointment of teachers shall be made solely on the ground of merit.

*Finis.*—While we are Republicans and are seeking to reform the management of the Republican party, our efforts are primarily on behalf of the whole people, and we ask the coöperation of our fellow-citizens in the belief that these principles are indispensable to good municipal government, and that no man who cannot heartily adopt and support them is worthy of our suffrages.

The objects which brought the Committee into existence were thus declared :

FIRST.—To maintain the purity of the ballot.

SECOND.—To secure the nomination and election of a better class of candidates for office.

THIRD.—To prosecute and bring to punishment those who have been guilty of election frauds, mal-administration of office or mis-appropriation of public funds.

voice is heard throughout the Chamber: "I joined this Committee," declares Mr. Blankenburg, "believing it to be a body organized to secure certain Reforms in the City government. Being now convinced that the purpose for which the Committee was formed is at an end I herewith tender my resignation."

Friends of Mr. Stokley move the resignation be accepted and there is a response in the affirmative. Little matter whether it be accepted or not, so far as the indignant Mr. Blankenburg is concerned, for already he has seized his hat and disappeared through the doorway. A solemn and somewhat embarrassing silence falls upon the Committee for several minutes thereafter. The members are all apparently thinking deeply; yet if any one were to ask them what was in their thoughts they would very likely evade the question.

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FOURTH.—To prevent objectionable legislation and aid in procuring such as the public welfare demands.

FIFTH.—To advocate and promote a public service based upon character and capability only.

†Some time after the occurrence of the incident involving the attack at the Fifth Ward polling place during the Spring election of 1880, of several policemen upon old William Conway, the Democratic candidate for Common Council, and the refusal of Mayor Stokley to rebuke the outrage on the part of his subordinates, Mr. Conway incidentally related the facts of the case to Mr. Reeves. Afterward, when the latter, who was much impressed by the story, joined the Committee of One Hundred one of his first acts was to have inserted in the Declaration of Principles a clause, declaring, as the sense of the Committee, against the interference of the police at the polls, and specifying, as one of the first duties of the Mayor, the maintainance of a non-partisan police force. Still later, in a meeting of the Committee of One Hundred, Mr. Reeves added the finishing touch to this important plank in the Reform platform by presenting a resolution which passed by unanimous vote, requiring all candidates for office, before receiving the Committee's support, to sign the Declaration of Principles.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### COMPLICATIONS!

How this effort of Republican citizens to cure the public service of its various ills by administering strictly Republican remedies will succeed we shall presently see. How their nomination of Mr. Stokley pleases the disinterested masses upon whom the success of their Reform work depends, is not long a mystery. Citizens' and Taxpayers' Associations meet, not for unalloyed rejoicing; Independent citizens meet, not for speeches of unqualified congratulation. The nomination of Caven and Hunter is well; for therein do all men, not excepting Democrats, recognize a tribute to merit and principle. But what shall be said of the selection of Mayor Stokley, whose own party, even outside those who profess Reform, is divided on the question of fitness of the candidate, the more independent party members recognizing the wisdom of choosing for Mayor one who shall have less to do in the way of utilizing for partisan objects the public police force, and who shall likewise respect individual rights enough not to compel the members of such public police force to pay heavy tribute out of hard-earned salaries to enable gentlemen, of easy virtue and questionable ability, to purchase their way into office and perpetuate the insolent reign of political Bossism and its freebooting propensities; in view of which facts, such independent party members are urging the nomination, by their own party Convention, when held, of Mr. Keim.

Meantime, to the ears of the Committee of One Hundred, come the evidences of dissatisfaction. Quali-

fied resolutions of indorsement by Citizens' and Taxpayers' Associations are doubtful encouragement for those who expected for their candidate unqualified support. Yet remembering the fact that even a majority of their own Association have not sanctioned this nomination, can the people be blamed for according the result rather a cold welcome? And still further, when energetic and radical Rudolph Blankenburg has shown his disapprobation by resigning his membership, can anything be more natural than the fact that others, equally independent but under less obligation to abide by Committee results, should show disapprobation too?

Discord rages now generally, and Bossism, well-pleased over the new diversion, experiences a temporary relief from the popular tongue, which finds material for employment in this much-talked-of Reform organization which by its latest act seems, despite preconceived ideas on the subject, to be not such a desperate enemy of the political autocrats as has been represented. Strange is it, too, to see the attitude hereupon of Colonel McClure\*

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\*Colonel McClure's magnanimity, which enabled him to take an entirely disinterested view of the case of one who had been (through notoriously questionable means as the candidate of Bossism) not only his successful political rival but a bitter partisan enemy for some length of time after his election, was conspicuously illustrated at this time. At the head of a great journal which wielded a powerful influence over the minds of the people, it would have been comparatively easy for him, had he been disposed to remember personal wrongs, to have prevented the nomination by the Committee of One Hundred of Mayor Stokley for a new term. Nevertheless the Mayor had latterly shown what was believed to be genuine evidence of a disposition to part company with McManesism, to absolve himself from all obligation to support any longer the practices of his unscrupulous political associates and to give his aid to the efforts of those citizens who were laboring to purify the city government. Colonel McClure welcomed the Mayor's apparent

who, least of all, would have been expected to advocate the re-election of Mayor Stokley. Yet, considering the fact that the Colonel's motives are never left long a subject of doubt or of mystery, it may happen that the public, in due time, shall be enlightened, and much that now seems dark and inexplicable shall be made clear. In the meanwhile there is swift, rapid motion among political men of various pretensions, the choice of Mayor Stokley by the Reform Committee being accepted by his opponents as a conclusive thing; which removes an

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change of heart with unfeigned delight and gave him earnest assurance not only of his good-will, but of his journalistic support, in his canvass for re-election, provided he adhered to his then expressed determination to forsake his past ways. He advised him to boldly place himself on record before the people in his new character, and to make his contest upon the rapidly growing Reform issues. The blandishments of the politicians he was especially cautioned to disregard, and no argument was left unused in the friendly effort to strengthen him in his new position. That he would be called upon by the One Hundred to give some unequivocal pledge of loyalty to Reform principles, Colonel McClure did not deem it unlikely, and Mayor Stokley was thus, in advance, made fully aware of the requirements he would be expected to meet in order to gain the Committees' support. The following analysis of the Mayor's position, written by Colonel McClure, and published editorially in *The Times* of the 13th of January, 1881, has a direct bearing upon this particular subject:

"The strength of Mayor Stokley, as a candidate, will depend greatly upon his expected letter of acceptance to the Business Men's Committee. His letter addressed to that organization, before it made choice of a Mayoralty candidate displayed a healthy tone, and his formal acceptance of the platform laid down by the Committee will place him in an unequivocal position with regard to the issues which are likely to control the municipal contest.

"The men who have started out in the work of municipal Reform are in positive earnest, and they will take no steps backward to hinder or promote any candidate. Freely as the Business Men's Committee is criticised by machine politicians and organs, it represents the overwhelming sentiment of the taxpayers of Philadelphia on municipal issues; and its members, although not experts in running primaries or in stuffing ballot boxes, mean that honest elections shall elect honest candidates in February.

"Mayor Stokley has only to plant himself squarely on the platform of resolute Republican Reform within the party, to make him an invincible candidate, while equivocation would only crush him between the upper and the nether mill-stones of the Machine and Reform."



element of uncertainty from the prospect, and causes them to breathe freer, not from satisfaction that the act has been done but from relief that a cause of suspense has been eliminated, and that a certain definiteness now exists as to what must be done and how it must be done, to advance their several interests, and to enable them to take steps to effectually oppose the enemy. In the demonstration against Mayor Stokley the dissatisfied of his own party seem to be coming nearer together and to be showing a disposition to abandon trivial side issues which have kept them apart as jarring factions, and to combine upon this one great issue; and to even form a coalition with disaffected Reformers and liberal Democrats, if need be, in the endeavor to build up an all-powerful opposition. The one person who appears most likely to profit by this state of things is Mr. Keim. Upon him the support of all those regular Republicans—whose only cause of disagreement with the main body of the party, is the apparent disposition of the latter to re-nominate Mayor Stokley—is centred. These dissatisfied members, while radically different in the motives which govern their actions, from such dissenting Reformers as Rudolph Blankenburg, nevertheless bid fair to do formidable work for the cause of Reform albeit, involuntary work. Forced into open warfare against Bossism by circumstances rather than by inclination, they are not lacking in the political experience or in the political shrewdness which distinguish their former political associates; and they skillfully attract to their support such fragments of Greenbackers and Prohibitionists and other political families as may be at this time standing aloof from the two regular parties, with no fixed purpose in

view, but with a disposition to do something for fear of spoiling from inactivity.

Thus faction after faction is absorbed; Greenbacker assimilating Prohibitionist and Prohibitionist assimilating recent skillful limbs and joints of Bossism and McManesism, and all together assimilating stray Democrats and Reformers, and a certain dissatisfied set of the colored man's race; for these shrewd graduates of the house of Bossism, who from motives of revenge, or for other reasons, have turned their backs on their preceptors and are now so vigorously pushing forward Mr. Keim, know a few cunning things about spreading disaffection among others; and have begun with the colored brother, probably reasoning that he is the most susceptible and will yield greater and more speedy results with less expenditure of labor, than any other class or race. Accordingly the colored man is found of nights trudging the streets at indefinite hours, in wet weather and in dry, under the blaze of smoking torch-light, bearing overhead, with muslin background and lamp-black inscription, eloquent sentiments complimentary of Candidate Keim, and sarcastic as to Candidate Stokley; and also shouting himself into asthmatic hoarseness in enthusiastic repetition of the name of Keim, which is uttered with a short, jerky ejaculation; and with an expenditure of breath and a display of frantic jubilation which testify powerfully to his superiority as an instrument of noisy demonstration.

While the absorbing powers of the Keim men have the effect of simplifying things somewhat,—jumbling together various factions and rendering them homogeneous—there are complications still which leave the outcome

uncertain. Rudolph Blankenburg and his Reform followers stand upon radical ground and formulate their plans in their own way, amid frequent sounding of the watchword of their cause "no tampering with principle." Unite with the Keim forces under any circumstances they will not; re-unite with the Committee of One Hundred under the present condition of things they cannot. The only alternative left them is to hold their ground, organize and work in their own way for the objects which are clear in their minds. And Mr. Blankenburg does work; he begins to organize a new Business Men's Committee and keeps his eyes on Edward T. Steel, esteemed President of the Board of Education, who, in spite of his letter of declination to the Committee of One Hundred, is, in Mr. Blankenburg's mind, the proper man for the people to have for Mayor. Moreover, there is a possibility, to Citizen Blankenburg's thinking, of securing, with a candidate as free from partisanship and as widely known and esteemed as Mr. Steel, the support of the better element of the Democrats who will certainly not support Mayor Stokley and this prospect gives him occasion for encouragement and hope, and causes him with characteristic energy to busy himself in the work of recruiting members for the new organization in which effort he makes rapid headway.

The Committee of One Hundred, observant of the things going on all about it, has kept its counsel with commendable success. That it is scarcely satisfied with its Mayoralty candidate slight indications nevertheless now and then appear. Better would it have been, many members reason, had they taken more time and consulted the wishes of the people of the wards and precincts

through their Ward Organization Committee, as Dunbar Lockwood's resolution, presented in meeting some days ago, contemplated. Yet the thing has been done and not much appears to be gained by indulging in regrets. Wiser will it be to make the best out of their position and to accept the Mayor's pledges—provided he does not forget to make them—to refrain from assessing his police for election "expenses," and to refrain from commanding his police to take part in elections further than to preserve the public peace. Such requirements as these are the substance of those planks which far-sighted Mr. Reeves had inserted in the Declaration of Principles and upon them will the sincerity of Mr. Stokley's profession be tested when the request to sign that Declaration is presented to him,—a sober necessary thing which cannot be evaded.

Uncertain, inexperienced Committee! Tossed by doubt, and hedged in all round by hostile forces, what remains for it but to do things in a straight-forward, business-like way, in following out which policy it is "at home" and at least may derive the satisfaction of exercising itself by not unfamiliar employment. In pursuance of which policy the Committee meets again on the 31st day of December—eleven days after the meeting at which it nominated its candidates—and appoints a Committee to notify such candidates of its action; the Committee, consisting of Messrs. Little, Wright, Field, Williams and Chairman Garrett. This being the only business before the Committee, it adjourns, to come together again at the call of the Chair.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### “PRIMARIES” AND “CONVENTIONS.”

Mayor Stokley, writing to Chairman Garrett, on the 20th of December, a hasty reply to certain questions addressed to him by the latter in a communication of the same date—both having been sent and received before the hour of the opening, on that day, of the Reform Committee's meeting, at which the Mayor was formally nominated for re-election—took occasion to say: “I always have been opposed to policemen holding any other office and shall do whatever is within my authority to limit their participation in political matters to the exercise of their rights as citizens.”

Three weeks have passed since these words were written and the evening has now arrived on which the Republicans will hold their primary election to choose delegates to attend their several nominating conventions which have been called to meet two days later to nominate respectively a candidate for Mayor, for Receiver of Taxes and for City Solicitor. Upon the personnel of such delegates much depends; in theory they are supposed to truly represent the wishes of the majority of the members of the party and to execute in their choice of candidates for public office, the public will. In practice how vastly different! Through long usage the methods of the party dictators in the manipulation of votes have changed the primary elections from their original significance of a beneficent means of giving effect to the popular will in the selection of candidates, to an absolute farce, in which even the pretence of their

being anything else than a mock observance of a former custom scarcely exists. To the conventions, without exception heretofore, there have gone as delegates the friends, dependents and beneficiaries of the clique of office-holders, invariably led and directed by the office-holders themselves, who, by pre-arranged agreement, have always managed to have themselves distributed as delegates among the most important of these assemblages where there is most need of their peculiar services. Their complete control of the primaries insured them a similar control of the Conventions, and if the primaries were simply a mockery of the expression of popular wishes, the Conventions were of a like character. The nominations there made were nothing more than an ostentatious public performance of acts already secretly consummated, the assurance of the public programme being carried out as arranged, being guaranteed by the fact of the actors being for the most part the employees of Public Departments whose tenure of remunerative service depended upon their proficiency in executing the bidding of their political masters. From the Gas Department, the Water Department, the Highway Department, the Department of the Commissioners of Public Buildings and of the County Commissioners, the delegates were chiefly recruited; with a liberal supply of public contractors, and respectable expectants, in addition.

The participation of the police in the primary elections had been a subject as fruitful of complaint as had been their part in the regular elections. Not as citizens did they appear at the polling places but as violent partisans of the party of their superior, clothed with official

authority which covered the acts of repeaters and ballot-box stuffers and sternly silenced the tongue which would protest against such outrages. From the Mayor's written promise to the Reform Committee, not to speak of his many verbal ones, it would seem there was now some reason for the people to expect to see a salutary change. Vain delusion! The primaries of the night of the 11th of January, 1881, brought out, like rats from their hiding places, all the notorious political experts and ballot manipulators, guided by the same hands which had so often drawn them on in their nefarious work. Not only were the police as active as ever in their efforts to aid and further the corrupt methods of McManesism by which thousands of citizens were prevented from casting their votes, but there was about them a spirit of boldness and audacity which seemed to denote that they had especial reason to feel secure for their part in this wholesale trampling upon men's rights.

Explanations from Mayor Stokley would now seem to be clearly in order. The Mayor, however, appears to be not in the mood for explanations; nor for anything else so far as Reformers are concerned, having, in some manner, gotten out of humor with them. The Committee of One Hundred, in the meantime, have been waiting for an answer to their letter politely notifying him of his nomination. Chairman Garrett's hand penned it, and there was enclosed, in addition to the letter, the Committee's Declaration of Principles, which Mr. Garrett—after enjoying the pleasure of informing the Mayor of their having made choice of him for another term in his present high office—delicately calls his attention to, observing in a half conciliatory way,

as if aware that this part of the message is not likely to be as agreeable as the first part, that the One Hundred "have adopted a Declaration of Principles to which they think every honest Reformer can subscribe and they ask the assent of the several nominees to this as the basis of action." Then, as a piece of diplomacy calculated to restore the Mayor's complacency—granting it to have been disturbed—Chairman Garrett closes his letter with a display of generous confidence upon the efficacy of reforming the party within the lines: "I need scarcely add that in thus recommending you to the suffrages of your fellow-citizens we form no new party and leave you perfectly free to accept the regular nomination should you wish it to be conferred upon you."

The Committee's anxiety concerning the Mayor's answer, therefore, does not arise so much from the contemplation of violated etiquette—though it would perhaps be better for their cause if it did—as it does from the strange delay on the Mayor's part to return the copy of the Declaration of Principles with his sign manual thereto attached. Weeks have passed since that Declaration was forwarded to him and the voting public are eager to know whether he will accept, over his own signature, the Reform Principles or not. More than this, the Reform Committee's work in wards and divisions is awaiting his decision; everything tarries for his answer. Reform plans are at a stand-still. The One Hundred do not meet because there is nothing for them to do until the Mayor fulfills his part of the Reform compact. True, Mr. Caven's reply has not yet been received, but about his position on the Reform question there exists no doubt, his public acts in Councils being for the Committee a



sufficient guarantee. Mr Hunter, meantime, has sent his answer,\* an answer which leaves no uncertainty as to his attitude, and which is characterized by an honest directness of speech that spreads enthusiasm through the ranks of the Reformers. "It must be distinctly understood," he writes in closing, "that if once fairly before the people as an Independent Citizen's candidate, regardless of what other candidates may decide upon, or who may hereafter be nominated by packed conventions, under no circumstances will I decline or resign. With entire confidence in the integrity and good judgment of the voters of the city, and the ultimate success of the popular movement by and for the people and with full purpose to do my whole duty I fully indorse your Declaration of Principles in whole and in part."

Plain and direct language, but how will it suit those Republican "leaders" who lately so effectually handled the primaries? Their delegates have been chosen and their conventions are just at hand. To the One Hundred these Conventions are objects of concern. They have desired to effect Reforms "within the Republican party." Their primary step shall have been accomplished if the Republican Conventions can be induced to accept their two Reform candidates, Messrs. Caven and Hunter, about whose fate at the hands of these nominating bodies there is more uncertainty than exists in the case of Mayor Stokley, who, it has for some days past been evident, will be re-nominated by the Mayoralty Convention. If there exists any hope of reconciliation between the Reformers and those who compose the followers of McManesism, it lies in the chance of both agreeing upon these two Reform candidates. The One Hundred have done their

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\*See appendix.

utmost to meet the regular party, from which they have been alienated, upon this basis. They have made concessions beyond the limit of prudence for the sake of their two favorite nominees. Largely on their account have they agreed to support Mayor Stokley, even when it was known that he was the secret back-room choice of McManesism.

But what talk is this that now plays upon the fears of the Reformers, causing them to anticipate the worst? It is that Caven and Hunter are both to be sacrificed despite the overwhelming sentiment of the people in their favor. Bossism laughs in its sleeve. Where are the plans and hopes of the One Hundred now? Yet Mayor Stokley could save them if he were to hasten to them with that Declaration of Principles and his sign manual. But the Mayor is not to be seen; has other business on hand. Verbal promises are as good as signs manual. The Committe must be satisfied with his verbal promises.

That the trap was cunningly devised and shrewdly sprung who doubts? The day of the Republican Conventions, the 13th of January, was a day of laughter and gibes on the part of Bossism. The Mayoralty Convention, which re-nominated Mayor Stokley, was a representative one of its kind. It was composed of one hundred and ninety-nine delegates, of which eighty-six were miscellaneous office-holders from the various Departments, nine were members of the City Councils, five were police magistrates, four were constables and twenty-three were policemen.\* Thus was the fruitful work of

\*"An analysis of the personnel of the Convention which nominated Stokley will show that it was largely packed by office-holders and policemen. A summary of the occupations of the delegates shows that there were 23 policemen, 4 constables, 9 members of City Councils, 5 police magistrates and 86 office-holders of one sort or another."—*Taggart's Sunday Times*, Jan. 16, 1881.

the primaries exemplified. The Chairman of the Convention was selected by Mr. Gas Trustee Leeds,—an intimate political associate of Mr. Gas Trustee McManes—who personally directed the burlesque political performance, dignified by verbal usage as the “Mayoralty Convention.” Not with entire harmony, however, did the occasion pass off. The delegates of Mr. Keim, to the number of thirty-four, declined to vote, thus expressing their displeasure over the affair; and reserving their power for a Dissenting Convention of their own, if upon reflection it be deemed wise. No!—they did vote once; led by the deep-voiced Magistrate Thomas South they voted with a vigorous and combined yell against making Mayor Stokley’s nomination unanimous; and after accomplishing their object rushed out, led by the plucky Magistrate South, to condole with each other and neutralize their disappointment in a convenient beer saloon over foaming glasses of lager.

Meantime, in the Convention for the nomination of a candidate for Receiver of Taxes, Bossism likewise carried the day with a high hand, and similar things were enacted. The name of the nominee is not John Hunter but George G. Pierie, a young man whose greatness in statesmanship has not yet been tested and is therefore conjectural; but whose original avocation as a newspaper man and secretary to a Mercantile Board, would seem to indicate that McManesism, despite its unfortunate experience in the November election in its effort to defeat Controller Pattison, has still a fondness for gentlemen associated with journalism, which fact, upon reflection, seems strange and unfathomable.

In the City Solicitor’s Convention, which is a faithful

duplicate of the other two, Bossism re-nominates Mr. Solicitor West, leaving Mr. Caven to fare as did Mr. Hunter at the hands of the Receiver's assemblage; thus leaving untouched the One Hundred's two most important candidates and taking their third, whom they could have very well spared. Truly, it has been a great day for Bossism, and never will wine bottles pop more musically in club rooms and other favorite haunts, than to-night when the leaders and plotters of this day's work come together for mutual congratulation.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES!

Now on the very day of the Republican Nominating Conventions it happened affairs with the Reform Committee had reached a crisis. The long-expected reply from Mayor Stokley had, on the day before, reached the hands of Chairman Garrett, and forthwith a call was issued for a meeting of the Executive Committee on the following day. Thus it came about that when the work of the Conventions was finished the news of the rejection of Messrs. Caven and Hunter reached Chairman Garrett and such members of the Executive Committee as he had been able to get together on short notice, as they sat in council in the law office of their Secretary, Ellis D. Williams, deliberating over the contents of the Mayor's letter. The belief that the Mayor, after obtaining from the Reformers their written approval of his administra-

tion (for Chairman Garrett's letter of notification practically amounted to that), had changed his attitude toward them was growing more widespread daily, as we have seen. Mr. Garrett and his fellow Committeemen had had their fears but they exhibited unusual judgment and, despite various suspicious circumstances in connection with the Mayor's recent Reform professions—not the least of which was the activity of the police at the primaries—refrained from any expression of opinion on the question until they could learn from the Mayor himself what was his real position.

That question was now no longer a secret. The Mayor's letter\* only too surely confirmed the existing impression. It had evidently been written after assurances were received that he was certain of renomination by the Republican Convention and could safely afford to be more independent toward the Reformers, even to the extent of ignoring their request to indorse their Declaration of Principles. The letter shrewdly evaded all the material parts of Chairman Garrett's communication; the Mayor, with nice discrimination, confining himself to lofty acknowledgements of the compliments conveyed in the Reform message, and brushing aside such prosaic matter as a request for the indorsement of Reform principles as a trifle he was not expected to notice.

For the first time now, perhaps, Chairman Garrett and his associates as they perused the letter in this hastily called meeting realized the gravity of the position in which they were placed. The tone of the letter was so different from that of the former communication from the same source, the style was so formal compared with

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\*See appendix.

the Mayor's recent display of excessive affability that the Reformers, notwithstanding the warnings they had lately received, were taken by surprise and knew not what course to pursue. After occupying several hours in discussion it was determined to hold another meeting on the next day in order that the matter might receive fuller consideration from the entire Executive Committee; and a notification went forth, accordingly, to the various members, more than one-half of whom had not participated in this informal deliberation, to assemble on the following afternoon at the rooms of the Board of Trade for this specific purpose. This meeting, in the absence of Chairman Little, was presided over by Citizen James A. Wright, one of the Vice-Presidents of the General Committee. As if the complications arising from the Mayor's letter were not enough, there was also received the letter of President Caven,\* penned a few hours before, in which, while still avowing his fealty to Reform principles and to the Reform movement, he respectfully declined the Reform nomination for City Solicitor, frankly stating that he had delayed answering President Garrett's letter of notification until after the Republican Conventions in order that he might know when he replied whether he was or was not to be the choice of the Republicans for the same office. The renomination of Mr. Solicitor West led him to believe that there was little prospect of the election of any one whom the Reformers might put up for this office as an Independent candidate, though his belief in the final success of his friend John Hunter as the Reform candidate for Receiver of Taxes amounted almost to a positive conviction.

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\*See appendix.

Had Mayor Stokley's letter answered the expectations entertained by the Reformers when they placed him in nomination, it is probable that Mr. Caven's declination would have caused much solicitude and been the subject of more than one meeting for conference and of no little anxious discussion. That letter, however, was a revelation so startling that everything else was dwarfed into insignificance by comparison and Mr. Caven's course, in the then anxious state of the Reform mind, caused less of a sensation than it would under other circumstances have produced. The thing of present moment was Mayor Stokley's intentions. Looking into his former and his later acts these would seem not hard to make clear. First and most conspicuous among the things apparent was the fact that the Mayor had not signed the Declaration of Principles. In this fact what a field for conjecture, and for far-reaching conclusions! The affixing of his name to that paper would have been a simple act; three or four scratches of a pen would have done it;—so the physical labor involved could hardly have been the cause of the failure. John Hunter, an older and busier man, found not only time to affix his signature thereto, but also to write a spirited letter, breathing in every sentence confidence, resolution and courage. Yet, strangely enough, Mr. Hunter did not receive the Republican nomination!

To the Reform Executive Committee belongs the task of reconciling these several apparent inconsistencies. They will try their best for obvious reasons. There must be a sub-committee appointed to wait on the Mayor and ascertain his intentions. Perhaps the letter of notification has not been explicit enough, and it may be well

to inform the Mayor verbally—but very politely—that Reform candidates are expected to sign the Declaration, of which the Mayor has a copy. Such a course at the worst can do no more than give them a clear understanding of his true position and that after all is the thing now important to know.

Accordingly the Committee is appointed, Chairman Garrett and Francis B. Reeves constituting it. The Executive Committee, which has been in session from the middle of the afternoon until night, now adjourns to assemble again on the next afternoon, that of Saturday, February 15th, to hear the report of the Committee of two, and take whatever action may seem necessary forthwith.

We have seen the Reform Committee up until this stage, in its attitude toward Mayor Stokley, somewhat uncertain and irresolute, a prey to fears and annoying doubts which would not be silenced, as to whether it had not by that act which made him its nominee sacrificed its better judgment, at the whisper of a few personal friends of the Mayor on the Committee,—who happened to be influential members,—yet always justifying itself by the hope that future events would prove its course to have been wise. That the selection of Mr. Stokley in the first instance was not in accord with the judgment of the Executive Committee however it may have been with the General Committee, it is only necessary to recall as proof, the fact that the manner in which his name was presented for nomination before the meeting of the latter Committee on the 20th of December, was different from that in which the names of Messrs. Caven and Hunter were presented and therefore, under the Com-



mittee's rules, irregular. The selection of the latter two candidates was made upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee whose business it was to submit to the General Committee at its stated meetings a report embodying among other things the names of persons whom the former Committee had decided worthy of nomination for particular offices; and this report the General Committee had the right to accept or reject as it might in its judgment deem proper. Whether by reason of doubts as to the wisdom of nominating Mayor Stokley or whether on account of a desire to postpone the Mayoralty matter until the sentiment of the people on the subject could be more clearly ascertained, the Executive Committee in its report submitting the names of the two candidates stated, for Receiver of Taxes and City Solicitor, made no mention of the Mayoralty matter nor of Mayor Stokley. Not until after this report had been accepted and the nomination of the two Reformers in question effected, was the effort made on behalf of the Mayor, Mr. Drexel arising in the meeting of the General Committee and presenting the name of Mr. Stokley, who was chosen amid universal confusion culminating in the withdrawal from membership of Rudolph Blankenburg,—facts which would seem to indicate that the nomination was more hastily than judiciously made.

Having thus sown the seeds of error, the Committee was now called upon to reap the crop. The time had come when stern facts demanded that the mask of self-delusion should be worn no longer, when the wearers were perforce compelled to cast the pleasing thing aside and face realities. Honeyed words and compliments had

ceased to possess, in Mayor Stokley's case, the virtues they once enjoyed, the Mayorial susceptibilities having become suddenly obtuse since the Republican conventions. To make themselves understood now, the Reformers were obliged to adopt the most pointed and direct forms of speech, where formerly the Mayor readily interpreted their meaning when conveyed to him by similes. This change in the Mayor, Chairman Garrett and Francis B. Reeves, arriving in his presence on their weighty mission, witnessed with pain not unmingled with embarrassment. The Mayor's reception, compared with his past treatment of them, was cold and formal. Present in an official capacity, they affected not to notice his changed demeanor, but sought to win his good graces and to impress him with the sincerity of their motives, hoping to win him back to his former self. They reminded him of their Declaration of Principles, and of the rule of their organization requiring all their candidates to sign the Declaration. Would the Mayor not now comply with that rule and affix his signature to that important document? No, the Mayor would not. Brusquely enough he stated his refusal, too. He had put his signature to all the papers he proposed to; the committee must be content with what he had already written them; they were disposed to exact too much from him. He should do no more, and it might as well be so understood, once and for all time.

Enough, enough Mayor Stokley! You will not have men plead with you and if you would, these men will not. Rather will they seek a desperate and heroic remedy, in which pleading and cajoling will not be a part. You have aroused them, Mayor. See you not the flame

you have kindled in the mild eyes of Chairman Garrett, not now mild and benign behind gold-rimmed spectacles, but deep and stern with sudden-born determination. And cool-headed Francis B. Reeves, ever deep, of even temperament, deliberate and inclined to much meditation;—he it is Mayor who must be called author of that inflexible regulation, or rule, or by-law, or what you please, which puts you to the test at this moment, with your emphatic “I will not sign the Declaration”; wherein the subtle consequences of injustice to old William Conway is seen strangely; for on the mind of Francis B. Reeves the old man’s story left its impress deeply, causing him to affirm as a positive conviction that a non-partisan police-force is essential to the rights of citizens and that he who is chosen Mayor should pledge himself in advance to maintain such principles when in power.

From the Mayor’s presence Messrs. Garrett and Reeves go direct to the meeting of the Executive Committee, for the time has come for the members to assemble. Memorable, eventful meeting! No longer to appeal to pleasing hopes and possibilities; no longer to temporize and look forward to unpledged expectations. That was popular once, but popular it is no longer. After Chairman Garrett submits his report, nothing becomes less popular. The minds of the members are instantly swayed by one controlling purpose. Read the journals, portraying the scene, on that occasion! There will be found matter of thrilling interest. Twenty members were on their feet at once, as Chairman Garrett, having finished his report, sat down, all eager to catch the presiding officer’s ear, and all shouting, with slight lingual variation, the same thing. “Mr. Chairman, I move the name of Mayor Stokley be

withdrawn!" Chairman Little, amid the din and confusion cannot put all the motions; is in doubt whether he can put any, until they have been written out in the form of resolutions. Luckily some cool-headed member proposes a recess, in order that the members with resolutions to offer on the subject may consult together and agree upon something which shall cover the matter to the satisfaction of all. Ten, or at most fifteen minutes suffice to enable them to epitomize their sentiments in a draft which, being read and approved by all, is handed to Dunbar Lockwood, whose courageous defense of principles heretofore has, by common consent, given him the position of leader in an emergency; and the meeting coming to order again, Mr. Lockwood presents the screed which then and there in sober language establishes itself as historical: "Whereas the Citizen's Committee of One Hundred, at a meeting held on the 20th day of December, 1880, adopted a Declaration of Principles, and a resolution to the effect that the candidates to be nominated by the Committee be required to indorse in writing the principles thereof, and nominated William S. Stokley for Mayor of the city of Philadelphia; and, Whereas his nomination was made, under what appeared to be a well-founded belief that he affirmed and accepted our principles; and, Whereas, in his written reply to the letter of notification he omits entirely to indorse our Declaration of Principles and verbally has distinctly declined to subscribe to it, therefore Resolved, that we now withdraw our nomination of William S. Stokley for the said office."

Read the account of what followed there in *The Times* of next day, January 16, 1881, if you would know where fearless and determined Reform work began, and where

half-hearted and consciously-restricted effort left off! where the fetters of social influence which had for weeks held captive men's true convictions and impulses were flung aside, and stern, uncompromising principle came unto its own :

“The vote was called and the result was the unanimous adoption of the resolution. It was then decided that the resolution and the action taken upon it, be referred to the General Committee of One Hundred at its meeting, in the Board of Trade Rooms, to-morrow afternoon, with a recommendation for similar action. The passage of the resolution without opposition was a surprise to some of the most active opponents of Mayor Stokley. Speaking of the matter afterward, one of them said: ‘I was very much surprised at two things,—first that there was a full committee present, and second that there should be such unanimity in passing the resolution withdrawing Mayor Stokley’s name.’”

Having risen above petty influences and asserted the superiority of principle, the Reformers do not stop with the rejection of Mayor Stokley. They have been aroused; have begun, as it were, to purge themselves. There have been lingering prejudices in favor of reforming within party lines. No longer shall this fallacy delude them. With shame do they now look upon the fact that their Constitution and Declaration of Principles are in reality too narrow for true principles to abide there. Too much care has heretofore been exercised to preserve the distinctions of party. They have thought that Reform’s true mission was to reform the Republican party, and do it, too, only with Republican material. Now do they plainly see that principle is older and vastly more important than party, and that if they would do Reform’s

work truly, they must cast aside party considerations, as so much rubbish. Of this, hear what *The Times* says in the same account:

“After the Mayoralty matter was disposed of several other resolutions were passed calling for a revision of the Declaration of Principles in order to make it more thoroughly non-partisan and in effect inviting the coöperation of the Democrats. These resolutions likewise will come up in the meeting of the General Committee to-morrow for indorsement. \* \* \* In a talk yesterday with Joseph L. Caven who had declined the nomination for City Solicitor he said: ‘I will take an active and aggressive part in the campaign if they nominate a non-partisan ticket—that is a ticket that shall satisfy me that the candidates are good men—men who, if elected, will be faithful to the public interests. That is what my letter meant. I am for John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes all the time.’ \* \* \* On the same subject Controller Pattison, representing the Democratic side of the house said: ‘The wisest course to be pursued by the Democratic party, in my judgment, is to name such a ticket as Mr. Steel for Mayor, John R. Read for City Solicitor, and John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes. Such a ticket as this would command the respect of all good citizens without regard to party. I would be willing to go into the contest and do my best toward electing such men.’”

Significant words! And doubly significant coming from such men, whose help, Reformers, you shall need before this struggle is ended. Therefore doubly welcome that it is in this decisive moment pledged!

## CHAPTER XVI.

### PARTY LINES WEIGHED AND FOUND WANTING.

Behold, now, in the rooms of the Board of Trade, on this January day, 17th in the calendar, some exciting scenes. It is afternoon, within a few minutes of the hour of three o'clock, at which time the General Committee is expected to meet. Already the members have assembled, save a few who, even now, are arriving in twos and threes, their faces and their quick, expressive gestures denoting matter in anticipation of unusual importance. In small groups they stand within the large room, carrying on excited conversation, mostly in an undertone. One there is present whose appearance seems to cause a sensation, nevertheless an agreeable one; for, as he moves through the room the conversation stops, the little groups suddenly break up and, with surprised exclamations members generally move in the new-comer's direction, grasp him by the hand, and with hearty greeting bid him welcome. Not less pleased seems the subject of this reception, who is a rather tall, broad-shouldered man, with a large head, a broad, white forehead, a mass of dark brown hair rather inclined to be curly, a full brown beard and mustache, the luxurious, bushy growth of which might suggest the hardy Russian, and a pair of quick, expressive steel-blue eyes. Rudolph Blankenburg this is, uncompromising champion of principle, whose convictions on the unwisdom of selecting Mr. Stokley as the Reform candidate for Mayor, having passed through a crucial test and proved to be of finest metal, are this day to receive a triumphant vindication. Clear-sighted Mr. Blankenburg! Plainly did you foresee and predict, in this same

room, nearly one month ago, consequences which, within the last half week have made themselves only too surely manifest. Earnest was your protest there against the Mayor's nomination, and vigorously did you oppose, almost single-handed, the specious arguments, verbal and written, which were urged in his favor, and, having failed to save your associates from error, you remained true to yourself and gave them your resignation. Stern and inflexible champion of right! Time has been a prompt and impartial umpire in your case, Citizen Blankenburg, and no longer shall it be necessary for you to pursue alone, and amidst many discouragements, your earnest work for the cause of principle in your own way, alienated from those whom you set out with, so full of hope and of zeal in your efforts on behalf of people's rights. And not back to the One Hundred do you go to accept their action as wise and confess yourself in error, but they do come to you, take you by the hand, and manfully acknowledge that they were wrong and you were right.

From Citizen Blankenburg and his enthusiastic reception the eye wanders to the next most noticeable personage, who is a little, wiry man, moving about briskly, not to say excitedly, and greeting with unusually good spirits everybody present. A clean-cut, close-shaven face, with a very straight, thin body, clothed in neat-fitting Quaker garb of broadcloth, and with head crowned with broad-brimmed, shining beaver hat, and hand holding a roll of foolscap—such is Oliver Evans, member of the Reform Committee and intimate personal friend of Mayor Stokley. Mr. Evans takes the hand of every body, makes himself unusually affable; sometimes taps the foolscap significantly, and once is heard predicting that he "shouldn't



wonder if there would be an old-fashioned Quaker row," but never once allows his face to lose its pleasant smile or his manner to lose for an instant its appearance of excessive spirits. Such unusual good humor does not appear to blend well in every instance with the moods of members, some of whom are in a serious frame of mind and regard Mr. Evans curiously, if not suspiciously, particularly as he now and then betrays indications of having some capital scheme on hand, the bare contemplation of which seems to please him immensely.

The hour of three arrives, Chairman Garrett's gavel falls, and instantly hats are drawn off, members crowd into seats and the buzz of conversation ceases. The minutes of the last meeting are read and listened to with impressive silence. As the reading concludes the tall form of Dunbar Lockwood arises, and his voice is heard addressing the chair; makes a motion to the effect that Rudolph Blankenburg be received back into the Committee's membership, which motion is eagerly seconded and passes unanimously, amidst a vigorous clapping of hands, which causes Mr. Blankenburg's face to flush with pleasure as he bows his acknowledgments.

Some resignations are received; resignations of James Dobson and of Messrs. Griffith and Loeble; the letters not specifying any reason for withdrawing, though Mr. Dobson is known to be a strong friend and supporter of Mayor Stokley, and for that reason members are apt to ascribe to recent events the cause of his action.

Meantime, on a front seat, with the roll of foolscap held in conspicuous view, and anon, with a slight display of nervousness tapping one of the broadcloth encased knees, with face turned intently toward Chairman Gar-

rett and with mind on the alert during the preliminary proceedings, sits Oliver Evans, his manner more than ever betokening the presence of some unusually absorbing subject of contemplation. Near him sits, also, Citizen B. B. Comegys, likewise a strong friend of Mr. Stokley, and recently a delegate to the Republican Convention, where Mr. Comegys had the pleasure of helping make Mr. Stokley the party nominee; and near Mr. Comegys and Mr. Evans sits still another friend of Mr. Stokley in the person of Citizen William Sellers. None of these gentlemen are members of the Executive Committee, otherwise there would, perhaps, be a minority report ready for presentation here to-day, dissenting from the action of that Committee at its meeting two days before.

A favorable opportunity now arrives, and Mr. Evans quickly decides that the time for action is at hand. He catches the Chairman's eye, arises and addresses him. A hush, solemn and sepulchral, falls upon the assemblage, and every eye is turned upon Citizen Evans and his foolscap. The trim, neat, little man, in his Quaker garb, and with his smooth-shaven face, advances to a point in front of the Secretary's desk, then turns with a slight, respectful cough, half facing the Chairman and half facing his fellow Committee-men; adjusts a pair of steel-rimmed spectacles, and, with something betwixt a bow and a half benevolent glance towards the assembled members, unrolls his foolscap. Methodically does he straighten out the paper in his hands, for his coolness has now all returned, and as he smooths it into convenient form for his eye he begins a preliminary harangue to the assemblage, which harangue is opened by the observation that he has "a paper to read," and that "at the same

time, he feels that the tone and temper of the Committee is against what he is about to say." As he is a plain man he takes it for granted that his words will not be misunderstood. In the first place, it appears to him, it will be a very vacillating course for the Committee to pursue if it takes back the nomination of Mr. Stokley. |

Here the speaker is suddenly interrupted by Citizen Joshua L. Baily, who arises and addresses the Chair. With deference to the speaker, Mr. Baily would ask if the subject of his address has yet been brought regularly before the meeting.

"I was just about to ask the speaker that question myself," Chairman Garrett replies.

Citizen Evans does not desire to violate the order of proceedings and announces affably that he will proceed at once to read the contents of the paper, that course alone being in order. No objection being made, he again adjusts his spectacles, and amidst an almost painful silence reads:

"The undersigned members of the Citizen's Committee of one Hundred regard it as their duty to express their dissent from the act of the majority of this Committee in withdrawing the name of Hon. William S. Stokley.

"We believe, and must earnestly express that belief, that Mr. Stokley's faithful discharge of official duty during the period in which he has held this office entitles him to the highest respect and largest confidence of his fellow citizens, and is a sufficient guarantee (without any further declaration than he has already made) that his re-election to the office he now holds will be promotive of the best interests of the City, and for these reasons we intend to give him our support and votes and commend him to those of the citizens of Philadelphia."

Having read the paper, Mr. Evans did not, or affected not, notice the sensation it produced. His manner was calm, his faculties entirely collected as he looked up and faced the astonished Committee. "This paper," he observed in a formal way, "already contains some signatures. I will place it on the table here where all other members who wish to sign can come forward and do so."

Citizen Evans steps briskly up and lays the foolscap before the Secretaries, when it is forthwith pounced upon by eager newspaper men, and its contents copied. Meantime there was confusion. Read the account of the proceedings published by *The Times* on the next day, beginning with the scene that followed when the brisk and dapper little Mr. Evans took his seat.

*Times, January 18.*—"Now a storm seemed to be rising in the back of the hall. Twenty members were on their feet at once, all shouting the same thing, 'Who are the signers of that paper? Let us have the names! Let us have the names! Read the names!' shouted Mr. Lockwood, standing up straight in his place near the front. 'There can't be many names,' said Mr. Arrott. 'Read the names,' repeated Mr. Lockwood.

"Mr. Evans coughed slightly, and again took the floor. 'The names,' said he, 'are A. J. Drexel, Oliver Evans, B. B. Comegys and William Sellers.'

"A general laugh greeted this announcement. 'I knew it,' said a member on a back seat. On motion of Francis B. Reeves the matter was laid over to come up further on in regular order.

"The Chair then called for reports from special committees. The report of the committee on Ward Organization came first. It recommended for indorsement the following candidates for Councils: Seventeenth Ward, William Dickson and William Dunlap for Select and Common Council respectively; Twenty-fourth Ward,

John Carson for Select Council; Twenty-ninth ward, B. B. Comegys for Select Council and Messrs. Simmons and Smithers for Common Council.

“The reading of the letters from the three nominees of the Committee for the three important city offices came next. The letter of Mayor Stokley was received with silence. The letter of John Hunter brought out the most vociferous applause heard in any meeting of the Committee since its organization—that passage of the letter in which he stated that ‘no matter what other candidates may do, I will neither decline nor resign,’ being received with a vigorous clapping of hands and cries of ‘good! good!’ The closing passage of the letter was also heartily applauded.

“Next came the letter of Mr. Caven declining the nomination for City Solicitor. When its reading was finished Mr. Barbour moved that the declination be accepted with regret. This motion was supplemented by a resolution which Mr. Simpson offered and which passed unanimously, to the effect ‘That this Committee re-affirm their indorsement of the life and public conduct of Joseph L. Caven; that we regret that he feels it his duty to decline our nomination, and that we believe and re-affirm the belief that to him the City of Philadelphia owes a debt of gratitude that it will never be able to repay.’

“The Committee now came to the gravest part of the business that had brought it together—the report of the Executive Committee throwing Mayor Stokley overboard and embodying resolutions for the amendment of the Declaration of Principles, so as to invite the co-operation of the Democrats. On both these questions there was a struggle, but it ended in the carrying of each in accordance with the recommendations of the Executive Committee by a majority so overwhelming that it was almost unanimous. Before reaching that part, however, there were sharp words and an animated discussion generally.

“The report of the Executive Committee, presented by Chairman Little, recommended, ‘First, That the last clause of the Declaration of Principles be altered, by erasing the words ‘while we are Republicans and are

seeking to reform the management of the Republican Party,' making it read 'our efforts are on behalf not of party, but of the whole people, and we ask the co-operation of our fellow-citizens in the belief that these principles are indispensable to good municipal government and that no man who cannot heartily adopt and support them is worthy of our suffrages. Second. Whereas, The Citizens Committee of One Hundred at a meeting held on the 20th day of December, 1880, adopted a Declaration of Principles and a resolution to the effect that the candidates to be nominated by the Committee be required to indorse in writing the principles thereof, and nominated William S. Stokley for Mayor of the City of Philadelphia; and, Whereas, His nomination was made under what appeared to be a well founded belief that he approved and accepted our precepts; and Whereas, In his written reply to the letter of notification he omits entirely to endorse our Declaration of Principles, and verbally has distinctly declined to subscribe to it; therefore, Resolved, That we now withdraw our nomination of William S. Stokley for the said office. Third. Whereas, The action of the Philadelphia Conventions and the refusal of Mayor Stokley to accept the Committee's Declaration of Principles have absolved us from all obligation to work within Republican lines; therefore Resolved, That should a satisfactory coalition ticket be formed, this Committee will heartily accept a union of all the elements of opposition to the Republican ring, irrespective of party. Resolved, That we ask the co-operation of a similar committee of members of the Democratic Party favorable to reform, with whom we shall be glad to work to that end. Resolved, That the Chairman of the Committee of One Hundred appoint a committee of five to confer with such committee when formed with a view to carrying into effect such purpose. The Executive Committee further report progress in suggesting names of four persons for Gas Trustees as instructed at the last meeting of the Committee of One Hundred.'

"No sooner had Mr. Little finished reading than Chairman Garrett arose. He said that before taking a

vote on the matter it would perhaps be proper for him to say a word with reference to the conference with Mayor Stokley. A special committee, of which he was a member, had called on the Mayor, Saturday morning, to ascertain whether or not he would indorse their Declaration of Principles. The Mayor had distinctly and imperiously refused to do so. He informed the Committee that he had 'put his signature to all he intended to;' under the circumstances the Executive Committee had nothing else to do but withdraw his name.

"Chairman Garrett sat down amid silence. Oliver Evans was on his feet in an instant. He desired to know of Mr. Garrett whether the Committee that had waited on the Mayor had not given him to understand that his answer was satisfactory and that it would be all right.

"Mr. Garrett, rising, with every eye fixed upon him, said, 'I will state that such is not the case.'

"Instantly there arose another burst of applause. Mr. Evans sat down quickly, looking a little confused. But as the applause died away he jumped to his feet again.

"'Then Mr. Chairman,' said he, 'I have to state that the Mayor misunderstood the Committee.'

"This speech was greeted with loud laughter from members on the back seats. The tide was evidently against Mr. Evans and in favor of Mr. Garrett. Stout Mr. Barbour, seated near the aisle about half-way back, capped the climax and made the room roar when he shouted, 'Mr. Chairman it has been stated that the Mayor did not mean that letter he sent to us; he only sent it for fun!'

"Citizen James Graham now added his name to the list of speakers. Seeing there was some misunderstanding as to the position of Mayor Stokley, he suggested that a committee be appointed to confer with him with a view to reaching an understanding. It was manifestly wrong to withdraw the Mayor's name as a candidate without more evidence as to his unwillingness to subscribe to the Declaration of Principles. The very wording of the resolution of the Executive Committee rejecting Mayor Stokley showed it was unjust. The resolution

stated in one place that there was 'a well founded belief' that the Mayor was in sympathy with the principles of the Committee. Did not that on its face condemn the action of the Executive Committee? Mr. Graham believed in giving the Mayor a chance. Let a committee be appointed by the general Committee to confer with him.

"Again a dozen members were on their feet instantly. As many more were shouting from their seats, 'That has been done! that has been done!' In the midst of the confusion Chairman Garrett ruled that Mr. Joshua L. Baily had the floor.

"Mr. Baily, speaking as one who voted in the Committee at that meeting of the 20th of December, for Mayor Stokley's renomination, desired to say that his vote was based not upon Mr. Stokley's record of nine years as Mayor, but upon his letter addressed to Mr. Garrett and upon the assurances he had understood Mr. Garrett to add that Mayor Stokley was in sympathy with their principles. Furthermore his vote was given with the added condition, moved by Mr. Francis B. Reeves and distinctly accepted by Mr. Drexel, that Mr. Stokley should accept their Declaration of Principles.

"'It has been charged,' continued Mr. Baily, 'that the Committee of One Hundred is not a representative body. It might be well to inquire, apropos of this accusation, into the character of the late Republican Convention which met at Horticultural Hall and re-nominated Mr. Stokley.' He had been informed that of the one hundred and sixty members of that Convention who voted for Mr. Stokley's re-nomination eighty-six, or a clear majority, were office holders. Twenty-three of them belonged to the police force; nine were police magistrates; four were constables; eleven were members of Councils, and nearly forty were men employed in various departments of the City Government. They knew their bread and butter depended upon their supporting Mr. Stokley for Mayor.

"'In the remainder of the number you will find many ex-office-holders and ringsters; you will find ten saloon



keepers who at this juncture, at least, you would not expect to find among the supporters of Mayor Stokley (laughter)\* unless they knew that their interests were safe under his administration.'

"Mr. Baily would say, however, that there had been many good men in that Convention. Such as he saw sitting before him † and who he was certain would commend the respect of every gentleman present. 'Ten such men might have saved Sodom once, but they cannot save that Convention from the stigma of having been packed in the interest of Mayor Stokley and the ring which has so long dominated in our City Offices, loading us with debt and legislating the peoples money into their own pockets.' He did not desire to say anything derogatory to the police. They had their bidding to do and they did it.

"Mr. Comegys arose as Mr. Baily sat down. He had heard such statements about that Convention before. He was sorry to hear them. He defended the Convention and said it was made up of good citizens as zealous for good government as any people could be.

"Henry Winsor here jumped into the breach. The question was whether they should or should not indorse the resolutions of the Executive Committee. He could not consistently support Mayor Stokley after what had happened.

"Mr. Ellison was opposed to the resolutions. Mayor Stokley had made a good record as Mayor and he should be nominated again. At least he should not be cast overboard until he was given a chance. He did not know Mr. Stokley personally. But some things he had asked for had been promptly granted.

"Rudolph Blankenburg said that Mr. Stokley's nomination had been 'sprung' upon the Committee. Mr. Graham wanted his amendment looked up—about the appointment of a new committee to confer with Mr. Stokley. Nobody had seen it. Mr. Graham himself

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\*The Mayor had, a few weeks before his nomination by the Republican Convention, been rigorously enforcing the law which compelled saloon keepers to keep closed doors on Sundays.

†Mr. Comegys.

could not tell what had become of it and thought there had been negligence somewhere. Chairman Garrett informed him that it had not been seconded. A member arose and seconded it. Then the question was called. The amendment provided that a committee be appointed to get Mayor Stokley to indorse his letter of the 20th. Mr. Wood said it would be an insult to ask him to do this.

“‘He has been asked and he has refused,’ said Mr. Reeves.

“‘Then,’ said Mr. Graham, after a moment’s deep cogitation, ‘I’m against him.’

“‘Do you withdraw your amendment?’ asked Chairman Garrett.

“‘I do,’ said Mr. Graham, sitting down with a resigned aspect.

“After this episode every vote Mr. Graham cast was uncompromisingly against Mr. Stokley.

“The vote was then called on the main resolution embodied in the Executive Committee’s report—that displacing Mr. Stokley. A storm of ‘ayes’ announced that it had gone through with such a majority that there was little left of it. Messrs. B. B. Comegys, Oliver Evans and William Sellers alone voted against it. Mayor Stokley was accordingly no longer the nominee of the Committee of One Hundred.

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“Then came the matter of voting on the resolution to amend the Declaration of Principles so as to secure Democratic co-operation. There ensued a lively debate on the question of the passage of the main amendment—that inviting a Democratic committee to work with them. Many of those who had helped vote Mayor Stokley off the ticket were opposed to uniting with the Democrats. Mr. Winsor was one of them. There was danger in that direction, he thought, and they would make a mistake by giving themselves to the Democrats. Oliver Evans, who had been silent a long time said that if the resolution did not mean for the Committee to surrender itself to the

Democrats he did not understand language. The reading of the resolution again was called for. This was done. Mr. E. Dunbar Lockwood developed into one of the staunchest supporters of the amendment. Enough time had been wasted, he urged, trying to reform within party lines. That amendment meant nothing more than to invite the best element of the Democrats to co-operate with them. In that way they might expect to gain a triumph. But never while they held out and tried to reform strictly inside their own ranks. Mr. Simpson was also staunch in this direction. It would be an insult to the Democratic party if they were to go to them and ask them to help elect a ticket and give them no part in that ticket.

"Finally the invitation to the Democrats was rendered less glaring by an amendment offered by Mr. Corson. He moved that the words 'and other citizens' be added after the word 'Democrats.'

"'What other citizens are there outside Republicans and Democrats?' asked one.

"'Greenbackers,' answered Mr. Corson; and everybody laughed.

"Mr. Comegys had another amendment to offer. He moved that the word 'Democrats' be stricken out and 'other citizens' supplied instead. This was lost. Mr. Corson's amendment to the main amendment was adopted.

"Again Mr. Simpson came fiercely to the front in favor of the main, or original amendment. It had no partisan significance, he said, and it was a waste of time to carp over it.

"Mr. Audenried thought it was most embarrassing. The Executive Committee had worked hard to get up these amendments and if the General Committee would only trust them, he thought, they would come out all right. Chairman Little, of the Executive Committee, likewise favored the amendment. So did Mr. Gregg. A vote was taken, and the amendment was carried with the additional amendment of Mr. Corson, inviting 'Democrats and other citizens' to help elect the ticket.

"The chief work of the meeting now being over, several

resolutions were offered relating to further action. On Mr. Theodore Justice's motion the question of filling vacancies was left to the Executive Committee. Mr. Reeves presented an amendment, which was accepted, to the effect that no nominations be offered to the General Committee hereafter until the nominees had subscribed to the Declaration of Principles.

"Mr. Blankenburg now came forward with the following resolution, which was passed, Messrs. Comegys, Sellers and Evans alone voting against it:

"Whereas, It is a notorious fact that police officers have been the chief managers of the late primary elections in many of our wards; therefore, Resolved, That we invite communications and testimony bearing on the fact from all citizens possessing the same, said communications to be sent to the Secretary of the Executive Committee, Ellis D. Williams.'

"The last resolution offered related to the United States Senatorship contest at Harrisburg. It was submitted by Mr. Reeves: 'Resolved, That the action of a considerable number of the Republican members of the Legislature in declining to go into caucus for the purpose of perpetuating ring rule has our unqualified approbation, and that we regard it as a hopeful sign that the rights of the people are about to be respected in preference to the personal domination of a self-constituted dictator.\*' This resolution passed unanimously, and the Committee adjourned.

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\*Senator J. Donald Cameron.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE TAX DEPARTMENT.

In the name of party there have been some pretty bad things done since politics first began to have place among the affairs of men. Dishonesty has prospered, vice has flourished and bad men have been helped on their way to perdition, or to some other unclassified destination, with money stolen from the people. Gigantic have been the frauds hatched under the heat of party prejudice and under the protective influence of ignorance; appalling have been the wrongs to men and to humanity imposed under the cry of "fealty to party." Bad laws have been enacted through the well-meaning but misapplied zeal of good men, and sore injustice has been inflicted upon thousands by the fact that worthy persons have been pleased to cast their votes not in accordance with the promptings of reason, but at the whisper of an empty sentiment. That the professional politician is a man to be considered apart from the rest of humanity experience conclusively proves. A creature of circumstances he requires no qualification of fitness in his vocation, save that of cunning mingled with a certain degree of caution. He may be unable to write his own name or to know how to express his meaning in a style that would not scandalize established literary standards, but cunning and cautious he must be if he would be successful in his calling. In addition he must possess a degree of combativeness and bluster to intimidate the unduly law-abiding and over-scrupulous who may sometimes be disposed to protest against his methods. With these qualifications he may be safely relied upon to make his way in the

world, and especially will he be successful in communities where men are occupied with diversified pursuits and so deeply immersed in the business of money-getting that they have no time to watch this man of cunning and caution who is entrusted with the handling of the proceeds of the taxes and, to an extent, with the management of public affairs.

Under such circumstances did the Gas Trust develop in Philadelphia into a formidable political machine. Under the same circumstances was the office of Collector of Delinquent Taxes created whereby a public official derived, by virtue of a cunning provision of the law, the sum of \$200,000 as yearly compensation for the work of collecting some millions of dollars of annual taxes which the collecting system of his superior, the Receiver of Taxes, was not supposed, with its multifarious duties in connection with gathering in the bulk of the current taxes, to be capable of reaching.

We have said this Tax Collecting Department was the source of some great scandals. That it was so not without cause a few facts will demonstrate. The Receiver of Taxes who was the Chief of the Tax Collecting system of the City and the man upon whom the entire responsibility for the proper conduct of the department rested, was elected by the people. His salary was \$2,500 a year. No other official connected with the department was elected, the force of deputies and clerks being selected by the Receiver, in whose hands alone, under the law, the power of appointing his assistants was vested. In the relation which the subordinate sustains to his superior it is not in accordance with general experience to find the former receiving a higher salary than the latter; and

especially has it been the common belief, that the amount of compensation for services in public as well as in private business is proportioned to the degree of responsibility involved in a given position. Nevertheless, it remained for the political "leaders" of Philadelphia whose power in the State Legislature was almost as supreme as it was in the City Councils to furnish a strange and unaccountable departure from a universally accepted rule in business, through what was known as the Delinquent Tax Law. While this law gave the Receiver the power to appoint the Delinquent Collector and in other respects rendered him subordinate to the Receiver it gave the former a salary, derived from commissions on Taxes he collected, which amounted to eighty times the salary of the Receiver and four times the salary of the President of the United States. Looking into the lawful, surface system of compensation between these two men we see the subordinate receiving a salary which enables him to live like a prince in his own mansion, with fast horses and other equipages of suddenly or easily acquired wealth, while his superior, through whose favor he enjoys these luxuries, receives as compensation a pittance which will not only preclude any possibility of his obtaining the means by which to purchase a house but will in reality prevent him from living in any but a frugal manner in an unpretentious dwelling for which he pays rent.

Such is the logical view of this compensation system as derived from the standpoint of the law's provisions. In considering the glaring incongruities mentioned, the question naturally arises, what could have been the motive in securing the passage of such a law. It is not in accordance with general experience to find political

personages so disinterested and self-sacrificing as to lend their efforts to the business of creating for a single subordinate official an office with emoluments so enormous as to absolutely carry it beyond the range of comparison with other public positions, even to the most important known in the land, and place it, in respect of the profits which a single term will yield, not on the plane of a public office but rather on that of a princely heritage.\* The Philadelphia politicians who originated and secured the enactment of this law were not noted either individually or as a class for their readiness to further any wholesale scheme for the enrichment of a particular individual, from entirely disinterested motives. Nothing was undertaken by them that had not for its prime object actual financial profits. Their power in politics, in shaping results in the elections, gave them a prestige which no party follower dared dispute. Public officials were their creatures as certainly as though they constituted a regular business firm and those they elected to office were merely their agents doing their work on salary or on commission. They originated laws, creating new offices in some instances and increasing the compensation of

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\*"The office of Collector of Delinquent Taxes is worth \$200,000 a year to the man who holds it, or as much as the President of the United States receives in four years. The Tax Receiver appoints the Delinquent Collector, so the grand scramble now between the 'roosters' of the Republican and Democratic parties is to secure the whole of this big prize for one or the other, and, failing in this, the indication are that the old Pilgrim-ring tactics will be adopted of making a Chinese fight against each other with a secret understanding that no matter which one is elected Receiver the profits of the Delinquent Tax office shall be 'pooled,' and divided among those in the 'pool.' \* \* \* If John Hunter should exhibit such strength as to endanger the success of the Republican nominee it is rumored that the Republican 'ringsters' will then turn in and elect the Democratic candidate for Receiver, the consideration being, of course, that they shall have a share in the 'pool.' \* \* \* It is needless to say that John Hunter is the lion in the path of those who wish to get control of this big 'pool.'"—*Taggart's Sunday Times*, Jan. 23, 1881.



old ones in others, and then placed their own representatives in charge as readily as if it were a matter in which the people had absolutely no concern.\*

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\*For the past seven or eight years the control of the Tax Department had been entirely in the hands of James McManes and his political colleagues of the Gas Trust. The most pliant and subservient of the men who shared the confidence of the Gas Trust chief and enjoyed the pecuniary benefits arising from their connection with him, were chosen for the positions of Receiver of Taxes and Collector of Delinquent Taxes respectively. For the three years, prior to 1878, these offices had been in charge of two half-brothers, who, while possessing neither ability for leadership nor capacity for successful political management, were nevertheless the proper kind of persons to serve the interests of powerful masters in the official positions of tithe gatherers. Thomas J. Smith, a man of feeble will and weak characteristics, who, served in the dual capacity of Receiver of Taxes and Gas Trustee, appointed, with the approval of his brother Gas Trustee and political patron, James McManes, his half-brother, William J. Donohugh, as Collector of Delinquent Taxes. If uninitiated taxpayers had been at a loss to know why a man of such type had been made Receiver, they were not less puzzled when they came to inquire for the reason of the appointment of this unknown and equally nondescript half-brother Donohugh to the position of Delinquent Collector. There was witnessed the culminating act of the series which made the rule of political Bossism, in the eyes of the people, atrocious. Thenceforth the Tax Department management and methods became a close "family affair." To gain information as to the system in vogue, the percentages, the perquisites and the fees derived from the various sources, was most difficult. Investigations by Councilmanic Committees, though conducted with the utmost care and energy, developed very little beyond the universally acknowledged fact that the management of the Tax Department was badly in need of overhauling, and that gross abuses existed, both in the office of the Receiver and in that of the Collector of Delinquent Taxes. Protected as these officials were by the Gas Trust with all its vast power and patronage, the half brothers, Smith and Donohugh, were practically independent of the people, and could defy even the City Councils. The expiration of the term of the half-brother, Smith, in 1877, and the election of his successor, Albert C. Roberts, might be thought to have brought this shameful system of parceling out public spoils to an end. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Roberts, like his predecessor, was a Gas Trustee. The half-brother, Donohugh, was by him re-appointed Delinquent Collector, which position he held, not only during Receiver Roberts' term, but even after the Reform movement had swept into the Receivership Councilman Hunter, refusing to take his dismissal from the latter official, but holding on tenaciously until forcibly ejected by the Supreme Court.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### ISSUES AND EXPEDIENTS.

The Democrats will hold their Convention on the 27th of the month. Already there is much speculation over the probable result. The rejection of Mayor Stokley at the eleventh hour by the Reform Committee has intensified public interest in an already interesting political prospect. It has done more also; it has struck deep to the root of men's positive approval or condemnation; has stirred the public mind to its depths and compelled the recognition, by the humblest man, of a political crisis in which there can be no neutral or indifferent position. So much has been said about this Business Men's Committee that it cannot be ignored by those whom it opposes. Abuse it shall receive from its foes, praise from its friends, and the people shall be umpire. Therein does the professional politician find cause for fear, inasmuch as the judgment of men cannot be manipulated as he has been used to manipulating election returns, and left to itself is dangerously liable to be right.

Meantime party sentiment among both Republican and Democratic preceptors has received a shock. Does not this action of the Reform Committee mean party treachery? Republicans themselves they have cast off the candidate of their party, and furthermore, they have invited a "union of all elements of opposition \* \* \* irrespective of party!" Democratic politicians, who might be supposed to find cause for congratulation over this defection in the ranks of their rivals, seem to forget to avail themselves of the opportunity therefor, in their

indignation against the Committee. This indignation would seem unaccountable were it not for the unmistakable evidence of a thorough understanding upon a basis of financial profit, between Republican and Democratic politicians;\* which understanding is apt to be rudely disturbed if the Reformers succeed in establishing their treasonable doctrine among the people. That such doctrine has already taken root there is decided evidence. Democrats like Citizen Ashmead and Citizen Conway have been, since Mayor Stokley was rejected, in consultation with the Reform Committee, and a certain element of young Democrats, not heretofore known in politics, have come forward and are demanding of their party the nomination of Republican John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes. In this fact lies a new source of trouble for McManesism. Than to make terms with the Democratic "leaders" nothing could be easier or less unusual; but to exact a guarantee that those leaders shall keep the party members well in hand is another and more difficult thing. Readily would they accomodate their Republican professional brethren if they could;†

\* "Mr. Blankenburg who has taken a warm and active part in the reform movement was asked by an *Inquirer* reporter last evening what he thought of the stand taken by the Democrats. 'Democratic and Republican rings have clasped hands,' answered Mr. Blankenburg, and are working in delightful harmony. 'The Democracy will place a weak ticket in the field for the purpose of aiding Stokley who would never have dared to refuse to sign the Declaration of Principles of the Committee of the One Hundred, had he not been successful in consummating a bargain with the Democrats to nominate a straight ticket and not coalesce with the Reform movement. There has been a dicker between the Republican and Democratic ringsters, and the contract has been signed, sealed and part of the goods delivered the balance to be delivered in the event of Stokley's election.'"—*Inquirer* January 30, 1831.

† "Having been 'seen' by the Republican Managers for a straight ticket they had everything 'cut and dried' in that direction until the secret of the deal leaked out and then ensued such an upheaval of the workers as has never before been seen. \* \* \* Without any canvass whatever it was evident on night before last that one-half the wards

but it must be confessed there is abroad a spirit of insubordination in their own party as well as in the Republican party and every day it becomes more evident that "party ties" grow looser and less effective.\* The Hunter fallacy is spreading "among all degrees and conditions of men," and no antidote that has yet been prescribed has been successful in counteracting its influence. Worse than all it carries with it another effect: belief in Hunter involves a belief likewise in his utterances and he has recently charged at a meeting of the Councilmanic Committee on the investigation of the Gas Trust that the Trustees are defrauding the people out of one thousand dollars a day; and has furthermore declared his ability to prove the charge provided he is permitted to have the aid of certain papers and records of the Trust; an accusation which Trustee McManes answers in certain Billingsgate language, which answers nothing, coupled with the declaration that Councilman Hunter cannot hereafter have access to the office records of the Trust without a written order from the Chairman of the Investigating Committee, the volatile Bardsley.† Davis Page also made an asser-

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were for John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes. \* \* \* Notwithstanding the fact that a number of wards have instructed their delegates for Hunter the bosses, with the machinery at their backs will so twist and interpret the rules that McGrath will have nearly two-thirds of the Convention to-morrow."—*Evening Star*, January 26.

\* "The Democratic leaders cry 'a straight ticket!' the masses of the party are for John Hunter."—*Ibid.*

† "Mr. McManes denies Mr. Hunter's allegations that the City has been defrauded of one thousand dollars a day and supplements his denial with the threat that Mr. Hunter cannot go to the Trust Office any more as formerly. This we take it means that the doors are to be barred unless, as was subsequently resolved, Mr. Bardsley, who has the reputation of being the right hand man of the Trustees gives him a written permit. It looks very much as if Mr. Hunter was probing the Trust to the quick."—*Star* January 25.

"Mr. McManes says the statements of Mr. Hunter are malicious lies. The best backing Mr. Hunter has is the delay the Gas Trust puts in the way of an investigation."—*Record* January 25.

tion in the same meeting concerning certain profitable transactions which the Trustees have conducted in coal tar, the proceeds of which should have gone into the public treasury, but which appears to have gone instead into the pockets of the Trustees, the effect of which upon the Trust and its apologists is conducive to the encouragement of examples of the lingual accomplishments of the fishwoman.

As political issues among the people, Gas Trust mismanagement and Tax Department mis-management are daily becoming stronger and more invincible; being issues of grandest proportions which touch the Taxpayer's pocket. Other issues appeal to his patriotism, his manhood, his honesty and his regard for justice. Coercion in the exercise of the right of the ballot is a potent influence in sending him into this fusion, partyless movement of the Reformers without regard to the question whether he or they be Republican or Democrat since all things now are based on principles which have for their watchword "down with dishonesty and corruption!" So rings out now this cry, among people of both parties, of Coalition. In Coalition alone, of all things good for counteracting the tendencies toward evil in party, does falsehood find its most powerful foe and the public welfare its greatest friend. There will you find the nucleus around which clusters a sentiment which to partisan prejudice and

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"The books, papers, accounts, contracts and all the records of the Gas Trust should always be open to any member of the City Councils and especially should they be open to one officially instructed to examine them. They are the witnesses which must decide whether Mr. Hunter is a malignant or reckless defamer or whether he is intelligently truthful; but when Mr. Hunter should be most a'ded to investigate whether the Gas Trust is clean in its important office, the accuser is denounced as a malicious falsifier and notice is given that he can no longer examine the affairs of the Trust unless specially permitted to do so by Mr. Bardsley."  
—*Times* January 25.

crafty self-interest is rank poison. Coalition springing from the people is the triumph of right over wrong, the ringing declaration of honest men that rascality and systematic dishonesty shall not be tolerated in high places once they become to the eyes of all clearly manifest. Rascals alone, as Coalitionists, cannot be successful, for to succeed requires first and unequivocally a foundation built upon principle; and second, that quality of earnestness which impresses right-minded men as being disinterested and founded upon conviction; two requirements which the professional politician who goes into business to plunder the public is scarcely capable of understanding, or, if he does understand, is lacking in the essential quality of honesty of motive which lack is sure to bring him to grief in the end.

The Committee of One Hundred having resolved that "should a satisfactory Coalition ticket be formed this Committee will heartily accept a union of all the elements of opposition to the Republican ring, irrespective of party," and having asked for "the coöperation of a similar Committee of members of the Democratic party favorable to Reform with whom we shall be glad to work to that end," the first element of the Democratic organization to take the initiative in the matter are those old professional traders, who, through all the reverses of their party and the triumphs of the Republicans have managed to thrive and grow rich without any visible occupation. These political worthies at once raise an outcry against any affiliation of their party with Reformers. They fly to the party manual and read therefrom the party rules which prohibit the nomination for a party office by their party Conventions of any one who

is not a member of their party. So this talk of having the Democratic Convention for the nomination of a Receiver of Taxes, nominate John Hunter they consider the wildest folly. The man who must be nominated for Receiver of Taxes, according to their dictum, is William V. McGrath, Democratic politician, who has been in his day City Treasurer and State Treasurer, and whose elevation to the office would scarcely be viewed in the light of a great calamity by that Republican centre of despotism, the Gas Trust.

This is the tone of the friendly and philosophic Democratic politicians. The Committee of One Hundred having found this element of the Democrats practically allied with the Republican ring are forced to the expedient of strategy. They have lately threatened to withdraw the nomination of Mr. Hunter for Receiver of Taxes and allow the old parties to settle the contest for the three city offices between them while they confine their efforts to the election of Reformers to the City Councils. Well do all keen observers see that with this middle, or Reform element removed from the contest for the city offices the Democrats would be largely outnumbered by their Republican opponents and those offices would be filled by the Republican candidates. The Executive Committee of the Reform Organization has held a meeting and it has been given out that a resolution was passed "recommending the propriety" of such a course to the General Committee. The strategy works well. It brings speedy protest from honest Democrats against the withdrawal of Councilman Hunter. Everywhere there are signs of a revolt of Democratic

party followers against their party leaders.\* Democratic clubs, social and political, are meeting and passing resolutions indorsing Mr. Hunter's candidacy. The Young Men's Democratic Association, with John Cadwalader, President, embracing what Republican and Democratic professional politicians sneeringly term "young men of blue blood," has already met and put forth its official declaration in favor of Hunter. The Americus Club, the leading Democratic organization of the City, has a good majority in its membership favorable to Hunter. Nor is old William Conway silent. His name heads a list of "Democratic citizens anxious for good municipal government" who have issued a call to certain conservative Democrats for a meeting at the rooms of the Board of Trade on Monday, January 24th, at 12 o'clock noon "for consultation."†

And here, likewise, the universal demand of the people for the election of Hunter to be Chief of the Tax Department finds approval. Citizen Conway is present and Davis Page, and George M. Dallas, and others to the number of nearly a score, representing the most honor-

\*"When Thomas J. Barger yesterday morning was visited by the 'workers,' summoned from every section of the City, to receive the orders to be carried out at the primaries, he was assured by one and all that Mr. McGrath could carry very few, if any of the 689 precincts in the City; and that the party sentiment was to a very large degree in favor of John Hunter. Precinct politicians who had always cried 'down coalition!' declare that they could no longer keep the people in the traces."—*Times*, January 25.

†"Late on Saturday last the following invitation was sent to a number of prominent Democrats: 'DEAR SIR:—The undersigned Democratic citizens, anxious for good municipal government, earnestly request your presence on Monday, January 24th, at 12 o'clock noon at the Board of Trade rooms, (Mercantile Library,) Tenth Street above Chestnut, for consultation. Very respectfully, William Conway, J. B. Baker, Charles A. Borda, Arthur M. Burton, John Samuel.'"—*Times*, Jan. 25.



able element of the Democracy.\* Of aggressive Councilman Page, colleague of Mr. Hunter in Common Council, and also on the Committee on the investigation of the Gas Trust, nothing need be said, because we already know him,—know on which side his voice will be raised in praise and which in condemnation. Citizen George M. Dallas is somewhat more of a stranger to the observer of these stirring municipal contests, being better known in State and National conflicts in which, as a conservative leader of opinion, he has long stood as an acknowledged power. He, you will especially find, in contests affecting the Judiciary, being a keen-sighted lawyer, and having old-fashioned, reliable ideas about the selection of men who shall sit on the Supreme or the Lower Bench. An example, is he, of that class whom the political traffickers of both parties are apt to sneer at as being of “blue blood;” one of his ancestors, of the same name, having been the Nation’s Vice-President. Old William Conway, victim of police partisanship and abuse, is already a familiar figure with his bent form and his snow-white hair. And there, too, is another whom we know, a youngish looking man, whose face, with its reddish moustache and thoughtful, observant eyes indicate not only unusual character but cool and deliberate judgment. Fitting it is that Francis B. Reeves, author of that non-partisan police clause in the Committee of One

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\*“ Among those present were Dr. Edward Morwitz, George M. Dallas, William Conway, Arthur M. Burton, John Samuel, William H. Brown, Joseph B. Baker, Charles A. Borda, Charles Henry Jones, S. Davis Page, William Drayton, ex-Councilman John Tully, ex-Councilman Charles Durr, Thomas S. Stewart and S. Davis Duffield. Mr. Stewart was elected Chairman and Mr. Brown Secretary. Mr. Conway said the object of the meeting was to interchange views as to the proper men to be nominated for Mayor, City Solicitor and Receiver of Taxes. \* \* \* After Mr. Dallas’ resolutions were unanimously carried the meeting adjourned to meet on Friday, at noon.”—*Times*, Jan’y 25.

Hundred's Constitution, which clause has led to the rejection of Stokley, should not only be the only Republican and member of the Reform Committee present but that he should be here with old William Conway, whose case, as a sufferer from police persecution at the polls, was the source of the inspiration which led Mr. Reeves to originate a clause so important to the cause of Reform. Upon Citizen Conway's invitation is Mr. Reeves present to hear and to be heard, provided he cares to say anything. Stout Dr. Morwitz is here too, proprietor and publisher of the *German Democrat*, and likewise a conservative man who is not found in such gatherings usually save when there is in hand important business. Such business they have to transact to-day; the spirit of the hour being revealed when Citizen S. Davis Duffield, conservative lawyer, arises and makes a speech in which he condemns the party leaders for refusing to hear the cry of reform and coöperate with the Committee of One Hundred in selecting candidates. Citizen Dallas next arises, not to speak much, but to offer a resolution which says a good deal, representing that "it is for the best interests of the Democratic party as well as of all taxpayers and citizens of Philadelphia that the evils prevailing in the administration of the office of Receiver of Taxes should be terminated and that the best means which can be adopted for the defeat of those now in municipal power is the indorsement by the Democratic party of John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes;" which resolution passes by a unanimous vote. This much and no more they do now, being cautious and wary, as ones who know the subtle character of those who yet hold in hand the destiny of their party, and who must

be restrained in their attempt to commit that party to dishonor for a few paltry dollars, by quiet, politic means if possible; if not, then by the rude and indiscriminate methods of the stern-willed people. If the party leaders have wisdom they will heed the warning here given; if they have only cunning and short-sightedness they will not. The party primaries will be held tonight and in the results there achieved will be found the answer.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### TROUBLED DEMOCRATIC LEADERS.

THE Democratic leaders are sorely tried. The doctrine of a "straight ticket" seems to be growing more unpopular hourly with their party members. The prepossession in favor of the Republican Councilman Hunter spreads like contagion. Work as they will to stem the tide the leaders are powerless. Lately they have begun to lose their temper and to say hard things against their party followers, which seems ungrateful; and to also denounce in vigorous language the Reformers who must be blamed for the present disaffection.

They have done their best to placate their discontented followers. In star-chamber council they have met and agreed upon a ticket which is expected to win back to the party household the dissatisfied ones. John Cadwalader, esteemed young lawyer of Revolutionary ancestry, shall be their candidate for Mayor; and Furman Sheppard, eminent advocate at the bar, who in times past was elected by the Reformers Prosecuting Attorney, shall be the Democratic choice for City Solicitor, while William V. McGrath must be, at all hazards, the candidate for Receiver of Taxes. Thus has the word been given to the party members in advance of the holding of the primaries so they shall know how to elect their delegates in a way that shall suit their leaders. Yet the party is woefully demoralized;—or at least mutinous and revolutionary. Against the selection of Citizen McGrath it protests fiercely and seeing nothing is to be gained by protesting, it boldly throws off the

party shackles and emerges defiant and belligerent as a co-worker with Reformers and passes resolutions in local Ward organization in favor of Citizen Hunter.

Thus does the fire of Revolution simmer and dart out anon angry tongues of flame, up to the very eve of the primaries; old William Conway's Board-of-Trade meeting being an example thereof, and the Young Men's Democratic Association with its resolution of indorsement of Hunter, John Cadwalader presiding, being another illustration. Behold the complications which this latest act of the leaders in taking up Citizen Cadwalader as their candidate for Mayor involves! The leaders cry "a straight ticket!" and place at the head of such ticket Mr. Cadwalader himself, who is lending his influence not to the formation of a straight ticket but of a ticket which shall satisfy the people and have on it as the candidate for Chief of the Tax Department Citizen Hunter. And in the same attitude stands able advocate Sheppard, who, like his professional brother, Cadwalader, would rather see his party do right than be the successful candidate for any office. By winning to their support such men do the leaders hope to silence their turbulent followers; for Messrs. Sheppard and Cadwalader are influential and conservative, both representing untold strength as friends but formidable opposition as foes.

So the leaders will placate them if they can. How the effort will succeed they shall soon know. There stands on the minute book of the Young Men's Democratic Association that resolution of unanimous endorsement of John Hunter, President Cadwalader himself voting for it. Shrewd must the leaders be now if they win him away. Selectman King's name likewise is on

men's tongues.\* Some, there are, among Democratic leaders, who advocate him for Mayor. Outrageous! Do not the Democratic leaders know that this man in Councils for twenty years has been "the people's man;" has sternly thrust aside partisanship and acted, not as a Democrat, not as a Republican, but as a public servant faithful to the interests of his masters?

The Gas Trust and McManesism generally must needs speak hurried words of protest to their Democratic allies against this latest name. Fully as bad for their interests would be the election of Selectman King to the Mayoralty as the election of Citizen Hunter to the Receivership of Taxes! both having waged fierce warfare against McManesism in Councils, one of the results of which is the present investigation of the Gas Trust. Unlucky are these two names for McManesism; if party methods or party machinery in either party afford a means for counteracting a movement that will advance the political powers of these men there is no time to be lost in searching it out.

In the meanwhile with Hunter and the turbulent Democracy and their primaries how fares it? The Conventions are only two days off. The list of delegates thereto the wise Democratic leaders withhold from the public though journalistic emissaries have made repeated efforts to get them. The crisis is too grave to run any risk. The leaders hope there have been delegates enough

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\*"The James Page Library Company which claims to be the oldest Democratic Society in the State and is composed of the best class of citizens, held a special meeting last night. William P. Fodell, the Secretary, offered a resolution suggesting the names of Samuel G. King to the Democratic Convention as a suitable candidate for Mayor and John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes. The resolution was unanimously adopted."—*Times*, January 26, 1881.

elected to the Convention to nominate a Receiver of Taxes to insure the nomination of McGrath. Yet they are doubtful. Such independence among Democrats they never before experienced. Stories of Democratic defiance of their leader's expressed wishes are numerous; the Hunter doctrine seems to have turned their heads. They even spoke lightly in many cases of the name of McGrath. More than this, solicitors of votes for McGrath delegates were in some cases insulted and threatened with arrest. Serious does this result of the primaries look to the Democratic leaders as well as to a disinterested public. Serious too does it look to McManesism.

Though without access to the lists the public nevertheless hears enough to draw some plausible inferences. Industrious journalistic investigators have been doing some figure work. They have been analyzing the situation as they have been able to learn about it in the various wards. One, after a careful inquiry, is able to state that Hunter has seventeen more delegates than McGrath and is therefore certain, unless the delegates be bought\* away from him, to receive the nomination. And this investigator further goes on to say that "the instructions given to the workers on Monday night that Hunter must be defeated at the primaries could not be carried out for there was encountered an unexpectedly strong feeling in favor of the Reformer's candidate."

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\* 'Although: \* \* Mr. Hunter has a clear majority of the Convention and it is undoubtedly true that the mass of the Democratic party is enthusiastic in his support, the leaders yesterday blandly announced that he would not have a dozen votes in the Convention significantly adding 'to-day is not Thursday,' which remark was supplemented by that of a well-known Democrat who once aspired to Congressional honors: 'Why the majority of those delegates could be bought in a lump for \$2,500.'—*Press*, Jan. 26, 1881,

So that feeling continues to develop, with leaders and bosses wildly throwing out their arms in a mad endeavor to check it, but with such sorry result that they must continually be running hither and thither, stumbling over each other in dark places like men panic-stricken.



## CHAPTER XX.

### THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS.

To the Conventions as the cardinal point about which the destiny of the city revolves, dependent on the might of individuals sent there by various conflicting elements, each set to endeavor to make its assemblage of delegates do a particular thing, all men's thoughts tend. The city is all in a state of ferment, the pent up excitement of days finding itself near the venting point, the signal for the outflow to be found in the result of the Tax Receiver's Convention. Meantime there have been several exciting incidents to still further agitate the flood of human feeling within the past four and twenty hours. First, a letter from Citizen Sheppard declining to be a candidate for City Solicitor; then a similar letter from John R. Read, who was taken up by the party leaders in citizen Sheppard's place, likewise declining; and third, a letter from citizen John Cadwalader declining to be a candidate for Mayor; and last, a letter from Citizen Isaae J. Wistar, declining the honor of the Temporary Chairmanship of the Mayoralty Convention, since Citizen Cadwalader is no longer a candidate. Citizen McGrath alone is left, of all the candidates originally agreed upon, as the candidate of the leaders for Tax Receiver. But how the plans of those leaders have altered! Where they, after careful, patient work against tremendous disadvantages, had succeeded in bringing out of almost inextricable confusion some patch-work plans, to be laid with careful hands before the Conventions, the rotten texture parts and all is chaos again.

But the hour for the meeting of the Conventions in their respective places is ten o'clock, and what work has been done by the leaders to restore something like order out of indescribable confusion has been done in the night and in the early morning hours. Long before the arrival of the first delegate the massive Assembly building on Tenth street below Chestnut, where the Convention to nominate a Receiver of Taxes, will be held, becomes about its base, a rallying point for the people. Sidewalks are thronged; the mass even bursts over and encroaches on the street, blocking cars and vehicles which require a squad of police before the way can be opened again. Delegates, as they pass in and up the broad stairway, guarded by policemen, are hailed by the motley assemblage; some in a spirit of encouragement, or banter, others in a spirit of denunciation. All are promptly in their places, and journalists call it a "respectable-looking gathering." Bland Thomas May Peirce, fresh from "Peirce's Business College," and mock auctions and intricate mathematical calculations—flying to politics as a pleasing diversion from too much figure-work—shall call the Convention to order, by virtue of his appointment by the City Executive Committee as Temporary Chairman.

Chairman Peirce loses little time in a preliminary harangue; he has had too much experience for that. He appoints his secretaries, tellers and doorkeepers, and directs them to take their places. This done, the roll call follows and delegates come forward as their respective wards are called and lay upon the Secretaries' tables their credentials.

So far everything has progressed smoothly. The keenest observer would fail to detect on the surface of

this placid, quiet looking gathering the fierce antagonisms that are raging beneath. What delegates are here for McGrath and a "straight" ticket and what ones for Hunter and coalition is a question which surface indications have not yet revealed.

Thus have Convention proceedings been so far. Yet—hear! What are those words the bland and pleasant-looking Chairman Peirce is now speaking? "The Convention will proceed to the election of a permanent Chairman!"

A signal, quick as a lightning flash, is this for the mask of peace and quiet to be thrown aside. Now shall it be known who is the mightier in this Convention!—Hunter, the Republican Reformer, or McGrath, the "straight" Democratic candidate. Each side has its favorite for the important office of Permanent Chairman, in the election of which will the result of the Convention's work be clearly foreshadowed. Involuntarily do the Hunter men turn to each other as a McGrath man springs to his feet and nominates for Permanent Chairman, Samuel G. Thompson, member of the bar, and son of a former eminent Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who comes as a delegate from the Seventh Ward. Almost instantaneously does a Hunter man arise and nominate Citizen George Bull, also a member of the bar and a near Ward neighbor of John Hunter in West Philadelphia, hailing from the Twenty-Seventh Ward. Delegates Joseph F. Wall and Thomas Carlin are likewise nominated by enthusiastic brother delegates but they withdraw and leave the contest between Citizen Thompson and Citizen Bull.

Breathless is the suspense as the names of delegates

are called and their votes recorded. Nervous do the leaders of both sides appear when the monotonous voices of the Secretaries ring out as they slowly go over the list. When the last name is reached there is a buzz of excitement and an involuntary crowding together of heads by impromptu tally-keepers in order to compare records. There is scarce time to satisfy them on this point before the temporary Chairman's gavel again raps for silence. The Secretaries have completed their work. For Citizen Thompson there are eighty-four votes; for Citizen Bull sixty-six.

A cheer, loud and tumultuous, bursts forth from the McGrath men. The suspense is ended and they have won. Citizen Thompson, smiling and bowing is escorted to the Chair amid enthusiasm by a special Committee.

Citizen Thompson, tall and majestic looking, having been introduced by Temporary Chairman Peirce, there is occasion for more applause which, having presently subsided, the Convention on motion of a delegate accords the retiring Chairman the honor of a seat on the platform; which the bland and experienced Citizen Peirce acknowledges with a bow as he composedly steps down and makes himself comfortable near the Secretaries tables on the platform steps, being not fastidious as to the literal rendering of the honor.

The new Chairman being expected to adhere to custom and make a speech, does so briefly;\* tells the delegates

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\*"After thanking the convention Mr. Thompson said: "We have come here to-day to nominate a candidate for one of the most important offices in the gift of the people. That office has been so administered that it is surrounded with suspicion. That suspicion should be dissipated by the selection of a man for Receiver of Taxes who is known to be pure and upright. We should nominate such a man and then if defeat comes we shall know that we have done our full duty and the fault will not be ours."—*Times*, Jan. 23, 1881.

that the object which has called them together is an important one; that their nominee for Receiver of Taxes should be one who is known to be pure and upright, whereat the Hunter men join with the McGrath men in cheers. Having completed his speech Chairman Thompson announces with official air that the first thing in order is the appointment of a Committee of seven on Resolutions. Delegate Richard Vaux of the Eighth Ward is a notable figure as he arises to move that such Committee be appointed. He, of all the one hundred and fifty delegates present would attract the interest and curiosity of the stranger. With lion head clothed with heavy masses of silver hair, which in younger years was chestnut brown and with bushy whiskers of the same color and luxuriant growth, he looms up in the Convention like a restless lion among drowsy mates. The long silver hair, falling over fore-head and shoulders like a shaggy mane, shakes defiantly as he stands there, the eyes of all upon him. His black broad-cloth dress surmounted by old fashioned standing collar and black silk stock proclaim him of that class of gentlemen which in later days has been termed "of the olden school." A life long Democrat has Citizen Vaux been; a Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democrat who would part with his life rather than with his right to the claim of being a Jacksonian Democrat. Pleasant memories has he of Jacksonian power and prestige, having been in younger days an attache to the American Legation at the Court of St. James and being reputed as the only American who ever danced with the Queen. Power and prestige has he enjoyed of late years in his native city, also, having filled for a term the office of Mayor. One of the

most influential of the party leaders in City and State, Citizen Vaux is here to-day in the interest of his old friend Citizen McGrath and a "straight" ticket.

Delegate Vaux, having made his motion, the Chairman is about stating it to the Convention, when the watchful Hunter men see their opportunity to be heard and Delegate William Henry Jones, lawyer, is their spokesman. Amidst wild confusion Delegate Jones arises;—cries and yells of disapprobation from the McGrath men; Cheers from the friends of Hunter! Vigorous rapping with Chairman Thompson's gavel finally restores a fair degree of order, when he proceeds to read a preamble and resolution: "Whereas, Mr. John Hunter, the nominee of the Reform Association of Philadelphia for Receiver of Taxes, has by his labors in behalf of the Taxpayers commended himself to our citizens without distinction of party; therefore, Resolved, That this Convention deem it inexpedient to place in nomination a candidate for the position of Receiver of Taxes and recommend the Democratic voters of Philadelphia to cast their votes for John Hunter at the coming election."

Now Bedlam seems to be breaking loose; groans, hisses and yells of indignation from the friends of a "straight" ticket, and wild, tumultuous cheers from the friends of "Hunter and Reform." While the disorder is at its height and the entire Convention seems to be on its feet swinging arms and writhing in a paroxysm of excitement, the lion voice of Citizen Vaux is heard and the lion head is seen to be shaking its mane, the eyes flashing with rage and impatience as the McGrath leader raps fiercely on the back of his seat for order. That powerful voice is enough and at once the tumult is stilled, dele-

gates sinking into their seats with eyes rivited on a certain roll of foolscap which Citizen Vaux holds in one of his hands. With elegant diction and abundant dramatic gestures does the Democratic leader read stirring resolutions the tenor of which is that the people demand a Reform in the Tax Department and that the Democratic party recognizing that demand shall require the candidate nominated by the Convention to pledge himself in the most unequivocal manner "to carry out the most radical reforms in said office and to remove the abuses, extortion and corruption asserted now to exist in that Department of our City Government."

Citizen Vaux sits down amidst cheers from enthusiastic supporters of McGrath. The Chairman, proceeding to carry out the previous motion, appoints, as the Committee to receive and pass upon resolutions, Richard Vaux, W. T. Ladner, Joseph F. Wall, George W. Thompson, Dr. C. E. Kamerly, J. P. McFadden and William Henry Jones. The Committee at once goes through the form of retiring to consider the resolutions but returns almost immediately, Mr. Vaux handing up to the Secretaries his resolutions, just read, as the ones reported by a majority of the Committee to the Convention for adoption, while Citizen Jones submits his resolution as a minority report.

Citizen Vaux's resolutions, at once pass the Convention without opposition. Aggressive Dr. Kamerly moves that Citizen Jones' resolution be laid on the table. Now confusion again appears. The Hunter delegates spring up as by magic, gesticulating and protesting while the McGrath delegates seek to cry them down. The Chair tired of pounding with the gavel toys with it a

moment and contemplates the turbulent scene. Then, with impartiality, recognizes Citizen George Bull, leader of the Hunter delegates. Mr. Bull trusts Citizen Jones' resolution will not be laid on the table. (Cheers and shouts from the Hunter delegates.) "We have been over-ridden by rings long enough" shouts Citizen Bull. "The Democratic party is in favor of Reform, and the best way, the only way to effect Reform is to indorse the nomination of John Hunter, a man who has proved faithful to every trust."

Citizen Bull gets no farther, for at this point there is a sudden interruption, and Delegate Soper, a lank man of excitable temperament is seen standing up on one of the rear seats, gesticulating frantically and shrieking in a voice by no means agreeable. He "rises to a point of order;" the Convention "is not assembled to discuss the merits of John Hunter." Nevertheless the Chair rules that the "point" is not well taken, which ruling is much easier to announce than is the effort to induce Delegate Soper to sit down. Citizen Bull, tired of frequent interruption, finally takes his seat with an unfinished speech burdening his brain.

No sooner is he seated than the commanding form of Citizen Vaux is seen to arise and the aggressive Jacksonian leader makes his way forward to a point near the Secretaries' table, where he turns and faces the Convention. His face is stern, his eyes flash with unusual fire. "One of the first principles of Democracy is free speech," he thunders; "every delegate should have a full chance to be heard. Let there be the fullest discussion. Then vote as your good sense and consciences dictate."

Wild cheers greet this rebuke from the McGrath cham-



pion. The Chairman, sharing the lion-like Vaux's views, announces, as the noise subsides, that every delegate who has anything to say shall have an opportunity to be heard. Citizen Vaux's speech has a good effect. It silences those who would shout down the Hunter men, and encourages those of the latter who have anything to say to take the floor. Citizen John Grim, next in leadership among the Hunter delegates, to Citizen Bull, and being also of the same Ward as Councilman Hunter, claims the attention of the delegates for a moment to make an eloquent plea for Hunter. "I was born a Democrat," shouts Citizen Grim. "I love the principles of the Democratic party and for that reason I second the remarks of Mr. Bull. (Great applause from the Hunter men.) I and my Democratic neighbors in the Twenty-fourth Ward elected John Hunter to Councils and we have never been ashamed of our work. It is said he is not a Democrat. Nevertheless he has always worked and voted with the Democrats against the ring." (Renewed applause from the Hunter delegates.)

Citizen Vaux, shrewd and politic as well as daring and audacious, agrees with the remarks of Citizen Grim; pays a flattering tribute to Councilman Hunter but is not prepared to admit that there are not men in the Democratic party equal to him in ability and integrity.

Blunt Dr. Kamerly, zealous for the cause of McGrath, assails Delegate Jones' resolution. The resolutions have no right in the Convention. "We are here to nominate a Democrat not to indorse a Reformer. We don't want a Reformer to Reform us, we can Reform ourselves."

Delegate Henry A. Gildea, fellow-delegate with John Grim, from Councilman Hunter's Ward, reminds the

Convention that the question at issue is the breaking up of the Republican ring. Here is the Democrats' opportunity. With John Hunter they can annihilate Republican Bossism and corruption because Hunter possesses the confidence of the entire community. Ringing speeches in favor of Hunter are also heard from Delegates M. F. Wilhere, Michael O'Rourke, John B. Geisz, William Lynch and Albert Lawrence.

The speech-making is scarcely ended before a new cause for excitement appears. There is a sudden stir at one of the doors and a door-keeper comes forward hastily with a written message which he hands to Citizen Grim. The Convention at once relapses into quiet and holds its breath; realizing intuitively that the message conveys matter of importance. Delegates crowd around Citizen Grim who waves them off and mounts a bench holding the message aloft in his hand.

"Fellow-delegates," he shouts, "I have just received word that the Mayor's Convention has unanimously nominated Samuel G. King, notwithstanding a letter from Mr. King saying he would not be a candidate unless Mr. Hunter was on the ticket with him for Receiver of Taxes."

Inspiring news! Indescribable is the scene now; Hunter delegates mounting benches, waving arms, hats; anything,—cheering until the massive walls seem to crack. Weak, uncertain McGrath delegates seem for the moment to be carried away; to be moved by the popular tide. But Citizen Vaux has them well in hand; not new to him are such scenes, no novice is he in leading men through such a crisis. Well does he know that when this thunder-storm of enthusiasm passes away and the

Hunter delegates get control of themselves there will be a calm again. Judicious practical action is all that is needed to save the day. The party rules are ample and convenient. So Citizen Vaux allows the friends of the Reform Councilman to shriek themselves hoarse, and cautions with impatient gestures and motion of the head those among his followers whose eyes he can catch, to be quiet and abide their time.

The storm ends finally and the Hunter men still panting with excitement resume their seats. The time for the McGrath men to act is now at hand. Cold and passionless Dr. Kamerly arises as if all oblivious of storms and human tumults, and demands a vote on his motion to lay Delegate Jones' resolution on the table. The motion is put to a vote and carried, eighty-two McGrath men voting for it and sixty-six Hunter men against it.

Though again defeated on a test vote the Hunter men are fertile in resources and they have courage and pluck. Delegate Albert Lawrence moves that the Convention adjourn until three o'clock. "Let the delegates go out and meet their constituents," shouts Delegate Lawrence impetuously, "and they will come back and indorse John Hunter." Delegate Geisz, likewise zealous for John Hunter, amends the motion by prolonging the time of re-assembling until ten o'clock next day.

For the third time defeated on a direct vote the Hunter men still strive to prevent the Convention from nominating Citizen McGrath. Delegate Bull moves the appointment of a Committee of Five to proceed to the Mayor's Convention and secure the letter of the sterling Councilman King. The Chair rules his motion out of

order. Delegate Bull then asks for time. He and his friends came there instructed by their constituents to vote for the indorsement of Councilman Hunter. They would be thankful to the Convention if it would allow them twenty minutes for consultation.

No! The Chair declares that nothing is now in order but the nomination of candidates. Now is Citizen Vaux's opportunity. Experienced, sly old man, not undeserved does he wear the title of "leader." He takes the floor which is the signal for silence on the part of all. No one can say, Citizen Vaux premises, that the Chair has not presided fairly over the Convention; nor can any one say that the friends of Mr. Hunter have not had the fullest opportunity to be heard. It is now in order to put in nomination a candidate for Receiver of Taxes. If the party were to go outside its ranks to nominate a Receiver it would violate its principles. Under the American system of government there must be two parties. The Government could not be maintained without two parties. Attempts to form third parties have always failed and always will fail. "We are not," says Citizen Vaux, "called upon as citizens to nominate a citizen but as Democrats to do a duty to the Democratic party." Citizen Vaux then, with an elegant peroration in which he pays a high tribute to the man whose name he is about to present, nominates amidst the cheers of his followers William V. McGrath. To old Dr. Kamerly shall the honor belong of seconding the nomination which he does in his brief practical way.

Under the party rules the friends of Councilman Hunter were prevented from placing their candidate before the Convention, he not being a member of the

Democratic party. Delegate N. V. B. Stafford presents the name, merely as an honorary act, of Citizen B. K. Jamison, Conservative Democrat and prominent banker.

As the vote is being taken and the Secretaries reach the name of Delegate Josiah Abrahams, who is the first Hunter delegate on the list, Citizen Abrahams arises and electrifies his associates by announcing that "under the instructions of my constituents to vote for the indorsement of John Hunter I decline to vote." Fifty-seven other Hunter delegates including Delegates Bull and Grim, take the same course. Eight of their number desert them and vote for Citizen McGrath who is declared to be the Convention's nominee amidst cheers and confusion which fairly rival pandemonium. The Chair appoints a committee of seven headed by Citizens Vaux and Kamerly, to notify Citizen McGrath of his nomination and declares the Convention adjourned.

Not yet, however, are the Hunter men adjourned. Fifty-six delegates at once, as the McGrath men pass out of the hall, gather around their leaders, Delegates Bull and Grim. They will not abide by the result of this day's work; they have a duty to perform yet to their constituents, who are Democrats as honorable and true as any that ever bore the name. Yet they do not wish to have Citizen McGrath as their candidate; they say he has held office often enough and that besides he is too friendly with those who constitute the Democratic and Republican "ring." The man whom they desire at the head of the Tax Department is Citizen Hunter, a man who has never sought office, who is not a politician but an honorable business man whose care for the interests of the people in the City Councils prove him to be one who will zealously seek to check extravagance and reform public abuses.

The Hunter delegates will heed the voice of their constituents notwithstanding the thing that has been done. They will organize at once a Convention of their own, which shall not be cramped and hindered by convenient party rules, and place in nomination Citizen Hunter, and go forth among the Democratic people, who are not so susceptible to the influence of the wily Citizen Vaux, for approval.

Zealous Maurice F. Wilhere, who is a young Democrat and an independent one, joins in a motion with Citizen Grim that Citizen Bull act as Chairman and the motion being ratified by enthusiastic shouts, Mr. Bull is escorted to the platform and is about to take the Chair.

Alas for perverted humanity! Before Chairman Bull has time to sit down the janitor of the hall, burly and ugly of visage, rendered uglier by the hard lines of craft and unnatural zeal, with its barter and sale aspect, rushes forward and orders the delegates to clear the hall. Door-keepers and police come to his assistance with such surprising promptness as to cause remark. It is in vain Chairman Bull and Delegates Grim and Wilhere offer the janitor money for the use of the hall for only a half hour. He is not to be conciliated; the McGrath men have seen to that, and Mayor Stokley's policemen will be only too glad to render him their assistance. So, roughly and with violent language does the burly janitor mount the platform, seize Chairman Bull by the shoulder and press him vigorously toward the steps, while the police among the other delegates lend him their aid. And the delegates, being not fighters but peaceable men, desiring only leave to perform their duties to their people, seeing how useless it is to argue, move unresistingly toward the door.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### ON TO INDEPENDENCE HALL!

Cuffed and pushed and hustled by "Ring" policemen and corrupted hall-tenders the fifty-seven Hunter delegates reach the street where impatient and excited people to the number of hundreds are awaiting them; awaiting to propound eager questions, to cheer them and to groan at their opponents as their varying emotions excite them. Cries and shouts of applause now greet them,—cries of "Hurrah for Hunter! Down with the Ring! Down with McManesism and McGrathism! Down with Bossism!" Crowds of people passing along Chestnut street hear the tumult, stop to see what the matter is, and increase the already large throng.

Anxious questions are asked, some of which the excited delegates answer, others of which they do not hear, or if hearing do not take time to reply to. They pause on the sidewalk, as if momentarily bewildered, the crowd pressing on them, Chairman Bull being completely hedged in and turning helplessly to his followers, Delegates Grim and Wilhere struggling through the mass to reach him. Before they have time to exchange a word a voice arises from somewhere among the surging crowd which causes Chairman Bull to turn suddenly as if possessed of an idea, the delegates struggling after him. "To the Rooms of the Committee of One Hundred! All Hunter Delegates to the Rooms of the Committee of One Hundred!"

Enough! Enough! Without pausing to question the source of the invitation they press on up Tenth street to

Chestnut and almost diagonally across, where, in the second story of a building on the opposite side, the One Hundred's headquarters are. Better a Convention there than a curbstone Convention in the midst of a tumultuous crowd.

The street door of the Committee's headquarters is open, and through it, and along the hall, and up the stairway, Chairman Bull forces his way, his delegates after him, through the mass of enthusiastic Hunter people, Democratic and Republican, who have gotten there before them. Instantly the lower hall and stairway is a struggling mass of people and a hundred times as many more are pressing up to the entrance outside. Suddenly, with a readiness of comprehension derived from long experience with Conventions, two hugh Democratic sympathizers assuming authority by virtue of necessity, improvise themselves into doorkeepers and rushing to the entrance force back the incoming crowd and close the door. Yet there are several hundred inside who cannot be gotten out having crowded upstairs after the determined Chairman Bull.

Meantime Chairman Bull followed by his excited delegates bursts into the main Committee room, the door of which is open, where sit two members, Messrs. Corson and Barber, who have been engaged on certain "clerical work," but who are now on their feet, speechless with astonishment at the unceremonious intrusion, not understanding it. In a moment, however, everything has been made clear, and the use of the rooms are graciously accorded the eager visitors, Committeeman Corson busying himself throwing open the door of a large ante-room into which no one shall be admitted save delegates and



representatives of the press, while Committeeman Barber makes himself useful as door-keeper.

Short work is it for the Convention to organize. Chairman Bull has already found a chair and a table, but no gavel, which is not necessary considering the Convention is all of one mind and will do its work without unnecessary wrangling. Messrs. Maurice Wilhere and Albert Lawrence are appointed Secretaries, while William Revell and Robert Bowen are authorized to keep doors. Next all persons not delegates are requested to withdraw from the rooms to the hall and staircase with the understanding that they shall return when the Convention gets through its work.

A Committee on Resolutions having been appointed they report, after a brief retirement for deliberation, a resolution to the effect that "It is the sense of this Convention in consideration of the faithful services and independent action of John Hunter, that he be indorsed as the choice of the Democratic Convention for Receiver of Taxes."

Amidst ringing cheers the resolution passes; Hunter is indorsed by a unanimous vote. Party ties have been broken. Orator John H. Fow, of the bar, attracted to the scene by the general excitement mounts a chair and presents a resolution calling upon Democrats generally to rise above party feeling and finish the work which the Reform element of the Republican party has begun, which resolution also passes "with rousing cheers." Before the Convention adjourns Delegate John L. Grim moves that a committee of seven be appointed by the Chair to notify Councilman Hunter of the Convention's action. Delegate Grim himself, Maurice Wilhere and

Messrs. Wall, Gibbons, Geisz, Thompson and Lawrence are appointed as that Committee. As the Convention is breaking up and the enthusiastic people are crowding into the room the cool-headed Delegate Grim raps on the table for order, having an announcement to make. "I will state for the benefit of the members of the Committee on notification," he shouts, "that Mr. Hunter will be at the City Council Chamber in Independence Hall at three o'clock to continue his investigations into a matter which we hope he shall be able to prosecute in a more enlarged sphere after the February elections."

Again has a popular chord been struck and forthwith there are more cheers. Well have the people watched the course of this Gas Trust investigation in which the fearless Councilman Hunter, with his Reform colleagues, Messrs. Caven and Page, are doing so much under tremendous disadvantages to bring to light transactions done in the darkness of back-room council.

The time wants only ten or fifteen minutes till three and the Committee on notification will set out at once, as it will require about five minutes to reach the Hall where they well know Councilman Hunter is always prompt with the hour. Instinctively does the excited throng know their intentions, and at once there is a rush for the street which already is crowded by an impatient assemblage. They will go along, these indiscriminate voters and taxpayers and workers at many trades and occupations, and witness the notification, not alone because they sympathize with the Reformers whose cause is their cause, but also to see the noted Councilman Hunter whom so many have heard about through the newspapers.

So, moving down the stairway, the Committee, walking

two and three abreast and followed by other delegates, in impressive procession, reach the street and yet once more are greeted with cheers and shouting and noisy demonstration. Following them a grand moving mass of people of all grades and conditions, tumultuous and enthusiastic, the procession moves down Chestnut street to the place, half way between Fifth and Sixth streets, where, fronted by a broad sidewalk adorned by a statue of Washington, which, every 30th of May, soldier-hands wash and scour white and clean, stands the rambling old building with its two stories and a half, its old-fashioned hard brick-facing with brick "brought from England," and its dull white, time-worn belfry tower a landmark whose history shall grow more vivid through the ages. No longer around its portals stand patriots and statesmen, but instead mainly political dependents, loungers and idlers, waiting to do the bidding of their petty bosses, to dance as their masters pipe as a willing occupation.

The throng presses into the Hall, Committee Chairman Grim and Maurice Wilhere leading, and up the oaken stairway to the first landing. Above them, in the Select Council Chamber, the Committee on the investigation of the Gas Trust has assembled but is not yet come to order. From the second story windows the members have heard the shouts of the aroused ones and have gazed out upon them, far-sighted President Caven, realizing that the long-prophesied day of retribution for Bossism is rapidly approaching, with a pertinent observation as to the significance of the uprising; the adherents of McManesism with sneering criticism, yet with visibly disturbed countenances. Keen-

sighted Controller Pattison, who is there with certain books and memoranda of his Department to aid in the investigation, gazes out and recognizes many of his constituents who see him also and hail him with wild cheers. Davis Page, peering out from behind near-sighted spectacles discovers, among the moving mass, supporters and friends and is likewise cheered.

But where is the lion of the hour,—the faithful Councilman Hunter? In close carriage from his suburban West Philadelphia home he was drawing near the hall, oblivious of what had happened when his ears caught the wild sounds on the street and looking out his eyes saw the mighty throng moving along and shouting his name, having by this time reached the *Ledger* building at Chestnut and Sixth Streets. Hastily ordering his driver to turn down Sixth Street Councilman Hunter there alighted and quickly entered the hall by the back way, reaching the Council Chamber before the mob entered the front door.

As Chairman Grim's Committee reaches the first landing with the enthusiastic people blocking up stairway and wide rotunda below and streaming out into the street, choking up doorway and sidewalk, the shouts and cheers for Hunter grow louder. Presently there is a movement above and the subject of all this wild demonstration is seen descending with uncovered head and visible agitation. No sooner does he appear than the old hall resounds, and shouts and exclamations from the struggling mass below indicate that there is a disposition to get eyes upon him.

Chairman Grim, his straight black hair disordered and his coal-black eyes flashing with inward excitement,

waves his hand and shouts for order. Instantly, if as by magic, there is a hush, and the sea of faces cast upward, which a moment ago was so turbulent becomes calm and still.

Impressive is the scene. Mr. Hunter, his face wearing an expression of solemnity, his head slightly bowed as he awaits the pleasure of the Committee, has accidentally placed himself in juxtaposition with suggestive things. Directly over his head hangs the old cracked Liberty Bell whose tones were heard a little over a century ago resounding throughout that same hall, as throughout the world, in stirring proclamation of the Independence of the fathers of men who to-day have risen in their might likewise against the oppressions of tyrants; and on the wall to his right, on impressive canvas, full-length, with noble features rendered more striking by the moderate light that struggles through the old-fashioned window, is a uniformed portrait of France's noblest gift to America, the Marquis de Lafayette. To the left, on the opposite wall, likewise full-length on canvas, is a picture of the City's founder, the benevolent Penn. Surrounded thus by things replete with the eloquence of history, Councilman Hunter receives through Chairman Grim, the announcement of the Convention's action.

No longer now are the people silent. Touched by the impressiveness of the scene and perhaps stirred by a realizing sense of the wrongs inflicted upon them, the descendents of a race of giants, by petty masters who dare not show their faces here at this moment, no sooner does Chairman Grim's voice cease, than their hardly

repressed feelings break forth again and cheer after cheer echoes throughout the old Hall, coupled with enthusiastic shouts of "Hunter and Reform! Down with the bosses of both parties! Down with the Gas Trust! Down with McManesism! Hurrah for Hunter and Reform!"

Brief, modest man, Councilman Hunter gazes upon the scene, smiling and bowing. When the tumult ceases somewhat he speaks briefly, being as he says "no speech-maker." "Gentlemen I thank you for your nomination. If elected to the office of Receiver of Taxes I shall endeavor to perform my duty as I have ever tried to do in public life."

Brief words, but not less welcome to the excited throng for that! Amidst the cheers which arise Mr. Hunter bows and takes his way up to the Council Chamber to his official duties. Yet not now does the occasion end. A stir among the up-gazing people and cheers again break forth and cries of "Pattison! Pattison! three cheers for Pattison!" betoken new cause of excitement. The tall form of the young Controller is seen on the upper landing, and in response to the cries of the throng he descends to the first landing, gazing steadily upon the scene, awaiting the ending of the storm of applause.

When the noise subsides sufficient to enable his voice to be heard the Controller addresses them, and his opening sentence is occasion for a fresh demonstration. "Fellow-citizens, one hundred years ago there was a revolution started here for an imposition which was of far less magnitude than that which the Democratic Convention attempted to put upon you to-day. (Cheers.) The American people brought a King to his feet for a

less offense than that which you have suffered at the hands of the bosses of both parties in this city. Assert your manhood and independence. Be like freemen and not like slaves. Yet, it will do no good for me to stand here and talk to you. Go to your homes, talk with your neighbors, organize in your wards and as sure as the sun shines to-morrow John Hunter will be the next Receiver of Taxes." (Wild and prolonged cheers.)

Now below was a scene, the like of which, since the days of the Revolution, perhaps, had not been witnessed. The cheers and wild shouts within, mingling with the cries and wild shouts of the constantly accumulating mass without, produced an emergency which the keenest sighted political observer had not foreseen. Who could have expected the feelings of men to run so high, even getting to a pitch that is dangerous! For there is talk of invading that Council Chamber and of seizing the friends of the Gas Trust who are serving on that investigating committee and treating them with violence, which talk reaches the ears of the ones threatened and causes them to retire from landing to Council Chamber, behind locked doors, with a sudden pallor of countenance which would seem to show that they appreciate the gravity of the situation. In a timely moment, however, the danger becomes apparent to Mayor Stokley, whose office in one end of that long, rambling building, the centre of which is Independence Hall itself, has been penetrated by the wild sounds, which, to his ears, for reasons other than strictly official ones, are not pleasant, and a formidable squad of police drives away the mob and clears the Hall.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE PLAY OF FLOOD AND STORM!

Say ye this Reform Committee came into existence prematurely, that it has no mission to fulfill, is self-constituted and that "the times are not ripe for it?"—say ye so while the air is ringing with men's savage cries and execrations; while "citizens and taxpayers," knowing no degree or party except the people, are banding together and, under the impassioned oratory of impromptu leaders, finding matter wherewith to fill up to completion sweeping and exhaustive, an arraignment against the political tyrants which, at the appointed time and tribunal, shall be presented, not for wordy wrangling or for sleek and specious mustering of verbal rubbish to cover up and divert, but for stern and summary action from which there shall be no appeal. A foretaste do the tyrants get of what is coming\* in this upsweeping wave† that roars and clamors about the base of old Independence Hall, which may yet see a day of Restoration when its emblems of purity and patriotism may shine with a whiteness not entirely without significance.

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\*"The Democratic Stalwarts have by this time learned that it is easier to manipulate the delegates of a political convention than a hundred thousand taxpayers all eager for reform."—*Evening Star*, Jan. 23, 1881.

†"There \* \* \* is a great ground-swell among the people for coalition with the Business Men's Republican Committee, in favor of a city ticket composed of men whose antecedents, without regard to their politics, prove them to be earnest and energetic advocates for reform of all municipal abuses. Individual members of their (Democratic) party began very soon to declare their purpose to 'vote for John Hunter for Tax Receiver, no matter what ticket he is on.' \* \* \* These men found their neighbors saying the same thing—found it repeated among their fellow workmen in the workshop, and on the street, and in the horse cars. Their voice became a general expression, which swelled and grew in force day by day, and between morning and night and night and morning."—*Ledger*, Jan. 23, 1881.



Startling and grandly extemporaneous have been the things occurring within the past eight and forty hours. First those "Independent Democrats," led by Citizens Ashmead and Conway, assemble in the Board of Trade Rooms, this time in numbers so large that the place is packed\* and forthwith proceed to adopt resolutions "declaring Samuel G. King, Edward R. Worrell and John Hunter to be the candidates of the Democratic party for Mayor, City Solicitor, and Receiver of Taxes;" and furthermore do they begin to prepare for the contest, authorizing, by unanimous vote, the appointment of a Committee of Thirty-one, composed of one member from each ward, to conduct the campaign. And a committee consisting of Citizens George W. Biddle, William Conway, Samuel R. Marshall, J. Davis Duffield and James Tully, has been appointed to meet a sub-committee of the Committee of One Hundred for conference.

Next, the Committee of One Hundred has met and, in vigorous, business-like way passed resolutions, one to the effect that "we heartily endorse the manly letter† of Mr. Samuel G. King to the Democratic Convention insisting upon Mr. John Hunter's nomination for Receiver of Taxes on the same ticket with him;" and that "if Mr. Samuel G. King accepts the nomination for Mayor and indorses our Declaration of Principles we shall give him

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\*"A large meeting of Democratic citizens interested in municipal reform was held at the Board of Trade Rooms, yesterday at noon. Among those present were, George W. Biddle, Isaac J. Wistar, George Biddle, Samuel R. Marshall, Charles W. Carrigan, James Tully, Henry Budd, Jr., Robert C. Howell, James C. Shedwick, Thomas S. Stewart, Col. Charles H. Gibson, William H. Browne, William Henry, Clement M. Husband, Arthur M. Burton, L. P. Ashmead, William Conway, A. R. Boileau, Henry Ingersoll, J. Davis Duffield, John H. Fow, John I. Rogers, William H. Hetrick, Frank M. Cody, E. Q. Michener, William Henry Jones, Henry Randall and Adam S. Hartrauft. Thomas S. Stewart presided."—*Times*, Jan. 29, 1881.

†See appendix.

our earnest and unqualified support." Other resolutions authorize Chairman Garrett to appoint a committee of five "to conduct the coming campaign in the most thorough and vigorous manner for John Hunter as Receiver of Taxes and for such other candidates as have been or may be indorsed by the Committee;" which Committee Chairman Garrett appoints at once, with Citizen John Field chairman, and experienced Reform worker George H. Earle and Ellis D. Williams, Rudolph Blankenburg and J. Alexander Simpson, Jr., as his colleagues. In the meantime in the way of preparing for a conference with the Democrats, the step has already been taken, a committee of five, consisting of Citizen James A. Wright, chairman, E. Dunbar Lockwood, Francis B. Reeves, William Brockie and Amos R. Little, having been awaiting for the past ten days, the action of the Democrats that they may meet representatives from that party and arrange for coalition.

Last, among the things great and startling to McManesism and the political tyrants generally, comes the news of a breach in the Democratic City Executive Committee, the chief official organization of the party, wielding all the machinery for carrying on the usual election contest, directing the canvass, selecting the speakers and having chief authority in the campaign. Yet, wonder of wonders! The disaffection over the result of the Democratic Tax Receiver's Convention reaches this principal Democratic representative body and, as a result, there has been a stormy meeting, twenty-six out of forty members, being all who could be got to vote for resolutions indorsing Citizen McGrath. Others have resigned for the reason that they intend to support Councilman Hunter,

Citizen George Bull being one and the most conspicuous of those withdrawing.\*

So the tide sweeps on, mounting higher and higher with each succeeding flow and sweeping one after another the outposts of "the old parties" from their foundations, the "party lines" snapping like rotten hemp, and the once jealously guarded political fields being strewn with the wreck of such, and with the remnants of partisanship, falsehood and prejudice. Diverging from wave-swept Independence Hall† and the Board of Trade Rooms, into the outer wards the flood pours, Democratic Ward Committees, constituent parts of City Executive Committee,—each of the former having a representative in the latter, thus composing it,—imitating the example of the central organization and holding stormy meetings, the result of which is either the indorsement of Councilman Hunter‡

\*"The Democratic City Executive Committee has been made 'solid for Mulhooly' by the resignation of most of the members who opposed the nomination of McGrath. Mr. E. Coppee Mitchell still remains as Chairman, but he will probably resign before many days and join the other honest Democrats in the revolt against the dictation of corrupt bosses."—*Times*, January 29, 1881.

†"Independence Hall was an appropriate place for the spontaneous ratification of the nomination of Mr. John Hunter, which took place yesterday. The convention held there in 1776 violated 'rules' and refused to obey the 'bosses,' and the times are propitious for another revolution organized in the same place."—*Ledger*, January 28, 1881.

‡"The Democratic Candidate for Common Council in the Fourteenth Ward, Mr. Addison B. Burk, has declined the nomination on the ground that he, in common with a great majority of his party will support John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes. He therefore declines to allow his name to be associated on the ticket with the Democratic nominee for that office, whom he will have to oppose."—*Press*, January 31.

"The Democratic Executive Committees of the First, Tenth, Thirteenth, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh Wards, last evening, indorsed King for Mayor, Worrell for City Solicitor, and Hunter for Receiver of Taxes."—*Ibid*, January 31.

"The Machine Democrats are losing their adherents daily. In addition to the resignations from the Campaign Committee \* \* \* John M. Campbell of the Fifth Ward has declined to act with that body and has declared that he favors the election of John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes."—*Ibid*.—January 31.

or the breaking up of the Committees through impromptu resignations, the out-going ones hastening to join hands with Reformers and to organize Committees, neither Democratic nor Republican but Citizen's Committees. The party leaders, all powerless, gazing with scared panic-stricken faces upon the storm whose dimensions they can measure not, whose effects, with dim bewildered vision, they foresee only to fear, do nothing but gather up shreds and patches here and there of "pre-arranged plans," and endeavor, in a weak and feeble way, to piece them together, to hide the rents and, like Chinese fortresses, to deceive the eye with painted images. Puny and weak are the leaders now, even Citizen Vaux's lion voice being no more than a whisper in the din and roar of the tumult, and James McManes's wonted grasp on the party machinery being weak and powerless as that of a hand palsied.

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"The Sixth Ward Democratic Executive Committee has indorsed King, Worrell and Hunter and the representative to the City Executive Committee has been instructed to tender to the Committee of One Hundred and to the Independent Democratic Committee of Thirty-one, the cooperation of the Sixth Ward Democracy for the Reform ticket."—*Inquirer*, January 31"

"The bosses of the Democratic City Committee who indorsed the straight-out ticket evidently forgot that they were acting in a representative capacity and that in adopting such a resolution they were flying in the faces of a majority of their constituents. \* \* \* Fully three-fourths of the best men of both political parties are for John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes."—*Star*, January 31.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE OF THIRTY-ONE.

Organization is now, with Reform Democrats, the order of the hour. Citizen George W. Biddle's Committee of Five "on conference" has met Citizen James A. Wright's Committee of Five, and between the Independent Democrats and Chairman Garrett's Committee there has been effected a satisfactory understanding; one of the results of which is the formation of the Democratic Committee of Thirty-one, Citizen Isaac J. Wistar, Chairman, and Citizens Ashmead, Dallas, Bull and old William Conway, among others, members. Note also on the list\* many young Democrats, not long emerged from Law Schools,

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\*The members of the Democratic Reform Committee of Thirty-one and the alternates were as follows:—First Ward, William Wiler; Second Ward, Charles F. Iseminger; Third Ward, W. J. Jackson; Fourth Ward, Joseph P. Kennedy; Fifth Ward, William Conway; Sixth Ward, T. A. Sloan. Seventh Ward, Isaac J. Wistar; Eighth Ward, Charles H. Krumbhaar; Ninth Ward, John Tracy; Tenth Ward, John O. James; Eleventh Ward, Charles Forrest; Twelfth Ward, William Ayres; Thirteenth Ward, Thomas J. Ashton; Fourteenth Ward, William McCarty; Fifteenth Ward, A. D. Guilbert; Sixteenth Ward, L. D. Belair; Seventeenth Ward, James Tully; Eighteenth Ward, John H. Fow; Nineteenth Ward, Dr. John Moffett; Twentieth Ward, Robert C. Howell; Twenty-first Ward, Benjamin F. Harvey; Twenty-second Ward, Thomas A. MacKellar; Twenty-third Ward, R. L. Wright; Twenty-fourth Ward, Chas. M. Warnock; Twenty-fifth Ward, Michael O'Rourke; Twenty-sixth Ward, A. J. Diamond; Twenty-seventh Ward, George Bull; Twenty-eighth Ward, Charles F. Cobb; Twenty-ninth Ward, F. M. Cody; Thirtieth Ward, James J. Loughrey; Thirty-first Ward, John Scott.

Alternates:—Robert S. Patterson, Edward Wiler, R. England, William Smith, George M. Dallas, Thomas M. Keely, H. C. Olmstead, L. P. Ashmead, R. P. Pendegrast, W. G. Hughes, W. S. Geary, F. P. Nicholson, Henry D. Welsh, P. Armbruster, John I. Rogers, F. M. Walsh, John Smith, Joseph F. N. Snyder, Joseph Wall, John A. Mehan, John McVey, C. R. Bockius, John L. Grim, J. S. Painter, Robert E. Pattison, Albert Brothers, Samuel Drake, William F. Ziegler, William Hall."

or even now going through their novitiate yet not without decided convictions as to the objects of political parties, which convictions do not entirely agree with those of Citizen Vaux and other Democratic leaders,—a fact significant of trouble for the future. One there is whom it is timely to mark well; tall, slender, and though young, with smooth, almost boyish face, of distinguished features, with Roman nose, high, shapely head, full, high forehead and dark eyes, extremely penetrating. The Fourth Ward does this young man represent, where the name of Joseph P. Kennedy, young attorney-at-law, has lately fallen rudely upon the ears of the Ward Democratic "leaders" who scornfully resent his appearance in the political sphere and must needs resort to snubs and studied slights to teach him to know his place and to not interfere with them, experienced and able lieutenants of the Democratic and Republican bosses, whose work in the interests of their masters has rendered that Ward of all others hopeless of Reform and a symbol of reproach among men of all political professions. Yet their snubs and affronts have fallen lightly; the high-spirited young man seeming to grow only more bold and energetic in his efforts to tear down their rotten political household and to re-establish in its stead the long-abandoned principles of honest Democracy. Quiet and unassuming is he in appearance and manners; listening well to others, observing closely, saying little, yet usually saying words which have point and meaning.

Concerning Citizens Ashmead, Conway, Dallas and Bull we already know something. So do we know about Alternate Robert E. Pattison of the Twenty-Seventh Ward; as also Alternate John L. Grim of the Twenty-

Fourth. Others there are not conspicuous in the immediate events which have preceeded this uprising yet long prominent in Reform work in one capacity or other, as, for example, Citizen Charles H. Krumbhaar, able young lawyer and ex-Councilman from the Eighth Ward, whose name has heretofore been familiar to the public through association, not altogether pleasant to the recollection of McManesism, with Tax Office investigations.

The Committee of Thirty-one is thus not without persons of experience. Those who are young and taking their first lessons in politics are apt and will quickly learn, especially since it becomes apparent that the untrammelled Democracy of the city are looking up to them, clamorous and eager to be led on to the culmination of this movement which has been consecrated by the genius of Independence Hall. So, out of the Thirty-one are extracted several convenient gentlemen to officiate as Secretaries; and headquarters are secured where day after day, during the process of organization in the wards, the Committee members shall report. Surely has the way been opened for Democratic Reformers to aid their Republican allies, a fact which may well cause the political bosses of both parties moments not wholly free from uneasiness.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### EXIT CANDIDATE McGRATH!

Eight days have passed since the Democratic Conventions. Citizen Vaux, heading the Committee appointed to notify Citizen McGrath officially of his nomination, has discharged that duty through the medium of a formal letter; but as yet there has been no word from the nominee. Meantime people are beginning to shake their heads and to exchange significant glances. It is even rumored that Citizen McGrath, seeing his party so hopelessly divided and seeing also certain defeat, will decline the nomination. Citizen Vaux himself, and other wise ones of the party, are strangely silent; and may be, under the circumstances, somewhat chagrined. Others, less wise and experienced, are not silent but rather garrulous, saying much on the subject that betrays uneasiness, which state of mind of the party followers soon becomes apparent to the newspapers and at once becomes matter of discussion and speculation. Thus, more aggravating becomes what is already an annoying uncertainty. In Citizen McGrath's case, particularly, taking into consideration the condition of his party, are delays dangerous. The election will come off on Tuesday, the 15th of February not much over two weeks from the time of his nomination, and already nearly a week has gone and his supporters are yet in the dark as to his intentions. To the City Executive Committee, the responsible directing power in the contest, this silence is especially trying. Already has the strength of this organization been severely tried by the withdrawal of



those members who have declared in favor of Hunter, and the Ward Committees are all breaking up for a similar reason.

Yet the City Committee has to guide it a cool and sensible head. Chairman Mitchell will not for the friendship of a living man jeopardize the true interests of his party. Accordingly, brushing aside personal considerations and seeing before him only the stern course of official duty, he decides that Citizen McGrath must relieve the party from embarrassment by declaring his intentions. For this purpose he has called a special meeting of the Committee and notified all the nominees of the Conventions to be present, provided they accept their respective nominations. To this meeting come Citizen King, the nominee for Mayor, and Citizen Worrell, the nominee for City Solicitor, but not Citizen McGrath. Instead, there comes a letter to Chairman Mitchell from Citizen Vaux apprising him of the fact that Citizen McGrath has written a letter of declination which letter Citizen Vaux will make public through the newspapers of the next day. So ends the candidacy of Citizen McGrath, and fitly ends it in view of such defiance of the public will in the Tax Receiver's Convention, which made him, against the advice of the wisest heads in the party, the nominee. But not yet is the work of Chairman Mitchell's Committee finished. The regular element of the party is now without a candidate for the most important of the three City offices. The party lines being all broken and even the semblance of party boundaries obliterated there is nothing left for the leaders to do but to go with their followers who have already rallied around the banner of "Hunter and

Reform." Hard may the inward struggle be before they can reconcile themselves to fall into line behind the once rejected and despised Reform candidate; but the case is desperate and will brook no delay. No sooner is the declination of Citizen McGrath officially announced to the meeting than Committeeman William W. Ker arises with a resolution providing for the indorsement of Citizen Hunter, which resolution passes by a vote wanting only two of being unanimous; and having started thus abruptly on the road to Reform the Committee, with enthusiasm begotten of the sudden transition from extremes no doubt, go further and appoint a sub-committee with Chairman Mitchell at its head, to confer with the Committee of One Hundred with a view to co-operation,

## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE CRUMBLING OF POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS.

The condition of the Republican organization in the city is now not difficult to understand. Deserted by the masses of the Republican party, menaced by the Democrats likewise, both the Reform and the Regular elements of the party; who have allied themselves with those outgoing Republicans, McManesism stands alone and practically powerless. Old friends and co-partners in the business of place-seeking and spoils-gathering, have suddenly, by the force of circumstances, been transformed into foes, virulent and rapacious. In the new acquisition to the ranks of the Reformers, carried over in the wake of the City Committee, shall the Republican leaders find their bitterest source of regret. There may be numbered men who for years have been growing opulent through their secret connection with those leaders, notwithstanding their opposite politics, and now shall they turn and sting the hand which for so long a time has fed them. How much of ingratitude's blackness here is owing to uncontrolled and uncontrollable circumstances, and how much to inclination, willful and deliberate, is not in the power of man to show. That a good end is served by a falling out among thieves, however, is perhaps more than enough to counterbalance any considerations of treachery and ingratitude which, after all appear blackest when viewed in the abstract.

Of the surprises that await the people in these exciting political times the action of the City Committee is simply one of many. Each day bears in its young,

opening hours some rumor or prediction, and lo! before the sun has set they are fulfilled. Even Citizen Keim, who, was believed to be in the political field with his clubs and organizations "to stay," must do his part in the business, and with pen and ink likewise produce a teapot commotion, in letter of withdrawal, having been prompted to this course, as he tells Citizen E. Joy Morris, Chairman of the Committee on Notification, to whom the letter is addressed, by reason of a fear that "in view of the compact organization of both parties \* \* \* it will be impossible to get a fair expression of the popular will." Not new to men, Mr. Keim, is this trouble in the will's "expression." Rather has it been a fault of some years' standing, constantly increasing in magnitude and effect until thou, a Republican loyal to party and to thy belief in the efficacy of "reform within the lines," dost feel the injustice of thy party's so-called leaders and must step out, a victim of false promises and pledges,\* to make room for the more adaptable Stokley whether the "popular will" desires it or not. So the Mayoralty struggle shall be between Candidate Stokley and Candidate King alone; the one representing the selfish and detestable purposes of cunning ringsters, and the other the earnest and honest objects of the people. Meantime aggressive Reform, in many ways and places, is making itself felt and where it moves and acts there is ever the same scared, self-betraying patch-work defense. At Harrisburg the legislature is meeting and a bill, supported by the One

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\*"Some weeks ago I received a \* \* \* nomination from the Union League of America and afterward the Republican party of this city gave me such indorsement at the primary election that my friends firmly believe I had the majority."—*Mr. Keim's Letter to E. Joy Morris, Feb. 3d, 1881,*

Hundred, has been introduced, providing that the office of Delinquent Tax Collector, with its seven hundred and twenty dollars a day emoluments, shall be abolished. To Harrisburg goes the Gas Trust Automaton, Donohugh, to plead before Gas Trust Legislators, and to make various specious representations in order that the bill shall not pass; Automaton Donohugh, as he interprets the law of his appointment, having more than a year's time yet to serve and not wishing to be cut out of his office and princely fees.

Which plea of the sleek and well-fed creature of James McManes is well received by the McManes Legislators who are disposed to do as the Automaton wishes until the revolt in Philadelphia attains such proportions that for the safety of the ticket McManesism is compelled to issue new orders. Accordingly it is willed that not only shall the Legislators turn in and appear to support the bill but that Tax Receiver-Expectant Pierie shall write a public letter urging the passage of the act. This letter Candidate Pierie writes, accompanying it with a flourish of anxiety for the fate of the measure, his sudden prepossession for which excites the sarcasm of Editor McClure, who grimly advises him not to run so fast on his Reform mission or he may crack his head against the craniums of other suddenly-fledged Reformers, bent on the same errand, and sustain painful injury. Alas Candidate Pierie! Too good a man art thou to be thrust forward as a shield to McManesism against the just wrath of the people in this troublous hour. Not versed in the ways of political guile art thou, being neither cunning nor unscrupulous, but a modest well-esteemed newspaper man, fond of thy quiet hour, thy

fragrant tobacco and genial companionship. Strange are the ways of these men who would have thee one of them and strange are the things they would have thee learn, being beyond the forbearance of a nature honest and frank as thine. Not aptly wouldst thou learn the science of making forty votes count four thousand, or of expanding thy two or four per cent. commission on tax collections to twelve or fourteen. Therefore the kind fates shall spare thee Candidate Pierie\* thy day of salvation being that which others may call thy day of discomfiture, since man's discerning power, is, by immediate personal surroundings, sometimes impaired.

In proof of which variableness in man's mental vision note the prevailing rumor of the hour, which is to the effect that this Reform upheaval is viewed complacently from the pinnacle of his stronghold in Washington by the young political proprietor of the State of Pennsylvania, the imperious Cameron; who, though owing much to McManesism, has suddenly and with vindictive purpose turned his back on the Philadelphia political leader for reasons not remotely connected with the Chicago Convention; on which occasion Delegate McManes declined in most emphatic fashion to support the pet candidate of Delegate Cameron for the National Presidency, leading a faction of the Philadelphia Delegation in the interest of Candidate Blaine despite the endeavors of Delegate Cameron and his fellows to render the entire state

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\*" Mr. Pierie owes it to himself and to his friends, who value his good qualities and name, to retire from the contest and let the bosses face the storm they have provoked. He cannot carry five wards of the thirty-one against John Hunter and it is doubtful whether he can carry one. The contest is now a single-handed one, not between George G. Pierie and John Hunter, but between the confederated bosses of both parties and the people." — *Times*, Feb. 5, 1881.

Delegation a unit for the third term soldier candidate, Grant. Hence, from an unexpected and quasi-secret source do the Reformers, unaccountably to themselves, receive aid; the agitation culminating in the appointment of a Councilmanic Committee to investigate the Gas Trust, being conspicuous evidence of an unseen power, through whose stealthy influence long-waiting Reform obtains a substantial advantage. For the Cameron tool in this secret onslaught against Chief McManes is sly and treacherous, being ready at any moment to sink his former political master, whose fortunes, he imagines, are already waning, to please another master, whose fortunes, he erroneously believes, are in the ascendant.

Not without sympathy do we view the case of the once iron-handed McManes. The gratitude of the people should be his, at least, for that one bold stand taken by him, who knows so well the artful ways of politics, against the arrogant and self-seeking King-worshippers who would have carried the nation far toward imperialism, had they been permitted, in that Convention at Chicago. Bravely there stood the Philadelphia political Chief, flanked by his section of the divided Pennsylvania Delegation, the threats and the blandishments of the arrogant Cameron moving him not save to more obstinate resistance. What better reason,—if somewhat unusual for him—could Delegate McManes give for his opposition to the candidate of Cameronism than that “the people of his city were opposed to a third term?” Well might he, for such cause, fight and, if necessary, die; yet, fighting and living, this meteor-like flash of the divine in his nature seems not less noble. So now, for

his resolute action, must treachery show its horrid visage, skulking along in the ill-fitting garb of Reform, half-hesitatingly, in conscious self-abasement, seeking to make overtures to the One Hundred whereby it shall be advanced as the power of McManes recedes. Not yet, however, are the Reformers ready to accept this new disciple, even the most violent opponents among them of the old political leader shrinking with unaffected detestation from the cringing specimen of traitorous man, who, by the grace of Cameron on the one hand, and of the Reform Committee on the other, would fain be the iron-willed McManes' successor. Look to matters well ye Reformers as ye tear down, that the fawning hand of treachery does not lay the foundation of a new structure of evil, even worse than that already demolished. Well have ye said that McManes ye know, and his ways ye know, there being about him not that secret deceit which would have you believe he is not what he is or is what he is not. Clearly defined is his nature and unfamiliar is it to the mask of hypocrisy; not requiring those who set out to fight him, to seek him in ambush, but in the open field, under colors which at least represent truth and not falsehood.

Not remarkable then is it that the Reformers should be heard expressing a certain measure of respect for their foe as a brave fighter, while for the tool and puppet of Cameron, who would win the favor of his master, first, by espousing the cause of third-termism, and turning a deaf ear to the voice of his constituents as a delegate and next by laboring zealously in secret ways to satisfy the private grudges of that master that his own interests might be advanced thereby, there is nothing but rank



contempt. So moves on this strange political struggle nearer and nearer to the point of culmination; superfluous candidates dropping out and superfluous issues and organizations merging with essential ones, in accordance with the laws of fitness, and all adding to the force of the onswEEPing current which but yesterday was no more than a babbling stream. Bossism, terror-stricken, has ceased to prate about "party lines" and "party fealty," finding no audience, and has, as a last resort, betaken itself to the polling places there to secretly confer with election officers with a view to a repetition of the old method of "counteracting" Reform majorities by means of a convenient system of political arithmetic. Yet least of all is there a chance of success here for, to the polling places is the vigilance of the Reform Committee mainly directed, as the quiet mustering of a well-organized private detective force attests. Moreover is energetic Chairman John Field and his Campaign Committee busy taking note of all the various election officers, to whom they have sent circulars setting forth in clear terms their official duties and also calling attention to the legal penalties for neglect or violation of the provisions of the election law;\* and they have also issued a proclamation, copies of which may be seen on the walls and fences throughout the city, offering rewards in money for the detection of any election officer who violates the law and of any illegal voter; \$10 in the case of the

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\*"Chairman Field, of the Campaign Committee of One Hundred, is \* \* \* about to send circulars to every election poll in the city. Every official at each poll will get a circular which will set forth his duties \* \* \* as well as the penalties for neglecting them and for violating the law. \* \* \* While the circular is not worded in terms of warning but is rather a plain statement of duty, no one reading it can fail to understand the intentions of the Reformers."—*Times*, Feb. 10, 1881.

former, and \$5 in that of the latter. More than this has a special committee consisting of Chairman Garrett and Mr. Reeves waited on Mr. District Attorney Graham and received satisfactory assurance that every case of violation of the election law, brought to his attention shall be investigated "as speedily as the cause of justice will permit."

Nor yet do all the precautions for securing "a fair expression of the popular will," cease. For there is now on foot a unique system originated by Secretary Ellis D. Williams, of the Executive Committee, of canvassing the city through the modest agency of postal cards; two hundred thousand of which are sent out enclosed in envelopes, to voters who may, if they are disposed, fill up certain blank space as to the number of their ward and division and as to their names and places of residence and drop the card into the nearest letter-box, the printed address of "Robert R. Corson, Secretary, 927 Chestnut Street," being sufficient surety as to its safe return; which brief performance on the part of the voter is requested *on condition* that he favors the election of John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes. Astonishing result! The cards return so fast that at the Post-Office there is a deluge of extra matter and hard-worked carriers groan under bundles which are a new and somewhat startling revelation to them as to the possibilities of the service; which experience is, happily for them, terminated by the sympathetic Reform Committee, a messenger being secured to go to the Post-Office twice a day and relieve the overburdened disbursing department\* at the Com-

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\*"Of the two hundred thousand postal cards which were sent out with as many King and Hunter circulars about sixty thousand have already come back. Ten thousand signatures of men declaring for the Reform

mittee's expense. Some "enthusiastic citizens" sending in reply cards so large that they have to be carried from the Post-Office on the messenger's shoulder,—“as large as a page of *The Times*,”—on which their Reform sentiments have been written in huge characters that “he who runs may read.” Meantime at the Committee headquarters a corps of clerks is necessary to take charge of and to classify the cards, each with its ward and division, that the name and polling-place of every voter, may be registered. Thus, before election day, do the Reformers systematically get in communication with the people. Still more, do they so clearly ascertain the strength of the Reform Candidate Hunter in the wards and divisions that they are enabled a week before the day of final action to approximate, upon a reliable basis, the number of votes that will be polled for Hunter in the city. Well may the politicians view this latest evidence of Reform sagacity as a startling revelation. Well, likewise, may the hordes of ballot-box stuffers, personators and repeaters, standing expectantly by, awaiting the signal which shall tell them to proceed to their nefarious work, experience a sudden shock which silences their bravado and bluster as they see the obstacles which, in monumental proportions, now seem to confront them. Never before did they see so many strange faces peering into their rendezvous and with close, watchful glances taking note of their every movement.

Finally does the Reform Committee appeal to the

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ticket came in yesterday in five lots. Had they all been brought up from the Post-Office at once by the Committee's messenger he would have had a wheelbarrow full. Some enthusiastic citizens have put postage stamps on sheets of pasteboard as large as a page of *The Times*, written their Reform sentiments in characters an inch and a half long and mailed the huge cards to Mr. Corson, the Secretary. —*Times*, Feb. 10.

people through the pulpit, clear-headed Francis B. Reeves suggesting in Executive Committee the idea of sending circulars to clergymen of all denominations, requesting them to preach a sermon on the duty of citizens on election day; which request has a happy effect and in the church also these days one hears earnest protest\* against political corruption.

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\*"The Rev. J. MacLeod, pastor of the Southwestern Presbyterian Church, Twentieth and Fitzwater Streets, preached a timely sermon yesterday morning on the question 'For whom shall we vote?'. \* \* \* Mr. MacLeod gave a synopsis of his three preceding discourses in which he had endeavored to apply the teachings and principles of the gospel to men's duties as Christian citizens. 'If corrupt and incompetent men are in office how far are citizens professing and calling themselves Christians responsible?' on this question he quoted the remarks of a writer to this effect: 'There never has been a time when the Christian influence was not strong enough, in this country, to carry any measure upon which Christians would vigorously unite.' 'Either this is true,' said the preacher, 'or not true. Upon asking my good friend, Judge Allison, what he thought of the statement, the Judge pronounced it, without hesitation, in his opinion, entirely correct.'"—*Inquirer*, Feb. 7, 1881.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### CONCENTRATING "POLITICAL METHODS."

Needless is it now McManes, political Chief, to attempt to stay the inevitable result. The day of reckoning has begun to dawn and thy political household is doomed. Men say thou gazest with not regretful eye upon the impending fate of thy candidate, Stokley; being somewhat nettled over the act of his witty Solicitor, the versatile Rufus Shapley, whose recently published political satire "Solid for Mulhooly,"—which, in popular form has portrayed the methods of thyself, as "Mulhooly," and of thy followers under various burlesque titles,—has placed in the hands of the One Hundred a potent weapon for arousing the active interest of the people, which they have not been slow to use.\* A boomerang has thy "Solid for Mulhooly" proved, Mr. Shapley, having been written by thee, Rumor says, at a time when thou wert unduly convinced that thy client was going to turn his back on his former political associates and become Reformer, and thou wouldst in friendly spirit put out thy book to help him on his way. Alas! that lawyer should

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\*"The undersigned commend to the attention and patronage of their fellow citizens the entertainment to be given at the Academy of Music on Monday evening, February 14th. Besides the musical selections furnished by Carl Sents's orchestra the main feature thereof is the reading, by Professor S. K. Murdoch, the well-known elocutionist, of the political satire recently published, "Solid for Mulhooly," as a vived picture, sadly true, of the methods and character of the men who, having possessed themselves of the machinery of the party, have succeeded in grasping the city by the throat. \* \* \* John Field, Francis B. Reeves, Joshua L. Baily, Philip C. Garrett, Ellis D. Williams, Robert R. Corson, John C. Watt, George D. McCreary, John McLaughlin, Rudolph Blankenburg, Amos R. Little, Joseph Parrish, E. Dunbar Lockwood, Alex. Simpson, Jr., Henry M. Wetherill, Jr., Joel J. Baily, Theodore Justice, John J. Ridgway, Jr., Thomas G. Morton, John E. Graeff."—*Advertisement*, Feb. 12, 1881.

have so bad a client! Hadst thou known the Mayor would continue in his old course thou wouldst have postponed thy book until a more auspicious time.\* As it is, thou doest thy best, and art loyal to the Mayor notwithstanding the disappointment to thy former expectations; and may be found now, night after night, facing torchlight audience, and with thunderous eloquence pleading the cause of thy headstrong candidate,—though carefully avoiding any reference to Mulhooly,—as zealously as if thy heart was in the work and thy own best judgment did not disapprove of thy client's act.

Yet, whether the Gas Trust Chief is lukewarm on the subject of Candidate Stokley or not matters not; little could he do for his cause, indeed, against such raging storm of popular excitement as now sweeps over the old-time city, accompanied by flood and reverberations of aroused human nature before which the specious voices of hireling apologists of crime and corruption, in explanation, in excuse and in misrepresentation as they seek a hearing among the once despised and ridiculed voters to plead the cause of their masters, are drowned effectually. Nor are those masters free from the little arts that may cajole or conciliate; or from that which may deceive or possibly counteract. First do we find the order hastily sent to Harrisburg to the Gas Trust puppets in the Legislature, commanding them to

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\*"The veil which has concealed the authorship of the political satire, "Solid for Mulhooly," has been lifted and revealed the person of Rufus E. Shapley and it is a curious result that, like Frankenstein, he should have created a monster he could not control. \* \* \* Mr. Shapley wrote the lampoon which has now earned for its author a national reputation, in which the boss of the Gas Trust was impersonated in the character of Mulhooly. \* \* \* The threat of McManes to defeat the ticket if the Mayor indorsed the principles of the Committee of One Hundred forced Mr. Stokley unwillingly into a position of antagonism to the Committee."—*Mirror*, Feb. 20, 1881.

join at once the small handful of Reform members in support of the bill abolishing the obnoxious office of Collector of Delinquent Taxes, in hope that this evidence of Reform on the part of the ringsters may placate the people and give promise of a more encourageing result in the election.\* Vain expedient! The newspapers of the city are full of jeers and of rasping sarcasm at the spectacle of this latest device which becomes, so far as its effect on the popular uprising is concerned, simply an incident of the campaign, furnishing Reform orators a text whereby they may show how boasted "leaders" may be compelled to bow in subjection to the people even before the rod of discipline is felt on their hapless shoulders.

Next do they try misrepresentation, and "by order of the Republican City Executive Committee," is there set afloat among the people, through the columns of several organs, a carefully prepared canard, purporting to show that Candidate John Hunter evades the payment of his taxes, that his property is largely involved, and that such real estate as he has is assessed for less than its full valuation; which canard has the effect of bringing a reply from the Assessment Board and from Candidate Hunter himself, showing the baseless character of the publication, whereupon the party "leaders" are left in a worse condition than before having added the title of "slanderer" to the list of characterizations by which men already know them.

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\*"The sudden eagerness of certain members of the State Assembly, connected with the political 'bosses' in this city; to pass a bill to reform the \* \* \* Collection of Taxes in Philadelphia, is strong evidence that the bosses are badly scared and in order to save themselves are, like drowning men, clutching at straws. Their movement, while being a clear confession of weakness, comes too late.—*Sunday Mercury*. Feb. 13, 1881.

Of the degree of desperation to which these confederated rascals had been wrought up as they saw the unmistakable signs of a revolution which was certain to sweep them out of their ill-gotten power and prestige, and of the positions of public trust they had so shamefully abused, this latest device was perhaps the best illustration that had appeared since they first began to know such a thing as popular antagonism. One after another the specious pretenses and counterfeit principles upon which their power was built had been torn away by the clear logic of such men as Caven, Page, Ridgway, Steel and Walter, until, on the eve of this election, they stood upon the rotten fabric of their temple of sham and falsehood, self-confessed culprits, stripped of the artificial raiment which for so long a time had deluded the people, with the choice either of surrendering peaceably or of prolonging, for a brief time, their existence by a recourse to a sort of guerilla warfare which, while it could not save them from impending disaster, would give them the dubious satisfaction of indulging sundry short-lived revenges. The latter alternative they chose, Candidate Hunter being a conspicuous object of their hate. So upon his fair name and business reputation they concoct this slander that he evades payment of his taxes and that by concealment and subterfuge he obtains from the Board of Revision reductions in the valuation of his property. Strange fatuity of "skilled politicians!" The madness which is the reputed fore-runner of destruction by the gods is now upon them. Not wise is this latest act but simplest kind of folly, productive of what men call an "egregious blunder."\* Had they been susceptible to

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\*"Of all the many lame devices of the bosses to deceive the people and defeat John Hunter for Tax Receiver decidedly the lamest is the widely



the teachings of experience they might have saved themselves. Councilman Hunter, even at the moment the calumny was put forth, stood as the example of a man prosperous under vilification. There was a time, when, in his own Twenty-fourth ward he was up for re-election to Councils, upon which, by strategy and fraud, this same agency of corruption endeavored to defeat him but only succeeded, through the same propensity for blundering, in sending him into Councils by a trebled majority; having first, with smirking deceit, given him the regular party nomination and professed to be laboring for his re-election until a time within four and twenty hours of the election, when, in the arbitrary spirit of despotism, they throw him off the ticket, substituting a more subservient man, and give the word to their hirelings at the polls to see that Candidate Hunter is defeated; which act so arouses the people that they turn out, Democrat and Republican alike, and re-elect Councilman Hunter by a larger majority than has ever been known in the Ward. So, shall they now, learning nothing from the past, repeat their blunder with tenfold more disastrous effect as the end shall prove.

Such chance as now remains of breaking the force of the storm raging about them lies in money. If there

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distributed sheet with the caption 'John Hunter's Back Taxes.' \* \* \* The statements are not only false but worse; they display a malignity that cannot well be conceived by fair-minded men. Public opinion is expressing itself in regard to the publication so unmistakably that instead of injuring Mr. Hunter at the polls it will add thousands to his already well-assured large majority."—*Evening Star*, Feb. 14.

"Mr. Hunter has thought it worth while—without necessity as we think—to dignify an anonymous attack upon his business standing by giving it reply in any part. The anonymous manufacturers of the attack say that Mr. Hunter is not so rich a man as some people think he is. That certainly would be dreadful if it were true; but, whether he is rich or not so very rich, he is the right man to set the Tax Office to rights."—*Ledger*, Feb. 14.

lurks anywhere in the intricate labyrinths of their political methods an expedient, however trivial, it will be reached. Their ponderous coffers are overflowing with gold, not procured as "voluntary contributions" from bankers and merchants and such deluded and interested ones alone, but wrung by the stern mandate of authority from the lean pockets of policemen and luckless employees in the various public Departments, that the ballot may be debauched, and that official corruption, fraud and mis-management, may be perpetuated. Ill goes it with these men, policemen, clerks and messengers, and such, in public Departments if they refuse to contribute, not even such small amount as their circumstances might prompt, but such large amount, equivalent in some instances almost to a monthly salary, as their political masters shall fix.\* Secretly do these employees,

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\*"The policemen have been assessed \$20 per man and the officers more than this. It is asserted that an extra assessment of \$30 more per man has been made, but if so it has been kept so quiet that the public cannot get the proof. But \$20 per man will yield nearly \$30,000 and, besides this, the screws have been applied to the clerks and letter-carriers in the Post-Office, to the employes in the Custom House and Mint, and to all those in the City Departments. \* \* \* The total will aggregate \$200,000. \* \* \* The legitimate expenses of the 'regular' Republicans will not amount to \$10,000.

"This election will without doubt be the most corrupt one ever held in Philadelphia for it is desperation with the 'ring bosses' and they will fight the Reform movement to the death with money wrung from the pockets of their thousands of official slaves and retainers. It is doubtful if they will spend more than \$100,000 of this fund, but will pretend that it was all spent and pocket the balance. \* \* \* Nobody knows how much they collect or how much they spend. They are never called on to account for it, and if a balance of \$50,000 or \$100,000 is left over they can divide it among themselves and nobody is any the wiser."—*Tuggart's Sunday Times*, Feb. 13, 1881.

"The use of money in elections beyond defraying all necessary expenses has reached a fearful extent in this country and, unless checked, civil rights in this land will be ultimately destroyed by the power of wealth concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists and corporations. The recent extortion of upwards of \$30,000 from the policemen of this city to prevent a reform in the municipal administration is the latest instance of this atrocious method of employing money unlawfully to defeat the voice of the people in the choice of municipal officers, and should be resented by the Taxpayers of all parties as an offence against their freedom and welfare."—*Sunday Mercury*, Feb. 13, 1881.

or rather these "white slaves," groan beneath their humble roofs, screening, in some cases, sad want and poverty, and touching instances of hidden sacrifice, that their "free city" must continue prostrate and helpless under the power of such human leeches, who have drained, and are draining, so much of its red life-blood, causing it to flow in sparse and sluggish streams so pitiful to eyes which have beheld in the realms of the seemingly forgotten past the sturdy, Titan-like image of a young city, rearing its head through a halo of glory to the sky, the theme of wonder and of inspiring praise throughout human civilization, in the young Western world. Secretly, too, do these men bemoan to the One Hundred their unhappy condition, imploring them, as they value human rights and liberty to rescue them from the remorseless thrall in which, through the indifference of their quiet, ease-loving citizen brothers, they have languished. Not unresponsive nor ineffectual do their voices fall upon the ears of the Reformers. Carefully have the wisest heads of the Reform organization been considering this question of the corrupt use of money by the ringsters whose condition has now reached the desperate stage of veritable outlaws, and in thunder tones of warning does the Reform Committee speak.\* Through the newspapers and

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\*CITIZEN'S CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,  
929 CHESTNUT STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA, FEB. 11th, 1881.

### PROCLAMATION!!

The Committee of One Hundred announces that it is pledged to the Citizens of Philadelphia to prosecute every election officer who fails to do his duty and every illegal voter at the coming election.

Those who are now being solicited or directed to do wrong, or those intending to do so, from any reason whatever, will take notice that punishment shall swiftly follow any offense against the purity of the ballot.

JOHN FIELD,  
Chairman of Campaign Committee.  
PHILIP C. GARRETT,  
Chairman Com. of One Hundred.

—*Advertisement.*

through circulars and hand-bills, in several languages, are the workers of corruption admonished; while private detectives gather information and make their reports daily at the Reform headquarters. Such activity and earnestness among the Reformers is beginning to produce a like effect upon miscellaneous citizens who likewise transform themselves into detectives and make report of what they hear to Chairman Field's Committee; which activity is believed to be viewed with consternation by those contemplating wholesale fraud.

Well is it that the Reformers have thus become argus-eyed; for the ringsters have concentrated all their resources and among them are many that are difficult to detect,\* or if detected, hard to counteract. Meantime, journalism at this time is wide awake† and through such medium, likewise, are the despoilers of men's rights warned, not without cause, as may appear.

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“TO THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.—Overwhelming evidence of stupendous corruption of election officers by the lavish use of money has come to the knowledge of this Committee. To punish offenders and to maintain the sacred purity of the ballot we earnestly request that any citizen in possession of information of fraud or corruption of any kind will forward it at once to JOHN FIELD, Chairman of the Campaign Committee, No. 929 Chestnut Street.

PHILIP C. GARRETT,

Chairman Com. of One Hundred.”

—Advertisement.

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JOHN HUNTER!

NOT

HUNT OR HUNTHR.

“The tickets, ‘Stokley, West and Hunter’ \*\*\* have in many cases Mr. Hunter's name purposely mis-spelled. Examine your tickets. This is a trick of the bosses.

JOHN FIELD,

—Advertisement.

Chairman Citizen's Campaign Committee.”

†“The exposure by *The Times* of the attempt to debauch Democrats in the First Ward suggests what has been going on all over the city. An essential part of the campaign has been an unremitting effort to sneak in the ‘ring’ nominees by the help of Democrats who may be willing to sell out. The first attempt was made in the Democratic Conventions, when the Republican ‘bosses’ insisted on straight-out Democratic nominations and would not listen to anything else.”—*Chronicle-Herald*, Feb. 15, 1881.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Well is it ye Reformers that at the polls on this election day, 15th of February, year 1881, ye have your watchers, not hired detectives alone but private citizens, many of them of your own organization; sleek lawyer, banker, merchant, manufacturer and mechanic, closing office and workshop and turning out in twos and threes to do work for the cause of free government and men's sacred rights.\* Well is it that ye have, through your circular and postal card device, canvassed the city and gathered knowledge of your strength even in remote precincts; and well is it too that ye have this day, sitting at headquarters, prepared for emergency your Campaign Committee, zealous John Field at its head, ready on a moments notice of fraud or intimidation of voters in any of the divisions, where Reform scouts and detectives are argus-like, noting men's movements, to communicate with the Court Judges, sitting as Committing Magistrates, that warrants may be issued and bailiffs dispatched forthwith, and long-existing barriers to a free ballot thus removed.

All day, throughout the city, on curbstone and corner, and other wonted lounging places, holiday-like, has the murmur of excited men been heard; anxious inquiries for news from wards and divisions; speculation over incidents which, thick and fast, are borne hither and

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\*" In one of the largest wholesale houses on Market street is posted the following notice: ' This store will be closed on Tuesday, Feb. 15th, so that all connected with it may assist in rescuing the city from ring rule with which it has been so long oppressed!'—*Sunday Press and Mirror of the Times*, Feb. 6th, 1881.

thither on the wings of Rumor, and predictions over the day's results as varied as the winds in this uncertain February weather. Among the people there is an appearance of enthusiasm and of confidence not witnessed on such occasions for many a day. Long have they been going to the polls hopeful and jubilant, placing in the ballot boxes votes for honest officials and pure government which votes have gone for naught, having never been counted. Yet now is the order of things somewhat changed. Sullen and defiant, straggles Bossism, the hydra-headed, its secret schemes and compacts and bread-and-butter dependencies no longer representing an infallible counteracting force in its disgracefully corrupt system. The counteracting scheme to-day is itself counteracted. Hopeful Reformers, flying from one Ward to another behind fleet horses, in random vehicles, are hearing much that is encouraging, their brother Reformers being invariably found in high spirits and seeming to enjoy right well the new experience with politics, particularly as the people themselves are furnishing an example of the majesty of citizenship which is pleasant to contemplate. A new experience is it, generally; to the peaceable voter is it new not alone because of his feeling that his vote is likely to be counted, but from the fact that he is enabled to walk up to the ballot box and vote for whom he pleases without being hustled away by the police as a law breaker. For the police are to-day, it is observed, less active than usual in their zeal for the party ticket, and in most instances observe the strict letter of the law and keep a proper distance from the polling places.\*

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\*"No policeman has a right to be nearer to a polling place than thirty feet. Policemen make it a practice to get as close as they please, and they are very rarely disturbed. Insist on obedience to the law and make the police stand back."—*Chronicle-Herald*, Feb. 15.

So through the day the work of revolution goes on. High is the flood rising, and with ominous lapping sounds are the strong, aggressive currents doing their legitimate work. What latent power lurks in thousands of little slips of paper! Fluttering into sundry square boxes there is being told in mute "sign language" as we regard language, the story of years of public corruption and mismanagement. Words after all are weak; speech inefficient; action alone powerful. Strong, forcible, nay invincible, are these tiny slips of paper, fraught as they are with destiny, endowed with a power which brings the proudest to the dust, which hurls the most arrogant from their seat of authority, and sternly commands obedience to its will. Such majesty does the ballot possess, being not tampered with. Degraded and abused by modern political methods it loses its sovereign attribute and becomes the creature and the jest of political tricksters who well may afford to laugh the peoples' wishes to scorn. All sufficient is it for good, being rightly used; all-powerful for evil, being perverted.

Seeing which rejuvenated majesty of the ballot once more appear the affrighted minions of the bosses desert their masters and seek to make terms or compromises with Reformers by which they may secure their own preservation. Hundreds thus turn against their patrons even with the money of those patrons distending their pockets. Compromise or no compromise they will turn, for apt and ready are they at worshipping the "new king" once his presence becomes known to them, and never shall king witness more fawning and flattery than accompanies these time-serving new recruits. Even Candidate Hunter, the especial object of abuse and vilification,

shall find his maligners appear before him within four-and-twenty hours with smirking and scraping and obsequious bowing to "tender congratulation," accompanied by assurance that he of all others is the one whose success they desired; which pure and simple hypocrisy may ever be relied upon as having its origin in a not entirely disinterested or gratuitous motive as subsequent developments almost invariably prove.\*

This desertion of the sinking ship of Bossism was one of the noteworthy things of the contest; foreshadowing beyond preadventure the election's result. Behold now, as evening advances, the streets alive with moving throngs of people, with parading processions of citizens bearing transparencies and banners with inspiring mottoes, as "A Government of the people, by the the people and for the people," "The will of the people is supreme," "No more pollution of the Ballot," and various other patriotic sentiments; which transparencies and moving throngs of people are rendered striking and impressive by torchlight illumination. Through long lines of applauding citizens, ever increasing in number and in enthusiasm, the soldiers of the ballot carry thus impressively the news throughout the city; news of the defeat of Bossism and of the atrocious Gas-Trust-Tax-Office combination, with all its despotic power and far-reaching influences for corruption.

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\*"Now a quiet word to our bosses. \* \* \* You will be arraigned before the bar of public opinion in the outraged Republican party for deliberately sacrificing it in your desperate and hopeless efforts to shield your guilt in its ruin. The very hounds you have fed in your bounty with ill-gotten spoils will be the first to turn. \* \* \* How will you answer to the thousands of hungry office-holders who, debauched by your patronage until unfit for the sober duties of an honest livelihood, will be converted by hunger 'an easy transition' into a horde of incarnate furies? \* \* \* The settlement you have to make with the people at large can be done by a restitution of your bonds, lands, houses and stocks. The Courts of law will take care of that,"—*Sunday Transcript*, Feb. 6, 1881.



At the rooms of the One Hundred this night there are scenes which recall what we read of patriotic demonstrations attending the signing of the Declaration of Independence. There have the Committee assembled "around a long table," telegraphic instrument before them, the atmosphere electrical, the appearance and surroundings of the assembled ones betokening the intensity of suppressed excitement. Not long suppressed! The hour is past eight and soon the instruments begins to click. News it brings which causes that pent up excitement to break forth with thrilling effect, in tumultuous cheers. In front of the head-quarters on the street a crowd gathers. A transparency has been thrown out from the windows, upon which, with magic lantern, the Committee tells the story of victory. King and Hunter have been elected, the former with nearly six thousand majority, Hunter with a majority of more than twenty thousand! The only candidate of the Regular Republican Conventions who has been elected is City Solicitor West, whose candidacy the One Hundred did not oppose, leaving Reformers free to exercise their choice between him and Candidate Worrell.

Meanwhile the cry arises for the two successful Reform candidates, Hunter and King. The first is soon found and brought to the One Hundred headquarters, being received with cheers and the wildest demonstrations of enthusiasm from the people on the street as well as from the Reformers within.

Mayor-elect King is not so easily found. Friends search for him, but cannot find him; no one has seen him since the afternoon. Finally he is found; a shrewd newspaper man discovers him, at eleven o'clock at night,

not in the midst of the noise and tumult, but peacefully asleep at his home, unconscious of the news which has set the city wild. The tapping at his door finally arouses him, not to inquire about the result of the election, but to ask "what in the world" the visitor wants. "You are elected Mayor, sir, and the people are clamoring for you," says the visitor. "You don't say so!" responds the astonished man.

To the headquarters of the One Hundred the Mayor-elect goes, showing no trace now of sleepiness, and is there received officially by the Campaign Committee's Chairman, John Field, Chairman Garrett having gone home. After Mr. Field's brief speech of congratulation, the Mayor-elect responds, likewise briefly, and satisfactory words does he utter for the ears of the long misused policemen. "The police force under my administration," says the Mayor-elect, "shall be non-partisan, and no man shall be removed without good and sufficient cause."

(THE END OF VOLUME I.)

# APPENDIX.

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Died suddenly on the 16th of August, 1883, in New York, Charles Wheeler, of Philadelphia. Mr. Wheeler, accompanied by his son and a friend, was on his way from his summer residence at Newport to Philadelphia, the party having landed from a Newport boat on the morning of the fatal day. Being anxious to catch a train for Philadelphia they started on a run for the ferryboat, before reaching which Mr. Wheeler staggered and fell. He was taken up and carried into the nearest building where he died in about ten minutes, the cause of his death being pronounced by the physicians apoplexy. The news of the event, when it reached Philadelphia, produced a shock throughout the entire community. Mr. Wheeler was identified with many business interests in Philadelphia, being Vice-President of the Central National Bank, one of the principal members of the iron firm of Morris Tasker & Co., and being besides Director in many Iron and Insurance Companies in which he was financially concerned. He was one of the earliest members of the old Citizens' Municipal Reform Association, and later, of the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, by which his loss was severely felt. He was a man greatly respected by all who knew him; his modest disposition united with large benevolence rendering him an object of admiration and esteem by people of all classes. Of his exceptional character Mr. Henry C. Lea, one of his oldest and most intimate associates in the work of Reform thus writes:

“The cause of Reform in Philadelphia has sustained a severe loss in the recent and sudden death of Mr. Charles Wheeler. American citizenship had no worthier representative than him. The large and successful business enterprises which he conducted, which serve so generally as an excuse for neglecting political duties, never prevented him

from taking his share in the effort to elevate the standard of public life. He was one of the few men who in 1871 addressed themselves to the apparently hopeless task of arousing public opinion to the necessity of non-partisan action in municipal affairs; and from that time forward he served as Treasurer to the Municipal Reform Association, taking an active part in its struggles, undismayed by defeat, never discouraged by ill-success, and ever ready with his purse and his counsel to carry on the contest against the powers which controlled so absolutely the politics and the government of the city. When, in November, 1880, the second election of Mr. Pattison, the Democratic candidate for the Controllorship, showed that the harvest was ripe for the sickle, and the Committee of One Hundred was organized to take advantage of the opportunity, Mr. Wheeler's co-operation was regarded as a matter-of-course and was freely given up to the period of his untimely death."

*Extracts from Minutes, Committee of One Hundred, August 19, 1883:*

At a special meeting of the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred held this day at 927 Chestnut street, to take action on the death of Charles Wheeler \* \* \* the Chair appointed the following Committee to draft resolutions to submit to the meeting, viz: Messrs. John Field, George H. Earle, Robert R. Corsen, John McLaughlin and Rudolph Blankenburg.

The Committee reported as follows:

"The sad intelligence of the death of Charles Wheeler, who has been so long and so prominently connected with us in the Reform movement having reached us, the members of the Committee of One Hundred wish to put on record:—

"FIRST. Their high appreciation of his long and active service in the work of Reform, with rare modesty, and without personal ambition. He was always ready with wise counsel, active personal service and open-handed liberality to promote the objects of our Association.

"SECOND. That as a public spirited citizen he was ever ready to encourage all projects that looked to the advancement of the interests of his native city.

"THIRD. That he had endeared himself personally to each of us, as a cherished friend, and we shall ever rejoice in our recollection of him as a most unselfish and noble citizen.

"FOURTH. That our heart-felt sympathies are tendered to the stricken household, the widow and children. In this sad and sudden bereavement we can only commend them for comfort to the 'loving Father who doeth all things well.'"

Mr. Blankenburg, in seconding the resolutions, spoke of the valuable services of Mr. Wheeler in the Committee of One Hundred and of his many virtues as a citizen.

Messrs. McLaughlin and Corson followed, speaking of the services rendered by Mr. Wheeler in the cause of Reform, not only as a member of the Committee of One Hundred, but formerly as a member of the Municipal Reform Association. Messrs Robert Purvis and William Arrott also spoke of the many excellent qualities of the deceased.

The resolutions were adopted by a rising vote.

On motion, it was resolved that a copy of the Resolutions be transmitted to the family of the deceased. It was also resolved that the Committee attend the funeral.

*From Minutes Executive Committee of Citizens' Municipal Reform Association, September 5, 1883.*

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association, comprising Henry C. Lea, R. Rundle Smith, Wm. Henry Rawle, Edward R. Wood, Henry B. Tatham, George H. Earle, John J. Ridgway, Jr., John McLaughlin, Henry C. Thompson, T. Morris Perot, Chairman and L. P. Ashmead, Secretary, the following resolutions, offered by Henry C. Lea, were unanimously adopted:

*Whereas*, The Executive Committee of the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association has lost, in the death of Charles Wheeler, one of its oldest and most efficient members; therefore

*Resolved*, FIRST. That the intimate association which we have enjoyed with him since the organization of this Committee in 1871 has deeply impressed us with a sense of his unbending rectitude, of his delicate sense of honor, of his steadfastness of purpose, of his unselfish public spirit, of the cheerful readiness with which, amid large private enterprises, he could always find time and attention for public duties, of the soundness of his judgment, and the wisdom of his counsel.

SECOND. That we shall always cherish his memory as that of a highly-prized friend and associate, whose loss is irreparable, not only to those who had the advantage of his personal acquaintance, but to the community at large, whose cause he served so ably and unobtrusively.

THIRD. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased, with the assurance of our profoundest sympathy with their bereavement.

## PRESIDENT CAVEN ON THE CONTROLLERSHIP.

The time is within three days of the Presidential election of 1880. The unorganized Reformers, Republican and Democratic, while enthusiastic over their National tickets are, with reference to their local affairs somewhat downcast. The term of Mr. Pattison's administration as City Controller, which position he has filled with signal satisfaction to the Taxpayers for the past three years, is expiring and though he has been re-nominated by his party, there is a wide-spread fear among the Reformers that amidst the contention and strife over National issues voters will not have the presence of mind to discriminate in the matter of this important office, and that the ringsters will thus succeed in getting a weak and subservient man elected as Controller. In this emergency Councilman Hunter and other Republicans appear and canvass among citizens of the Republican party in the interest of Controller Pattison's re-election. The final effort in his behalf is a widely advertised Independent Republican meeting held on the 30th of October, three days before the Presidential election, in Horticultural Hall. The getting up of this meeting had not been unattended with difficulty, chief of which was the securing of a presiding officer and speakers. At first the effort was made to obtain as Chairman Citizen Eli K. Price, the "Nestor of the Philadelphia bar" but he declines. Finally the originators of the affair get hold of Edward T. Steel, President of the Board of Education. Courageous in the expression of his convictions, unalterably opposed to the ringsters and to the obnoxious methods of his party, Mr. Steel, regardless of probable consequences, accepts. He it is who was lately the superintendent of the census system in the Philadelphia district, which post he accepted at the personal request of President Hayes after an emergency had arisen through the incompetence of the former incumbent who had, by yielding to the pernicious influence of the Gas Trust, degraded the work to such a depth of political quagmire that universal protest went up from the people so loud as to call for Presidential

interference, which interference was in the form of official decapitation; Mr. Steel having agreed to take charge of the important work and finish it on condition that he was allowed to appoint his own subordinates without the interference of professional politicians, a condition to which the President readily assented.

Having agreed to preside at this meeting in the interest of a Democratic office-holder, though well knowing it is an unpopular position to assume in view of the crisis in the affairs of his party, Mr. Steel hears of threats from some of his official associates in the School Board, to the effect that he is to be deposed from the Board's Presidency, which threats do not deter him; only render him more determined to act according to his convictions. Messrs. Caven, Ridgway and Walter have agreed to appear and make speeches, which is another unpopular thing to do but one also involving conviction and they likewise demonstrate their fearlessness and independence by fulfilling their promises. The speech of Mr. Caven, who is the speaker of the evening, is published next day in the newspapers, with others, and makes a deep impression, on the public mind, being quoted, and commented on for days, especially that part devoted to an analysis of the opposition candidate for Controller. Plain and fearless words does he speak; words which betoken the apprehension of one who has labored long and faithfully for the good of his city and its people and who sees both now approaching the gravest crisis he has known in his political experience. Hence his words of warning. Let all who would be enlightened on the local situation at this time read his speech. He said:

“FELLOW CITIZENS:—As a Republican I propose, on next Tuesday, to vote for Garfield, because the best interests of the country demand that no change be made in the National administration; as a Republican I propose, at the same time, to vote for Robert E. Pattison for Controller, because the best interests of Philadelphia demand that no change be made in the administration of that office. Three years ago I voted for the Republican nominee for the office of Controller, but Robert E. Pattison, then unknown to us,

was elected. In the discharge of my duties as President of Common Council I was brought in intimate official relations with Mr. Pattison. I found him honest and capable, and desirous of administering his great trust with a fidelity that knew neither Republican nor Democrat, and to say that he has done this is to convey but a faint idea of the change he has brought about in that office. The office of Controller is in no sense political,—it is judicial, and should have been treated in the recent nominations by the Republicans as the Democrats treated the nomination of Judge Finletter for Court of Common Pleas No. 3. It is the duty of the Controller to administer the laws and ordinances of the city as he finds them and as they are passed either by the Legislature or Councils; he must neither add to nor detract from them.

“Vain would be all the efforts of your Councilmen to guard the expenditure of the public moneys by carefully-worded ordinances if your Controller disregards either their letter or spirit. In the discharge of his judicial duties he has the power to administer oaths and to inquire as to the correctness of every bill he is called on to approve. How well Mr. Pattison has discharged these high functions I am here to tell you. It is within the recollection of those who hear my voice that this office was used as a source of profit; that with an ease unparalleled every bill, no matter how atrocious, was approved and the warrant countersigned. Now when a bill comes from the head of a department, accompanied by a warrant for the Controller's signature, before approving he first carefully examines the appropriation bill to see whether the terms of the ordinances have been complied with; then he examines the bill to see whether it bears evidence of fair dealing on its face, and if it is the least suspicious every fact is carefully inquired into and if found improper it is returned to the department whence it came, for examination and explanation. Many bills have thus been returned by Mr. Pattison which never came back, or if they did they were so reduced and changed as almost to defy identification. This careful and deliberate examination of every bill that came before Mr. Pattison has acted as a restraining influence upon the expenditures of all the departments and made them careful in their contracts, and has given to the taxpayers a greatly increased return for their money.

“When I was active on the floor of Councils, conducting some investigations I deemed necessary for the public welfare, there was not that freedom of access to books and papers so necessary to the successful prosecution of my duties as now. On the contrary, information, I believe, was often communicated from the Controller's office to those in-



terested, the cause of justice thereby defeated and the City made to suffer loss. All this has been changed; every book, every paper, every account is open and free to all for inspection and examination, and to say that this has saved thousands of dollars to the taxpayers is but stating the case mildly. The statements of the present Controller of the finances of the city have been the only intelligent and reliable ones I have ever seen emanate from that office. By them and with his cooperation Councils have been enabled to intelligently consider and adopt a tax rate sufficient to carry the municipality through the year without a deficiency until the act of 1879 was passed, which makes a deficiency impossible. Case after case has come to my knowledge of the thorough impartiality of the Controller in the discharge of his duties, whereby the city has saved thousands of dollars.

"The Controller has been properly called the watchdog of the Treasury. Silence him or give him political anodynes that he may sleep at his post and your Treasury is soon depleted. The annual expenses of the City, exclusive of interest and sinking fund on our loans is over \$7,000,000. Be careless in the distribution of this money and your expenses will soon run to \$10,000,000 annually as they did a few years ago. Mr. Pattison has been such a faithful guardian of this vast sum that, as a public officer, knowing whereof I speak and assuming the direct responsibility of my utterances, I say to you it is your absolute duty to retain him in his present position. The framers of the new Constitution separated the Municipal from the General election so that the cities of the State could elect their municipal officers without regard to party politics. It was a great oversight that the office of Controller was not named, as in fact it is a municipal office, so that it might be filled at the Spring election. But we Republicans can remedy this mistake on next Tuesday and elect a Controller regardless of party. It is not a new thing for me to appear on this platform and advocate the government of this City above party politics and I am here again to reassert these very same principals that have ever regulated my public life.

"My attention has been called to a speech published in one of the dailies purporting to have been delivered by General Wagner, which, perhaps, if passed by unnoticed may do infinite harm to the cause of good government in this city. The paper publishing the speech contained the following head line: 'Wagner on Pattison.' It might properly have added 'Wagner the Recorder of Deeds on Pattison,' for it was not surely Wagner, the Chairman of the Finance Committee of Councils who delivered the speech.

Wagner, the Chairman was intimate with Controller Pattison during the first year of the Controller's term and cooperated with him and myself in every financial measure looking to the best interests of the City. Wagner the Recorder of Deeds, I regret to say, differs from Wagner, the Chairman, and finds fault where he once praised; he condemns where he once approved, and what is worse, he gives currency to a statement relative to the financial bill of 1879 which he must know, to say the least, is incorrect.

"Mr. Pattison needs no defense for the conduct of his office—it speaks for itself; but that no one may be misled by Wagner the Recorder, let me say that the Controller approved the Coroner's bill upon a schedule of fees originally approved by the law officer of the city, under whose advice he acted. Judge Thayer in delivering the opinion of the court on the Coroner's case uses the following language: 'The high character of the Controller for capacity, integrity and impartiality in the discharge of his public duties is of itself a sufficient guarantee that those statements were made in perfect good faith.' Fault is found because the Controller objected to certain bills and afterward approved of them. As a faithful officer, when he was in doubt he took the opinion of the law officer of the City, as it was his right and duty to do, and if he asked his opinion, or hesitated on ten times twenty-three bills, before paying, it is to his credit and for our protection. Wagner, the Recorder, further asserts or insinuates, that the Controller sold \$800,000 of loan too much. Councils ordered a ten million loan to be created and sold to fund the floating debt, and it was impossible to tell what the floating debt would be until the end of the year, and the Controller had no more to do with the sale of the loan than Wagner, the Recorder. And so Wagner, the Recorder, continues to labor heavily through a three column speech and tells us, or rather would convey the impression that Messrs. Bardsley and Rowan were the authors of the bill of 1879. Mr. Wagner, the Recorder, had but to refer to the journals of Councils to find that a sub-committee of the Finance Committee of Councils, prepared the essential features of the bill—and the truth is that Messrs. Bardsley and Rowan constituted themselves a committee to go to Harrisburg and so change the bill as to require the tax rate to be fixed before the annual appropriations were considered. This change, with certain additions and alterations, was subsequently agreed to by Councils, but the essential features of the bill, to-wit, the restraining clause whereby Councils are obliged to bring their expenses within their income, was prepared by one of the Sub-Committee of Finance. This bill was prepared after consultation with the City Treasurer,

City Controller and other gentlemen outside Councils, and every one who took any interest in it deserves to be commended rather than censured.

On Thursday morning last, Joel Cook, the regular Republican nominee for the office of Controller, permitted himself to be forced off the ticket, and his place is now filled by E. Harper Jeffries. Had Joel Cook remained on the ticket and been elected to the office, my judgment is that the office would have been more carefully administered under him than under E. Harper Jeffries if he should be elected. Much as I respect Mr. Cook as a man I am not blind to the fact that he was nominated and then forced off the ticket by the very men against whom you threaten increasing warfare and these same men gave the nomination to Mr. Jeffries, whose letter of acceptance, with unseemly haste, appears in the same column with Mr. Cook's letter of declination. Mr. Cook has manfully and boldly told his story. He met, he says, Messrs. McManes, Rowan, Leeds and Roberts, at the Gas office, and the alternative of either getting off the ticket or of contributing to a large corruption fund was presented to him. As an honest man he chose the former and behold! before the ink is dry on his declination, E. Harper Jeffries has written his letter of acceptance, and Messrs. McManes, Leeds, Rowan and Roberts are the men then who give the command and ask 60,000 Republican voters to blindly follow them. Could any of these four men, I ask in parenthesis, be now elected to any office within the gift of the people? They would each be defeated and leave 20,000 votes to spare. Have you, my Republican fellow-citizens, and you, and you been consulted in this matter? No, these dear, kind men think so much of you, love you so dearly, they would not even trouble you to select a man for Mr. Cook's place. He was even selected before you or I dreamed of Mr. Cook declining. Great heavens! Republicans, will you endure this abject slavery longer or will you rise in your might, as men, rebuke this assumption of power and take the reins of government in your own hands?

"Do you believe that these men who thus put up and take down candidates at pleasure will permit Mr. Jeffries to run the office as it is now run and scrutinize and examine bills as they are now scrutinized and examined? Do you not believe that if I was to go to the Controller's office, if under Mr. Jeffries, for information relative to the expenses of some of the departments that information of my errand would be immediately conveyed to the Gas Trust? Do you believe that if it becomes necessary to examine the accounts of the Gas Trust it would be as thoroughly done under Jeffries as under Pattison? Do you believe that the public would have as full

information through the newspapers of the different departments under Jeffries as under Pattison? I do not and therefore I am against a change, especially such a change as is presented to us. One of the most potent arguments against me when I was before the people as a candidate for Mayor was that I could do more good to the city as President of Common Council than as Mayor. Applying the same argument with ten thousand times the force I say to you that it will be a greater benefit to the city to keep Mr. Pattison where he is and Mr. Jeffries where he is—in private life.

“We hear mutterings and rumblings of a political storm that will be on us after the Presidential election—a storm that promises to sweep away the Gas Trust with all its vast patronage, closed doors, unvouched accounts and great political power. If you want the storm to do any good, if you desire that the forked lightning shall clear the political atmosphere, then I beseech you do not permit the citadel of the Treasury—the Controller’s Office—to pass into the hands of the Ring or your victory then, if indeed it should be a victory, will be as the vines of Sodom and the fields of Gomorrah.”

#### THE BUILDING COMMISSION AGITATION.

The early part of the year 1871 found all Philadelphia aroused. The Legislature, on the 5th of August of the preceding year, had passed the Act creating “a Commission to erect Public Buildings in Philadelphia.” The enactment of this measure was a new and startling experience to the people of the City of Independence. Its provisions were so arbitrary and gave such extraordinary power to a small clique of men, consisting chiefly of irresponsible politicians who could not be elected to any office by a direct vote of the people, that had the Act been passed in 1850 instead of 1870 it would have been productive of a riot. It gave its appointees such power, in a certain direction, over the people of Philadelphia that, under the most charitable view of the matter, the mind must go back to the despotic system of the Hessian princes to find a proper comparison. They might levy taxes at will and spend the proceeds without being accountable in any way to anybody but themselves. In the words of the resolutions adopted at a citizens’ mass meeting in March, 1871, to take steps toward securing the repeal of the obnoxious Act, the Commission “was created, not at the

request of the people, but of those who hoped to obtain positions under it. No term of years is designated for the service of its members, who may render their office virtually perpetual at their pleasure. It has power to enlarge its numbers and to fill all vacancies, so that a temporary majority may obtain exclusive control over its organization. It is authorized to levy taxes at its discretion and to expend them without check or supervision, so that there is no safeguard to prevent the money of the people from being used for the worst purposes of corruption and extravagance."

Such is the description of the obnoxious Act as officially declared by the citizens of Philadelphia in public meeting assembled in the Academy of Music on the night of the 24th of March, 1871. The Legislature at this time is divided—the Senate Democratic, the House Republican. Senator Robert P. Dechert, Democrat, of the First Philadelphia District, has introduced a bill providing for the repeal of the objectionable measure. For the purpose of aiding him in his fight against the combined power of Democratic and Republican corruption in the Legislature this Citizens' Meeting is held. The Chairman is authorized to appoint "a Committee of forty representative citizens, with power to increase their number and fill vacancies, to visit Harrisburg for the purpose of laying these resolutions before the Legislature and Governor, and of conveying to them the desire of our community for the enactment of the bill introduced by Senator Dechert, wherein the question of the Public Buildings will be restored to the City Councils, to whose jurisdiction it rightfully belongs, and who will duly obey the wishes of the people."\*

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\*The following citizens were appointed as the Committee to visit Harrisburg: Matthew Baird, Lindley Smyth, J. Gillingham Fell, James L. Claghorn, Wm. E. Littleton, Henry C. Gibson, Henry C. Carey, N. B. Browne, George Whitney, Henry Winsor, Seth I. Comly, Caleb Cope, Clement Biddle, Thomas Webster, Charles Gilpin, James C. Hand, Alexander Henry, Edward C. Knight, R. Rundle Smith, Edward Hoopes, Chris. J. Hoffman, L. P. Ashmead, J. K. Findlay, W. Russell West, Richard Walmsley, W. W. Kurtz, Le Roy Kramer, Edward Armstrong, J. Dickinson Logan, M. D. George Day, James Page, Richard Vaux, George W. Biddle, George S. Repplier, Charles A. Biddle, John Campbell,

A large delegation of the Committee goes to Harrisburg five days later; is received with much ceremony by the Democratic Senate on the evening of its arrival, and is similarly received by the Republican House on the following day. Engages in protracted interviews with members of both bodies, and represents earnestly to them "the monstrous nature of the powers, hitherto unparalleled in this country," which have been conferred upon the Commission, "without the excuse of a single petition or application therefor on the part of the citizens of Philadelphia." Which truthful representations "fasten the attention of all the members and elicit from some of them strong expressions of denunciation, heightened by the statement that the obnoxious Act had been passed *without being printed*, and on the same day through both houses," thus giving little chance for examination and none for remonstrance.

Having thus been enlightened with reference to legislative methods by sympathetic members, the Committee next seeks an audience with the Governor—the eccentric Geary; who, "after courteously listening," states in reply that he had held the bill for several months before signing it, and only did so finally on the urgent representation of a number of individuals who visited Harrisburg for the purpose. The Governor sympathizes with the committee; is free to admit that an attempt to exercise such powers over the people of the rural districts could not be practiced with impunity; that the principles of the Act involved very serious danger, affecting our form of government, and that it was "a monster" hardly to be tolerated!

The Committee returns home in hopeful spirits; reports that "representing as it did a community so earnestly anxious for the repeal \* \* \* it found no one who ventured fully

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Townsend Ward, John O. James, Benjamin Marshall, John C. Bullitt, R. Nebinger, Edward Morwitz, John T. Montgomery, Wm. D. Wetherill, John Hulme, James E. Gowen, James Magee, Wm. M. Baird, John Robbins, Samuel J. Randall, Charles T. Parry, T. Horace Brown, D. B. Thomas, Henry C. Lea, Charles Wheeler, Joseph T. Thomas, Wm. V. Pettit, A. J. Beaumont, John L. Lawson, John B. Parker, J. H. Collins, Edward Penington, Jr.

to defend the Act, and feels confident that the mission with which it was entrusted has not been without effect."

Which confident state of mind finds nothing to disturb it until May, the dead-lock between the two houses on the subject of the Apportionment Bill having created a delay in the interim, which prevents the consideration of Colonel Dechert's repealing act. On the 3d of May, Colonel Dechert, who is doing Herculean work in the matter, succeeds in making his repeal bill the order of the day for Friday, May 5th. Again is the Committee, or rather a delegation of the committee, found at Harrisburg, consisting of Charles Wheeler, Thomas Webster, Francis Wells, Townsend Ward, George Bull, W. Russell West and Henry C. Lea. There do they find that Representative Samuel M. Hager, of the Eleventh Philadelphia District, and a member of the Legislative Committee on Municipal Corporations, has introduced a bill "practically identical with that of Colonel Dechert, except that it contained a section requiring Councils, within a year, to proceed to provide suitable accommodations for the Courts and public offices." Mr. Hager appears "earnestly desirous of abolishing the Commission," and gets Colonel Dechert's consent to engraft his new section on the latter's bill as an amendment.

On the day of the special order, Friday, 5th of May, the repealing act passes the Democratic Senate. "The Democratic party in the Senate recognizing the injustice which had been inflicted on Philadelphia," and having resolved to support the measure. The four Republicans voting with the Democrats for the bill are Messrs. Evans, of Chester, White of Indiana, and Billingsfelt and Warfel, of Lancaster, "to whom, in the name of the citizens of Philadelphia, the Committee desires to express thanks." Furthermore does the Committee call attention to the debt of obligation "due by the City of Philadelphia to Colonel Robert P. Dechert for the vigor and ability with which he pressed the measure to a successful result."

Thus far the people's cause has progressed smoothly. Yet there may be trouble yet in the Republican House. The

Committee, as it afterward reports, sees "with some surprise a member of the obnoxious Commission. Mr. H. W. Gray, with an agent actively canvassing against the bill. On its final passage (in the Senate) notwithstanding the almost unanimous vote he openly declared that it could not pass the House of Representatives, and subsequent events showed that he spoke from accurate knowledge."

The Peoples' Committee returns home, this time with spirits not hopeful, for the bill, instead of passing the House, has been referred to the Committee on Municipal Corporations. Yet the Philadelphians do not despair. On the following Monday 8th day of May, they return, reinforced by other members, the new ones consisting of Lewis Waln Smith, Wm. Bettle, Edward Bettle, Jr., Meyer Asch, Edward Penington, C. H. Needles, E. Tracy, Robert R. Corson, T. Horace Brown, L. T. Dixon, C. Rogers and Dr. George Bailey. An Executive Committee is appointed, consisting of Messrs. Wells, Webster, Wheeler, Lea, Bull, Smith and Ward. Which Executive Committee is speedily advised that a "ring" had been formed by certain members of the House and such arrangements made by the aforesaid "ring" as rendered the success of the people of Philadelphia in their endeavors to secure their rights, dependant on the payment of money.

A startling proposition to citizens of a Republic seeking at the seat of Legislation simply a vindication of their Republican rights! With hot indignation do they refuse to buy the justice which Philadelphia has the right to demand.

On Wednesday, 10th of May, the Peoples' Committee have a hearing before the Legislative Committee on Municipal Corporations; when the various reasons for the abolition of the despotic Commission are briefly stated- Which reasons are "replied to by Mr. Commissioner Gray, who did not hesitate openly to urge the continuance of the act by which he and his colleagues were legislated into office against the wishes of a vast majority of their fellow-citizens." Furthermore does Mr. Commissioner Gray "denounce severely the factious minority of his colleagues to whom he attributes all the opposition which has arisen against the Commission;'



and scornfully does he "ridicule the fears of the 'fossils' how dread lavish expenditure and increased taxation, declaring that the plans of the Commission would not cost more than Five millions of dollars to execute."\*

On Thursday, 11th of May, the Committee on Municipal Corporations again take the matter up for consideration, the Peoples' Committee having again returned to insist upon a recognition of their city's rights. Again does "Mr. Commissioner Gray energetically urge that his Commission shall not be abolished aspersing with some vehemence the motives and actions of those who demanded that the right of self-government should be restored to Philadelphia."

Meantime Representative Robert Johnston of the Seventh Philadelphia district, Chairman of the Committee on Municipal Corporations, has added an amendment to Col. Dechert's bill providing that the question of abolishing the Commission be referred to the people to be decided by popular vote; which amendment is declared out of order by a vote of 10 to 8. Another evidence of monarchical assumption on the part of the political managers; through their creatures in the Legislature, they thus deny the people the right to exercise their free will in the matter of the management of their own affairs.

Colonel Dechert's bill then comes up for action and quick work do its opponents make of it; deciding by a large vote to report it to the House with a negative recommendation.

"This result," says the People's Committee in its report, "may be said to have surprised no one. Indeed, the next morning, a gentleman prominent in political life was heard to assert openly, in the Hall of the House of Representatives that a specified sum per head had been paid for votes on the majority side of the Committee."

Wiser, if less cheerful, the Peoples' Committee return home. Senator Dechert remains and continues the fight;

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The total amount of the cost of the Public Buildings at the close of the year 1882 was \$8,620,611.62. The most rational estimate of the total cost of the Buildings when completed is \$15,000,000,

repeatedly introducing new bills to the same effect all of which meet with a similar fate. Reform in Philadelphia, meantime, turns its face in a new direction. From the Peoples' Committee with its Building-Commission Abolition mission springs into life the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association, which agitates fiercely among the people the question of the necessity of a new Constitution, having clearly from its recent legislative experience, discovered that the present Constitution is full of glaring defects. So in the election contests for Legislative Representatives does this new Constitution scheme become an issue. The Reform Association finally proves successful. In due time does the Legislature enact a measure providing for the assembling of a Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia; the delegates thereto to be elected by direct vote of the people, the same as members of the Legislature.

The Constitutional Convention meets and pursues its work; is aided therein by the Executive Committee of the Municipal Reform Association with which through its working Committees, it confers daily; new Constitution finally completed and officially promulgated that the people may familiarize themselves with it before submitting it to a vote on the question of adoption or rejection. Consternation among politicians and ringsters in Philadelphia and elsewhere. The new document, if adopted, sweeps away many old and flagrant abuses. It abolishes the fee system of remunerating public officers, substituting fixed salaries; it destroys future opportunities of securing the enactment of obnoxious laws without first affording the people a chance of knowing fully the nature of such laws,—requiring the title of a bill to state fully and clearly its real character; it abolishes special legislation by which a clique of self-interested politicians may get together and secure the passage of a measure for their own particular benefit, or for the benefit of a particular locality; it separates Municipal or local elections from County, State and National elections, in order that the selection of officers for the

management of local affairs may be effected free from the excitement and turmoil of a State or National contest; thus depriving ring politicians of the means of rushing into local office bad men on the strength of the general excitement over larger electoral affairs.

Political bosses and their followers, seeing such radical reforms in the draft of the new organic law, form a plan for falsifying the count when the question is submitted to the people; resort to fraud to secure its rejection. Philadelphia bosses clasp hands with Pittsburg bosses, and by methods intricate and secret the preparations for such falsification of the people's will are made throughout the State. When the returns come in at the close of the day of election the political conspirators are panic-stricken; the vote is so overwhelmingly in favor of the new Constitution that the intended fraud is found to be impossible though all the power of a powerful combination of corruptionists has been exerted in the effort. Thus was the majesty of the peoples' will vindicated; from which hour Reform set its face forward, moving at times with slow uncertain tread yet always onward in its own way as ultimate results in city and State have shown.

## THE GARRETT-STOKLEY CORRESPONDENCE.

### (SERIES I.)

The Committee of One Hundred having been organized and being anxious to secure the election of John Hunter to the office of Receiver of Taxes and of Joseph L. Caven to the office of City Solicitor, is uncertain of its own strength; believes if it can induce the Republican party to break away from the Gas Trust, which has controlled the party only to corrupt it in order to advance its own selfish ends, that the party organization will be purified, the Gas Trust overthrown and the Public Departments rescued from the hands of unscrupulous men; is not yet ready, so far as a majority of the members is concerned, to go outside its own

party to further the work of Reform, believing such course unnecessary. Mayor Stokley has lately been making Reform professions and showing evidences of a desire to free himself from the influence of the Gas Trust, which heretofore, on three successive occasions, has elected him to office; the majority of the One Hundred view the Mayor's Reform advances with satisfaction, seeing in him a powerful factor for the destruction of the Gas Trust, for the Mayor has many loyal Republican followers who are sternly opposed to McManesism. If the Republican Conventions can be induced to nominate Hunter and Caven as well as Stokley, the Committee of One Hundred will indorse them all and go into the contest with every certainty of success. At this stage of affairs Chairman Garrett writes the following letter to Mayor Stokley:

*Philadelphia. December 20, 1880.*

HON. WILLIAM S. STOKLEY.

"DEAR SIR:—As the Executive Committee of the Business Men's Organization may be called to-morrow to consider the subject of suitable men for the Mayoralty, I would like to have such information as you may feel free to communicate on the following points:

"Do you continue to favor the transfer of the management of the Gas Works from the Trustees to the direct control of the city.

"If Councils should pass an ordinance to that effect would you sign it?

"If State Legislation should be asked to prolong the Trust would you oppose it?

"Concerning the legislation proposed in the Municipal Bill for the better government of the city—framed by the State Municipal Commission—are you in favor of that bill, or an equivalent bill that will effect substantially the same concentration of Executive responsibility in the administration of city affairs?

"Please advise me, also, whether you think it right to permit party considerations or political friends to influence your official action.

"If it should come properly before you to speak or to use your influence in the matter would you aid or oppose the Recorder's Bill and the Delinquent Tax Bill?

‘Your replies to the foregoing are for my individual information as a member of the Business Men’s Committee. But I would like very much your consent to make them known as being authorized by you if that should become advisable.  
PHILIP C. GARRETT.’

Mayor Stokley, on the same day, having received the letter, replies as follows, the time intervening from the date of these letters until the meeting of the Republican Conventions being twenty-four days:

*Philadelphia, December 20, 1880.*

“MR. P. C. GARRETT.

“DEAR SIR:—While I dislike very much to say anything or write anything that may look like a bid or a pledge to secure any one’s favor or nomination for the Mayoralty and would very much prefer to stand upon my administration of the office of Mayor for nine years, I have no hesitation in sending you, individually, the within replies to points you place before me in your letter of this date:

“I. Upon the question of the transfer of the control of the Philadelphia Gas Works to the city I answer yes and refer you to my record.

“II. I would sign an ordinance taking possession of the Works; and in 1868, in Select Council, I introduced an ordinance to that effect, which I had passed, but was over-ruled by the Supreme Court. I am still of the opinion that I was right.

“III. I would decidedly oppose any prolonging of the Trust.

“IV. I was in favor of the Municipal Bill and assisted the Commission in framing it, and any bill concentrating Executive responsibility will receive my approval.

“V. I always have been opposed to policemen holding any other office and shall do whatever is within my authority to limit their participation in political matters to the exercise of their rights as citizens.

“VI. No person or consideration of any kind whatever shall ever influence me in the discharge of my official duties contrary to what I deem to be right.

“VII. I always was opposed to the Recorder’s Bill and after its passage by the Legislature I used my influence with the Governor to have it vetoed.

“The Delinquent Tax Bill ought to be repealed or modified so as to return the excessive fees or emolument into the City Treasury.

“I have no objection to your making use of this letter in any way you deem proper, except that I neither desire nor have any wish one way or another as to its publicity, I am yours respectfully,  
W. S. STOKLEY.”

## THE GARRETT-STOKLEY CORRESPONDENCE:

(SERIES II.)

Mayor Stokley as the Candidate of the Committee of One Hundred. Having been nominated or rather *recommended* at a meeting of the General Committee in the Rooms of the Board of Trade, Chairman Garrett writes a letter of notification, calling the Mayor's attention to the fact that he is expected to sign the Committee's Declaration of Principles as evidence of good faith, which letter is as follows:

*Philadelphia, December 23d,*

HON. W. S. STOKLEY.

"DEAR SIR:—Recognizing in your opposition to the Gas Trust, your resolute efforts to enforce laws difficult of enforcement, your maintenance of an efficient non-partisan police and in the assurance contained in your letter of December 20th, that you are seeking faithfully to serve the City as its Chief Executive and to reform existing abuses so far as in you lies, the Committee of One Hundred have recommended you to the Republican party and to their fellow-citizens generally for re-election to the same high office; a conclusion of which I now have the honor, officially, to inform you, with the assurance that should you accept this nomination they propose to use their best efforts to secure your election. They have adopted, also, a Declaration of Principles, to which they think every honest Reformer can subscribe, and they ask the assent of the several nominees to this as a basis of action. I need scarcely add that, in thus recommending you to the suffrages of your fellow-citizens we form no new party, and leave you perfectly free to accept the regular nomination should you wish it to be conferred upon you.

PHILIP C. GARRETT."

The Gas Trust has, in the meantime, become aroused. James McManes goes to Mayor Stokley and gives him to understand that he must either turn his back on the Reformers and help crush them out or join his fortunes with them and incur the enmity of the Trust one of the effects of which will be his defeat in the Republican Mayoralty Convention. Mayor Stokley wavers and finally decides to renew his affiliation with the Gas Trust. Accordingly he delays answering Chairman Garrett's letter until within one day of the

Republican Conventions when he sends this letter, omitting entirely any reference to the request to indorse the Declaration of Principles:

*Philadelphia, January 12, 1880.*

P. C. GARRETT, Esq., Chairman.

“SIR:—I am grateful to the Committee of One Hundred for the public testimonial of their approval of my course as Mayor of the City of Philadelphia and for their endorsement and recommendation of me to the Republican Convention for re-nomination. So flattering a mark of regard and of confidence from the respectable and influential citizens that compose your Committee touches me deeply and inspires me to continue a course of public policy which has already met with your generous sanction. The views which I have heretofore expressed regarding municipal interests and the direction which should be given to legislation to conserve those important interests, are too well known to the citizens of Philadelphia to require even passing comment from me. It would be neither modest nor profitable for me to urge my own claims to re-election. The argument in favor of that course must be found in the judgment of my fellow-citizens. During the nine years in which I have filled the office of Mayor of Philadelphia I have endeavored to do my duty in a plain, straightforward manner, uninfluenced either by partiality or adverse prejudice. With what success I have administered the office is before the citizens of Philadelphia for their dispassionate decision, and should I again be summoned to perform the duties of Mayor I shall endeavor to conduct my department of public affairs in the same spirit and by the same policy which has heretofore guided me. I have the honor to be, with just respect, your obedient servant.

WILLIAM S. STOKLEY.”

#### EDWARD T. STEEL AND THE MAYORALTY.

The nomination of Mayor Stokley by the Committee of One Hundred has caused dissatisfaction on the part of some of the members. Rudolph Blankenburg resigns his membership, believing that the Committee has failed in its Reform mission, as he is convinced that Mayor Stokley is affiliated with the Gas Trust and that he will not aid in the cause of Reform. His choice for Mayor was Edward T. Steel. When he presented Mr. Steel's name in the meeting, however, Mr.

Arrott, who is also opposed to Mayor Stokley, arose and read Mr. Steel's letter of declination, as follows:

*Philadelphia, Saturday, Dec. 18, 1880.*

"GENTLEMEN:—Learning that there is a possibility of my name, among others, coming before you for consideration as a candidate for the office of Mayor, I have written this letter to be used in such event. I deem it due to you, who have undertaken so difficult and arduous a task, to state in advance that I would not be the candidate of a political party for a municipal office. It has been represented to me by persons like myself, who have been earnestly devoted to the restoration of popular government in the city of Philadelphia, that I could render a service by allowing my name to be used in connection with the candidacy for the office of Mayor. While I have sincerely hoped that no such duty would devolve upon me, nothing less than a citizen's obligation to assist in recovering to the people the management of their public affairs would command me to step aside from my own business to be a candidate or to discharge the duties of a public office.

"The Reform movement demands the overthrow of a clique of men who have usurped the government of the city. They have accomplished this by quartering an army of men upon the people, who are paid, as employees, from the municipal treasury for the nominal service they render the city. These appointees, dependent on this power for their places are ruled with inexorableness and are forced to render services often against their honest convictions, their rulers being only harder masters to them than to the public. The first duty of these subordinates is to take the place of Ward Executive Committees, elect themselves to nominating Conventions, to become officers of elections and to entrench themselves in every position where they can successfully resist the efforts of the people to protect themselves by the election of men interested in the public welfare.

"Under the power and discipline established by this cabal places that require skilled labor, education, scientific knowledge or high moral qualities, become the prey of ignorant, coarse and selfish men, for the money that goes with the position or that may be improperly made in it. No department has immunity from this power whether it be established for the purpose of educating children, for the reform of the fallen or for the support of the destitute.

"Instead of men in public offices having only the high standard of duty necessarily required by the people, whose single interest is to have their affairs well managed, with rare exceptions, every man holding a public office, no matter



how important its function, who must obtain a nomination before reaching the people for their support, is forced to have his mind primarily directed to the approval of this utterly corrupt and selfish power.

"As much as I cherish the principles of the Republican party, and honor it for its achievements, I am convinced it is not able, as now constituted, to overthrow this oligarchy.

"The officials who have successfully continued to protect the interests of the people in defiance of this power have only done so by the support of citizens irrespective of party. Messrs. Caven and Hunter would not be rendering their great service to the public to-day by the unaided support of Republicans nor would the city have the invaluable support of Mr. Pattison by the unaided support of Democrats.

"Believing, as I have endeavored to explain, that this clique cannot be overthrown within the lines of party, and to aid in its destruction being the one obligation which has led me to consider the proposition of candidacy, I could not accept of it where I believe this end cannot be secured. I have the honor to be very truly yours.

EDWARD T. STEEL.

#### JOHN HUNTER'S ACCEPTANCE.

John Hunter, having received notification of his nomination by the Reform Committee, replies one week before the holding of the Republican Conventions, accepting the nomination in the following words :

*West Philadelphia, January 6, 1881.*

"To PHILIP C. GARRETT, Esq., Chairman, Committee of One Hundred. DEAR SIR:—I have before me your letter notifying me that your Committee have designated me as their choice for Receiver of Taxes and also asking me in case I accept, to accompany it with an indorsement of the Declaration of Principles.

"My record in Councils is sufficient proof that I am in sympathy with the popular movement. I am not seeking office but, as one of the one hundred and fifty thousand taxpayers of this city who has borne his full share of the penalties and responsibilities entailed upon us by long years of misrule and of gross mismanagement of city affairs, as a citizen willing to be governed by the popular will, fully expressed at the polls, unfettered by iniquitous party rules I am in your hands if, in your judgment, it is deemed advisable to place my name before the whole people as their candidate for Receiver of Taxes. I promise if elected to conduct the office in the best interests of the Taxpayer and in the most economical manner.

"It must be distinctly understood that if once fairly before the people as an Independent Citizens' Candidate, regardless of what other candidates may decide upon or who may hereafter be nominated by packed Conventions under no circumstances shall I decline or resign. With entire confidence in the integrity and good judgment of the voters of this city, and the ultimate success of the popular movement by and for the people, and with full purpose to do my whole duty, I fully indorse your 'Declaration of Principles' in whole and in part and, thanking you for your kind letter of approval of my official conduct, I am yours very respectfully.

JOHN HUNTER."

#### THE GARRETT-CAVEN CORRESPONDENCE.

Chairman Garrett, on the same day on which he writes his letter of notification to Mayor Stokley, writes a letter to Joseph L. Caven, notifying him that the Committee of One Hundred has already placed him in nomination for City Solicitor, which letter is as follows:

*Philadelphia, December 23, 1880.*

JOSEPH L. CAVEN, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:—In view of your able defense of the interests of the Taxpayers of Philadelphia during several years past in Councils, the Committee of One Hundred have put you in nomination for the important office of City Solicitor, believing no one more eminently capable of protecting the rights of the city in the capacity of its legal defender.

In conveying to you, as I now have the pleasure of doing officially, this resolution of the Committee, I think it right to say that they have been uninfluenced by other considerations than those of public welfare.

The Committee have coupled with their nomination a Declaration of Principles to which, they are well assured, you can subscribe; yet it will strengthen their hands to have the written indorsements of those by all their candidates.

"Whenever, therefore, it is your pleasure to signify your acceptance of the nomination, it will be gratifying to receive your approval of the Principles also.

"I remain, with much respect, yours truly,

PHILIP C. GARRETT,

Chairman Committee of One Hundred.

Attest, GEORGE W. FARR, Jr., Secretary."

Councilman Caven, like Mayor Stokley, does not reply to the letter of notification at once,—delays his answer until the day after the Republican Conventions, for reasons which he explains :

*712 Walnut Street, January 14, 1881*

PHILIP C. GARRETT ESQ., Chairman, and Committee of One Hundred.

“GENTLEMEN:—In notifying me of my selection for the office of City Solicitor, you at the same time enclose me a ‘Declaration of Principles.’ By this I am informed that you ‘are Republicans and are seeking to reform the management of the Republican party,’ and that through the medium of this party you are endeavoring to improve our city government.

“I have, therefore purposely delayed answering until it could be publicly ascertained whether the recognized Republican party of the city approved or disapproved of your action.

“I am deeply sensible of the high compliment you have paid me in associating my name with the honorable office of City Solicitor. It is no empty honor to be thus selected by a body representing, as your Committee does, Philadelphia’s best business men, even after a struggle, but when such selection is made without the slightest solicitation or effort it is to me the best evidence of your confidence in and indorsement of my public life.

“I propose, at the end of my present term to retire from the Councils of the city so that I may give my individual time and attention to my personal and professional interests but in doing so I shall not neglect the duty every citizen owes to the public.

“In an active service of eight years in Common Councils, I have at times endeavored to carry out my views of public service within party lines and have as often failed. Every reform that has been instituted and carried out for the better government of the city during those eight years resulted solely from the joint efforts of Republicans and Democrats acting as citizens and not as partisans.

“The recent effort made by your Committee in the same direction is but another evidence of the impossibility of improving the public service through party machinery. Although I was quite conscious that the constant and well known opposition to Mr. Hunter and myself to the ways of the so-called bosses of the Republican party would render it impossible for them to favorably consider your action with regard to those two names yet, personally, I have been

willing as a Republican, nay, under the circumstances I could not refuse, to co-operate with you to the end in another similar experiment.

That experiment failing, as I knew it would, you have no further use for my name, and I therefore decline your kind nomination. But, in declining, permit me to assure you there never was a time in the history of our city when the people were so ready and anxious to hurl from power the men who have loaded them with a municipal debt of \$71,000,000, and at the same time grown rich while the people have become poorer—the men who control the votes and voice of a large portion of your Councilmen as the master controls the slave—the men who will strike down the Councilman who dares to do right—the men who rob you of your dearest rights as freemen the right to express your choice through the ballot. In view, therefore, of the time and the opportunity and of the rejection of the recognized Reform part of your ticket by the bosses, it remains for you to recast your lines on the basis of non-partisan public service, and to enter upon the coming campaign with a firmer determination than ever that good men and true shall represent you in Councils and fill your city offices and if, in the changed condition of your noble, manly and unselfish work, I can be of any further service—not as a candidate but as a Taxpayer and a citizen—do not hesitate to command me

“I have the honor to be gentlemen, with great respect, very truly.

“JOS. L. CAVEN.”

#### THE DEMOCRATIC MAYORALTY CONVENTION.

In the Democratic Mayoralty Convention there comes to the front a new element,—Democrats opposed to the professional politician element of the party which has so long ruled in such assemblages. They see a favorable time to strike and rid the party of these obnoxious ones, a feat which will not end in its effects simply with the result of the Convention but which shall be decisive, settling the question as to which of the two incompatible elements shall live and thenceforth control the party organization in Philadelphia. Accordingly a plan is formed by which the conservative ones settle upon Select-Councilman King as their candidate; feel confident he is the one of all others most certain to serve the double purpose of defeating the Republican can-

didate Stokley and of keeping the old "ring" element of the Democratic party in the back-ground. Candidate King, understanding the sentiment of the people and feeling convinced that if there is one thing it indicates with certainty it is that John Hunter shall be placed at the head of the Tax Department, knows full well that it will be useless for his party to attempt to win the Mayoralty unless they respect the wishes of the large body of the Independent Republicans and support Mr. Hunter. He therefore insists on writing a letter for presentation to the Convention before which his name is to be offered declining the nomination for Mayor unless the Democratic Convention to nominate a candidate for Receiver of Taxes which meets at the same hour shall make Mr. Hunter its nominee. This letter he places in the hands of his friend, Delegate John M. Campbell who shall read it, at the proper time, in the Convention. Conservative Democrat is Delegate Campbell, his father being ex-Judge Campbell, Postmaster-General of the Nation under President Pierce, now, with his son, quietly engaged in the practice of law. Meantime, Delegate David W. Sellers, well-known Counsellor-at-law has been agreed upon as the Temporary Chairman of the Convention,—already a victory for the Conservatives as he is a strong supporter of King. Counsellor John I. Rogers, whom we afterward come to know as an able member of the Independent Democratic Committee of Thirty-one, has been chosen by the King men as the one to nominate their champion in the Convention, it being understood that the nomination shall be made directly after the reading by Delegate Campbell of Candidate King's letter, before the opposition element has time to develop its tactics. The plan works to perfection. Delegate Sellers is made Temporary Chairman and is afterward continued as Permanent Chairman. At the proper time and before names of candidates have been offered, Delegate Campbell arises and, after some pertinent remarks, reads this letter from Candidate King:

*Philadelphia, January 26, 1881.*

To the President and members of the Democratic Mayoralty Convention.

"GENTLEMEN:—Understanding that my name will be presented as a candidate for the office of Mayor of this city I think it but due to you and to myself to state to you my position. One of the most important offices within the gift of the people is the office of Receiver of Taxes. The office is said to be worth a quarter of a million of dollars yearly. Its perquisites are so enormous as to cause a frightful demoralization in the ranks of both parties. The whole community cries out for a repeal of the iniquitous law which gives large fortunes to a few individuals at the expense of the Taxpayers. The great mass of our citizens, without any distinction of party, call, in trumpet tones, for the election of John Hunter, a truly honest man, who will, if elected, return these immense sums of money to the City Treasury and thereby lessen the burden of taxation. This will cause a repeal of the iniquitous law. These being my sentiments I cannot consent to the use of my name unless John Hunter be associated with me on the ticket. The use of the name of any other man than John Hunter for the office of Receiver of Taxes at a crisis like this, an office so separated from politics, would be suicidal, and would only bring reproach and disgrace on the parties who advocate or countenance such a course. Your obedient servant.

"SAMUEL G. KING."

The letter is received with enthusiasm, delegates cheering so lustily that regular business has to be suspended for several minutes. Before the applause subsides Delegate Rogers arises, and being recognized by the Chair mounts the platform and in an eloquent speech presents the name of Councilman King, "his nicely rounded sentences effectively spoken," causing renewed applause. He says:

"The Democratic party, though casting 76,000 votes last November is nevertheless a minority party in Philadelphia, and being such must of necessity and for its own success so conduct itself as to insure the co-operation of those independent citizens who prefer the common good to partisan triumph, and who have so often joined with us in electing upright and incorruptible Democrats to offices of trust and responsibility. These public spirited men first turned to the Republican party for relief from the incubus of ring rule, but in vain. That party has presented for the Mayoralty as

a fourth-term candidate a man who owes his political birth, tuition, and advancement exclusively to his subserviency to the behests of the Seventh street cabal. The result is widespread dissatisfaction among those Republicans who acknowledge no taskmasters, who wear no bosses' livery, and who breathe the unofficial air of freedom. They put little faith in Mr. Stokley's alleged apostacy from the friendships and affiliations of his entire political life. They deny, with us, the vaunted perfection of his police force which, although improved by nine years of discipline is justly chargeable with numerous petty tyrannies and which, though blind to the deeds of Republican law-breakers, becomes Argus-eyed when Democratic victims are to be hunted down. These taxpayers regardless of party ties now turn to us for the encouragement and relief denied them in their own ranks. They ask of us to-day our best and wisest decision, our ablest and most acceptable candidate; one whom they know has been tested by experience and never found lacking in those qualifications which would grace the Chief Magistrate of our city."

When the name of Councilman King is presented it is received with such unbounded enthusiasm that he is nominated on the first ballot. The chairman then appoints a committee headed by Delegate Campbell to notify Mr. King of the Convention's action, and the adjournment takes place with the Conservatives complete masters of the situation, their opponents having been so effectually taken by surprise that they yielded without resistance.

Afterward, having received a letter of inquiry from the Committee of One Hundred as to whether he is willing to indorse their Declaration of Principles, Candidate King replies in the following words, on the receipt of which the Committee at once indorse his candidacy :

*Philadelphia, January 29, 1881.*

GEORGE W. FARR, Esq., Secretary Committee of One Hundred :

"DEAR SIR :—I have received your letter of the 28th instant, and in reply would say that I indorse freely and most cordially the Declaration of Principles adopted by your Committee and will, if elected, faithfully carry them out. They accord in every respect with my own sentiments—that part

of them particularly which refers to a non-partisan police. If elected Mayor no man shall be appointed or removed by me for political consideration, none shall be assessed for political purposes. My past life as a member of Select Council shows that your Declaration of Principles has been my rule of conduct as a member of that body.

“Your most obedient servant,

“SAMUEL G. KING.”

#### COUNCILMAN HUNTER'S DECLARATION.

Republican and Democratic Conventions have been held. Both parties have rejected Councilman Hunter; yet in the Democratic Tax Receivers' Convention there has been a “bolt” and fifty-seven delegates have refused to abide by the nomination of William V. McGrath, and in a body through enthusiastic throngs of people, take their way from the meeting place of the Convention to the headquarters of the Committee of One Hundred, where they nominate Councilman Hunter. Revolution has begun. To Independence Hall a Committee on Notification headed by John L. Grim proceeds. Councilman Hunter being there as a member of the Committee on Investigation of the Gas Trust. He is notified amidst impressive surroundings and amidst the cheers of the people. He makes a brief speech thanking the Committee and the ‘bolting’ Convention. Controller Pattison also appears and makes a speech. This event greatly strengthens the cause of the Committee of One Hundred, who unite on Hunter and King. On the following day Councilman Hunter again writes to the Committee of One Hundred:

*Philadelphia, January 28.*

To the Committee of One Hundred:

“GENTLEMEN:—The people of the city want,—First, full and complete control of the Gas Works,—free access to the books, papers, incidental accounts and inner workings of the department; the most economical arrangement by competent officials and honest trustees, that the profits of the Trust may go for the benefit of the gas consuming public where they properly belong. This can only be done by the most energetic and active work in the different wards that



intelligent Independent Councilmen may be elected who alone can appoint practical business men as Gas Trustees. Second,—the Tax Office and Delinquent Tax Office must be placed under the control of the voters and taxpayers, that all the emoluments of the officers over and above a fair compensation may be returned to the City Treasury. A man should be elected Tax Receiver who will, even without repeal of the present Delinquent Bill, conduct the affairs of the office in the best interests of the people, in the most economical non-partisan manner and in accordance with the spirit and intention of the provisions of the New Constitution making all offices salaried. This can only be done by combined determined efforts all over the city by the people, regardless of party. I wrote you a letter placing myself in your hands 'if in your judgment it was advisable to place my name before the people as an independent citizens' candidate.' Since that letter was written both parties have made nominations and the candidates are before the public. I ask as a favor that you will to-day, at your meeting, deem it advisable to make me a candidate before the voters of the city.

"To the Independent Democratic Convention members who indorsed me, to the *dependent* members of the Republican Convention who favored me, but dared not say so, to the many prominent men of all parties who have publicly expressed themselves as believing in my integrity, to the thousands of taxpayers who do not know me, to the members of Councils who have sat with me for years in deliberation over city affairs—to you as a Committee of One Hundred, I desire to express my thanks for the hearty approval of my official course so far.

"I propose in the future either as Councilman or Tax Receiver to do my whole duty to the best of my ability. I have no favors to ask, except that the voters by an overwhelming majority shall make it impossible for ringsters to count out honestly elected Reformers.

"I am with you now and always, with time, money, and influence to secure for this city what it deserves—the economical administration of municipal affairs, good and cheap gas and water and plenty of it; good highways and comfortable, low priced facilities for traveling over them; first class schools with well-paid teachers and practical intelligent directors; a system of sewerage that will prevent as much as possible the ravages of infectious diseases, and a full and free expression of the will of the people that cannot and will not be misunderstood.

"With this as my platform and wishing you great success in your efforts at reform, I am yours very truly,

JOHN HUNTER."

### VOTE OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1880.

The following exhibit of the vote of the City and County of Philadelphia, in the Presidential election of November, 1880, illustrates, in a remarkable manner, the extent and the influence of the Reform sentiment among the people at this time; marking, as it did, a stage in the political history of the city which was destined to become memorable. It should be borne in mind that when this election came off, the Committee of One Hundred had not yet come into existence, the election taking place on the 2d of November, while the first meeting of citizens, called by E. Dunbar Lockwood for the purpose of organizing such Committee, was not held until thirteen days later, or on the 15th of November. In the meantime the Philadelphia journals and the New York *Herald* had been spreading before the people daily startling disclosures with reference to mismanagement and fraud in the Gas Trust. The vote of Philadelphia for the Republican and Democratic candidates for the Presidency, Garfield and Hancock; for the Republican and Democratic candidates for Auditor General, Lemon and Dechert; for the Republican and Democratic candidates for the Supreme Court, Green and Jenks, and for the Republican and Democratic candidates for County Controller, Jeffries and Pattison—the vote of the city for these respective candidates shows a singular discrimination on the part of voters in favor of certain candidates irrespective of party, which fact is to be attributed to the aroused spirit of the people in favor of a reform in their local affairs. The vote was as follows:

#### FOR PRESIDENT:

Garfield, R—97,220. Hancock, D—76,330.

#### AUDITOR GENERAL:

Lemon, R—95,819. Dechert, D—77,584.

#### SUPREME JUDGE:

Green, R—97,929. Jenks, D—75,611.

#### COUNTY CONTROLLER:

Jeffries, R—79,868. Pattison, D—93,471.

NAMES OF THE PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE  
COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED.

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William Arrott.	Henry C. Lea.
J. T. Audenried.	Edmund Lewis
Joel J. Baily.	Thos. Leaming.
Joshua L. Baily.	Amos R. Little.
Robert V. Barber.	E. D. Lockwood.
Thomas W. Barlow.	Geo. D. McCreary.
Henry Bettle.	Geo. I. McKelway.
Rudolph Blankenburg.	John McLaughlin.
James Bonbright.	Lewis C. Madeira.
William Brockie.	Thos. J. Martin.
George Burnham.	James S. Mason.
George L. Buzby.	Theo. Megargee.
J. Hays Carson.	William Mencke.
Wm. H. Castle.	Merle Middleton.
Saml. Castner, Jr.	John T. Monroe.
George C. Child.	Thos. G. Morton, M.D.
E. W. Clark.	Aquila Nebeker, M.D.
Charles J. Cohen.	Joseph Parrish.
Robert R. Corson.	T. Morris Perot.
John F. Craig.	James Peters.
George V. Cresson.	Horace W. Pitkin.
Samuel Croft.	Wm. Potter.
George H. Earle.	Robert Purvis.
Geo. H. Earle, Jr.	Francis B. Reeves.

LIST OF MEMBERS—*Continued.*

Wm. J. Exley.	Charles Richardson.
G. W. Farr, Jr.	Sam'l. G. Scott.
John Field.	Henry J. Scott.
Clayton French.	David Scull, Jr.
Philip C. Garrett.	Thos. M. Seeds.
D. R. Garrison.	W. Fred'k. Snyder.
Henry C. Gibson.	E. A. Souder.
John E. Graeff.	James Spear.
James Graham.	Charles Spencer.
F. Gutekunst.	William G. Steel.
Wm. Harkness, Jr.	John S. Stevens.
Charles J. Harrah.	J. C. Strawbridge.
Thos. S. Harrison.	Henry C. Thompson.
R. E. Hastings.	John C. Watt.
F. Oden Horstmann.	Chris. Wetherill.
Wm. Hunt, Jr.	Edw. S. Whelen.
John A. Hunter, M.D.	Geo. Whitney.
John Hunter.	Ellis D. Williams.
N. E. Janney.	Thos. V. Williams
Wm. H. Jenks.	Henry Winsor.
Jos. de F. Junkin.	Walter Wood.
Theodore Justice.	William Wood.
W. W. Justice.	James A. Wright.
Godfrey Keebler.	





