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## THE DEMOCRATIC SENTINEL

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## SPEECH

HON. D. W. VOORHEES,

OF INDIANA,

In the Senate of the United States, Wednesday, January 8, 1890.

[Continued from last week.]

In this laudable search after light and knowledge by which these defendants might defend themselves they have likewise failed. I believe in one instance an attempt was made in this District by counsel from New York to take Dudley's deposition in one of the libel cases, but he stood mute by the direction of an eminent Republican lawyer, formerly from Indiana, and an intimate friend of the present occupant of the White House. What a roaring farce this libel litigation would be if produced on the comic stage! The only criticism it would have to fear would be that as a burlesque on human conduct it presents such an extravagant departure from anything ever hitherto known, even in the wildest and most fantastic transactions of life, that the plot would be deemed incredible, and the play entirely overdone.

The idea of the terribly damaged Dudley, before the election bursting into the courts and clamoring for redress, and after the election at once flying in terror from the courts whose aid he had invoked, and hiding, dodging, and skulking from a party of eagerly pursuing defendants who are trying to lass him back into the jurisdiction of New York, would indeed seem incredible in dramatic literature, and all the more so when it would be recalled that the principal character in the play had been United States marshal for the fifth state in the American Union, had held the great office of Commissioner of Pensions, and was at this time the treasurer of the Republican national committee, and was hailed and honored, and dined, and wined, and consulted by the leading men of the Republican party, who pretend to sound morals and even to Christian faith and conduct.

Such a presentation on the stage, with the distinguished persons in their various and appropriate characters surrounding Dudley, who are necessarily and inevitably participants and sharers with him in his plots and conspiracies, and in the emoluments and honors thereof, could not fail to revive in our memories the deathless satires of Juvenal, wherein the brazen and infamous vices of his day, heralding the downfall of Rome, were so graphically and powerfully portrayed. Even now these vile mockeries, these spurious, bastard suits for libel, conceived in fraud and sin and brought forth for purposes of iniquity, are still pending. The defendants appear in no haste, to be rid of a fugitive plaintiff, while the plaintiff himself, like the man who had the wolf by the ears, can not hold on, and can not let go. Only a few days ago, December 30, 1889, the following statement appeared in the Associated Press:

"Judge Lawrence, of the New York supreme court, handed down an opinion in chambers yesterday in which he says in effect that Col. William W. Dudley, who is suing half a dozen New York newspapers for alleged libel in the publication of the blocks-of-five letter, can not expect favors from the court when he persistently refuses to obey its orders. This decision was handed down in Dudley's action against the Press Publishing Company (world), any denies a motion by the plaintiff to vacate an order for substituted service on him of an order for his examination before trial to enable the defendant to prepare an answer. The judge says that by bringing this action in this court Dudley has subjected himself to its jurisdiction and now seeks to vacate its order, but as he keeps without the territorial limits

of the state and refuses to obey the order of the court he can not, in the opinion of the court, be heard affirmatively in opposition to the order."

In view of such protracted evasion of a trial, and such chronic and cowardly skulking from the courts of his own seeking, what other conclusion than that of overwhelming guilt can be reached by any fair mind? What now becomes of the pitiful and quibbling interviews with which he sprinkled the first ten days of his fearful exposure, and in which he based his plea of forgery on two or three verbal inaccuracies of no consequence whatever to the true tenor and meaning of the letter? Why does he not, by and with the advice and consent of his committee associates, proceed to trial and point out the alleged inaccuracies which change an otherwise genuine paper into a forgery calling for damages of tremendous size?

The defendants whom he has sued for libel, and on whom he has called for the payment of big sums of money with which to soothe solace, and especially repair his battered reputation, have from day to day, and from time to time, mocked, derided, and defied him; they have scorned and scoffed at his plea of forgery; they have trampled all his contemptible subterfuges under their feet at every step for the last year. And still he comes not to the precincts of a New York court. He seeks the arena of judicial combat as Bob Acres seeks his antagonist for a fatal duel. He runs the other way.

If, however, the treasurer of the Republican national committee, and his allies, snuffed danger to their policy of falsehood in the judicial atmosphere of New York, let us turn in another direction and behold what a splendid opportunity he had for vindication and damages in the Republican Federal courts and state courts in Indiana. As I have said, Dudley's letter advising wholesale bribery as a means of carrying Indiana for Harrison and Morton, and for the Republican candidates generally appeared in the Sentinel, at Indianapolis, October 31, just six days before the election, and long enough after it was written and transmitted, October 24, for its baleful poison to become diffused throughout the state, and to do much of its destructive and treasonable work.

Within the next forty-eight hours after the publication of the letter in the Sentinel, Dudley's denial that it was genuine, and his audacious statement that it was a forgery, were heard from one end of the land to the other, and all the loyal pipers of a party bent on ruin or ruin piped accordingly. Within that forty-eight hours, however, the policy of falsehood decided upon by Dudley, and more especially for Dudley, by those to whom he was subordinate, was met in Indiana in a way which will be long remembered. On the morning of November 2, 1888, the Sentinel published a facsimile of the Dudley letter with an offer of \$1,000 then deposited in bank for that purpose to be paid to Dudley if he would come to Indiana and swear that the letter as printed in the Sentinel was a forgery. What a chance for a first-class libel suit on his own native heath, and a thousand dollars to boot.

The letter and the proffered reward for Dudley's presence in Indiana and his denial under oath, were kept standing at the head of the editorial page of the Sentinel for days and weeks, both before and after the election, which occurred November 5. In fact it has held good for more than a year, and has been repeated within the last three weeks. And what has been the effect of these continued publications in the Sentinel, accompanied by every sting and taunt, and word of scorn and contumely which a gifted writer could hurl at a crouching outlaw, for his crimes against the majesty and glory of an incorruptible system

of popular government?

Did this leader and high official in the councils of his party reach out and grapple for the throat of his assailant in Indiana? Did he rush upon the Sentinel, and with the aid of a hundred Republican lawyers, prompt to spring to the rescue of his good name and the good name of his party, bring libel suits, crush that splendid and enterprising newspaper property, and sell it out under heavy judgments at sheriff's sale? On the contrary, he cowered in the distance; the Sentinel banished him from the state. He became a fugitive from his own state, as he was from New York. His crime disfranchised him in advance of trial and conviction; he did not even dare go home to vote for Harrison, for whose election he had steeped his conscience in guilt and imperiled his immortal soul. He waited and watched over the border, doubtless with the longings and repinings of many a more virtuous exile, until at last a change took place in the ruling dynasty which enabled him to return to his home with an understanding and an assurance that the corruption of the ballot-box should be looked upon, in his case at least, as an evidence of honorable and patriotic zeal.

In the meantime, however, while the treasurer of the national executive committee of the Republican party was forced into banishment and outlawry from two states, the people of Indiana had a right to expect, and did expect, that the plainly written laws of the country would be enforced in the proper courts against one who, in the very language of the United States statutes, had counseled and advised an attempt to bribe a certain class of voters of the state, and had procured and proffered sufficient sums of money with which to commit the abominable and treasonable crime.

Let us see whether their just expectations were realized, or whether they were baffled and finally defeated by partisan chicanery and fraud on the bench itself. On the 14th day of November the grand jury of the United States district court, Judge William A. Woods presiding, was convened at Indianapolis. The election had transpired only eight days before, and the public mind was very hot and aggressive on the subject of bribery and corruption at the polls. The leaders of the Republican party, weary from the work of the campaign, and scattered throughout distant states, had not as yet realized the danger of their questionable success, and the supreme necessity of protecting, at all hazards, Dudley, and their national committee. They had not had time and forethought to get together and consult and plan, as they did afterwards, when Judge Woods first met and charged the grand jury of his court on the 14th of November. He therefore spoke his own judicial mind, unbiased at that time by the consequences which might follow, and every lawyer of standing of both parties agreed that he correctly gave the law to the jury. He read in full section 5511 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which I also here submit:

Sec. 5511. If, at any election for Representative or Delegate in Congress, any person knowingly personates and votes, or attempts to vote, in the name of any other person, whether living, dead, or fictitious; or votes more than once at the same election for any candidate for the same office, or votes at a place where he may not be lawfully entitled to vote; or votes without having a lawful right to vote; or does any unlawful act to secure an opportunity to vote for himself, or any other person; or by force, threat, intimidation, bribery, reward, or offer thereof, unlawfully prevents any qualified voter of any State, or of any Territory, from

[Continued on 4th page.]

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