

SAM HUDSON RECALLS FAMOUS FIGHTS FOR DEMOCRATIC POWER.

By Sam Hudson. The shock surprise defeat of the McCormick-Palmer-Wilson administration Democratic organization by Judge Bonniwell serves as an inspiration for a sketch of famous historical struggles for leadership and power in the Democratic party of Pennsylvania.

Within the checkered and factional history of the State Democracy since the post-civil war period, and which has made of Pennsylvania "a dark and bloody ground" there have been not a few abrupt and climatic shifts of personal and dynastic leaderships and control. None, however, has carried the sensational surprise, cleanliness and sweep of victory as that which through the recent primary election bowed out the dual management of McCormick and Palmer, strewn the ocean's shingle with the wrecks of State and local leaders and ending Judge Bonniwell with the heritage of the party organization and the knighthood of leadership.

And it is a singular fact that cannot be ignored in Presidential nominations and nominations for Governor have figured conspicuously, contributing to the end of old and the entrance of new party direction. As the film is thrown upon the screen this will become as clear as the "sermon on the mount."

HAD 'UNDEMOCRATIC PLATFORM'

In passing it might be proper to say there were two painted posts in the "bill of particulars" carrying party grievance in the late revolution. One was that J. F. Guffey, the candidate for Governor, was picked by "a handful of leaders," and the other that he was seated upon an undemocratic platform. Strong together they cry antagonism to the McCormick-Palmer regime and its wretched dining room service, and the infamous spirit of "personal liberty," which all Democrats have been educated to believe is the concrete base upon which the party superstructure has been erected.

The State was combed for an incendiary candidate for Governor, and in this wide search several distinguished Democratic county judges were leading the pack.

It is no secret that two overtures came to Judge Bonniwell before he was induced to finally heed the "call to the wild," since "the world and its neighbor" now know that an opposition to the State machine was everywhere catalogued as a forlorn hope. When his name was finally added by the sign painters the war chest of the organization was so filled with overflowing that Bonniwell was conceded, almost to the front door of the election, less than half a dozen counties. Old politicians stood aghast at the amazing magnitude of the work of organizing and the reach-out to the individual voters that Bonniwell crowded into his month's campaign, and so effective was this detail and technique and so instantaneous was the ignition of the spark of revolt that it is interesting to walk along the strand and mark the bodies of the dead.

The most distinguished one that has floated ashore is that of McCormick's chief of staff, A. Mitchell Palmer, who not only lost his ward in his county of Monroe and his Congressional district, although it is crammed with war industrial activities, and the Wilson administration is strong therein. McCormick did manage to save his bacon and did far better for Guffey in Dauphin than he did for himself in 1914, when, as a candidate for Governor he lost his own polling precinct.

In Philadelphia the slaughter of organization leaders resembled a battlefield in Pottsville. Charles P. Donnelly's twenty-second ward went awash, and his chairman of the city committee, Lank, became a cadaver for the political morgue. Postmaster Thornton awoke the next morn to find himself a distinguished member of the party of the extreme left, and Collector Lederer, Appraiser Moise, Chief Clerk Meridith, of the mint, and every one of the real estate assessors wore mourning badges, that is, those who stuck to the old ship, an exception being Mortimer Carroll, who saved the twenty-sixth ward.

Upstate the killings were "frequent and free." United States Marshal Frank Noonan was smothered in Schuylkill, and Naval Officer Croll not only was asphyxiated for the Congress nomination, but his county of Berks came along with a terrific Bonniwell majority. Charles McAvoy, the leader of Montgomery, was distanced, and the Grims, of Bucks, father and son, and ex-Senator Grim's son-in-law, the postmaster of Doylestown, went down in the crash.

Another conspicuous party nag and field agent of the organization, James I. Blakeslie, was humiliated by the Guffey returns in his county of Carbon, while out Lake Erie way E. Lowry Humes, United States District Attorney for the western district, viewed with deep contrition a Bonniwell victory in his county of Crawford. And thus the names of the dead and missing could be stretched a marine league.

WALLACE-BUCKALEW STRIFE.

The after-the-civil-war period found Charles R. Buckalew, of Columbia, the controlling factor in State Democracy leadership. He was fortified by his election to the Senate of the United States, but the State was politically close and the woods were full of gunners, and there arose among them a picturesque and magnetic disputer of his sway, William A. Wallace, afterward known as the sage of Clearfield. Mr. Buckalew's loss of his seat in the Senate, which personal calamity occurred in 1869, he being succeeded by John Scott, a Republican, left him more vulnerable to the forays of the younger and rising Guffey, and a former State Senator of Philadelphia fell from the stage into a bass drum in the orchestra pen. The Guffey "new coon in town" quartet succeeded in controlling the convention and nominating the State ticket, finishing the job by displacing Leader Harrity

Democratic United States Senator, and the two gladiators who stripped for the fray were Wallace and Buckalew. The proceedings attending upon this election were possibly the most disgraceful that ever had occurred in a Pennsylvania Legislature, as the line-up was so close that it looked almost too murky even for a guess. The Buckalew people, however, were weaker than it was suspected, and resorted to roughhouse tactics, importing "Squire McMullin and a gang of Philadelphia thugs, who took possession of the joint meeting and undertook to run things. They were finally elected, and after a scene of unparalleled excitement up to that time, Mr. Wallace won the election, and was installed with the party leadership, Buckalew disappearing into the political shades.

The Wallace leadership was for some years sharply contested by Samuel J. Randall. They fought one another for the control of State conventions, but it became a happy and a conspicuous sight to witness the rivals after a factional struggle appearing upon the same platform, shaking hands and supporting the same ticket whoever had had the making of it. Under the first Cleveland administration the star of Speaker Randall was in the ascendancy, since he had the advantage of being the official dispenser of the State's federal patronage under a secret deal made before the Chicago convention, which had chosen the New York Governor, and wherein lies a crackerjack story, which we later may relate. The Clearfield sage had Mr. Randall at a decided disadvantage in Philadelphia, where he was most fortunate in possessing a string of lieutenants who were master political mechanics, such men as Lewis C. Cassidy, Thomas A. Barger, William V. McGrath and William S. Singler. Wallace's power was considerably broken by the unexpected defeat of Andrew H. Dill for Governor in 1878 by Hoyt by some 22,000, and which was brought sensationally about by the defection in the Irish vote, the late John C. Delaney having made the discovery in a file of an old Know Nothing paper printed in Baltimore which connected Dill with membership in that secret order.

Mr. Wallace was unquestionably the most beloved and popular Democratic State leader who has ever appeared, as by temperament and promise keeping, he had a way of tying supporters loyally to him through leanness or plenary. He made his last appearance in the holy contest for Governor in 1890, and his defeat by Robert E. Pattison at the sensational Seranton convention paved the way for a new State regime, that of William L. Scott, of Erie, and William F. Harrity, of Philadelphia.

WALLACE LEADERSHIP PASSES.

This Governorship contest waged with great bitterness was the introduction of Grover Cleveland as the candidate of Wall street for a renomination for President, and the real fight hinged upon the control of the State delegation to the National convention, Wallace tying himself with the ill-starred candidacy of David B. Hill.

The leadership of Wallace received its deathblow at the Harrisburg convention of 1894, when he was dispossessed of his tenancy by Lewis C. Cassidy, who in one of the most sensational and closest conventions ever held in the State nominated Robert E. Pattison, the young controller of Philadelphia, over James H. Hopkins, of Pittsburgh, by the narrow thread of one-half a vote. For the subsequent four years Mr. Cassidy through the medium of the Governor largely dominated the party, although the old Wallace faction harassed its flanks, particularly in the Legislature, and more particularly in the famous Senate in which Senator James Gay Gordon was the administration spokesman and, singularly enough, the unhorsed leader, William A. Wallace, was a factional antagonist.

William L. Scott and William F. Harrity were now in full tide possessions of State party control and the dishers-out of President Cleveland's federal viands. Mr. Harrity had been tendered a cabinet place, but preferred the far-better paying one of Secretary of the Commonwealth and premier of the Pattison administration. The death of Mr. Scott left Mr. Harrity the sole boss.

In the meantime there was "a new coon" waiting to come to town in the person of Colonel James M. Guffey, a petroleum and coal millionaire of Pittsburgh. He was drawn into a political partnership or alliance with James Kerr, of Clearfield; Congressman Howard Muehler, of Northampton, and David Orr, of Franklin, the quartet being later known as "High Low, Jack and the Game." They gradually by persistency and still-gunning gathered the loose skeins of the opposition to Mr. Harrity, and they had frequent meetings in Washington and Philadelphia at which they laid their plans for upsetting the Harrity control. They made but little intention upon his organization, however, until "Sixteen to One" and Bryan arose upon the political horizon. The "Crown of Thorns and the Cross of Gold" convention of 1896 at Chicago, which put the Nebraska orator in the saddle and split the Democratic party, accorded Colonel Guffey and his co-partners the opening in the Harrity-Hindenburg line, which had long been awaited, although Colonel Guffey was not in love with Bryan or his new financial gospel. The gold Democratic movement having left the wreck of the party in the cold storage warehouse of Bryan, it had become thoroughly Byronized, and Colonel Guffey apparently got the infection.

Then came the State convention of 1897, held at Reading, with Mr. Harrity still the national committeeman and director general of the State organization. The "High, Low, Jack and the Game" combination, headed by Colonel Guffey, had cleared the decks for action with "all for Bryan" as the slogan, and what was termed the "Reading Hog Killing" was destined to mark another epochal change in leadership, the passing of William F. Harrity. It was a gleeful and buzzful convention which was disgraced by a physical fight, and a former State Senator of Philadelphia fell from the stage into a bass drum in the orchestra pen. The Guffey "new coon in town" quartet succeeded in controlling the convention and nominating the State ticket, finishing the job by displacing Leader Harrity

by Guffey as the national committeeman.

CONTROL GOES TO GUFFEY.

It is a curious fragment of history that the new-born control, as originally formed and which had intrigued and rope-pulled for some years, should have smashed itself the first year of its bulb flower, leaving Colonel Guffey in sole possession. James Gay Gordon was directly responsible for the break-up of this family arrangement, he appearing as Governor without a prior understanding with Colonel Guffey's new management. The latter sought to elect its delegates unpledged, while Senator Gordon, like a "Bold McIntyre" or a "Dashing Sheridan" elected delegates personally pledged to him by the people. It can be said that the "invisible government," the great corporation power of the State, threw its weight against him and was particularly desirous of electing Quay's pick, Congressman William A. Stone. The convention was sensational and breezy. After the delegates were on the ground the sewer reports that the venerable George A. Jenks was the organization's candidate were confirmed, and to the general surprise Colonel Guffey threw his three pals overboard. He forced the nomination of Jenks, the choice of whom fell like a wet blanket upon the party, which really had desired the nomination of Judge Gordon. At the general election Jenks was buried under a majority of 143,000, which was the first fruit of the Guffey control. During the Guffey regime he elected the Democratic members of the new Superior court and it may be said to his credit he gave to the Supreme court one of its ablest jurists in the person of the late Justice Mestrezat.

Colonel Guffey, associated with the late Senator James P. Hall, of Elk, maintained his strangle hold upon the party until 1912, in the meantime having been beaten by August Belmont through James Kerr, his old partner, or the control of the national delegation to the St. Louis convention of 1904, the latter backing Judge Parker, of New York.

The passing of Colonel Guffey was accomplished at the reorganization meeting of the State committee at Harrisburg in 1912 by the so-called reorganizers being generated by Vance McCormick and A. Mitchell Palmer. It is declared that if Senator Hall had kept a level head over night, that this coup, which was to register another change in the Democratic dynasty of the State, would not have occurred. But throughout this tragic and dramatic procession of changing leaderships and party control it will be marked that none came as the flash of lightning, and none more surprising than the going of the reorganizers backed as they were by a national administration with the nation supporting it in the greatest war of history, and the coming of Judge Bonniwell.

In 1914 Japan exported 9,000,000 lead pencils; in 1916 the number was increased to 168,000,000. What the showing will be for 1917 remains to be seen. Just at present however, considering certain threatened altera-

tions in the map of Russia, the world is particularly interested in Japan's capacity for turning out erasers.

Notes and Comments.

One does not always get material things just as one would like them. For instance, Great Britain could not well have Australian wheat because of the long haulage, so it took wheat from the United States and Canada. Then the United States ran short of the commodity for its own people, and perforce preached the value of substitutes. In the meantime shipping

on the Pacific was reconstituted, and Australia suddenly found that the United States, having shipped its storage grain, could now receive Australian grain for home consumption. But, while the new arrangement solved a big problem, Canada found that the vessels which were to convey rubber, wool, and other supplies to her were no longer coming her way. The importation of crude rubber into Canada of the long haulage, so it took wheat from the United States and Canada. Then the United States ran short of the commodity for its own people, and perforce preached the value of substitutes. In the meantime shipping

ized effort on the high seas, she knows that the Allies must be invincible.—Monitor.

Terrible Punishment.

"Where are my tennins things?" demanded the wife of the professional humorist. "Look in the nursery. You will generally find a racket and bawl there," replied the professional humorist, making a note on his cuff.—Town Topics.

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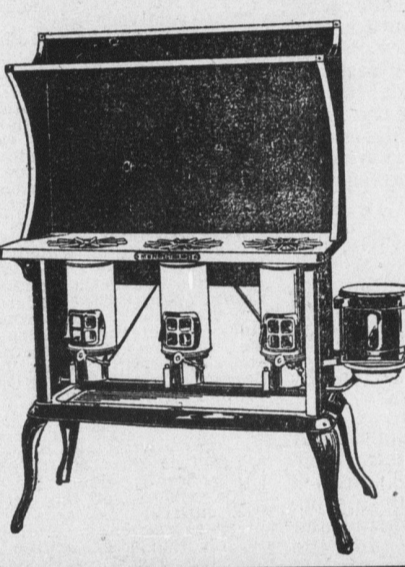
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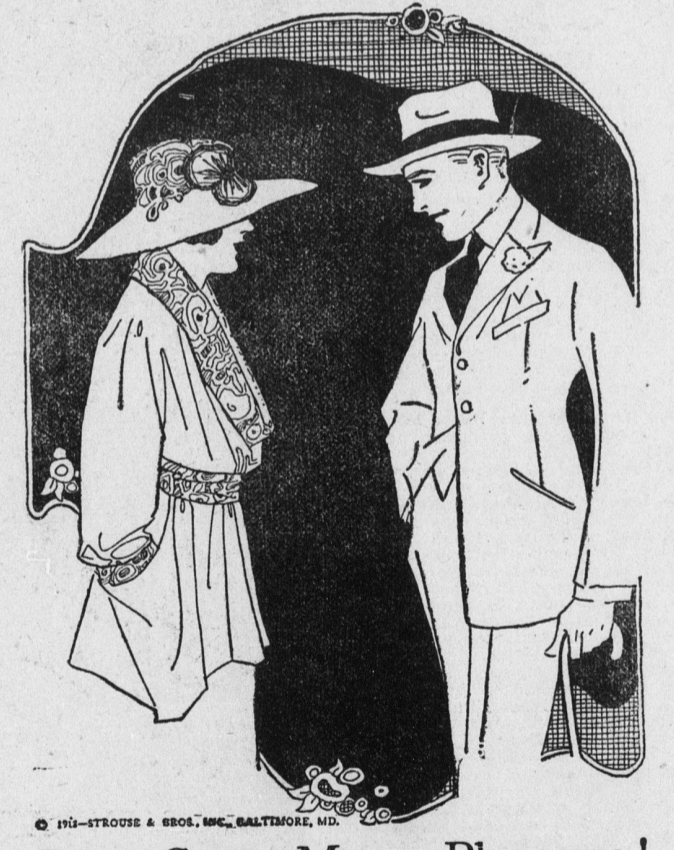
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