A PENN PORTRAIT

OF ALFRED E. SMITH. Written by the Hon. John W. Davis, Candidate for President in 1924.

As a Democrat, I am, and always have been, deeply interested in the success of the Democratic party, because I think its principles and policies are for the good of the entire country. Problems change from time to time, but the division between the liberal and the conservative points of

view is constant and lasting.

The creed of the liberal is based upon a profound conviction of the worth of every man, no matter how humble, and his right to equality before the law. He believes that men and women can be trusted to dispose of their own destiny. He wishes for every one the largest liberty consistent with the public order. Unhampered by special interests, he is not afraid to try new experiments when existing conditions are unsatisfac-

BELIEVE CHANGE HEALTHIER

A conservative, on the other hand, instinctively thinks of himself and his kind as wiser than the rest of mankind. He believes the mass of men are not to be trusted unless restrained by law. He shrinks from any change of the existing order that might disturb him or his friends.

In this contest of opinion I am a liberal, and I shall be a Democrat as long as the Democratic party continues to take the liberal side. I stand therefore, with the Democratic point of view on the tariff taxation, farm relief, water power, local self-government, foreign affairs and the other ficient training for the Presidency. issues of the day.

I am convinced, moreover, that a change in the administration of national affairs at this time would be a healthy and a wholesome thing from every point of view. If American political history teaches one thing more clearly than another, it is that

An occasional vacation is a good thing for political parties as well as for individuals, and equally profitable to those whom they serve. Judging by the sins of omission and commission in the last eight years, by what it has done as well as by what it has failed to do, the Republican party

needs a rest. I am writing not about issues but about the candidate. I have been a resident of New York for the last seven years, during six of which Alfred E. Smith has been Governor of the State. I have had occasion to observe him at close range as well as to learn something of his past record and history. I may claim, therefore, and history. I may claim, therefore, to speak with knowledge concerning him. How far my high estimate of him agrees with the opinions of other citizens of the State can be gathered state. Mr. William Allen White's State game farms have been successful in rearing ringfrom the continuous victories he has

whom he was until her death such a son as all mothers might desire—he has become one of the most distinguished in New York's long line of distinguished Governors. Deprived of the benefits of an early education, he has made himself nevertheless an expert in matters of government.

Nineteen times he has been a candidate for office and but one defeat has been scored against him. In every office he has held he has won the praise of political foes as well as political friends. Such things do not happen by accident. To achieve them a man must have character, ability, tireless industry, courage and the rare gift of leadership.

With all these Governor Smith combines one of the most direct and honest intellects it has been my fortune to encounter.

Woodrow Wilson once said that "the eight horses that draw the triumphal chariot of every ruler and leader of free men" are these:

Force of character. Readiness of resources. Clearness of vision. Courage of conviction.

Grasp of intellect. Earnestness of purpose. Instinct and Capacity for leader-Governor Smith has them all.

His four terms as Governor have been marked by an extraordinary series of achievements, winding up with a complete reorganization of the cumbersome and antiquated machinery of the State Government. None of his tasks has been easy, for he has been confronted at every step by a deter-mined and partisan opposition. Over and over again, in true Democratic fashion, he has appealed to the peo-of the State over the heads of a hostile Legislature, and the people have rallied to his support. He knew, and he made them know he knew, what he was talking about, for he has the faculty of putting things in a fashion

that a plain man can understand. Above all, the people recognized that he had the courage of his convictive that the had the courage of his convictive to the State for him again next Nothat he had the courage of his convic-tions and was willing to stand or fall fighting for them. In this day, when dodging and evasion, half truths and sounding phrases are the stock in trade of the Facing-Both-Ways in politics, such open speaking as his is truly refreshing. Here is a man who is not afraid to be quoted on farm relief, water power, Prohibition or any other question. He does not need an

official spokesman. Take Prohibition: he recognizes, as

wrong road, common sense dictates that we must retrace our steps and

Governor Smith believes that the wrong road has been taken. He has the courage to say so; and, because it is his habit not to criticise without suggesting a remedy, he proposes what he thinks is a better plan. But, in my judgment, those who expect him as President to be lax or lukewarm in enforcing the existing law

will be most grievously disappointed. What about his training for the Presidency? If there is a better training for the duties of that office than eight years as Governor of the largest State in the American Union, I do not know what it is—especially when his experience has been backed up by twelve years of legislative life. No man ever has and no man ever will enter the Presidency with knowledge of all the questions that lie ahead. The important thing for him to do is to know how to meet and handle those questions when they

In this respect an experience as the head of a Government department, or as an organizer of industry or of wide-spread charity, is not to years before for Eugene V. Debs. or of wide-spread charity, is not to be compared, in my judgment, with one of service as the head of a great State. It is one thing to give orders to men, but very different to know how to persuade those who follow only of their own free will.

islature, one term in Congress and an unsuccessful race for the Senate; Clevland, Mayor of Buffalo, Governor York and President-elect with-in three short years; Wilson, one term as Governor of the State of New Jersey. If you will turn to the record, you will find that each of these was charged during the campaign preceding his election with an insuf-

Gov. Smith is a Roman Catholic. I count it to his credit that he is a sincere Catholic and not a mere pretender. His fidelity to his church springs from the same deep sources as his fidelity to his country. No one knows better than he the demand that either has a right to make upon him. Nevlong-continued domination by any party always leads to abuses within the party itself. To stamp them out, we must have a change.

er in our time, or indeed, before, has the American doctrine of the seperation of the church and State been more nobly proclaimed than in his er in our time, or indeed, before, has justly famous letter to Marshall, published in the Atlantic Monthly.

IS NO TOOL OF TAMMANY HALL

than to repeat the nine articles of his letter and to follow them with these questions: (1) When we talk of remean liberty for all religions or only for our own? (2) Is there so little room in Heaven as well as on earth that we must trample on others to make sure of a front seat?

The effort to picture Gov. Smith as attack on him as a legislator is no longer bait to catch gudgeons, thanks Achieved.

RARE ROMANCE OF AMERICAN LIFE

His career is one of the rare romances of American life. Born in humble surroundings, driven at the early age of thirteen years to support himself and his widowed mother—to himself and his own retraction and the Governor's reply. But it is worth while, as the best description of his legislative service, to quote what the New York Tribune, then and now the strongest Republican paper in New York or the East, had to say in Septimal to the control of the properties of the control of the cont tember, 1915, when he was leaving the Legislature to become Sheriff of New York County. It wrote:

"The City of New York could afford to pay Alfred E. Smith all the prospective emoluments of the Sheriff's office as a consideration for his continuing to represent a local As-sembly district at Albany. In the past ten years there has been no Republican, Progressive or Democrat in the State Legislature who has rendered as effective, useful, downright valuable service to this town as ex-

"The peculiar value of Mr. Smith's services at Albany has lain in the fact that he was always loyal to his fact that he was always loyal to his own city, his own county and his own district. He has fought for some pens and feeding houses erected, by he has fought with equal vigor against things that were injurious to this town. * * * * * * "A true leader, a genuine compeller of men, a man of wit and force and an instinctive grasp of legislative practice, he has made a real reputation for himself at the capital and has deserved well of the large constituency which is his town."

Finally, I understand the charge

has been made in some quarters that the Democratic organization in the against Theodore Roosevelt Jr., If the same success is experienced while I lost it to Coolidge. There are many things which explain this fact, pect to have at least 40,000 eggs without imputing it to any action or inaction on the part of Gov. Smith or the State or city organizations. The outstanding reason is the great personal following which Gov. Smith rightly enjoys in the City and State of New York. It is based on confidence in him and admiration of his dence in him and admiration of his career as a servant of the people. It has carried the State for him four

vember. In 1924 Gov. Smith was most re-luctant to accept a renomination. He felt, as many other men have done, that the time had come whie he owed it to his family to retire from pub-lic life and make some provision for the future. I personally urged him to permit himself to be renominated for the good of the party in the State and Nation. When he argued that those not familiar with the situall candid persons must, that the real ation in the State might misunderquestion for the country to consider is whether we are on the right or the mine, I told him that there could be wrong road to do away with the evils of intemperance. If we are on the right road, we must follow it no matter that what the Democratic Party ter how rough the going. If on the

every candidate, was to carry the of-

fice for which he was nominated. Throughout the campaign I enjoyed his cordial support and assistance and I am equally sure that I had the support of the organization in the Island of Manhattan, to which the term "Tammany Hall" is usually applied, and the support of the organization in the other boroughs of New York City and throughout the State.

The best proof of this may be found in the fact that while the total registration of both parties in the five counties composing the City of Greater New York increased from 1920 to 1924 by only 126,000 votes (speaking in round numbers), I received in the City of New York 144,000 more votes than had been cast for the national ticket in 1920, while President Coolidge received 160,000 less than had been cast for President Harding. In the State of New York I received 169,500 votes more than were cast for the national ticket in 1920 and President Coolidge received 51,000 less. Senator La Follette, on the other hand running on the Progressive and

No doubt many enrolled Democrats failed that year to vote the national ticket, but this was true not only in the State of New York but throughout the Union. It is not necessary to thrash over old straw by pointing out of 1804. Compare his political experience, if you will, with that of Lincoln, or Cleveland, or Woodrow Wilson: Lincoln, eight years in the Illinois Legcountry or to Democratic candidates. No organization, not even one as effective as the organizations in the State and City of New York, can accomplish miracles or sweep back the

> This year I hope, and I believe, that the tide is with and not against us, and that November will bring us safely into port.

STATE GAME COMMISSION RAISING RING-NECKS.

Experiments in rearing ring-necked pheasants, made this spring for the first time in Pennsylvania, have been very successful considering the many difficulties with which the Board of Game Commissioners were faced at

Large game within the Commonwealth, such as the white-tailed deer and black bear, are holding their own; cottontail rabbits may be purchased almost anywhere at reasonable If I were called on to write an cost. But ring-necked pheasants and argument for the American position, wild turkeys may be purchased only would not know how to do better in limited numbers and at excessive prices. Therefore, because of their creed as summarized by him in that inability to secure a sufficient number of birds for stocking purposes each year without the expenditure of ligious liberty in this country, do we mean liberty for all religions or only for our own? (2) Is there so little room in Heaven as well as on earth supply, the Board of Game Commissions. sioners decided to experiment, on a moderate scale, with a ring-necked pheasant rearing program.

> have been successful in rearing ringnecks. An additional 5,000 eggs were purchased elsewhere.
>
> Not having available lands at the

time upon which to establish permanent plants, the Board distributed the 10,000 eggs among those of our game refuges which contained open territory sufficiently extensive for the task at hand. Game refuge keepers were detailed to handle the work along with other activities, and this of course entailed considerable instruction, and extra duties. Despite all handicaps the work went steadily Refuges were equipped with hatching coops, exercising and breeding pens. Setting hens, which were very hard to secure for some reason or another, were finally purchased and distributed.

Of the original 10,000 eggs, 1000 were distributed among interested sportsmen and farmers who were willing to devote their time and effort

to further the program.
Two excellent locations were chosscores of things that were good, and this time most of the birds were ready for release. Of the 9,000 eggs alloted to the refuge keepers over 6,000 pheasants were successfully reared. This was conceded to be very good taking everything into consideration. Most of the fatality occurred through the trampling to death of the young chicks by the hens, and

of course many eggs were infertile. Of the 6,000 birds successfully reared, 4,000 were released in suithas been made in some quarters that the Democratic organization in the City and State of New York was not loyal to the national ticket in 1924. I do not wish this to be believed by any friends of mine. It is not true.

Those who make it point to the fact that Gov. Smith carried the State against Theodore Roosevelt Jr., while I leat it to Coelidge. There are next season the Commission will average the period of the property season the Commission will average the period of th available for distribution.

Children Take Pride

in School Grounds The Young Citizens' league, which under the leadership and direction of E. C. Giffen, of the Oklahoma state

educational department, has grown into an organization of about 75,000 of the school children of the state, devoted to the preservation and beautifying of school grounds, along with their individual drilling in the fundamentals of citizenship, is preparing for two major events of the spring. One of these is the laying out of local programs for improving school grounds and premises. The other major program is the annual convention at Pierre. The expense of attendance is a matter of the pupils own financing through school enter-tainments. The movement is attracting attention of educators of other States, and inquiries are constantly being made as to details of the organization.

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BY JEFFERSON.

Democratic party. He obliterated the powerful Federalist party of Washington and Hamilton. He held the ware and all the New England States presidency for eight years and then but Vermont. tional affairs from 1800 until his

Alexander Hamilton did not live to ppose or support him in the election of 1804. Hamilton was killed in a duel by that unscrupulous master strategist, Vice President Aaron Burr, whose unfair election to the presidency he had blocked in 1800 and whose candidacy for governor of New York he defeated early in 1804.

Hemilton's astonishingly bitter enmity toward Burr has been laid to their rivalry for the affections of a woman. Hamilton professed hatred of Burr's character and his shady political methods, but no ordinary explanation can account for the enmity which led him to prefer and accomplish Jefferson's election over Burr when the tied contest was thrown into the house. Hamilton had previously urged high-handed methods to rob Jefferson of the election on the ground that "no scruples of delicacy and propriety" should count against the task of preventing "an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics from getting possession of the helm of state.

Jefferson's overwhelming victory over the Federalists in 1804 proved the collapse of the Federalist party. The 1804 election was held under the new law by which electors voted separately for president and vice president, preventing another Jefferson-Burr mixup.

The Republican congressional caucus, forerunner of the nominating convention, unanimously renominated Jefferson in February and picked a northerner, George Clinton, of New York, for vice president.
Disgruntled Federalists agreed to

support Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York, but realized the futility of a strong national fight and made none. Pennsylvania went for Jefferson 20 to 1, New Jersey 13,119 to 19 and Ohio 6 to 1. There were close contests in New England, but Pinckney carried only Delaware and Connecticut, with 14 electoral votes to Jeffer-

After that Federalist leaders began to merge with the Republicans, but feuds broke out in the Republican ranks. There were serious State fights in New York, Pennsylvania and

Virginia. After his second election, Jefferson promptly announced that he wouldn't run again. His wishes regarding Madison were understood. This hurt Monroe and incensed Clinton, who wanted to step from the vice presidency to the presidency as Adams and Jefferson had.

Virginia's Legislature had a caucus of its own, nominating Madison. 60 years, 359,000 head—Pen Department of Agriculture.

ARISTOCRATIC POWER BROKEN Loud protests arose at the practice of nominating by congressional cau-The greatest political leader in American history was Thomas Jeffer-Clinton and Monroe, with Clinton for son, author of the Declaration of In- vice president. Criticism followed, but harmony was gradually achieved dependence. but harmony was gradually achieved Jefferson founded what is now the and Madison and Clinton defeated the

obtained equal terms for his two line 1811 a group of young lieutenants, James Madison and congressmen including Henry Clay, James Monroe, whom he once called John C. Calhoun and William Craw-"the two pillars of my happiness." He ford took control of the house. They dominated national politics and na- pushed Madison and Monroe, the secretary of state, into the War of 1812. Madison was renominated, with Elbridge Gerry of Vermont for vice president, a month before war

was declared. Then DeWitt Clinton, party boss in New York and nephew of the late President George Clinton, announced his candidacy. He was sure of New York and of a coalition with the Federalists and hoped to make deals with Republican leaders in other states to beat Madison. It was shady politics. Martin Van Buren, later president, was Clinton's campaign manager. Some Federalist leaders refused to enter the deal but the majority did.

electoral vote was Madison 128, Clinton 89. Madison won with a solid south, plus Ohio, Pennsylvania and Vermont. Clinton had the rest of New England, New York, New Jersey and Delaware. Soon the disgusted Federalists were meeting at the famous Hartford convention where they proposed the north's separation from the Union. It proved to

be the party's swan song.
Opposition to the "Virginia dynasty" was hotter than ever when Jefferson and Madison backed Monroe for nomination in 1816. It was all internal, for popular revolt against the power of the New England clergy was breaking up the last Federalist stronghold. Monroe barely beat Crawford of Georgia at the congressional caucus, an institution of increasing unpopularity. There was no election contest. Of 19 states, only Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware chose Federalist electors by leg islative action. These voted futilely for Rufus King of New York.

Completely without opposition and with few persons even bothering to vote, Monroe was re-elected 231 to 1 in the electoral college in 1820, and the two hundred and thirty-second elector was quoted as explaining his vote for John Quincy Adams by his desire that no man should share with Washington the distinction of a unanimous election.—By Rodney Dutscher—Special service writer for NEA.

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