

**GUT THREE TURNS
DOWN PENNYPACKER**

The Quay Candidate's Pittsburg Speech Reviewed.

FACTS ABOUT THE "RIPPER"
How an Honest Reform Measure Was Scuttled and the People Betrayed.

RING RULE NOW RESTORED

Judge Pennypacker's muddled reference to the Pittsburg charter legislation of 1901, in his recent speech in that city, has been the subject of much criticism. The Quay candidate for governor was speaking under the auspices of the old ring and tried to make capital for himself by expressing sympathy with them in the war made upon them. At the same time he condemned the efforts at reform legislation which were the inspiration of the original movement for a new city charter. A systematic plan has been pursued to mislead the people of the state with regard to this matter. In his speech at Connessville Hon. George W. Guthrie, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, turned on the light as follows:

At the last session of the legislature there was a bill passed which has become known throughout the whole nation as the Ripper bill. I want to tell you about that bill and what has been done under it. The first suggestion of any such bill came from Harrisburg in 1857. It was drafted before the people of Pittsburg as a bait and a promise of relief from one of the most corrupt, arbitrary and brutal rings that a municipality ever suffered from. In 1901 it was made the condition of the passage of a law for the proper government of the city of Pittsburg. From 1858, when the people of Pittsburg had been made ready, by promises of the machine, to believe that good laws would be passed for them, they had been in session in session, suppliant at the feet of this boss for laws that were necessary for the government of their city, and session after session they were sent back disappointed; but in 1901 they were informed that they could have a law which would give them a charter satisfactory to them, but the sole condition upon which it was to be passed was that it should be accompanied with a ripper. The good citizens of Pittsburg had been suffering under the rule of this ring, and knew there was no help for them until they could get a charter for their city. Many of them submitted to the terms, and a bill was taken up for the government of the city, which was promised to them literally as it was drafted.

All the Good Cut Out.
When that bill went to Harrisburg the men in control of the state machine in one night struck out of it every provision intended for good government, which they had intelligence enough to recognize. In that emasculated form the bill was passed with the ripper attached to it, and the people of Pittsburg, who had submitted to the threat of this ripper as the price which must be paid for good government, were given the ripper, and the only good features in that law left after they got through with it were the provisions which the emasculators did not have intelligence enough to recognize. The machine was to control and govern the city until the first election day under the law. The governor put a man there as recorder of the city, and the first step which he made to give the citizens of Pittsburg good, honest government was answered by an order from Harrisburg removing him. The ring was, by the order of the governor, reinstated in the city of Pittsburg with greater power than it had held under the law which the people had struggled against so long, and which was so bitter to them; and so, instead of getting a good charter as promised, and an honest administration, they had the ring put back again in control with greater power than it ever held.

Governor Stone's Postscript.
The governor, when he did that, issued a proclamation attempting to explain his act, and he added a postscript in which he said: "I was not bribed to do this! Think of it! The governor of this commonwealth was obliged by the very act which he was doing and the circumstances which surrounded it to proclaim to the people that he was not a felon, and he is known today in the city of Pittsburg as the 'S. Governor.' In the whole political history of this country I do not believe such another ignominious act has ever been perpetrated."

Now the distinguished jurist to whom I referred says that the result of the ripper bill was unfortunate, that such a bill should never have been passed. In the latter part of his remarks I heartily agree with him, but I go further. I do not say that it was unfortunate; I say that it was criminal to seize the liberties of the people and trade them off, whether for money or for political support, was treason against the institutions of our country. I am glad to say that this crime aroused the hearts of the people of Pittsburg as nothing else ever has. The betrayal of their rights, the failure to redeem the promises made to them as a consideration of their submission to the ripper, the corrupt bargain made by which their liberties were traded off, aroused them to bitter indignation and a determination to visit punishment upon all concerned in it.

Pennypacker's Dangerous Doctrine.
The Philadelphia Record thus editorially refers to this matter:

"From this speech in half-condemnation of the 'ripper' and in whole condemnation of the constitutional provision in restraint of special legislation as a 'monarchical device' the people of Pennsylvania are justified in making the inference that the candidate of the machine if elected governor would not interfere with the legislative wisdom. But this is a dangerous doctrine to proclaim in these times, much as it is calculated to flatter the popular mind. In recognition of the fact that the majority of one day may become a minority on the next under a government like ours, the people have imposed constitutional restraints upon the exercise of their own will. They have thus protected themselves, their municipal rights and their institutions against the caprice or corruption of changing majorities in the legislature. But such is the admiration of the machine candidate for the wisdom and virtue of the legislature that he treats as 'monarchical devices' the provisions of the constitution of Pennsylvania for confining its powers within reasonable and just limits. The citizens of this

to law, equity and common sense, when asserted by officials who menace the very existence of republican government by refusing to obey the plainest and most imperative of constitutional commands and give to the people their most sacred and valuable political rights. So far as I am able I shall thwart the wrong by my disapproval."

Against Every Kind of Robbery.

With regard to special bills also, as observed, Governor Pattison set his face firmly against all manner of unjust grants of the public money, private pensions, contested election cases, fraudulent claims, reckless committee extravagance, public printing wastefulness, etc. At the session of 1893 he broke up a petty scheme of public plunder, a proposition to place a useless copy of an expensive legislative handbook in all the public schools of the commonwealth. He halted the notorious bird book extravagance likewise. Many appropriations to public institutions, made without sufficient warrant of law, necessity or usefulness, were promptly turned down at every session. Worthy charities, having legitimate claim upon the bounty of the commonwealth, were not made to suffer, but judicious watchfulness was exercised over the distribution of the public funds in every direction. This care extended to ordinary departmental expenditures, and everyone concerned came to understand that public treasury guardianship was a sacred trust. No one ever thought of intimating anything to the contrary.

Pennypacker a Self-Condemed Critic.

This has been reserved alone for the present alleged Republican candidate for governor, who, in his speech at Erie, by indirection and implication, tried to create the impression that Governor Pattison had been remiss with regard to this important matter. This suggestion, on the part of Judge Pennypacker, is all the more unjustifiable from the fact that during Governor Pattison's first term his present would-be critic was largely engaged, as a member of the bar, in a line of legal reporting and book making which made it absolutely necessary for him to keep fully informed as to what was being done by the law making body and the executive branch of the state government as well. He knew he was betraying the record at Erie, seeking to unjustly injure his opponent and make capital for himself without any foundation whatever for the statements and insinuations put forth. Governor Pattison earned the relentless hostility of a class of men who have disgraced the legislature at every session for a generation past, everyone of whom will unite in applauding Judge Pennypacker's course, but it must be unqualifiedly condemned by every fair-minded and honest man in Pennsylvania.

Quay's Candidate and His Company.

It is significant of what is expected of him that his candidacy for the executive office is the sole work of the machine and its allies, in town and country, and that the very worst elements in the political life of the state are united in his support. His political associations for many years have been with the personal followers, adherents and confidants of Senator Quay. He has enjoyed their company, rejoiced in their successes, endorsed their methods, sympathized with their efforts and given the weight of his personal influence, while holding an honored place upon the bench, in their behalf.

At the notorious banquet in Philadelphia where six hundred of his roistering friends celebrated Senator Penrose's election, Judge Pennypacker sat near the head of the table, beside a favored ring contractor, who was at that time one of the financial backers of the machine. He was in congenial company. He had no word of condemnation for the scenes which had taken place at Harrisburg, at the time of the senatorial election, or for those which were then passing under his eye, so sadly and impressively illustrating the demoralizing influences of degraded politics in Pennsylvania, and to which a host of once promising and ambitious young men have been indebted for their irretrievable downfall. Even at Erie, when the chief speaker before an association of young men, Judge Pennypacker had no word of disapproval for the evils of our political system, no word of denunciation for the manifold sins of omission and commission of the machine; no word of inspiration for the friends of clean politics and good government; no word of encouragement for those who are self-sacrificingly striving to rescue the commonwealth from the polluted hands of its worst enemies.

Every movement of the Quay party is crooked. Even the big ball rolling project is a scheme to use Roosevelt's face as a mask for the baffled Pennsylvania boss. But intelligent voters see through it all.

Workingmen everywhere are realizing that their best weapon with which to maintain all their rights is an honest ballot. They are arraying themselves against the political crooks this year as never before. The rail-roads' endorsement of Pattison is a sign of the times that means great things for the cause of clean politics and good government.

Honest Republicans are beginning to see clearly that they cannot endorse Pennypackerism without continuing Quayism in power. The machine candidate has shown himself to be a weakling from whom nothing good may be expected.

commonwealth may well consider the danger of putting into the office of governor a candidate who entertains so little respect for the provisions of their constitution in restraint of special legislation as to put it as an "ill-considered effort" on the same low level with the "ripper" of the machine and its adherents in the last general assembly."

Better Stick to His Apple Butter.

The Pittsburg Post shows the absurdity of Judge Pennypacker's position, as follows:

"Judge Pennypacker is far from clear or candid, or even honest, in discussing municipal questions as embodied in the ripper bill, and especially their further application by the state administration in upsetting the good results expected and promised by the ripper law by restoring the Flinn-Brown machine to power. The Republican candidate criticizes the original ripper as objectionable, but is silent about the unwholesome methods of Stone and the gang in perverting it to the most infamous jobbery in politics and legislation the city of Pittsburg has ever seen. It was this daring usurpation of power that made the word ripper detestable. Against it Judge Pennypacker has not a word to say. He levels his feeble protests against what was good, or at least excusable, in the ripper, and reform abuses and wrongs that were otherwise not curative."

"The judge is finding the inconvenience of standing up for two radically inconsistent and opposing lines of municipal government. His acceptance of the citizens' movement, though of a veiled character, seemed to have put him in line with Republican reformers and opponents of the machine gang. But on Friday night he recanted, and, as the machine organs claim, put himself in full sympathy with their side by denouncing the original ripper and keeping quiet on the abuses and wrongs that Stone, Flinn and Brown have piled on it."

"Under Quay's orders as governor he will do precisely as Stone did. It will therefore be evident to the voters of Pennsylvania that he is not the man to be entrusted with the responsibility of governing his great state. He breathes he declares 'Pennsylvania has no political ills worth mentioning.' In another breath he tears to atoms in the interest of the gang the most important business of the last session—the Pittsburg ripper law. Through it all he is steadfast in the belief that Quay is a greater man than Webster or Clay. Alas for Pennypacker! he had best return to geography and history, or the butter crop in Montgomery county."

A SHOT AT THE RING

A Clear-Headed Business Man's View of the Situation.

Two Philadelphia business men, on the way to their day's work, were talking together, and naturally the conversation drifted to the political situation. The first man, an independent and somewhat active as a reformer, expressed freely his anti-Pennypacker views and his intention to vote for Pattison. The other man was a Republican, and, like his friend, a type of the business man who has made his own affairs successfully, does his own thinking, and, without appearing before the public, stands for what is best in our present-day commercial and political life. His words, given by the Record, are worth quoting:

"I have not always seen my way clear to go into these 'reform' movements," he said to his companion, "for not all reformers are as disinterested as you are. It does seem to me that the time has come for decent men to line up against the gang. Those fellows are not true Republicans; they are simply rascals using the party name to cloak their selfishness. I have come to feel that nothing is owing to them in the way of party loyalty, except punishment. Of late we have done a great deal of talking about purifying politics; now we have a chance to do something practical, and I have arrived at the conclusion that the only course open to a self-respecting man, in the premises, is to vote for Pattison. We all know that he is straight, and practical as well. I believe that if he is put into office again we shall have real reform. Anyway, a vote for him is a shot at the machine, and I think I owe that duty to Pennsylvania."

"With a business man's hard-headed sense, this man had grasped the vital question involved in the present campaign. He was too bright to be deceived by the old trick of the booties in putting forth a decent man to catch the votes of the unwary. In his mind the case resolved itself into its true elements—namely, Quayism versus clean government."

THE CITADEL OF RING POWER.

The Quay candidate for governor has been trying to mislead the public mind with regard to the management of the state finances under the direction of his political creator, who has held the key of the public chest ever since he took control of the machine. The charge, which cannot be denied, the proof of which can never be blotted out, is not defalcation and robbery, but the misuse of the public moneys while in the keeping of this organization, for its own selfish and base purposes. The disingenuous statement that the state treasury holds \$12,000,000, carries with it, though unintentionally, the severest self-condemnation. It is the constant habit of the ring to husband the state's resources for their own purposes, often holding back payments when they should be made.

The state treasury, for more than thirty years, has been the citadel of machine power, and every other year it renews its iron grip, no matter what other interests may suffer. Mr. Quay would rather lose any other office than this. He is today exacting tribute from his fiscal agents and in indirect ways, also, securing financial help to maintain the power he has so shamefully abused. But the hand-writing is on the wall. The people are aroused, and they mean to finally break the hold of Quayism upon the government of this great state. Let every patriot help on the good work.

We are assured of a reasonably honest vote in Philadelphia this time, and that means half the battle. With the rural vote in force a great victory may be won.

JUDGE PENNYPACKER'S FATAL FOLLY.

Many times within recent years the political machine which is responsible for misgovernment in Pennsylvania has confessed the truth of the indictment against it and promised reformation. To this hour its pledges have been systematically violated, and the head of this organization, a little while ago, publicly stated that if it did not keep faith with the people in connection with ballot reform, it would sink into merited infamy. It has been reserved for the present candidate of this organization for the highest office in the gift of the people, to openly and falsely characterize a temperate statement of plain facts concerning misgovernment and self-confessed political degradation—these things being known of all men and deeply deplored by all good citizens—as an indefensible "wall, diatribe, denunciation of the state and its people." This amazing confession of weakness in answering Governor Pattison's speech of acceptance should prove fatal to Judge Pennypacker's misplaced ambition.

Has it come to this, that free speech is a crime? That the truth must no longer be told? That public protest must be stifled? That public wrongdoing must be passed by without notice? That faithless public servants and corrupt political leaders must not even be criticized, much less chastized, with the freeman's weapon, an honest ballot? The declaration of the Erie convention, which is a truthful summing up, in part, of glaring evils of the time in Pennsylvania, is slipshodly referred to and its grave charges dismissed, as "a platform of mendacities." Is this the way in which the burning issues before the long-suffering citizens of this commonwealth are to be met?

The last session of the Pennsylvania legislature was without a parallel in defiant wrong-doing, the evidence of which was so conspicuous that there could be no denial that did not reflect upon the intelligence and sincerity of any apologist therefor. The second officer in the government of the state, thoroughly ashamed of the degradation he had witnessed from the presiding chair in the senate, publicly and indignantly declared that never in all his legislative career of many years was bribery and corruption so open and shameless. The most direct charges of venality were made in the public prints against men openly named, without even reply, much less denial. Defense or escape from public scorn and condemnation was impossible.

The widespread indignation of the people has been expressed in many ways, through leading newspapers, speaking shamefully for the party in power; through public assemblies; through a convention of self-respecting, intelligent and fair-minded citizens, representing more than 100,000 conscientious members of the Republican party, and in a union of forces, upon a non-partisan basis, with the avowed and determined object of redeeming the state government from flagrant and demoralizing misrule. There has been an uprising of honest, courageous and patriotic men which cannot and will not be silenced and put down, at the bidding of any man. It will not accept apologies or disclaimers or pleas for forgetfulness. It will not give ear to the unwise and unpatriotic cry of party regularity, the purpose of which is to cover up heinous offenses; to blot out the memory thereof, and to prevent any guarantee for the future, any assurance of better things.

Judge Pennypacker answers, with strange unwisdom and lack of true civic ideas, a flood tide of public criticism of his apologetic defense of machine iniquities, by again repeating and emphasizing anew the self-condemnatory statement that there are no evils to be corrected; that he sees no sins of omission nor commission, having words of praise and ill-founded and unjustifiable charity for evil-doers, and bitter-minded criticism of those who denounce public evils and demand their correction. He has no sympathy with those who are striving for better things. He servilely imitates his leader in seeking to divert public attention from the misdoings of the most odious legislature in Pennsylvania's history.

He even goes further, and plays upon the chords of public ignorance, prejudice and passion. He gives grave offense to every instinct of patriotism, to every sense of justice, by comparing men who represent and who courageously avow and stand for the best impulses, the best thought and the best purposes of a virtuous and patriotic people, to the misguided and desperate enemies of government and the public peace. This is a blunder of partisan zeal that is worse than a deliberate crime.

In his blind devotion to those whom he seeks to serve, this misguided apologetic defender of Quayism does not see that the worst anarchists this country has produced; the most dangerous enemies of the state and of society, are the men who have so deeply corrupted the political arena, so terribly polluted the very sources of government. In his public utterances thus far, Judge Pennypacker has conclusively shown his unworthiness of public trust and confidence; his blind unwisdom and pitiable weakness; that his election to the governorship of this great state as the ready servant of a corrupt machine would be a public calamity.

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