

Republican News Item.
CHAS. LOREN WING, Editor.

THURSDAY SEPT. 20, 1898.

"FIRST OF ALL--THE NEWS."

The News Item Fights Fair.

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REPUBLICAN NEWS ITEM,
Laporte Pa.,

REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS FOR 1898.

State.

Governor—WILLIAM A. STONE, of Allegheny.

Lieutenant Governor—J. P. S. GOBIN, of Lebanon.

Secretary of Internal Affairs—JAMES W. LATTA, of Philadelphia.

Judges of the Supreme Court—WM. W. PORTER, of Philadelphia; WILLIAM D. PORTER, of Allegheny.

Congressmen at Large—GALUSHA A. GROW, of Susquehanna; SAMUEL A. DAVENPORT, of Erie.

Congressional.

Congressman, 17th District—WM. H. WOODIN, of Berwick.

County.

Representative—DR. J. L. CHRISTIAN of Lopez.

Prothonotary—WILLIAM J. LAWRENCE, of Laporte.

Sheriff—H. W. OSLER, of Lincoln Falls.

Coroner—DR. C. E. WACKENHUTH, of Laporte.

Philadelphia, Sept. 20.—A communication addressed to Hon. M. S. Quay by Frank Willing Leach has just been made public. It will be remembered that Mr. Leach was formerly identified with Senator Quay in politics, but for the last two years has strongly opposed him. In 1896 he was prominently identified with the movement in favor of Hon. John Wanamaker's election to the United States senate. Mr. Leach's letter, which is now the chief topic of discussion among politicians and others in Philadelphia, is as follows:

Philadelphia, Sept. 16, 1896.

Hon. M. S. Quay, Atlantic City, N. J.

My Dear Sir: In 1892, just after you had been subjected to a series of personal attacks, unparalleled in their maliciousness, from certain Democratic newspapers of New York, as a punishment for defeating Mr. Cleveland in 1888, you were a candidate for re-election to the United States senate, and were almost unanimously returned. The details of your campaign that year were under my direction. In 1895, in your candidacy for state chairman, you were again subjected to an avalanche of abuse and vituperation, in the endeavor to eliminate you as a factor in Pennsylvania politics. In that memorable battle you were overwhelmingly successful and your enemies were demoralized and driven to the woods. It afforded me no little pleasure in that year to resign the office I then held and again assume charge of the work of organization in your behalf. Another battle is now on, your return to the senate being at stake, and again the weapons of offense seem to be slander, falsehood and vilification. If such is to be the nature of the warfare against you I cannot be found among your venom-girded enemies, but among your friends, and if there is any proper and legitimate service I can render you have but to command me.

From April, 1896, to March, 1898, I vigorously opposed the domination of those of your lieutenants whom you had unwisely permitted to direct the party organization in Pennsylvania. I fought as hard as I knew how, and have no apologies to offer. But two things should be noted. In the first place my work was entirely within party lines. In the second place I participated in no personal assaults upon you. Having been a part of the Quay organization for ten years, it would have been the personification of indelicacy, not to say folly, for me to have joined in a tirade against "Quayism," so-called. My reason for leaving you in 1896 was clearly understood at the time. While the ordinary professional reformer assailed you for "bossing" too much I denounced you for "bossing" too little. For some time you had allowed a certain more or less distinguished state senator—fortunately now more or less extinguished—to usurp the functions of leadership and assume control of the details of organization in the state. This you had permitted, even though you were held responsible for his many shortcomings, with resultant injury to your political fortunes and to the party organization. I declined to follow any such vicious leadership, and arranged for your permitting this man to attain such a commanding position in the councils of the party, to your own and the party's hurt. Several months ago, with my finger somewhat upon the political pulse of the state, I discovered that this man's influence was waning, and this conviction was confirmed when he failed to appear at the last state convention. Subsequently I learned that he had obtained control of a gold mine in New Mexico, and that he had removed the seat of his operations to that interesting territory, the climate of which, I trust, he will find conducive to good health. It is because of my firm conviction that you have reassumed your full functions as the leader of the party in the state, in fact as well as in name, that I am willing to give my best energies in behalf of your return to the senate, with only one condition precedent—that you will do a good deal more "bossing" in the future than in the past, and not leave the details of organization to inefficient, blundering, selfish lieutenants, pretending to be your devoted adherents, but with a devotion subordinated to their own personal schemes for public plun-

der. With this condition of things attained, your own position, politically, will be unassailable, and the Republican party will be united and harmonious.

Your action, or rather non-action, in permitting the reins of leadership to be usurped by irresponsible lieutenants, has subjected you to a torrent of abuse because of the doings and failures of the last legislature. As a matter of fact, you probably knew little of what that body was doing at the time. Your own duties, as a member of the federal legislature, prevented your close attention to the details of legislation as they developed at Harrisburg. Yet you are charged with all the shortcomings of that historic body. I have no doubt you did not read, before introduction, the titles of ten bills out of many thousands presented by members of the two houses, and doubtless you could not give the titles of six of them now. During all the years I was associated with you I never knew you to be interested in a dozen bills before the legislature, you always evincing a disinclination to interpose in what, you claimed, did not concern you, except as a private citizen. I never failed to combat this theory, maintaining that while the people might have no right to demand such service from you they would, however unjustly, hold you responsible for the misdoings and failures of those claiming to represent you. No matter how irksome the task, I trust you will give your personal scrutiny, so far as your duties as a United States senator will permit, to the doings of future legislatures, to the end that their acts and non-acts may not be a reproach to the Republican party and to the commonwealth.

It cannot be denied that the performance of the last legislature were not acceptable to the people of the state. But I speak advisedly when I say that it was not one whit worse than any one of the dozen legislatures which have convened since the new constitution went into effect. There was this difference—the doings of the legislators last year were, as never before, made known to the people. During the session of '97 I had personal supervision of the work of supplying weekly newspapers, exhibiting the shortcomings of the members and giving wide publicity to what they did and what they failed to do. This had never previously been done, except by the metropolitan journals, and because of it, the people were informed as they had never been before regarding the movements of their representatives at Harrisburg. The latter were no worse than their predecessors for the last generation had been, but the public knew more about them. This line of work should be kept up during the next legislature. If it is, the Republican party and the taxpayers generally will be the gainers.

While, however, the last legislature was no worse than its predecessors, it was bad enough. But it is a mistake to assume that all the legislators were corrupt, or that the wrongdoing was confined to the Republican party or to a faction thereof. There were many conspicuous members in both branches who valiantly battled for the people, but it is historically incorrect to assume that all of them were from the so-called "76," who supported Mr. Wanamaker for the United States senate. The two leaders in the crusade for clean legislation were Hon. Samuel Crothers, of Philadelphia, and Hon. E. A. Coary, of Luzerne, neither of whom was a member of the "76," nor did either of them vote for Mr. Wanamaker for senator. On the other hand, not a few of the much lauded "76" proved derelict before the session closed. Of course, many of the "76" did heroic work for the people, which should never be forgotten; but so did other members of both houses, who had not been Mr. Wanamaker's supporters for the senatorship. In other words, both the wrongdoing and the right-doing, so to speak, were non-factional, and it is a perversion of history to claim the reverse.

Nor was the wrongdoing partisan. Those now engaged in a crusade against the Republican organization are forming alliances in many of the counties with a view to the election of Democrats to the legislature. While in the last legislature some of the Democratic senators, and a number of the Democratic members of the lower house, led by the incorruptible Cressy, of Columbia county, were always found upon the side of the people, others, and generally the majority, gave their support to the various vicious bills which it was sought to enact, and which the recent Democratic state convention so vigorously assailed.

In a word, it is strikingly unjust to charge all that was vicious in the legislature to either party, or to the faction of the dominant party. It was simply a case of some corrupt men getting into the legislature—as they have gotten into every legislature since a Republican form of government was devised—who sought to further their own interests at the expense of the people's. How supremely idiotic, therefore, to hold any one party, or any faction of a party, responsible for the perversity of individual human nature. How infinitely more idiotic and unjust to hold you responsible for such condition, beyond the fact that you ought to have prevented, in my judgment, corrupt or selfish men from obtaining and exercising control of legislative proceedings, even though you should have found it necessary to resort to a more vigorous exhibition of "bossism" than any your opponents have assailed.

When the legislature of 1897 adjourned I immediately took steps with a view to aiding in the nomination, at the Republican primaries, of fit representative men as candidates for the legislature. For six or eight months I made every endeavor to expose those prominent in what was known as the anti-machine movement, to the end that a comprehensive, systematic, energetic organization might be effected, to carry out at the primaries the program I had in view. An extraordinary amount of work was involved, as was also no small amount of money, for the legitimate expenses of education and organization. I kept up this endeavor for months, but received only meager encouragement; and finally, on the 1st of March last, discovering only a purpose to go outside of party lines, through the medium of Democratic alliance, I withdrew, not being able conscientiously to enter into any such program. That experiment was tried in 1882, when Pattison was elected governor, together with a Democratic house. The

character of "reform" which emanated from that body was malodorous and malodious, and I then resolved that I would never again aid such a movement. Surely no legislative reform will come in Pennsylvania through Democratic channels. And that is the inherent weakness of the present so-called "reform" movement for honest legislators. For every independent Republican who will be elected as the result of the movement six or eight Democrats will be chosen, and with a Democratic legislature the advocates of legislative reform had better take to the woods. Had a proper effort been made at the Republican primaries, as I had urged for months, it would have succeeded. The result in Bradford county demonstrates that. There a thorough organization was effected, and two honest legislators were renominated, and the third member, who had misrepresented his constituents, was very properly left at home. There is scarcely a county in the state where this could not have been done with the same expenditure of energy. Under the circumstances the present movement to elect a non-Republican legislature is absolutely unjustified and without excuse. It should not be encouraged by any true Republican.

In this connection let me say that I am satisfied, by observation and inquiry, that this coalition with the Democracy is, on one side at least, the result of a general, thoroughly organized movement throughout the country to turn both houses of congress over to Democratic control. Such a movement has certainly been inaugurated by the national leaders of the Democracy, and, counting upon Republican dissensions in Pennsylvania, they hope to gain a senator from this state. Their candidate is Colonel J. M. Guffey, the free silver member of the Democratic national committee, and he is secretly at work, endeavoring to effect combinations in every county of the state, hoping to elect a Democratic legislature, basing his hopes upon the result in 1882, when a Democratic house was chosen as the result of the independent movement of that year. In view of the fact that in the present year the Republicans lack three of a majority out of a membership of 90, I fall to see how any one claiming to be a Republican can identify himself with a movement, the only result of which, in any degree successful, would be the election of a free silver Democrat to the United States senate, and the probability of turning that body over to the Democratic-Populist combination. At this juncture, with such vast interests at stake, and such momentous questions to be disposed of, it is of the highest importance that in the Fifty-sixth congress President McKinley and his administration should be sustained by an emphatic Republican majority in both senate and house.

Before closing I want to utter a word of protest against the methods pursued by some of your friends in assailing the characters of those conspicuous in the opposition. I refer more especially to Secretary of the Commonwealth David Martin and ex-Postmaster General Wanamaker. Mr. Martin is one of the most manly, straightforward men I have encountered in the realm of practical politics. Ordinary political criticism he naturally expects, but personal vilification is not only unjust, but it is that all of them were from the so-called "76," who supported Mr. Wanamaker for the United States senate. The two leaders in the crusade for clean legislation were Hon. Samuel Crothers, of Philadelphia, and Hon. E. A. Coary, of Luzerne, neither of whom was a member of the "76," nor did either of them vote for Mr. Wanamaker for senator. On the other hand, not a few of the much lauded "76" proved derelict before the session closed. Of course, many of the "76" did heroic work for the people, which should never be forgotten; but so did other members of both houses, who had not been Mr. Wanamaker's supporters for the senatorship. In other words, both the wrongdoing and the right-doing, so to speak, were non-factional, and it is a perversion of history to claim the reverse.

Nor can anything be gained by personal attacks upon Mr. Wanamaker. All the miserable slanders affecting his personal character and business methods were exploited during his first senatorial campaign in 1896, and I know how absolutely devoid of truth they are. They should not be resorted to in this campaign. Naturally he cannot complain of attacks of a distinctive political character, for these are the ordinary incidents of one's career in public life. The primary and ultimate purpose of this movement for a "reform" legislature is Mr. Wanamaker's election to the United States senate, through a combination of disaffected Republicans, Prohibitionists and Democrats in the legislature. Of course this purpose is not set forth in very large type in the fusionists' organs, but is generally understood in all political circles, of whatever party or faction. Mr. Wanamaker would make a splendid senator. I thought so in 1896, and I gave my best energies toward securing his election. If, eight or ten months ago, before any primaries had been held, he had concluded to come out into the open as a Republican candidate against you for the United States senate, I should have supported him as vigorously as in 1896, but I could not follow him into a Democratic alliance; first, as a matter of conscience, having had a taste of that sort of thing in 1882, and, secondly, because I knew he never could win in such a contest, for his Democratic allies would surely cheat him in the end, and vote for a member of their own party. But if he feels differently he has a perfect right to make the kind of a fight which he is now engaged in.

While urging that your friends refrain from personal abuse, as a method of campaigning, I do not lose sight of the fact that the chief weapons of your own opponents are slander and vilification of the most vicious kind. This cannot hurt you, but must react upon those engaged in this sort of warfare. Besides, I should think you would be used to it by this time. In 1885 you were denounced and maligned from the Delaware river to the Ohio line, yet you were elected state treasurer, and subsequently United States senator. In 1892 the same methods, augmented a hundred fold, were resorted to, yet you were almost unanimously returned to the senate. In 1895 the vials of vituperation were emptied upon you, yet you won your great fight for state chairman. The same old weapons are loaded again with the same old powder, whitened with age, and ground to dust. There can be only one outcome; history will repeat itself; you will be re-elected in January next. Only be your own "boss," and give your personal attention to the details of party organization, including the organization and conduct of the next legislature. Do not be "bossed" by petty "bosses," who do not possess one-tenth of your sagacity and perspicacity—otherwise, horse sense. If you pursue this course you can count upon my support until the end of the chapter. Otherwise I will cut loose as abruptly as in 1896. Again assuring you of my personal interest in your success, and reiterating my desire to help you if my services are needed, I am.

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