

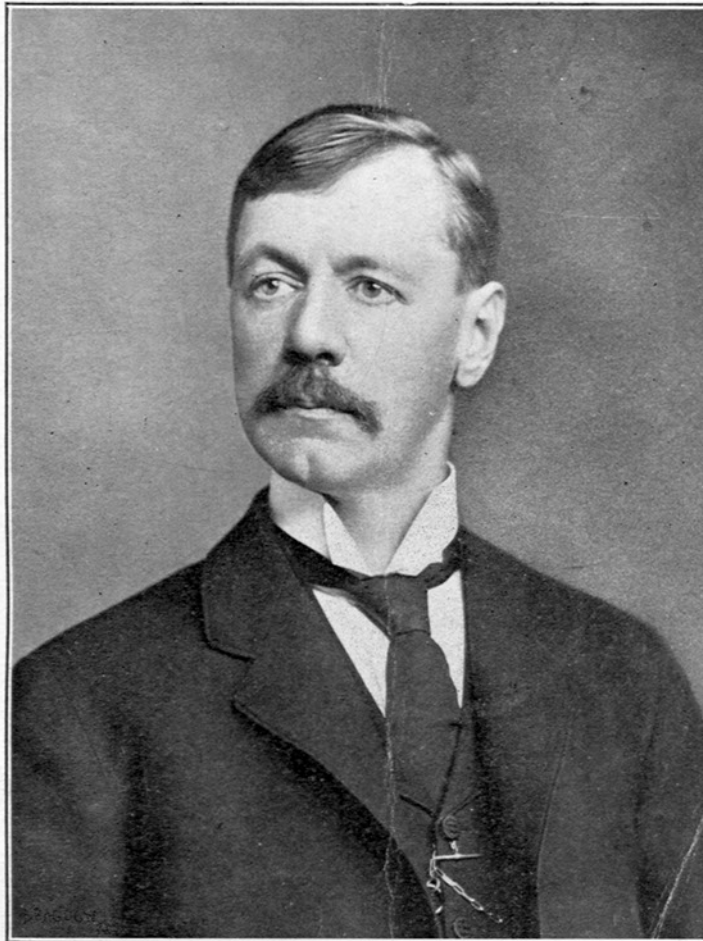
29th Congressional District.

SHIRAS,

VS.

GRAHAM.

(STONE'S LEGATEE.)



GEORGE SHIRAS 3d,
Citizen's Candidate for Congress, 29th District.
ELECTION NOV. 4TH, 1902.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

George Shiras 3d, candidate for Congress on the Citizens' ticket in the Twenty-ninth district, was born in the First ward, Allegheny, January 1st, 1859. His family were pioneers in this community, settling here in 1785. He graduated in the course of "History and Political Science" at Cornell University, and in the course of law at Yale. He was admitted to practice in the courts of Pennsylvania in 1883, and his record in his profession has been marked with great success, while his efforts have never been spared in all movements tending to preserve the dignity and integrity of his profession. He comes of a family of distinguished lawyers. His father, George Shiras, Jr., is now serving as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, while his uncle, Oliver P. Shiras, is United States District Judge for Iowa. Mr. Shiras was elected to the Legislature from the First district in 1889, and achieved a most creditable record in behalf of his constituents. His political independence and courage brought about the defeat of the greatest corporation grabs of the session, while his success in having passed beneficial legislation was a matter of most favorable comment. He was a candidate for Congress in 1890 against Colonel Bayne, and was defeated by the secret deal made with W. A. Stone, the present Governor, who, improperly substituted in the convention, only maintained his position by the most desperate tactics. He is now a candidate for the same office against W. H. Graham, who engineered the deal that made Stone the nominee in 1890, and whom he succeeded when Stone became Governor. Mr. Shiras was nominated by the unanimous vote of the Citizens' party against W. H. Graham, Stone's successor and legatee.

Mr. Shiras has always been a consistent Republican on national questions, and likewise an ardent advocate of independence in the administration of local affairs whenever it was for the welfare of the community.

For those who are interested in the effort now being made to bring about a better and healthier condition in our local government, and who also desire to acquaint themselves with the political history of the Congressional candidates in this district and the issues they represent in this great contest of the people to recover their political and civil rights, there is printed herewith Mr. Shiras' letter of acceptance, an account of his contest with W. A. Stone, his recent address on "Ring Rule" at Carnegie Hall, a reprint of the high encomiums on his legislative record and other data that may be useful to the voters in determining whether Mr. Shiras or Mr. Graham is best in accord with the sentiments of this community, and which of the two should receive their approval at the ensuing election.

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Pittsburgh, Pa., June 18, 1902.

Cadwalader Evans, Esq., Chairman Citizens' Party:

Dear Sir—I have received your letter of the 13th inst., notifying me that the Central Committee of the Citizens' Party of Allegheny county have unanimously nominated me as the party's candidate for Congress in the Twenty-ninth Congressional district. This nomination comes to me unsought, and brings with it a very serious responsibility. My own personal wishes, I may say to you frankly, are strongly against a further participation in active and public life. To refuse, however, to co-operate with you to such an extent as I may have the ability, at this time, would be to turn my back upon the principles which have been dear to me all my life and upon the friends whose associations I value more highly than I can express. I understand that the Citizens party, which you ask me to represent as its candidate for Congress is dedicated to the work of purifying our political system, and of bringing back into active life and force that which I conceive to be the true principle of all right citizenship, the devotion of the public servant to the public service, without fear or favor, and without any other selfish interest than to earn the commendation of the true and right thinking element of the community. The movement is greater than any man or set of men, and the candidate of such movement is strong not because of any purely personal qualifications, but because he is representing the people in their effort to secure for themselves the benefits of a full and equal government; benefits secured to us by the fathers and consecrated through years of history, and yet which to-day has become to us a mere name and nothing more.

In the great centers of trade and population, the question of the relation of the purely local party organization to popular government has become the serious and pressing question of modern times. The practical difficulty which is encountered is that "the organization" becomes the only factor in both the suggestion and nomination of the party candidates. The names of the candidates are selected in advance, are submitted through perfected machinery to a convention that has been selected for the purpose of approval and the person who is named is named not by the people, but a few party managers. In this way the local party organization becomes self-perpetuating, and dictates both the men and the methods, which are only nominally the selection and the choice of the people. For more than 20 years there have been but few real contests in the primaries of the Republican party in this county, and none in which the slated candidate has not won. I understand it is our common purpose to endeavor to bring to an end this masquerade of bossism under the forms of popular government, to bring back to the people the real duty of choice which our system demands should be there; and before the enervating influences of machine methods have permanently corroded the public conscience, to secure to the

public the choice of its servants. Under the existing conditions, it is the duty of all men to stand firmly together in their demand that party organization shall be merely the means of registering the popular choice, and not of securing a mechanical approval of a prearranged choice of a few managers. To Republican and Democrat alike, the duty is a duty of their manhood, which they must assert on the penalty of forever losing that manhood to ring domination.

The battle against the common enemy having been fought and won, all the other principles which go to divide men along purely party lines may again, and properly enough, assert themselves, and each may then fairly take up and follow his chosen political affiliation.

That I can by my personal candidacy add anything of strength to this movement is more than I can hope, yet I should be unworthy of the confidence you have shown in me if I did not give you such measure of strength as I may possess in fighting the people's battle for the people's cause.

Whatever may be the results of the present canvass, it will be a gratification to me to know that I have been selected as the representative of the Citizens' party in the stand it is making for clean, popular government, and the fair and equal representation of the people.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE SHIRAS.

A HISTORY OF MR. SHIRAS' CONTEST WITH W. A. STONE.

One of the contests that is exciting marked attention on the part of the voters, is the Congressional election in the Twenty-ninth district, comprising the city of Allegheny and the boroughs and townships north of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers.

It was just twelve years ago that Mr. Shiras became the first victim of W. A. Stone's peculiar political methods, and once again, at the call of the people, he has been nominated to aid in the overthrow of "Stoneism," by being a candidate for the same office against Gov. Stone's representative and legatee—Mr. Graham. The following review of past occurrences will throw a strong light on what has recently involved the entire county in a series of political contests, never before equalled in Western Pennsylvania.

Governor Stone's twelve years of unbridled political power, and his recent flagrant betrayal of his official position have now culminated in a movement that portends the complete overthrow of bossism and misgovernment in the county of Allegheny and the restoration to the people of their right of self-government, so long denied them.

CHAPTER I.—FIRST CONVENTION.

How Stone Betrayed Shiras and Ruined Bayne.

Some three weeks before the Republican primaries in 1890, Mr. Shiras, then representing the First district in the Legislature, became a candidate for Congress against Col. Thomas M. Bayne, the Congressman in this district. It was considered almost impossible for Mr. Shiras to perfect an organization and select the 120 delegates scattered over thirty miles of town and country districts before the primaries would be held. With the rapidity and determination that astonished the old politicians, Mr. Shiras had his forces organized and ready for the primaries a week in advance. This was largely due to the active assistance of hundreds of young Republicans who came to his aid, and the friendly attitude of the public press, which was just then beginning to realize that political contests were to be invited at the primaries if the people were to have any voice in the selection of their own candidates.

Without a machine, without a single office-holder, without corporate backing, Mr. Shiras entered on what was considered by many a one-sided contest, so that he and his friends were considerably surprised when informed, a few days before the primaries, that Colonel Bayne, in all probability, was beaten. At this juncture, one of William A. Stone's closest political advisers came to Mr. Shiras and made the proposition that if he would take the nomination for one term, and then yield its succession and his support to W. A. Stone the following term, that the friends and political backers of the latter would be at his entire service and would be sufficient to hold his advantage against any possible break.

It appears that for some years Col. Stone had been anxious to defeat Bayne and become his successor, though he had been unwilling to venture into an open contest. Confronted with the fact that Mr. Shiras' success might seriously interfere with his ambitions, his friends attempted to make the above arrangement. It is just here that the public have the opportunity to see how a man will act under political temptations and at the same time see the outcome so plainly marked in the career of Mr. Shiras and W. A. Stone.

Not only did Mr. Shiras refuse to enter into any such bargain, but he took the position that public honors must be obtained in an honorable way, and that he would not hurt his opponent by such a combination of candidates, or betray the people by a deal that would render his position in tolerable, were he successful.

Within forty-eight hours thereafter, many of the Shiras delegates were pulled down, and the Pleasant Valley Railroad, then in the zenith of its political power, became openly arrayed against Mr. Shiras at the instance of Stone and W. H. Graham, who were the controlling spirits in this corporation. A subsequent inves-

tigation proved that Stone had gone to the very man whose defeat he had sought to secretly bring about, and offered to save the day if certain terms were agreed to. Bayne then entered into arrangements that resulted in his subsequent political ruin, without any idea of the real conditions. At the primaries Colonel Bayne obtained the majority of the delegates, although on the popular vote he was beaten by a small majority. In some wards Mr. Shiras had a majority of over five hundred and in others he lost his delegates by from one to five votes. What occurred thereafter is fittingly described in the following report of the convention:

"On June 2, Mr. Shiras recognizing that his opponent, Col. Bayne, had secured a majority of the delegates in the preceding primary election, had announced through the press and personal friends his intention of making Bayne's nomination unanimous and by acclamation. His city and county delegates, whose business engagements made their attendance inconvenient, were naturally excused. Col. Bayne was duly nominated. Every Shiras delegate present, acting upon their candidate's request, joined in making it unanimous. No contest was made on the permanent organization. Both secretaries, contrary to the custom, were Bayne delegates. The organization was in the hands of one man—the party of the first part. In the audience sat William A. Stone—the party of the second part. At the conclusion of his apparent speech of acceptance, Bayne suddenly declined the nomination. Like a flash a motion was made to nominate Stone by acclamation. As many, apparently, voted no as aye, there was no roll call to determine the number of votes cast. Protest was ignored, and a secret plot openly consummated. Every rule regulating the party convention had been ruthlessly and deliberately violated. The regular nominee turned his back upon a life-long constituency, and the legatee was willing to begin where his master left off—by ignoring a constituency from the start. The betrayal of the Republican party by a trusted representative, the striking down of the Shiras delegates by the hand of the man they had just complimented, the avidity of Stone in accepting a gift, plainly stamped 'non-transferable' led to a popular uprising."

In an interview appearing in the Commercial Gazette, June 5th, Colonel Bayne admitted that the concealment was necessary in order to defeat Mr. Shiras and nominate Stone. He said: "I

believed that from my personal popularity in the district and the position I had obtained in Congress that I could easily gain a renomination, where other men might fail, and I was not disposed to see the political power in my district changed to my opponents. I did not advise my friends of the contemplated move because that would have spoiled everything. The secret would have leaked out and my nomination defeated."

Colonel Stone declined to discuss the means by which he had obtained the nomination, saying that he intended to hold the same. The Commercial Gazette, the able and consistent supporter of Col. Bayne, and whose advocacy contributed largely to its candidate's success, said editorially:

"Mr. Shiras and his supporters submitted gracefully to the popular decision, and as we are assured up until the moment of the assembling of the delegates never heard a whisper of Mr. Bayne's intention to decline. They were willing to concede a unanimous nomination to Mr. Bayne, which was no sooner tendered him than he declined to accept it. In other words, he made fools of his friends who had labored day and night in his interest, and when they had given him what he asked for he flung it back in their faces as having served the only purpose he had in view—a 'compliment' and 'vindication.'"

"In all this there is not the slightest consideration paid to the feelings and interests of his constituents, to the rights of those who supported Mr Shiras, or to the rules which govern the Republican party. Not even the wildest latitude of construction will permit the suggestion that Col. Stone is in any sense the legally chosen nominee of the district for Congress. He was not a candidate at all, either before the people at the primaries or within the requirements of the rules adopted for the government of the party. He was outside altogether, and his name should not have been considered at all. He got the wink in time to be on hand and act his part in the miserable game of deception. The people nominated Bayne, and through Bayne's connivance they got Stone, who, on his own confession, had full knowledge of the game of treachery that was to be played.

"Fair play and good faith in politics, the interests of the Republican party, and a proper sense of self-respect, demand of the 'Commercial Gazette' that it shall thus openly wash its hands of the whole disreputable business."

The "Chronicle Telegraph" said:

"It was not the act of an honorable man to trick an opponent into denuding the convention of his supporters to do a graceful and courteous act that a nefarious and secret scheme might be unhindered. Mr. Shiras, acknowledging defeat, sent most of his delegates home that Mr. Bayne might be nominated by acclamation, heartily and unanimously, and Mr. Bayne returned the compliment by nominating a man who had not a vote in the convention.

"The franchises of the Twenty-third district are neither ready to be devised, nor personal property to be transferred, and the man who claims them as his must show the title. No steals are allowed."

So outraged were the voters of this community with Stone's apparent indifference to the public opinion, that a mass meeting was called at Carnegie Hall, Allegheny, and over three thousand representative citizens attended.

The caustic speeches made then by the leading men of this community reminds one of the present situation, when once again W. A. Stone's treacherous methods are under review. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at the mass-meeting:

"WHEREAS, The Convention in violation of both rule and precedent named W. A. Stone, Esq., who was not a candidate at the primaries, and who had not complied with the rule, the observance of which could alone give him standing as a candidate; therefore,

"RESOLVED, That we hereby repudiate and condemn the mode of Mr. Stone's nomination, as subversive of the fundamental principles of representative government, destructive of party unity and wholly irregular and void.

"RESOLVED FURTHER, That a committee consisting of John W. Chalfant, H. W. Oliver, J. H. Ricketson, A. E. W. Painter, A. M. Byers, Isaac Cline, J. B. Scott, J. H. Hamilton, W. G. Park, Thomas Dodge, Calvin Wells, S. A. McClurg, James H. Lindsay, be and they hereby are appointed to take such action as they may deem proper to fully and effectually carry into effect the object of this meeting, and that when this meeting adjourns, it be to meet at the call of this committee now appointed."

manner in which Col. Stone's nomination was made. When it is known that a majority of the popular vote in the district was against Stone's nomination, it is not surprising that my friends are disposed to ask a full investigation of the fraud, intimidation and utter gross irregularities shown by the nineteen contested seats in Allegheny city.

"This investigation was denied us and the fifty witnesses present were turned away without a hearing simply and solely upon the ground that service was not made upon the contestees by 12 o'clock noon, Monday. It was a practical impossibility to draw up and serve the papers in nineteen cases within the time prescribed.

"When it is recalled that Stone just three months ago violated every rule of the County Committee, both in the letter and spirit, the strict enforcement of a provision intended for establishing a dominant right was a harsh proceeding and came with ill grace from one who was utterly regardless of the same rule a short time previous. The attempts of my delegates to bolt disclosed the fact that the Chief of Police and a dozen officers, acting under orders from Stone's friends, were determined to detain my supporters by force—a clear violation of law and an act of coercion in keeping with the attitude of the police authorities during the entire campaign. This more than anything else led my delegates to assemble in consultation afterward. However, my desire to reach the end of a contest filled with bitterness, and my personal sacrifices resulted in my pacifying to some extent the angry feelings of my delegates, and the meeting adjourned without further attempt to protest against the irregularities of to-day's convention.—Pittsburg Dispatch.

"Secretary Shaw made the point that all technicalities had been complied with except the matter of time, and the gravity of the charges demanded that they be heard. He said if the opposition candidate was to be chosen he should step into the race with all the charges cleared up. The chairman decided that Mr. Gerwig's point was well taken, and there were no contests. Amid cheers from the Stone faction the Shiras delegates prepared to bolt, but Chief John R. Murphy at once closed the door, threatening to break any man's head who attempted to get out. The club was effective and the Shiras men were prisoners."—"Chronicle Telegraph."

It will be of no especial interest now to detail what a subsequent investigation disclosed, the trickery and corruption that was employed to defeat the popular will. W. A. Stone having acquired the first nomination by a trick was compelled to use even baser tactics to win the second time, otherwise he was defeated and his political career ended. That such methods were successful twelve years ago doubtless influenced him later in his open disregard of the people's rights. It is but fair to say that Stone, in his early political contests, was supported by many men who did not hold him responsible for the acts of the politicians surrounding him, and it is only of late that they have realized his lack of political morality and the extreme selfishness of his public career.

Mr. Shiras, having refused an independent nomination in 1890, the Republicans permitted Stone to be elected, owing to the close vote then existing in Congress, but were prepared to get after him next time.

Mr. Shiras took an active hand the following year in municipal politics, which resulted in the election of Mayor William M. Kennedy and the passage of many important ordinances, together with the inauguration of needed public improvements. Upon the appointment of his father, George Shiras, Jr., to the United States Supreme Court, Mr. Shiras decided to retire permanently from political life and to this end formed the law firm that largely succeeded to his father's practice, refusing thereafter to consider the solicitations of his friends to again enter public life. His unexpected candidacy now finds its explanation in the present movement of the people to overthrow bossism and to obtain the right of governing themselves. His reasons for accepting the nomination which was unanimously tendered him, are given in his letter of acceptance.

CHAPTER III.—STONE IN STATE POLITICS.

It thus happened that W. A. Stone was left the next term without an opponent and having successfully lived down the deal by which he became Congressman prepared to seek higher honors.

When the bitter contest arose between Col. Quay and the so-called "Hog Combine," Stone saw his chance. After sitting on the fence long enough to determine that Col. Quay was likely to win and as the State leader could reward him more substantially he turned in against the Pittsburgh organization, whose support against Mr. Shiras had made his second Congressional nomination possible. On the defeat of the Combine he claimed the gubernatorial nomination as his reward, though never considered one of the real Quay leaders, and with reluctance it was accorded him. Again he waited a chance for another deal by which he would ascend still higher in the political scale.

and become a United States Senator. The "ripper" bill was used with deadly effect against the Pittsburgh leaders, and when at the point of political extinction he entered into a deal with them, and turned down the Quay people and a large number of independent citizens who were opposed to the Pittsburgh organization. Such methods as these have excited such widespread disgust that to Stone, more than any one else, must be attributed the coming success of the people at the polls, and he has proved a blessing in disguise.

The Citizens' party, as a part of its platform in this campaign, adopted the following plank:

"We denounce the treacherous, unbusiness-like and unclean administration of Gov. William A. Stone. He has incurred the profound indignation and hatred of the people because of his scandalous administration, and because he has usurped the authority vested in him by the people and wilfully perverted the powers committed to him by the Legislature, for the benefit of the people of Pittsburgh, in aiding an odious and intriguing cabal which the people demand shall be deprived of political authority."

Many months have elapsed since the adoption of this plank by a party composed of the leading Republicans in this community. He has not even asked to be heard in his own defense.

CHAPTER IV.—THE TWO DROMIOS—STONE AND GRAHAM.

It may be asked what connection Stone's record has to do with the present contest between Mr. Shiras and Mr. Graham, Stone's successor in Congress. Leaving aside the fact that Mr. Graham is Stone's closest personal friend, his intimate business associate, political ally and legatee, we have the fact, not generally known, that it was Mr. Graham who arranged the midnight deal with Col. Bayne, whereby Stone should be substituted for Bayne in the convention by the coup already described. We quote from a carefully prepared interview of Mr. Graham's which appeared in the "Telegraph" the day following his successful carrying out of this scheme in the convention:

"A WITNESS TO BAYNE'S POLITICAL WILL TELLS HOW STONE CAME TO INHERIT."

"County Recorder W. H. Graham, who was the right hand man of Col. William A. Stone, in the Congressional fight, talked at length this morning concerning the result of the Allegheny

District Convention. Mr. Graham has been credited with working the wires which led to the usurpation by Col. Stone. He said: 'There was no trickery or chicanery about the matter at all. I knew nothing of Col. Bayne's intention to withdraw until about thirty-six hours before the convention. Col. Stone was informed at the same time, and it was a complete surprise to each of us. Col. Bayne sent word to Col. Stone and myself Sunday night that he wanted to see us. It was Monday morning by the time we arrived. Then he told us that he intended to refuse the nomination. His reasons were entirely personal. He had gained the day, had been vindicated and wanted to retire from the turmoil of public life. If the friends of Mr. Shiras had had their wits about them Mr. Shiras could have been voted for the same as any other Republican. There was plenty of time for this, but they did not mention his name and Col. Stone was nominated. Col. Bayne told Stone he would not mention his name in his speech of declination, and he did not. The only thing he did was to call a number of his friends together Monday night. He told them of his intention to retire and asked them who should succeed him, and they all said Col. Stone. His reasons were personal, and I think it was all right.'"

Thereupon the Commercial Gazette, the ardent supporter of Bayne said editorially:

"The 'dark horse' was groomed in a secret chamber on Sabbath night, and then and there it was agreed upon between the conspirators and their friends that the larceny should be perpetrated in the convention. Like two pick-pockets in a crowd, they had agreed to raise a racket, and in the excitement get away with the wallet which they coveted. Bayne snatched the prize, and in the twinkling of an eye passed it over to his pal, Stone, who stowed it away."

The voters of this district have now the knowledge that when Stone turned his seat over to his friend Graham that it went to one of the original conspirators, and that this tainted title has remained undisturbed down to the present day. It would be a case of just retribution if at the ensuing election Mr. Shiras should be the successful candidate over the man who from the beginning to the end has been the friend, political ally and beneficiary of Col. Stone, his former opponent. Should Mr. Graham be re-elected it will be construed and properly, a most complete vindication of Stone's past and present political record. And it

is for this reason that Stone is using all his power to elect Graham, though he dare not by his personal presence appear openly in the contest.

In agreeing to the removal of Mayor James G. Wyman under the "ripper" intended for Pittsburgh, Congressman Graham committed the same political blunder as Stone, and to-day he finds "City Hall," though under the bondage of the Governor, powerless to overcome the resentment of the people.

In a similar manner Mr. Granam's recent effort, under the guise of a Democrat, to strike down the Congressional nomination of Mr. Shiras by attacking its legality in the courts at Harrisburg, through a scheme having its origin in the Allegheny post-office, in violation of the civil service act and all political propriety, has by the decree of the court proved equally abortive. The people will no longer stand for unjust removals or efforts to disfranchise the voters, and he who attempts it will rue the day.

It may be noted in this connection that Mr. Graham has studiously avoided all reference to the important local issues in the present county contest and seems more concerned about "home rule and self government" in Cuba and the Philippines than he does in the battle now being waged for popular rights and clean government in his own home. In view of this we particularly call the voter's attention to Mr. Shiras' address on the following page, wherein he frankly and fearlessly points out the evils of machine government.

Address by Mr. Shiras, Citizens' Mass Meeting, Carnegie Hall, September 26, 1902. Subject, "Ring Rule, and Why All Loyal Republicans Should Support the Citizens' Ticket in This Great Contest Against Wrong."

The questions in this campaign can hardly be dignified as issues, they are too one-sided. Good government against bad government; economy against extravagance; honest public servants chosen by the people, and not dummies selected by the bosses; equal rights for all, instead of political despotism and favoritism! Surely these are not issues requiring any discussion, for to state them is to answer them.

The real question is, does the Citizens' party stand for the purification of our political system, and the restoration to the people of their political and civil rights? Even this question seems to have been answered in the affirmative by the people in the last two weeks, if we may judge from the great assembly at Old City hall and the numerous local meetings, where the attendance is only limited by the size of the hall.

If this is so, then let the victory come by such a decisive majority that the county election of 1902 will stand as a warning to the bosses and to the machine, who, in the past, have so recklessly disregarded the rights of the people without apparent fear of retribution.

An Examination of Conditions.

It is well to examine carefully the conditions that existed in this community in order that we may hereafter apply the proper remedy.

It has become a recognized fact that in great public communities where one political party has a large majority, continuing in power for many years, that a machine is built up which in time takes the place and usurps the political party itself, resulting in misrule, extravagance and utter disregard of public expression. This is true of the city of Pittsburgh, and the county of Allegheny. It is true of the city of Philadelphia, of the city of New York, and of all the great municipalities and communities where one party is long in the ascendancy. These results are natural and not abnormal. In the beginning the people may have been to blame for not breaking down the machine at its inception, but to-day political tyranny has become so entrenched that the average citizen is powerless to free himself, and only the united effort of the entire community can now succeed in striking down this evil.

Let us see why it requires the co-operation of all good citizens, irrespective of party, to accomplish the overthrow of the despotism that exists in this community.

Machine and Bosses Analyzed.

What is the machine? And what is a political boss? Many years ago the Republican party became dominant in this community. It controlled all the offices. Naturally the officeholders combined. They agreed among themselves to seek each other's support for renomination. As a result of this compact many officeholders continued in the same position for successive terms, and others, by a system of rotation, occupied different offices, some higher and some lower, but nearly all continued in office under this plan of succession and if not it was because such officeholders were not true to the ring, or were lacking in political strength, which was equally fatal. Naturally they were assisted by the support of the thousands of subordinate appointees, who were controlled by their superiors. Then behind these came the favored contractors, who desired the political influence of this combination.

Then, too, came the great corporations seeking favors. As a result of this an effective machine was built up, composed of thousands of officeholders with strong financial backing, and whenever a political movement antagonistic to the machine showed signs of destroying the organization, all combined against the common enemy. This machine has naturally been presided over and its methods controlled by certain men who have been called "bosses." The next step was the creation of the so-called "organization." Let us see what it is.

Proper Kind of Organization.

All voters recognize the necessity for the existence of political parties, and they also recognize the fact that such parties must have an "organization." Now the proper purpose of a party organization is, that when the people at the party primaries have selected their candidates, the organization will then come to the front and by promulgation of party principles, and by systematic work among the voters, assist in the election of the candidates of their party.

The "organization" in this county, as now constituted and controlled, has perverted the very purpose for which it was formed. This organization invariably selects the candidates for the party,

and they say to the voter, "You must elect him, or otherwise you are disloyal to your party." In this way, then, they have pointed the guns of the organization not upon their political enemies, but upon the rank and file of their own party, saying, "You shall have no right to select your party representatives; we have done this for you, and if you do not elect them then we will drive you out of our party."

And so this system has continued without a break for 25 years, with its natural accompaniment of extravagance and corruption. At length the Republican voters in this community recognize the true situation.

Who the Real Traitors Are.

They now see that the real traitors are those in possession of the party organization, and in joining the Citizens' party, composed almost wholly of loyal disinterested Republicans, they show their highest fealty to the party because one of the main purposes of this temporary movement is to restore to the Republican masses their right of managing and controlling their party directly, instead of having it run by a self-perpetuating clique who utterly ignore those they are supposed to represent and substitute machine despotism for the fulfillment of the party will.

The extravagance, corruption, bad government and the insolent assumption of power by the machine are only the natural results of ring rule which for years has feared no practical resentment from the people. All in this community have suffered, irrespective of party affiliations, and it is for this reason to-day that the old-time and consistent Republicans, the entire rank and file of the Democratic party and the independent voter, have all united in the effort to destroy a machine composed of a great body of men who recognize no authority but what emanates from their own ranks, or which comes from the bosses in command of the organization.

Machine Exacts Tribute from All.

In one respect the machine is non-partisan, for it preys upon the community as a whole and makes no distinction between Democrat and Republican, but exacts its tribute from all alike. We have, therefore, the extraordinary spectacle of paying large sums of money through a thousand different channels to a machine, a great portion of which is used in fortifying themselves against the attacks of the very people they have outraged and enslaved.

As we said before, this combination of officeholders and of the bosses and their numerous beneficiaries, has resulted in the continued re-nomination of a public servant without the voter having aught to do in the matter. This is called making the "slate." In order to make the slate effective, it is necessary to have the same ratified at the party primaries. Now, what are the primaries as they exist to-day in our community? A knowledge of how they are conducted will answer the question that has been frequently asked, why it is that the Republican candidates on the Citizens' ticket did not go into a contest at the primaries?

Until the voters realize what the Republican primaries are in this county, the question seems like a fair one. Assuming now that the candidates who are running for each office in the county to-day are contestants at a Republican primary, how many delegates would it require the candidates to set up in order to represent them in the several conventions?

Army of Delegates Required.

It may be a surprise to the voter to know that in this contest for the present county and district offices, that it would require 17,000 men to run as delegates in order to nominate about 25 candidates out of the 50 who are running for these offices. That is, if a separate convention were held for each office to be filled, the only true way whenever a contest arises. Under machine rule, where there is no longer a contest, the ring delegate goes over the course and votes in a convention for four or five different county candidates. The army of delegates needed can be seen at a glance. There are about 600 election precincts in the county. If 15 offices are to be filled, and there are 30 candidates, or two only for each office, this would be 30 times 600, or 18,000 delegates.

In addition to these, any one who is familiar with the delegate system in Allegheny county realizes the fact that a delegate, to be successful, must usually be assisted in his campaign work in the ward, borough or township in which he is running by at least two workers who will aid him in getting out the voters and watching the interests of his candidate at the polls.

Cumbersome and Expensive System.

This would require 24,000 more men, or a total of 51,000 men, to which must be added about 3,000 election officers, so that we have the remarkable fact that in order to nominate the present ticket at the Republican primaries the machinery necessary to set in motion to accomplish such a result requires an army of men twice the size of the standing army of the United States as it stood before the Spanish war, or equal to almost the total Republican vote in the county, and at a cost of not less than \$300,000—more than double the amount of the combined salaries of the county offices.

To say that such a cumbersome and expensive system invites political contests is absurd. But when we consider that such a contest, if made, would be one-sided, because of the fact that the organization controls the county committee, most of the primary election boards and a vast number of strong delegates in the county to-day who can be put into the field at a week's notice without any cost to the slated candidates for whom they are running, is in itself sufficient to deter any one becoming a candidate unless on the slate.

That these facts are not misstated it is only necessary to ask how many bona fide political contests have occurred in the Allegheny county Republican primaries in the past 25 years? Out of the hundreds of officials elected, whose salaries range from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year, and possessing great power, dignity and influence, in how many cases has there been a contest? I doubt if one voter in a thousand can recall more than two such contests at the Republican county primaries within the last 25 years, and in none of these has the slated candidate been defeated.

An Astounding Spectacle.

We have, therefore, the remarkable fact that for a quarter of a century the people have absolutely been denied the right of selecting their own representatives, although they may have had the apparent privilege, from time to time, of recording at the polls the ratification of the slate made by the ring, and to that extent only have they been permitted to participate in local self-government.

What does such treatment mean? Why, that every county officeholder to-day, including judges, prosecuting attorney, sheriff, jury commissioner, in whose hands particularly are entrusted the people's lives and most precious liberties, have all had to look to the boss, the slate, the packed primaries for their elevation and continuance in office. Such a condition is not only deplorable, it is almost criminal, and no one will welcome the coming change more than the bench and bar of Allegheny county.

Few scandals have yet developed among the higher officers in the administration of justice, but the conditions as they exist are a standing menace to the community. Then when we come to consider the other county officers we can see plain peril in having them chosen by the machine—the controller controlled by the boss, the treasurer saving his large deposits for machine usufruct, the jury commissioners selecting ring supporters, and so on through the entire set of county officials who must necessarily owe their first duty to the power that made them.

Consider Principles, Not Men.

From these statements, however, it is not to be inferred that the candidates on the ring ticket to-day are all men, who, as individuals, should be condemned. Far from it; many of them are decent and intelligent men; but they are a part of a most vicious system, and the very arguments used to save the better class of officeholders on the ring ticket from defeat, constitute the most dangerous, cunning and sophistical arguments in this campaign.

The better the man on the ring ticket the more reason for his pointed defeat, for the system of despotic government in this community being admitted, and the great train of evils that have followed in its wake, the resentment of the voter should be all the more marked toward the ring candidate, who, by his air of respectability attempts to divide the opponents of this vicious system. While it is true that in many municipal contests the safe rule is to vote for the best men irrespective of party, in this campaign particularly, such a rule would be exceedingly dangerous because it is the system that is attacked as a whole, and not the candidate personally; that is to say, principles, not men, are involved in the present contest and is an unusual condition in a municipal campaign, but one that in this instance should be fully recognized. The candidates on the Citizens ticket are only standard bearers who are making the peoples' fight, and they seek the success of the movement and not the office for which they have been nominated. None desire to be elected unless all are elected.

Utter Annihilation Demanded.

When this system is destroyed and competent servants put in office by the direct vote of the people, to whom they are responsible, then it ought to be possible to run the government in an economical and honest way. If this is not true, then popular government is a failure, and we will gradually descend lower in the downward course which cannot be stayed if the masses are indifferent to their civil and political rights.

Admitted corruption has now corroded to a large extent the public conscience. The councils have been corrupted; the integrity of our governor has been questioned and the supreme court in this state has been made the battleground for factional legislation. Like all diseases, if not checked it will be progressive, and in the end destroy this great republic.

In November the people will be put to the test. Judging from the present indications there can be no doubt about the result for the voters have never been so united in seeking an opportunity to express themselves, and their only complaint now seems to be that a number of weeks are yet to intervene before they can meet the enemy in a battle that knows no mercy, but demands the utter annihilation of the Hessian army.

Editorial—Pittsburg Dispatch, August 19, 1902.

EXIT STONE.

Fifty-six years of age, 30 years in politics, and 22 of these in salaried office, Governor W. A. Stone announces that he is tired of the hardships of public life, that politics does not pay and that at the expiration of his present term he means to go away back and sit down. Foreseeing a not unnatural inquiry as to why he should have endured the hardships of public pay for 22 years when he could have rescued himself at any moment by resignation or by abandoning his stern pursuit of the nomination, he attempts to forestall it by the excuse that his friends, who insisted upon his acceptance, are responsible for his career and his administration, an excuse worthy of its author.

Considering his remark that politics does not pay and passing for the moment the fact that eight years in Congress and four in the Governor's chair netted him \$80,000 in salary, to say nothing of what he received as District Attorney of Foga county and United States District Attorney in Western Pennsylvania, it may be conceded that some kinds of politics do not pay. The brand with which his name must forever be associated in the history of Pennsylvania could not pay. Still it is significant of the high spirit of patriotism which actuates the Governor that his ruling idea in entering political life was the prospect of pay. Small wonder that he found it necessary to add a postscript.

Whatever importance his decision to retire permanently from public life might have had it has been discounted by the universal and indignant repudiation of his administration. His getting out of politics is as voluntary as would be the retirement of a disorderly person ejected by the scruff of the neck and the slack of his garments.

Yet the career of William Alexis Stone is not without a moral, as it has not been without its uses. It has demonstrated that there are limits in political infamy which the people will not condone, and it has proved in the teeth of sceptics and pessimists that old-time notions of civic virtue and personal honor still prevail. Further, it has aroused the people of Pennsylvania to the dangers of machine rule as nothing less could have done. When William A. Stone descends from the position which his administration has disgraced, unwept, unhonored and unsung, the depth of his fall, like the descent of Lucifer, will but mark the enormity of his political offense.

**MR. SHIRAS' RECORD IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE
IN 1889-90.**

What industry and fidelity to one's trust can accomplish is well illustrated in Mr. Shiras' Legislative career. Elected to the State Assembly by seventeen hundred majority, from a district Democratic in the preceding election, he succeeded in immediately relaxing this personal complicity by a devotion to the duties of his office that seldom occurs in modern politics.

ON IMPORTANT COMMITTEES.

When the House was organized, Mr. Shiras was one of the three new members honored with a chairmanship—that of Federal Relations; he was also made Secretary of Geological Survey, a member of the Committee on Banks, and a member of the Judiciary General Committee, one of the hardest worked and most important committees of the House. Few, if any, of the two hundred and four members, were interested in and succeeded in passing bills greater in number and importance than Mr. Shiras.

IMPORTANT BILLS.

New High School.

By resolution of the Board of Control of Allegheny, Mr. Shiras was elected as the member to secure the prompt passage of the High School Bill—upon which depended the completion of the handsome edifice on Sherman avenue, Allegheny. This measure was pushed with such despatch through both branches that it was one of the first to become a law. In special recognition of this timely service the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, "That the thanks of the Board of Controllers are hereby extended to the Hon. George Shiras 3d, for the interest he took in, and the attention which he gave to the Supplement to the High School Bill, and in securing its passage by the Legislature."

R. B. SCANDRETT, Secretary.

The Home for the Friendless of Allegheny.

Another local institution selecting Mr. Shiras as their representative was the Home for the Friendless of Allegheny. He succeeded in securing this benevolent institution an appropriation of \$5,000. It was one of the few county bills for charitable institutions neither cut down nor vetoed by the executive.

Bank of Pittsburgh.

Another important measure, of interest to the citizens generally, introduced and passed by Mr. Shiras, was the bill extending and renewing the Charters of State Banks. This bill was drawn by ex-Chief Justice Daniel Agnew, of Beaver, and upon the passage of which depended the corporate life of the famous old Bank of Pittsburgh, first incorporated in 1812, and to-day probably the most honored of State Banks in the United States.

National Banking System.

Another bill relating to banks, but of wider interest to the State at large, was the bill passed by Mr. Shiras enabling State Banks to become National Banks. By this measure State Banks can quickly and easily become transformed into institutions more in keeping with the needs of the present time. Many Banks throughout the State have availed themselves of this act.

Transfer of Trust Funds.

The bill enlarging the jurisdiction of the Orphans Court, providing for the safe transfer of trust funds to Trustees in another State or Territory, wherever the persons beneficially interested had removed to such State or Territory to permanently reside, was also in charge of Mr. Shiras.

Defeat of the Grade Crossing Monstrosity.

House Bill, No. 52, was considered the greatest corporation grab of the session. Owing largely to the courageous speeches and effective work of Mr. Shiras, the taxpayers of Pittsburgh, Allegheny and Philadelphia have been saved millions of dollars, and their communities freed from a measure that made new railroad enterprises an impossibility. Neither threats directed against his own bills or spacious pleas deterred him from doing his duty in the hour when the public slept and the enemy occupied every post. The following communication from one of the county's reliable and zealous citizens bears testimony to the narrow escape the county had from first being robbed and then imprisoned:

John Hood, Esq., Member of the Feed and Flour Exchange.

"As a member of the Joint Committee from the Chamber of Commerce and the Feed and Flour Exchange, sent to Harrisburg to assist in the defeat of House Bill No. 52, I take great pleasure in having an opportunity to say a few words in commendation of Mr. Shiras' valuable service while a representative at Harrisburg. Accustomed as I am to notice all movements that have had any bearing on the commerce of our City and State, I became interested in House Bill No. 52, purporting to be for the 'protection of life and property in cities of the first and second class.' This measure was in fact, a scheme to prevent the building of any more rival roads in the State, and further, to compel the cities to spend millions in the behalf of existing corporations. In the language of the Philadelphia Board of Trade it would 'as a law deny all new railroad companies practicable access to the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and the bill should be entitled a law to forbid competition with established roads.'"

"It provided that the cost of constructing the necessary under-grade or overgrade crossings 'should be equally divided between the railroads and the city,' and that the consequential damages be summarily divided—which might cost MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN TAXES. New roads were to pay all expenses, and besides be denied necessary terminal facilities."

Mr. Shiras, with the honest convictions that the Shiras family possess, and with the keen appreciation of the great injury the bill would inflict upon his constituents, as well upon the whole State, sounded the alarm the instant the nature of the bill was detected. The cunning deception and gross injustice of the bill fired his indignation, prompting him to a vigorous fight against the measure from its discovery to the final defeat in the Senate by one majority. While Mr. Shiras was not opposed to the prompt abolition of all dangerous grade crossings, but heartily in favor of the same, he regarded the text of this bill proposing the same as a "mere screen for a measure gotten up and fostered entirely by and for corporation purposes. After Mr. Shiras' bitter denunciation of the bill on the floor of the House (and he alone spoke against it on final passage), the six large commercial exchanges in Philadelphia and the two in our city became aroused to the dangers that threatened the community. All passed resolutions condemning the bill and were seconded by similar resolutions from the Select and Common Councils of the City of Allegheny, therein the City's Representatives were requested to vote against any features of the bill tending "that would in any way curtail the powers now possessed by the city or in any manner impose any cost upon the city in

changing existing grades, without the assent of the city." Committees from all these exchanges visited Harrisburg, and by their united efforts, the pressure became too strong and the bill failed of becoming a law by just one vote. Mr. Shiras' vigorous efforts against the measure won the confidence of the large eastern delegations, and his zeal and faithfulness were so appreciated, that during the whole struggle they manifested more confidence in him than in their own representatives. His independence, courage and ability were qualities needed then, and should be acceptable to even a large constituency now.

"JOHN HOOD."

Some Idea of the Estimation in Which Mr. Shiras Was Held by His Colleagues in the Legislature, Will Appear from the Following Letters, All the Writers of Which Were Co-Members of the Judiciary General Committee With Mr. Shiras.
(Used in the Shiras-Stone Election of 1890.)

HON. HENRY HALL, MERCER COUNTY,
Chairman of Judiciary General Committee.

MERCER, PA., April 28th, 1890.

"During my association with Hon. George Shiras 3d, on the Judiciary General Committee, and in the House, we became very well acquainted, and it gives me pleasure to say that I found him a gentleman of the highest character, an able lawyer, and a Legislator who gave careful and intelligent consideration to every measure presented. His discussions of pending Legislation were clear and forcible, and always commanded the attention of his fellow members. I know of no new member who stood higher or exerted a more powerful influence.

Very truly yours,

"HENRY HALL."

HON. C. C. THOMPSON, WARREN CO.,
Secretary of Judiciary General Committee and Speaker of the House in 1892.

WARREN, PA., April 4th, 1890.

"As Secretary of the Judiciary General Committee in the last session of the Legislature, I became quite well acquainted with the Hon. George Shiras 3d, also a member of that committee. I always found him an active, earnest and conscientious worker, both in Committee and on the floor of the House. His conduct and faithful work seemed to gain him the confidence of his fellow members.

Very truly,

"C. C. THOMPSON."

JUDGE J. C. JOHNSTON, CAMERON CO.,

EMPORIUM, PA., April 23d, 1890.

"I learned some time ago of Mr. Shiras' candidacy in the Twenty-third district and was greatly pleased to hear that his prospects were so encouraging. I was associated with him on the Judiciary General Committee of the House in the last Legislature, and had the esteemed pleasure of becoming acquainted with Mr. Shiras' ability as a lawyer and Legislator. I unhesitatingly place him among the leaders of thought and action in the last House, and one of the ablest men on our Committee. I was an admirer

of Mr. Shiras' tact, courage, integrity and ability, displayed on important occasions, during the session of the last Legislature.

"Very truly yours,

"J. C. JOHNSTON."

HON. P. M. LYTLE, HUNTINGTON, PA.

HUNTINGTON, PA., May 8th, 1890.

"I had the honor to serve with Mr. Shiras on the Judiciary General Committee during the last session of the Legislature. At the very beginning of his service it was apparent that, although much younger than many of his colleagues, he was far above the average in point of ability as a lawyer. His ability was recognized, not only in Committee, but upon the floor of the House as well. This, added to his integrity, gave him an influence seldom enjoyed by a new member.

Truly yours,

P. M. LYTLE."

HON. JOHN H. FOW, PHILADELPHIA COUNTY.

PHILADELPHIA, April 25, 1890.

"Although a Democrat—if I lived in the district—I would feel very much inclined to cast my vote for Mr. Shiras. He is a young man of ability—his honesty cannot be questioned, and the earnestness with which he championed causes before the Judiciary General Committee, of which I was also a member, and also on the floor of the House, indicated to me that he is one of the few public officials that I have met in political life, who are always ready to subordinate private feelings for the public good. That is, I recognized in Mr. Shiras a man who always jealously guarded the rights of his constituents, and allowed no legislation to pass, that affected those rights unless he raised his voice in protest. The people of the 23d District would be honored by his election.

Yours Respectfully,

JOHN H. FOW."

HON. JOHN M. ROSE, CAMBRIA COUNTY.

JOHNSTOWN, PA., April 23, 1890.

"Some time since, I noticed that the many friends of George Shiras, Esq., were making great efforts to have him allow the use of his name in the next Congressional contest in his district, and I thought at the time that it was a just tribute to his worth as a Legislator. During my sojourn with him at Harrisburg last winter, I found him a brilliant young man, and fully worthy of the confidence placed in him. He at once took a front rank among the members, and is certainly competent to discharge the duties of a Congressman.

Yours Truly,

JOHN M. ROSE."

HON. JAMES L. PUGH, SOMERSET COUNTY.

SOMERSET, PA., April 27th, 1890.

"I served with Mr. George Shiras 3d. in the Judiciary General Committee in the House session of 1889, and found him a live, wide awake and efficient member. He did good service on the Committee, especially such bills as interested his constituents—on the floor of the House he was able and industrious, and took an important part in the discussion of the most important legislation, and rendered much valuable aid in securing the passage of the bills

regulating State and National Banks, those affecting the State Board of Charities, and procedure in the Orphans' Court. He was independent and never hesitated to expose doubtful bills.

Yours Very Truly,
J. L. PUGH."

CAPTAIN GEO. W. SKINNER, FULTON COUNTY.

"There is nothing that could be said of the record of Mr. Shiras in the last session of the Legislature, except by way of commendation. He was industrious and painstaking both in the Committee room and on the floor of the House, and so far as my recollection now goes his votes and speeches were on the side of the people.

Yours Very Truly,
GEO. W. SKINNER."

HON. JAMES D. LEE, PHILADELPHIA.

"Mr. Shiras was one of the most earnest and able laborers on the Judiciary General Committee, and also on the floor of the House. He was always at his post of duty. Honest, earnest, brave, sincere and courteous, he won alike the respect of friends and opponents. I remember particularly his speech in the House on a certain bill affecting the interests of his constituents, and I know it was universally conceded to have been one of the very best efforts from any source during the session. As a sincere friend and admirer of Mr. Shiras, I predict he will make his mark, and feel sure no constituency will ever regret the selection of such a representative, whether for State or National legislation.

Yours Respectfully,
JAMES D. LEE."

HON. FRANK M. RITER, PHILADELPHIA.

"I met Mr. Shiras at the commencement of the last session of the Legislature, and as members of the Judiciary General Committee, we were together several hours daily until the close of the session in May 1899. Mr. Shiras was universally recognized as a gentleman of unusual ability, and fortunately possessing that valuable learning—which gave character and intelligence to all that he did. He was respected by every one, and I, with all his many friends, shall be glad, indeed, to learn of any honor that he may achieve.

Very truly yours,
FRANK M. RITER"

It is seldom that a man can make such an enviable record in the short time of one legislative term.

But Mr. Shiras went to the Legislative Halls of his native State untrammelled, and determined to do everything that industry and zeal could accomplish for the benefit of his constituents.



DEVINE & CO., PRINTERS, 418 DIAMOND STREET, PITTSBURGH, PA.

TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

The Twenty-ninth Congressional district (formerly Twenty-third) is composed of the city of Allegheny and all the boroughs and townships lying north of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, in the county of Allegheny, viz.: Boroughs of Aspinwall, Avalon, Bellevue, Ben Avon, Brackenridge, Emsworth, Etna, Glenfield, Millvale, Osborn, Sewickley, Sharpsburg, Spring Garden, Tarentum and Cheswick; Townships, Aloppo, East Deer, Fawn, Franklin, Hampton, Harmar, Harrison, Indiana, Kilbuck, Leet, McCandless, Marshall, O'Hara, Ohio, Pine, Reserve, Richland, Ross, Sewickley, Shaler, Springdale and West Deer.

**CITIZENS' CANDIDATES
TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.**

CONGRESS,
GEORGE SHIRAS 3d.

STATE SENATE,
Forty-Second District—JOHN M. GOEHRING.
Forty-Fourth District—WILLIAM S. WOODS.

ASSEMBLY.
First District—JOSEPH STEWART, JOSEPH J. GILCHRIST.
Second District—JOHN FRANCIS, J. E. POWELL.
Seventh District—B. F. MEVAY, JR., G. T. OWENS.

JUDGE OF COURT OF COMMON PLEAS NO. 1.
JAMES R. MACFARLANE.

JUDGE OF ORPHANS' COURT.
JACOB J. MILLER.

SHERIFF.
JAMES M. FAHNESTOCK.

CLERK OF COURT.
FRANCIS X. BARR.

CONTROLLER.
ROBERT J. CUNNINGHAM.

TREASURER.
DAVID F. COLLINGWOOD.

REGISTER OF WILLS AND CLERK OF ORPHANS' COURT.
GEORGE H. STENGEL.

RECORDER OF DEEDS.
J. DENNY O'NEIL.

DIRECTOR OF POOR.
JAMES PURCELL.

COUNTY COMMISSIONERS.
JAMES EVANS, JAMES A. CLARK.