

## MR. TAFT'S "GUARDIANS OF REFORM"

Commoner readers and voters generally will be particularly interested in one chapter of the democratic campaign text book, which chapter is entitled "Republican guardians of reform." Here it is:

## REPUBLICAN GUARDIANS OF REFORM

When the republican national convention at Chicago, with the aid of a combine made between the federal officeholders and the "system" in Wall Street, succeeded in nominating Judge Taft for the presidency, the managers, who had an eye to business, immediately directed all their efforts to securing complete control of the party organization. The Harriman bankers, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the Pierpont Morgan manager, Mr. Perkins, the steel trust manager, Judge Gary, had united with the forces of the president for the nomination of Taft for the avowed reason that they proposed to take no chances of the nomination of the president himself, having been told that "they will either take Taft or take me." Having concluded this patriotic work they determined that the "organization" hereafter should be in the hands of their friends. As the first step in that direction the so-called progressives in the national convention who desired to nominate a man like Governor Cummins of Iowa for vice president, were told to step aside; the autocrat of the house, Mr. Joseph G. Cannon, took the platform after having had his inning as a candidate for the presidency, and demanded the nomination of his chief henchman in the house of representatives, the Hon. James Schoolcraft Sherman, for vice president, well knowing that if Mr. Sherman could be safely landed in this position the first step in the great work of organization would be accomplished. Mr. Sherman as chairman of the republican congressional committee had won a well established reputation as a "fat fryer;" he was a member of the committee on rules of the house of representatives, appointed by Speaker Cannon, which strangled every effort at remedial legislation which was made in the last congress, and had never hesitated to do the bidding of the system. The Cummins forces were routed and Sherman was nominated. The rest was easy.

After two or three weeks of seeming contention young Mr. Hitchcock, who had been the manager of the steam roller at Chicago, was selected as chairman of the national committee, and in a few days it was given out that Mr. William B. McKinley of Illinois would be treasurer of that committee. Mr. Hitchcock went to Hot Springs, Va., to confer with the presidential candidate, Judge Taft, when suddenly Mr. William Nelson Cromwell of New York, the great Wall Street lawyer, attorney for the Panama canal combine, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the Harriman interests, the sugar trust, Standard Oil trust, et al., appeared upon the scene. In the twinkling of an eye Mr. McKinley was set aside and Mr. George Rumsey Sheldon of No. 2 Wall Street, multi-millionaire, and officer and director in more than twenty corporations, was chosen treasurer of the national committee in his stead.

Frederick W. Upham of Chicago, a millionaire several times over, member of the state board of review which passes upon the amount of taxes which corporations and large estates should pay in Illinois, and a director in several corporations, was appointed western treasurer of the national committee.

Mr. McKinley of Illinois was switched to the chairmanship of the congressional committee, which Mr. Sherman, the candidate for vice president, was compelled to resign. Mr. McKinley himself is several times a millionaire and is the president and manager of a number of railroad and interurban railway companies in the state of Illinois.

An executive committee of nine was then appointed as the assistant guardians of this "reform campaign." The state of Indiana, admittedly a doubtful state, was not considered in the appointment of this committee. Mr. Harry New, who had been acting chairman of the national committee since the resignation of Mr. Cortelyou and who had been re-elected a member of the committee, from Indiana, was sent to the woods and has not been heard from since in the republican organization.

Among those appointed upon this executive committee of nine were:

Charles F. Brooker of Connecticut, millionaire, engaged in the banking and railway business, member of the New York chamber of

commerce, and vice president of the board of New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad company, against which a government suit is now pending.

Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, multi-millionaire, son-in-law of the late George M. Pullman, and now vice president of and heavily interested in that widely known monopoly, the Pullman Palace Car company.

Edward C. Duncan of North Carolina, ex-collector of internal revenue, a director of the Atlantic and North Carolina railway and other corporations, appointed receiver of the Seaboard Air Line railway as a political plum and federal patronage dictator in North Carolina.

T. Coleman Dupont of Delaware, best known as a member of the Dupont Powder company, controlling factor in the powder trust whose milking of the federal treasury in powder contracts has been thoroughly exposed in congress and against which a suit is now pending, brought by the department of justice, for its dissolution.

And last, but by no means least, the great political reformer of Pennsylvania, Boies Penrose, the political heir of Boss Quay and, since the latter's death, boss of the corrupt political machine in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, a machine which has not been equalled in political turpitude since the days of Boss Tweed in New York. These five constitute a majority of the members of the executive committee.

"By their fruits shall ye know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?"

It might be added that in the state of Indiana Mr. Fred A. Sims, secretary of state for Indiana, and by virtue of his office, chairman of the state tax board, has been made acting chairman of the republican state committee.

Mr. Roy West of Chicago, chairman of the Illinois state board of equalization, is also the chairman of the republican committee for the state of Illinois, of which his friend and co-worker, the western treasurer of the national committee, Mr. Frederick W. Upham, is likewise a member.

Is there "method in their madness," or is it merely a coincidence that the chairman of the board of equalization which fixes the value of property for taxation in the great states of Illinois and Indiana are at the heads of their respective state committees, or are they there for the purpose of serving notice upon wealthy corporations and individuals that it would be to their interest to come and see somebody at as early a time in the campaign as convenient?

Do these facts, which can not be disputed, furnish some of the reasons why no publication of campaign subscriptions are to be made until after the election?

The press of the country, democratic and independent as well as republican, has taken notice of the facts herein stated and we append a few selections which we commend to the consideration of the reader.

## THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION

The Indianapolis News, a leading independent republican paper of Indiana, has published several editorials discussing the present organization of the national republican party, showing that the party management is controlled by the men who are known as representatives of "the interests." In its issue of the month of July the News says:

"We doubt whether any political party ever had a more 'efficient' organization than the one now possessed by the republican party. Its relations with the trusts and money interests generally will be close and confidential. The man who is to be treasurer of the committee, George R. Sheldon, was apparently not thought of till his name was presented by William Nelson Cromwell. It is, therefore, important to know who Cromwell is. He is a representative of the Harriman interests, of the Standard Oil, and of the sugar trust. He defended the prominent men involved in the recent insurance scandals. Probably no man in the country has done more business with and for trusts than Mr. Cromwell. Even the Associated Press admits that there is some 'mystery' about the choice of Sheldon. There had been, so the Illinois dispatches say, a practical agreement on Representative McKinley of Illinois, who, it is said, had been told that he would be 'drafted.' Up to yesterday Sheldon's name had not been considered. This was the situation when Cromwell arrived, having telegraphed ahead urging

that no selection be made till he came, as he had a candidate. He came, and his candidate was accepted. McKinley was not 'drafted.'

"As to Sheldon himself, it is to be said that he, too, is a trust man. He is said to be interested in the Republic Iron and Steel company, the American Locomotive company, the Paper Bag trust and various railroad and trolley syndicates. He was one of the organizers of the famous shipbuilding trust. Sheldon was at one time, if not now, interested in the tobacco trust. He is a man of prominence and president of the Union League club of New York. It is said that he, as a New Yorker, will be governed by the New York statute requiring publicity in the matter of campaign funds, and that this was the principal reason for his appointment. But it is hard to see how a New York statute can control the conduct of an officer of the national committee except in relation to New York affairs. That there will be plenty of money we do not doubt. If Cromwell and Sheldon can not get it, no one can.

"The position of assistant treasurer, it is said, will be tendered to Mr. McKinley. He is known as Speaker Cannon's right-hand man, especially in any negotiations that it may be necessary to carry on with the trusts. The ruling influences of the house are thus represented on the committee, and thus the committee ought to be able to 'make good' on any pledges it may see fit to give. Further than this Mr. Sherman, candidate for the vice presidency, is to continue as chairman of the congressional committee. Mr. Sherman is a member of the inner organization of the house, a member—with Speaker Cannon—of the rules committee, which tells the house what it must and must not do. With McKinley and Sherman in the foremost of the campaign, and with Cannon behind them, there will be no trouble in shaking the plum tree. Cannon, McKinley and Sherman can say whether or not there shall be any tariff legislation, and if so, of what sort. Thus the republican organization is made up of trust magnates, of the speaker acting through agents, of one of the speaker's representatives in dealing with the trusts, and of the rules committee which controls the action of the house. No man who gives money need do so without knowing exactly what he is to get for it, or without the assurances that he will get it.

"Last of all there is the new chairman, Frank Hitchcock, former first assistant postmaster general. People will wonder whether the selection of Mr. Hitchcock is to be taken as evidence that the federal officeholders are to be used to bring about the election of Mr. Taft as they were used to bring about his nomination. Mr. Hitchcock is an able leader and a good organizer, but it must be remembered that he had great advantages in his pre-convention campaign. That is, he was helped by thousands of federal officeholders who were under the compulsion to do his bidding. But still he is an efficient and capable man, and with the help of Cromwell, Sheldon and the trusts, and of the inner organization of the house as represented by McKinley and Sherman, he ought to get results. Clearly the new organization was made by 'practical men' for practical men. McKinley would no doubt have made a good treasurer, for he, too, knows a good deal about trusts and their habitat. But on the whole it will have to be admitted that Cromwell's candidate is to be preferred. The party will have a great, efficient, smoothly-working organization composed in about the right proportions of men who want and men who can give things."

Discussing the republican executive committee, the Indianapolis News says:

"We have had something to say occasionally of the remarkable efficiency of the republican national organization. Mr. Hitchcock, the national chairman, has already proved his quality. His success in rounding up delegates with the assistance of federal officeholders—many of the delegates themselves being federal officeholders—proves that he is an extraordinary practical politician. Mr. Sheldon, the treasurer, is a trust man, sustaining close relations to the great interests. He was appointed, it will be remembered, on the recommendation of William Nelson Cromwell, himself a trust man, and Harriman's attorney. Only the other day Frederick W. Upham, of Chicago, was appointed assistant treasurer, with headquarters at Chicago, clear outside the scope of the New York law requir-