

ing publicity of campaign contributions—after election. Mr. Upham is a member of the Illinois board of review, which passes on the taxes of corporations and wealthy individuals. The congressional campaign committee will be under the control of Speaker Cannon, and Mr. Sherman, candidate for the vice presidency, these two men, through the committee on rules, of which they are members, being dictators to the house of representatives. We doubt whether there has in the whole course of our political history been a more effective organization. It covers the whole ground, and touches all necessary points.

"But there is still more to it than this. We now have an executive committee announced, which is made up of the following gentlemen: Charles F. Brooker, of Connecticut; T. Coleman Dupont, of Delaware; William E. Borah, of Idaho; Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois; Charles Nagel, of Missouri; Victor Rosewater, of Nebraska; Edward C. Duncan, of North Carolina, and Boise Penrose of Pennsylvania. Mr. Brooker is an old member of this committee, having served in the year 1900, so he has had a valuable experience. He is a very worthy gentleman with very desirable connections from the point of view of the treasurer of a political committee. He is interested in manufactures, railways and banks, is a member of the New York chamber of commerce and of the Union League club, and vice president of the board of New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad company. That he will in every way measure up to the responsibilities of his position we can not doubt. Mr. Dupont is known chiefly by his family connection. The family is engaged in the manufacture of powder, which it sells to the government as well as to other customers. It has even been said that there is a powder trust. Certain it is that the affairs of the combined powder makers have been sharply assailed in congress—and outside of it. The Dupont family is rich, one member of it now being senator from Delaware. William E. Borah is senator from Idaho. He was recently indicted for complicity in land frauds, and was very promptly and properly—as far as we know—acquitted. He is chiefly famous for his prosecution of one of the men charged with the cowardly murder of the late Governor Steunenberg. Mr. Lowden is a member of congress, has been actively interested for some years in both state and national politics, and is connected by marriage with the Pullman family. Charles Nagel is a St. Louis lawyer, has served in the state legislature, and been president of the St. Louis city council. Victor Rosewater is an editor and publicist, with a keen interest in politics. Edward C. Duncan was collector of customs at Beaufort, N. C., from 1890 to 1894, and is now a collector of internal revenue. He has no profession, but is a director of the Atlantic and North Carolina railroad. Every one knows Boise Penrose, senator from Pennsylvania. He is a product of the Quay school of politics, and is the central figure in the republican rings of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia. He is said to have close relations with the Standard Oil company. His ring has assuredly had close connections with the public treasury. It is believed that he is quite as skilful as was his master Quay, in shaking the plum tree.

"So we have this new committee, the executive committee of the national committee. Brooker, Dupont, Lowden and Penrose in particular seem to be in every way qualified to conduct a most effective campaign. Whether they will work under the famous New York statute which is supposed to control Treasurer Sheldon, we do not know. No one of them is a citizen of that state, as the assistant treasurer, Upham, is not. It is a great committee. When we consider its personnel in connection with the failure of the republican congress to enact a publicity law, of the overwhelming defeat by the republican convention of a publicity plank, of the very timid handling of the subject by Mr. Taft in his speech of acceptance, and of the appointment of Sheldon at the suggestion of Harriman's lawyer, we think that even the most unsuspecting and trusting soul will see great possibilities in the situation."

The announcement of the appointment as western treasurer of Mr. F. W. Upham, of Chicago (who since his appointment has reduced the valuation for taxation of the street railways of Chicago \$8,597,534 below the appraisement made by the county assessors), called for the following editorial from the Indianapolis News:

"With two headquarters, one in New York and another in Chicago, it seems fitting that the republican committee should have two treasurers. No doubt this precedent will be followed

by the democrats, though they have not as yet had time to select their second treasurer. But the republican committee is already thus doubly equipped. For Mr. Hitchcock, chairman of the Taft committee has appointed Frederick W. Upham of Chicago, to be treasurer of the western headquarters. The Cincinnati Enquirer is of the opinion that 'Mr. Hitchcock's action in placing the raising of money in the west in the hands of Mr. Upham will cause more comment than anything else among practical politicians.' He is reputed to be a wealthy man and it is said that 'his chief qualification for "frying out the fat" is that he is a member of the board of review, which passes on the amount of taxes corporations and large estates shall pay in Chicago and the state of Illinois.' It is thought that 'Mr. Hitchcock's organization will get slathers of cash from Chicago if Mr. Upham is sufficiently tactful.' 'Tactful' is, we think, a good word in this connection.

"Undoubtedly a man who wields the taxing power of a great state is an important and influential personage. A man with this power would be more likely to get the money he asks for than a man without it. For every one wishes to stand well with the taxing officers. This is human nature. It is not necessary that such an officer should abuse his power in any way, not necessary for him to make promises or to indulge in threats. All that is necessary is that he should have the power, and that men should understand that he can reward or punish. As long as men feel—as they will feel—that they may be rewarded or punished they will be likely to contribute liberally to the western headquarters. It ought not to be difficult for a member of a tax board to get money from those whose taxes he helps to fix. He can not be thought of apart from the position which he fills, and whenever he approaches a prospective contributor it will be as a member of the board of review as well as treasurer of the western headquarters.

"It must, therefore, be freely admitted that Mr. Hitchcock has made an admirable selection. Nor should it be forgotten that Mr. Upham will operate in a jurisdiction unembarrassed by any law requiring publicity in the matter of campaign funds. Mr. Sheldon, treasurer of the committee, will, he insists, be bound by the New York law, compelling publicity—after the election. But it is not so with Mr. Upham. He may, indeed, be somewhat limited by the law making it a crime for corporations to contribute, but even so, his field of usefulness will be large. With two treasurers, one chosen on the recommendation of Harriman's lawyer, and the other a member of the Illinois board of review, the Taft committee ought to do very well. We doubt very much whether there will be any serious stringency. On the contrary, the indications all point to a liberally financial campaign."

On September 25 T. Coleman Dupont of the powder trust resigned as head of the bureau of campaign speakers for the republican national committee.

FORAKER'S REPLY

Senator Joseph B. Foraker issued September 25 a carefully prepared statement in which statement he attacked Messrs. Hearst, Roosevelt and Taft. Senator Foraker devoted considerable space to the defense of his relations with Standard Oil. He said that Mr. Hearst had other letters in addition to those which he gave out, and that these other letters, if made public at the same time, would have showed how harmless was his connection with the Standard Oil people.

But Senator Foraker is not content in merely defending himself. He plainly intimates that there is a good deal of hypocrisy on the part of certain prominent republicans who are just now censuring him.

The following is an extract from Senator Foraker's letter:

"But what manner of man is Judge Taft, anyhow? I have known him for a great many years, and I thought intimately, and yet at times I feel as though I did not know him at all.

"July 10, when he wrote the letter the president publishes, he was so devoted to the trust-smashing policies of the administration that he could not consent to be made president, if as a part of the same movement I was to be honored with a re-election to the senate, because of my opposition to that special feature of 'my policies,' and now since the Standard Oil company matter, there is manifested the most unusual indignation. Apparently every man who has any relation to the company is to be driven out of public life. If so, I shall probably have a great deal of company.

"Only one month ago, when Mr. Taft visited Middle Bass and Toledo, he was the guest of C. T. Lewis, of the law firm of Doyle & Lewis, who have been the attorneys of the Standard for many years, standing next in rank to Mr. Virgil P. Kline, and when Mr. Taft has occasion to pass back and forth between Middle Bass and Toledo, where I had the pleasure of meeting him, he traveled on the yacht of Mr. Richardson, a prominent magnate of the glass trust, and while he doubtless paid his fare, at least, the papers so announced, when traveling from Hot Springs to Toledo on his way to Middle Bass, yet nevertheless he rode in the private car of one of the officers of the road of which Messrs. Doyle and Lewis are attorneys. What a series of unpardonable crimes!

"There did not seem to be any such righteous dislike of these Standard Oil and other trust representatives rankling in the bosom of Mr. Taft on the occasion to which I refer. On the contrary, he acted like a good, square, sensible, honest-minded man, who really enjoyed the company he was keeping and the entertainment he was receiving, and who recognized, as the late Senator Hanna was accustomed to say, that there were 'good trusts as well as bad' and even decent people in the employment of the Standard Oil company as well as objectionable people, and all that is to his credit.

"It is also highly to his credit that when three years ago the president had occasion to appoint a United States district judge for the northern district of Ohio, Mr. Taft, knowing the ability of John H. Doyle, of the Standard Oil firm of Doyle & White, did not hesitate to recommend him to the president for the judgeship.

"The Standard Oil relation to Judge Doyle, then well known to Mr. Taft, did not prevent Mr. Taft from recognizing his high character and general fitness for such a sacred trust, and I happen to know, as did Mr. Justice Moody, who was then attorney general, that the attorney general, upon the recommendation of Judge Taft, was intending to appoint Judge Doyle and would have done so, no doubt, except that for reasons which did not reflect on Judge Doyle, he finally appointed Judge Robert W. Taylor.

"But if the Standard Oil company was in good enough repute only three years ago to warrant Judge Taft in recommending Judge Doyle, and President Roosevelt in appointing him to a judgeship, much more was it in sufficiently good repute when six or seven years earlier, before any of the recent virulent attacks were made on it, to warrant me in employment of the character mentioned.

"What a pity it is that Judge Taft's letter was not allowed to continue its slumber until after the election!"

Senator Foraker refers to that portion of Mr. Taft's letter made public by Mr. Roosevelt in which Mr. Taft made light of Foraker's efforts in the Brownsville matter. Senator Foraker says that it is unfortunate for Mr. Taft that Mr. Roosevelt just at this time revives this matter when efforts were being made to smooth it over. Senator Foraker asks: "Does the president want to defeat Judge Taft?"

Referring to Mr. Roosevelt's statement that the Brownsville matter was only a commotion stirred up by "law-defying corporations," Senator Foraker says:

"This is worse than the president's claim that the panic of last October was precipitated by a lot of rich men in Wall Street, who wanted to bankrupt themselves and the whole country that they might discredit him, and worse even than the story that these same men raised a fund of five million dollars with which to prevent him from naming his chosen successor. I happen to know better than anybody else can know, that there is not the slightest ground for such a charge. It is invention, pure and simple, and, judging by the frequency with which the president is bringing the matter to the front, born of that disquiet which comes to the conscience when there is consciousness of having done a great wrong."

Senator Foraker concludes as follows:

"If in making this defense I have said anything that will work the slightest injury to the republican party I shall regret it, but I shall always feel that those who have no consideration for me, my family or good name, but would gloatingly rejoice if they could accomplish the shame and humiliation they have attempted, are not entitled to any consideration at my hands, and that my duty to my party should be subordinated to duty to family and the good name I have strived to make that I may leave it to them as their heritage, more priceless in their estimation than anything else within my power to give them."