

would have to be made. I recall that he expressed the opinion that the contributions would be practically a waste; that Mr. Roosevelt was sure of his election, but that Mr. Harriman, who had been acting in the common interest, could not be expected to stand the entire contribution. He added that 'of course there's nothing for me to do but to meet his request.'

Mr. MacVeagh said that undoubtedly was the incident to which Mr. Russel and Mr. Welliver had alluded.

"I made no secret of it," said Mr. MacVeagh, "but it was thought at that time to be a fine, patriotic thing to give funds to a campaign."

Mr. MacVeagh also related a recent conversation with Charles A. Peabody, president of the Mutual Life Insurance company, in which Mr. Peabody said he had been in Mr. Harriman's office when he called up Mr. Twombly and asked for the contribution.

"Mr. Peabody said Harriman told him he had been down to Washington and that the president insisted, or requested, or desired that he raise the additional money, part of it for the state campaign in New York and part of it for use in other states."

Mr. MacVeagh added Mr. Twombly told him he had once been invited to lunch at the White House with Mr. Frick before the Harriman incident.

"While he did not say so, he gave me to understand that they had both made contributions afterwards," said Mr. MacVeagh.

Mr. MacVeagh had objected to relating the incidents because the men concerned were dead and unable to testify, but the committee insisted. Mr. Twombly represented, he understood, the Vanderbilt railroad interests; Mr. Frick represented commercial and steel interests; Mr. Archbold and Mr. Rogers, Standard Oil interests, and George J. Gould, leading railroad interests.

Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, told the senate committee investigating campaign funds that he contributed \$159,339.30 to aid in electing his brother president in 1908 and that he had paid \$213,592.41 this year toward the expenses of securing the president's renomination at the Chicago convention.

Dan R. Hanna, of Cleveland, backer of the Roosevelt forces in Ohio this year, as the president's brother was that of the Taft forces, followed Mr. Taft on the witness stand. He testified that he gave \$177,000 to the support of the Roosevelt campaign for nomination this year. Of this sum \$50,000 went to the Roosevelt national commission, \$50,000 to Walter F. Brown, manager of the Roosevelt Ohio campaign, and another \$77,000 to the work of reorganization in Ohio.

The expenses of the fight of Speaker Champ Clark for the democratic nomination for the presidency were given by his manager, former Senator Fred T. Dubois, as \$50,468.50. Senator Watson of West Virginia was the heaviest contributor, giving \$10,700, and William R. Hearst the next, with contributions amounting to \$6,500. The total contributions to the original Clark fund were \$45,498.98. At the end of the Baltimore convention, Senator Dubois said, the Clark forces had a deficit of \$4,590, \$3,000 of which was made up by Speaker Clark personally.

Senator Scott said he was in republican national headquarters in New York in October 1904, when a telephone call came "from the White House" for Treasurer Bliss or Chairman Cortelyou. Neither was present, so he talked on the wire. Scott did not identify the speaker at the White House end of the wire, but referred

to him as "the voice from the White House" and "the response from the White House."

"What is this trouble I hear about Higgins?" Senator Scott said he heard over the wire. "I hear he may be defeated."

He told 'the White House' that Higgins was in danger.

"Can't the state committee supply the necessary fund?" asked the White House.

Mr. Scott said he told of the difficulties in getting money for the campaign and the response from the White House was:

"I would rather lose the election in the country than be defeated in my own state."

"I said 'there is no danger of your being defeated,' said Mr. Scott. He added that the voice at the White House said:

"Mr. Harriman is coming to see me and I'll see if we can arrange to raise the funds to help Higgins."

Scott said the committee would "have to judge" with whom he had the conversation.

"Oh, I might as well answer your questions," he added: "I thought I was talking with President Roosevelt."

When further questioned he said he could not remember whether the "party at the White House" had said "Mr. Harriman is coming here," or "I will have Mr. Harriman come here."

Scott said that when he suggested that Bliss go to 26 Broadway for more money, Bliss replied that President Roosevelt had notified him not to accept the Standard Oil contributions.

"I said I was willing to return the amount sent into West Virginia. But the president said no; that if the money was to be returned it should be returned by the party as a whole."

Scott said he never had been informed of a return of \$100,000 to the Standard Oil company or any director of it.

Edward T. Stotesbury of Philadelphia, banker and also associate of J. P. Morgan, was examined by the Clapp committee investigating campaign expenses. Mr. Stotesbury testified he had collected \$165,795.50 in Pennsylvania in 1904 for the republican national campaign, all the money going to the national committee.

Principal contributors to the 1904 fund were: American Bank Note company, \$1,000; Former Ambassador Charlemagne Tower, \$7,500; Drexel & Co., \$5,000; Bethlehem Steel company, \$5,000; Cambria Steel company, \$5,000; United States Steel corporation, \$12,775; William Cramp & Sons, \$1,000; Thomas Dolan, \$10,100; G. W. Elkins, \$2,500; Midvale Steel company, \$5,000; Pennsylvania Steel company, \$5,000; Philadelphia Electric company, \$2,500.

"In 1908," Mr. Stotesbury said he collected \$101,057.67 in Pennsylvania for the republican national campaign. The more important contributions were: William Diston, Philadelphia, \$1,000; Jacob S. Diston, \$1,000; Joseph H. Bromley, Philadelphia, \$5,000; Frank Diston, \$1,000; Joseph B. Grundy, \$1,000; John and James Dobson, \$2,000; John Bromley & Sons, Philadelphia, \$5,000; E. T. Stotesbury, \$5,000; Drexel & Co., \$5,000. The greater part of the contributions entered in Mr. Stotesbury's account were from \$5 to \$100.

Fred W. Upham, of Chicago, assistant treasurer of the republican national committee in 1908, was the next witness. Upham said he knew nothing of the 1904 campaign funds. In 1908 he was in charge of the western campaign, with headquarters at Chicago and collected \$548,320.59. In addition to that he received, \$50,

000 from Charles P. Taft and returned it at the end of the campaign.

MR. BRYAN'S WORK

Editorial in San Francisco-Oakland (Cal.) Tribune: At Baltimore William Jennings Bryan delivered his valedictory, renounced his leadership and formally surrendered his baton of office. But if any man is deluded with the notion that Bryan will cease to be a potent factor in the politics of the nation and will not figure prominently in future campaigns he is mistaken in his reckoning. Political conflict is the breath of life to Mr. Bryan. He gained all he possesses writing and lecturing about the evils he would cure, the abuses he would remedy, the wrongs he would right. His fame, notoriety, prominence, or whatever one chooses to call it, came to him through his insistent advocacy of certain theories and reforms which have become associated with his name.

And Mr. Bryan is a force. Without a single victory to his credit, without a crumb of patronage or comfort to hand out to his followers, he has for sixteen years maintained his supremacy in the democratic party. His leadership has been challenged on many occasions, but never successfully, often thwarted and defied, lampooned with a bitterness, vigor and pertinacity unparalleled in our political history; nevertheless he has sustained himself with unbroken courage and unabated zeal, dominating the councils of his party and compelling obedience by the sheer force of his personality and the moral power of a great popular following. There has been nothing like it in our history.

And there's a reason. There is one for everything. It is true that Mr. Bryan is painfully lacking in constructive statesmanship; that his conceptions of political economy are crude and empirical, his financial theories shallow and impracticable, and his proposed remedies ineffective and often inconsistent with each other; true his virtue is heavily alloyed with vanity and personal ambition, and that he is prone to mistake his private griefs for public wrongs, and is frequently unable to separate factional resentments from fundamental principles. Still, he is influential and respected. And now that he has renounced the ambition of his life, he will continue to be powerful and respected.

Shall we ask why this man who has been beaten for every important office he sought, who has been

satirized without limit by the wits of the press and the stage, who has been controverted by the pundits and flayed by the polemicists, still stands as a tower of strength, still commands the loyalty and esteem of millions of his countrymen? The answer is easy. Because with all his weaknesses and mistakes, he is the popular embodiment of sincerity, courage and conviction. He is a demagogue in the true and better sense of the word. He voices the protest of the poor and unfortunate. The evils he attacks are real, although the remedies he proposes may be futile. He points an accusing finger at acknowledged abuses. He hales into the court of public opinion the beneficiaries of privilege and incessantly demands a redress of popular grievances.

He is, in short, the champion of the under dog, a champion, moreover, who can not be terrified nor cajoled into remaining silent. He is like Isalah crying that Israel must repent and cast out her idols. Always and ever, as Cato the elder did, thundering that Carthage must be destroyed. That is why he is a moral force with the American people today.

His methods of readjustment may be wrong, but his demand is righteous. He errs in his classifications and in his generalizations, but he addresses himself to the consciences of the thoughtful and right-minded and appeals to the heartaches and sufferings of the poor—likewise their prejudices and passions—for justification. He has never lowered his flag nor compromised with the enemy he arrayed himself against in the beginning, but has clamored in season and out, sometimes unreasonably, for better conditions and a more equitable distribution of the increment of labor and capital. He has compelled a hearing by mere persistence and the element of injustice which forms the burden of his complaint.

Mr. Bryan has not succeeded in getting himself accepted as president, but he has the satisfaction of seeing many of his theories accepted by all political parties and a general promise by all parties that the grievances of which he has long complained would be redressed. The country has not taken him for its doctor, but he has made the doctors prescribe his medicine, and he has forced them to admit there is a real sickness to be cured. Every platform put forth this year is a vindication of Bryan. Why denounce the devil, yet take his broth?

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