

THE ANTI-TRUST PLANK OF PROGRESSIVES

(Continued from Page 12.)

Q. It is also true, is it not, that various progressive orators and campaign speakers, even including the former president himself, supposing the final paragraph that had been eliminated remained as a part of the platform, dwelt upon it frequently and with great emphasis in their addresses? A. Everybody did. Of course, nobody had the printed platform for at least two weeks. The result was that every man was talking around the country upon the platform as it was passed by the convention, including the specific amendment to the Sherman act. In fact, some of them have told me that it was the strongest thing that they used throughout the country. They had, of course, typewritten copies which they spoke from—not printed copies. I believe all were astonished when the printed copy came out without this paragraph on the Sherman act. Many of them wrote to me and no one could find out why it was left out.

Q. Did Colonel Roosevelt write you

regarding this mystery? A. Yes, he wrote to me some time after he was shot—Oct. 26—as follows:

"Someone, I think it was Heney, spoke to me of the matter and told me what was cut out, and I thereupon put it into one of my speeches—so much has happened since, including the shooting, that I can not remember which speech it was. As a matter of fact, I am more radical than the platform and have steadily grown more radical as I grow older. That there may be no misunderstanding, let me say explicitly that I believe in embodying in the law the prohibition of agreements to divide territory or limit output or refusing to sell to consumers who buy from business rivals, or agreements or practices to sell below cost in certain areas while maintaining higher prices in other places, or using the power of transportation to aid or injure special business concerns, and, in short, all other unfair practices. I believe in embodying these and similar prohibitions into law, including therein all prohibitions which will put a stop to all tendencies toward monopoly."

This was practically the plank that was cut out of the printed platform.

Q. Apparently, then, the progressive leaders, including Colonel Roosevelt, were considerably disturbed over the secret elimination of this important provision? A. Very much disturbed, as they were losing tremendously in the country. On account of the misunderstanding, it gave opportunity for Mr. Brandeis and Mr. Wilson and others, including Mr. Hapgood of Collier's Weekly, to attack the plank effectively and to excite suspicion in the minds of the voters relating to it.

Q. You are aware, of course, that democratic orators in all the states dwelt with great emphasis on the "weakness of the business section of the progressive platform," are you not? A. Yes. No one thing did so much to gain votes for the democrats, in my opinion. Hundreds of thousands of votes were lost to the progressives, including whole states, because of this unfortunate omission from the printed platform.

Q. Is it apparent that the large corporations must have objected to that eliminated provision? A. I can not say, as I have no evidence on that point.

Q. Have you any evidence as to how the provision was cut out of the platform as sent out by the various press associations? A. I have in my possession a letter which is the only

evidence that I have on the matter.

The letter, from a delegate to the progressive national convention, held in August in Chicago, to Dr. Charles McCarthy, Madison, Wis., under date of Chicago, Nov. 15, 1912, follows:

"Dear Mac:—As a result of my investigations in reference to the disappearance of a plank calling for the strengthening of the Sherman law by specified amendments, I have some startling disclosures to make to you. I will be as plain and matter-of-fact as possible.

"At the Chicago offices of the Associated Press I saw the copy of a platform as given to the press for transmission over the wires to the newspapers of the country. According to Paul Cowles, manager of the central division of the Associated Press, the Sherman law plank, to which I am referring, was sent out the same as the rest of the platform, and of which it was a part—concluding the section under the subheading of 'Business.'

"Now comes the interesting feature. It contained the Sherman law plank exactly as you have it. Attached to the copy was a message calling attention to the Sherman law plank and explaining that this plank was a 'mistake.' The story connected with this message is that O. K. Davis secretary of the convention and accredited press representative, appeared in the Associated Press quarters and requested that this plank be left out. They were loath to take any action at first, but finally sent the message that I have described and which I will now give as far as I have got it. I copied only the last two lines.

"This message (possibly it is the handwriting of Davis himself), after specifying the plank by introductory quotation of the same, says that it was 'in the draft of the platform as presented to the convention. It was later announced that the inclusion was a mistake.'

"The Associated Press scratched out the word 'announced' and used 'said tonight' in its place, so as not to convey the idea that there was official action by the convention. Mr. Schuler, Mr. Hatton, and a number of the Associated Press staff were present when Davis was on this job of changing the platform.

"This message went to the night editors and telegraph editors of the various papers and left it to their discretion to print it or leave it out. I do not think the Associated Press is at all to blame under the circumstances.

"Evidently Davis, or some other person got busy in Chicago, for none of the Chicago later editions contained the plank.

"The notice sent out at the request of Davis is vital in so far that it admits that the plank was adopted by the convention.

"As a delegate to the convention, and city member of the provisional national committee, I feel I have some rights in the matter and shall write you later along these lines."

Q. You do not desire to give the name of the writer of the latter because you are inclined to believe that he wrote you personally and confidentially? A. Yes.

Q. However, he is a thoroughly reliable man, is he not? A. Yes, indeed he is.

Q. It is rumored in Chicago political circles that among the prominent progressives present at the conven-

tion in Chicago, George W. Perkins probably directed the elimination of the paragraph at the last moment. Do you know anything about that? A. I have no evidence on that point.

Q. You talked with Mr. Perkins about this plank, did you? Or with any representative of Mr. Perkins on the resolutions committee? A. There is no doubt that Mr. Perkins was greatly interested in the plank and talked with many persons in the convention about it. I had no personal conversation on this particular plank with Mr. Perkins, but, as I say, I have no evidence that Mr. Perkins interfered with the matter in any way whatever. I certainly can not accuse Mr. Perkins of cutting out this plank.

Q. Was there any other alleged representative of great corporations in the Chicago progressive convention who would be, in your opinion, more interested in such a plank than George W. Perkins? A. Mr. Perkins showed as much interest in it as any other man there.

Q. After Oscar King Davis, press agent of the progressive convention, visited the Associated Press office in Chicago, and, according to the foregoing, had the plank omitted, did you see him or Mr. Perkins or anybody else who had any information on the subject? A. No. I tried to find out from the New York headquarters why the plank was cut out, but never received any answer from the headquarters on that point.

Q. You have copies of your letters to the New York headquarters, have you? A. I think probably I have them at home.

Q. Did you address the letters to the New York headquarters to any particular person or just to the general headquarters? A. No, just to the headquarters.

Q. You do not know whether your letter or inquiry, then, fell into the hands of Mr. Davis or into the hands of some one else at those headquarters? A. I have no idea.

Q. Do you know Mr. Davis' present whereabouts? A. I do not. I do not know the man at all, nor do I know what authority he had in the matter.

Q. As a man who believes in progressive principles and in the advancement of the right way of the progressive cause in the United States, do you not think that this matter should be fully explained and that the progressive party itself should take the initiative in the matter? A. Of course, there may be a question of misprint in New York. That might be the charitable way to look at it, but it does not look like it, and certainly every progressive in this country ought to be satisfied as to what became of that plank. It ought to be run down if possible. Mr. Davis ought to be questioned as to what authority he had in the matter, and the progressive party owes it to the country thoroughly to investigate the whole subject. A lot of good men went around this country talking on this plank, supposing it was in, and they were deceived. When a matter is so serious that it loses whole states and hundreds of thousands of votes for the progressive cause, certainly the men who have done this injury to the progressive cause ought to be exposed.

Neither Mr. McCarthy nor anyone who has looked carefully into the case thinks the theory of a misprint or a printer's error is the right one.

If not, progressives throughout the country desire the man who knows to rise and speak his mind. They will not rest until he does.

ONE ON PA

"Pa, what's a genius?"
"Ask your mother, she married one."
"Why, I didn't know ma had been married twice."—Houston Post.

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