

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, October 8, 1912.

The Presidential Campaign.

A curious Presidential situation in California results from a decision on the 3rd by the Supreme Court of that State. [See current volume, page 874.]

The circumstances grow out of the California primary law. Since the beginning of the Roosevelt agitation, the machinery of the regular Republican Party in California has been under the control of the Roosevelt faction. Its treatment at the national convention is one of the causes assigned by Mr. Roosevelt's followers for his having "bolted" that convention. When the primaries in California came on last month, the Roosevelt faction in the Republican Party were supported by a tremendous majority. The vote appeared in the State convention to be nearly 90 per cent. This convention, acting not as a convention of the Progressive Party, but as the regular Republican convention, nominated Presidential Electors pledged to vote for Roosevelt in the Electoral College. The vote in convention on those nominations was 88 for, to 13 against. Thereupon the minority "bolted" the convention, and, holding a convention of their own, nominated Electors pledged to vote for Taft.

Their next step was to procure from the courts a restraining order enjoining the Secretary of State from certifying the Electors pledged to Roosevelt and commanding him to certify those pledged to Taft. When the question of making this order permanent came before the Supreme Court of the State on the 3rd, that body, with apparent reluctance, decided unanimously that under the primary law of California, which they denounce as operating to disfranchise the voters of the State, they were bound to declare the convention which nominated Electors pledged to Roosevelt to be the only legally constituted Republican convention of the State. They therefore decided that the Electors pledged to Roosevelt must go on the ballot as the regular Electors of the Republican Party, and that the Electors pledged to Taft have no right at all upon the ballot.

Inasmuch, then, as it is now too late, under the primary law, to nominate Electors by petition, and

as the Taft faction had neglected to take this precaution, there will be no Taft Electors on the ballot in California at the coming election. It will consequently be impossible for voters in that State to vote for Taft otherwise than by themselves putting the names of Taft Electors upon their ballots individually and in the voting booths.

In Kansas the Progressive Party Electors have voluntarily withdrawn their regular Republican nominations and gone upon the ballot by petition.

Mr. Wilson's campaigning carried him into Nebraska last week, and on the 5th he was received by the people of Lincoln as the guest of Mr. Bryan, at whose house he spent the week-end. At Omaha, prior to his visit at Lincoln, Mr. Wilson addressed a large meeting in a speech in which he is reported by the news dispatches to have said that—

if he were elected President he would have associated with him in his cabinet a Minister of Labor especially charged with looking after the interests of labor.

His allusion was probably to the fact that there is now pending in Congress a Democratic bill providing for a Labor Department. [See current volume, page 946.]

In speaking in Colorado on the 7th Mr. Wilson enlarged upon the fact that while in campaigning "the old method was campaign contributions, the new method is legalized monopoly." He did so in connection, as he is reported in the news dispatches, with this statement:

The gentlemen, about thirty, I believe, who constitute the directors of the United States Steel Corporation, are so connected, by being presidents or vice-presidents or directors in the railroad corporations of this country, that they control 55 per cent of the railways of the United States. These are the gentlemen who are now backing the program of the leader of the third party.

Mr. Roosevelt at Albany on the 7th, as reported—called on Woodrow Wilson either to prove or retract his statement, that the United States Steel Corporation is behind the third party program in regard to regulation of the trusts. "As far as I know," said Col. Roosevelt, "the statement has not the slightest foundation in fact. Mr. Wilson has no business to make such a statement unless he has the proof, and if he has any proof I demand that he make it public immediately. If he has not, let him retract his statement as the only manly and honorable thing to do. The only big man connected with either the Steel Corporation or the Harvester Trust who is supporting me is Mr. Perkins, as far as I know. All the others in both the Steel Corporation and the Harvester Trust are

supporting either Mr. Taft or Mr. Wilson, as far as I know."



Campaign Funds.

At the hearing before the Clapp committee of the United States Senate on the 2nd, Senator Dixon, Mr. Roosevelt's campaign manager, charged that the committee was unfairly directing its inquiries at Mr. Roosevelt's campaign funds and ignoring those of Mr. Taft, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Harmon and Mr. Underwood. Chairman Clapp rebuked Senator Dixon for reflecting "on the one man in this committee who is friendly to Col. Roosevelt." All the details of the hearings, said Senator Clapp, who is campaigning for Roosevelt, had been in his own hands as chairman, the other members of the committee having deferred to him. [See current volume, page 950.]



Other witnesses were before the committee on the 2nd, among them being George R. Sheldon, former treasurer of the Republican national committee, who testified that in 1904 the Standard Oil Company contributed \$100,000, J. P. Morgan & Co. \$100,000, H. C. Frick \$100,000 and George J. Gould \$100,000. Mr. Sheldon said that he had no personal knowledge of these contributions, but that the late Cornelius N. Bliss, then treasurer, had shown him his report. Asked what percentage was contributed by corporations, he replied: "To be frank, 73½ per cent." Mr. Sheldon said the Standard Oil contribution was not on the list as coming from the Oil company, but was credited to John D. Archbold.



John Pierpont Morgan was the star witness on the 3rd. He testified to having contributed \$150,000 to the Republican campaign of 1904 and \$30,000 to that of 1908, but he explicitly denied Charles E. Russell's assertions as to a telephonic talk between himself and Roosevelt, adding that he had never had any communication of any kind with Mr. Roosevelt. He testified further that he had made no contribution to the Presidential campaign of the present year, to which he added:

I want it distinctly understood that J. P. Morgan & Co. never made a single subscription to any election with any promise or expectation of anything, or return in any way, shape or manner, and we never made it without we deemed it advantageous for the government and the people. We never had a communication from any candidate. We never had an application from any candidate for money, and anything that we did or that was done under my suggestion—and we were all in harmony—was that it was necessary for the good of the country and the business of the people, and it was done, and there was never a commitment or any expectation of any return—and we never got any return, either, from anybody, if I may be allowed.

On the 4th Theodore Roosevelt testified. He swore to ignorance of the Archbold contribution, and in other respects exonerated himself, by sworn statements, from responsibility for campaign corruption. As summarized by the Chicago Tribune of the 5th, Mr. Roosevelt testified—

that he had no knowledge of the alleged contribution of \$100,000 by the Standard Oil Company to the 1904 campaign; that he specifically forbade the acceptance of a contribution from the Standard Oil Company; that he was assured that no such contribution had been made; that it being reported to him that, in spite of his direction, the Standard Oil Company had contributed, he sent explicit instructions to return any money the Corporation might have subscribed; that the Standard Oil Company was hostile to him because of his action in the matter of the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations; that the only testimony quoted against him is in the form of hearsay statements attributed to men who are dead; . . . that he never solicited a dollar from Standard Oil, the Morgan, the Harriman, or any other interests; that Harriman, on his own initiative, came to see him to solicit aid from him in connection with the New York State campaign of 1904.

Mr. Roosevelt demanded that the committee call the managers and financial men of the Taft and Wilson campaign without delay and not limit the investigation upon the Roosevelt campaign receipts and expenditures just before the election.



Charles R. Crane was the principal witness on the 7th. His testimony related principally to assertions by Senator Dixon that he, Crane, had contributed to both the Republican and the Democratic campaign funds—\$70,000 to La Follette and \$70,000 to Wilson. He explained that he had given \$26,684 to La Follette's fund, and \$10,000 to Wilson's and no more; that he had done so without secrecy; and that his object was to have a progressive candidate succeed in one party or the other. He did not give to Wilson until La Follette's nomination seemed hopeless. Of accusations that he was influenced by his interest in the bath-tub trust he said that he had no connection whatever with it directly or indirectly.



Sulzer for Governor of New York.

At the Syracuse convention of the Democratic Party of New York on the 2nd, the unit rule was abrogated and on the fourth ballot Congressman William Sulzer was nominated for Governor. During the convention, Thomas M. Osborne made an attack upon the Tammany leader, "Boss" Murphy, in which he is reported by the dispatches to have said:

His hour is about to strike. The delayed storm which conditions in New York City long have been preparing, already has burst; the lightning already is flashing, and already one great reputation has come