

election as would Mayor Gaynor emphasizes the disinterestedness of his refusal.

OTHER CONVENTIONS AND PRIMARIES

The principal result of last week's Massachusetts primaries seems to have been the defeat for renomination of two of the three present Democratic Congressmen, Mr. Keliher and Mr. O'Connell. In New Jersey an interesting event of the week was the choice by the Democrats of the Fourth District as their Congressional candidate of Colonel William Libbey, Professor of Physical Geography at Princeton. That University is thus this year doubly in the political light. State conventions were held in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Washington, Illinois, and New York. The Rhode Island Democratic Convention nominated Lewis A. Waterman for Governor; it assails Cannonism, the tariff, and the retention of Secretary Ballinger in the Cabinet. The New Hampshire Republican Convention was, we are glad to say, controlled by the Progressives. Robert P. Bass, their leader, who had won at the first direct primaries ever held in the State, was made the candidate for Governor, and a platform was adopted as drawn by the Progressives, with the exception of the plank calling for the election of United States Senators by direct vote. An even more radical Progressive platform was adopted by the Wisconsin Republicans, perhaps the most radical platform ever adopted by any Republican State Convention. It voices the views of Senator La Follette, who was in control. It declares that the present tariff does not fulfill the pledge of the Republican party; it favors the creation of a non-partisan tariff commission; it declares for such a separate classification of unions, associations, monopolies, and trusts as shall establish real equality before the law, and, where monopoly is inevitable, favors complete governmental regulation, pointing to the regulation of public service corporations in Wisconsin during the past five years as proof that public control of corporate monopoly is successful, reasonable to the corporations, and essential to the welfare of the people; it declares that the recently passed railway bill was changed by the Progressives to its benefit and should

be further amended by a provision for the physical valuation of railway property; it also declares that the Postal Savings Bank Law should be amended to prevent the concentration of postal savings in large centers; it recommends a graduated income tax; it avers that the exceptional conditions in Alaska require the construction, ownership, and operation by the Federal Government of railways, docks, and steamship lines necessary to the opening up of the Alaskan natural resources; it demands second-choice primaries, the direct election of United States Senators, and the initiative, referendum, and recall; finally, it is unique, we believe, among State platforms in opposing ship subsidies, a plank affording gratification to *The Outlook*. In Illinois the Republican platform was awaited with general interest; every one wanted to know whether it would say anything, and, if so, what it would say concerning the legislative scandals which have disgraced the State. We are glad to learn that the platform denounces the corruption "exposed in the last Illinois General Assembly," demands its rigid investigation by grand juries and courts, and punishment where guilt is proven. In particular the platform denounces the "bipartisan combination of sixty Democrats and twenty-four Republicans which controlled the legislative machinery of the House of Representatives in the last General Assembly." In the State of Washington the Democratic Convention supported the judiciary ticket named by the Progressive Republicans, thus emphasizing the strength already developed by the latter at the primaries.

THE BLIND BOSS In Rhode Island one may almost say that the Governor is nothing, the boss everything. The Constitution of the State does not even give the Governor veto power, and the compactness of the political machine is such that one man can control the politics and patronage of the State to a degree hardly equaled elsewhere. Charles R. Brayton, who died last week, has often been called the dean of the political bosses of the United States. Although for seven or eight years he had been totally blind, he did not for a moment relax his hold on

the political machinery of the State. Even in those rare intervals when the Democrats were in power, Brayton continued to have complete control over Federal appointments and kept his party machinery in perfect working order. It is said that at one time when a Democratic Governor and Lieutenant-Governor had been elected and the reform papers were rejoicing over the defeat of bossism, General Brayton (he had some claim to the title, for he had served with credit in the Civil War) exclaimed: "What are they blowing so hard about it for? They've only got a Governor who can't do anything but sign commissions for notaries, and a Lieutenant-Governor who can't do anything." The standards of Boss Brayton were those of the old-fashioned ring politician who thoroughly believes that nothing can be done in the way of government except through patronage. He made no bones, as the phrase goes, of encouraging the most offensive kind of lobbying, and bartered offices as if they were cabbages. Personally, he did not care much about holding office, although in his younger days he was postmaster of Providence. But he keenly enjoyed being the power behind the throne, and the subserviency of minor politicians and office-holders to their recognized boss has for twenty years been Rhode Island's disgrace. Brayton was a man of considerable sense of humor, and many stories are told of his frank and even brutal methods of emphasizing his power. It is said that he protected the State Treasury, and that the new State House, which cost about three million dollars, was erected without fraud or scandal. But the legislation dictated by the boss was notoriously influenced by the desires of the great corporations, and the prevalence of what goes by the name of "honest graft" was undeniable. Boss Brayton was a striking illustration of that political type represented vividly in Mr. Winston Churchill's novel "Mr. Crewe's Career."

**GOVERNOR HARMON
AND THE
MORTON CASE**

The campaign in the State of Ohio in which Governor Harmon is seeking re-election has revived the old charges that Mr. Roosevelt, when President, shielded Mr. Paul Morton,

at that time Secretary of the Navy in his Cabinet, from punishment for violating the Anti-Rebate Law. The facts in this case are as follows: The Santa Fé Railway was accused of giving rebates in favor of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. It was alleged that Mr. Paul Morton, as Vice-President of the Santa Fé Railway, had disregarded an injunction of the court which forbade such rebates. Mr. Moody, who was then Attorney-General of the United States and who has since become Justice of the Supreme Court, was directed by President Roosevelt to investigate these charges of violation of the law by Mr. Morton. Mr. Harmon, who has since become Governor of Ohio, and Mr. F. N. Judson were employed by the Government as special attorneys to assist Mr. Moody in this investigation. Messrs. Harmon and Judson came to the opinion that Mr. Morton was guilty. Attorney-General Moody, in reviewing all the evidence, disagreed with them, and rendered the official opinion that he was not guilty; whereupon Messrs. Harmon and Judson resigned on the ground that the Government was attempting to shield Mr. Morton. If there were no further facts to throw light upon this difference of opinion between the President and the Attorney-General on the one hand, and their assistants, Mr. Harmon and Mr. Judson, on the other, it would still be merely a matter of opinion, and it might be said that Mr. Moody's legal judgment is as sound, able, and judicial as Mr. Harmon's. But there is further light. The case which involved the charges against Mr. Morton was carried into the United States Circuit Court, and will be found reported in full in Volume 142 of the "Federal Reporter," beginning at page 176 and running to page 193. It was tried before Justice John L. Phillips, of the United States District Court for the Western District of Missouri, who is himself a Democrat, who would have tried the case against Mr. Morton had Messrs. Harmon and Judson prevailed in their view, and who had before him all the facts and evidence in their possession. Judge Phillips, in rendering his decision, used the following language:

This instance has attracted considerable public attention, because of the sensational association of the names of Mr. Ripley and