

MISSOURI REPUBLICANS DEMAND HONEST BALLOTS HONESTLY COUNTED

HADLEY AND COWHERD MEET AT JACKSON

Hadley Flays Cowherd and Suggests that He Make His Speech in a Nearby Cemetery.

Suggests That His Democratic Opponent Explain Some Things to the People Concerning His Own Political Alliances and Record.

Hadley and Cowherd spoke from the same platform at Jackson, in Cape Girardeau county, September 25. Democratic newspapers have represented that Cowherd won a victory there. A staff correspondent of the Kansas City Star, an independent paper, who was present, gave a correct report of the occasion and the speech of Mr. Hadley, as follows:

Jackson, Mo., Sept. 25.—That Herbert S. Hadley is more than the equal of W. S. Cowherd on the stump was abundantly demonstrated here today to a crowd of about 4,000 persons when the two met as speakers at the home-coming of the people of Cape Girardeau county. Mr. Hadley did not know that he was to meet his Democratic opponent until he took the train at St. Louis this morning, but the lack of preparation was not evident in his speech.

The meeting was held in the city park. Hadley was the first to speak and kept the platform about an hour. He followed somewhat along the lines of his opening speech, but injected into it much that was new. He spoke of the part that Cape Girardeau county had played in the history of Missouri and of the record of Missouri as a pioneer in settlement and the development of the West, and that in recent years it had been a pioneer in the correction of public evils and abuses in industrial and commercial affairs.

At Home With the "Ghosts."

After reviewing the results of the last primary and telling of the fraudulent votes that were cast and particularly those cast by dead men for Cowherd, Mr. Hadley said:

"I feel that out of deference to Mr. Cowherd we ought, when he begins to speak, to adjourn to the cemetery, which is about a block away, as he is so popular with ghosts he would probably feel more at home there."

This sally brought long and pronounced laughter and applause. Again, in speaking about Mr. Cowherd's charge that Mr. Dickey is connected with the Sewer Pipe Trust, Mr. Hadley said that Mr. Dickey and H. M. Hatley, chairman of the Democratic State Committee, were associates in an important business enterprise. Mr. Cowherd interrupted by asking:

"Do you mean that they are interested in the sewer pipe business?"

"No," said Mr. Hadley, "I don't mean that, but if Mr. Dickey was violating the criminal law of the State, and Mr. Hatley was his partner in anything, I would suppose that you would run him off your committee, like Roosevelt ran Haskell off the national committee."

"The crowd, while slightly Democratic in numbers, was equally generous in applause. Mr. Hadley's speech was singularly free from partisanship and many Democrats joined as heartily in the applause as the Republicans. Mr. Hadley spoke in a complimentary manner of Governor Folk, as the Governor spoke very freely of Hadley yesterday in his speech here.

Cowherd on Ball and Wallace.

Mr. Cowherd spoke for an hour and forty minutes in reply. His speech being largely a repetition of his previous utterances. He spoke of the charges of Mr. Hall and Judge Wallace that his nomination was stolen for him as the "raping" of sore-headed politicians sweating under the sting of defeat."

Mr. Cowherd, much to the surprise of the many Germans in the audience, said that the Germans in St. Louis would favor any man for Governor who would let them violate the law by keeping their saloons open on Sunday.

Mr. Cowherd seemed to take great offense at Mr. Hadley's argument. Several times he interrupted and showed considerable anger. Hadley was in the happiest frame of mind and kept the people good natured. Mr. Cowherd never smiled once, never had one single good word to say of anything or anybody, and closed with a terrible tirade against everything that seemed to conflict with his views.

Mr. Hadley said in part:

Cowherd Claimed the Last Word.

"When I accepted the invitation to be here today I was advised that Mr. Cowherd had accepted an invitation to speak Thursday. I am advised, however, that he informed the committee that he could not come Thursday, but would come today if given an opportunity to speak after me. And yet, yesterday, according to the Democratic press, he spent the day in St. Louis, renting up for this occasion, and trying to fix up an answer to several questions I have asked him. I am reminded by Mr. Cowherd's action in this matter of his similar action on a similar occasion. We were both advertised at a political meeting in our own county of Jackson, and he was advertised to speak before me. When the time for the speaking arrived Mr. Cowherd did not make his appearance, and the chairman announced that he would be unable to speak on account of sickness. I, therefore, began my speech, but I had not spoken fifteen minutes before Mr. Cowherd appeared on the platform, and after I had finished he addressed the audience without the slightest suggestion of physical weakness.

"He also is trying to do the same thing at the State Fair, refusing, as I understand, to speak there next week unless he can speak after me. Although Mr. Cowherd has had five years more of public service than have I, although he has served eight years as a member of Congress, I am entirely willing to give him every opportunity in the world to answer the charge of David A. Ball that he, Mr. Cowherd, stands before the people in this campaign, 'the beneficiary of an election robbery, the possessor of a stolen nomination.'

"I am entirely willing to accord him every opportunity to answer the charge that Judge Wallace makes that 'between 5,000 and 6,000 votes were cast for him in Kansas City that were never counted,' and 'that votes were counted for Mr. Cowherd that were never cast.'"

To Give Him Plenty of Time.

"I am entirely willing to give him abundant time and opportunity to produce all or any one of the dead men who voted for him in Kansas City or in St. Louis. I want him to explain in detail why he has not accepted the offer published by George Creel, Governor Folk's coal oil inspector in Kansas City, in his paper, the Independent, to pay \$5 apiece for all or any one of the 175 dead men who were voted for Mr. Cowherd in the Second ward alone.

"Up to the present Mr. Cowherd has not sought to augment his campaign fund by claiming any part of this public offer. I also give him an opportunity to tell about his relations with Ed Butler of St. Louis and as to the truth of Butler's claim that he nominated Mr. Cowherd by giving him 15,000 votes in the recent primary. Let Mr. Cowherd, while he is on this subject, also give the name of the Kansas City politician who, I am informed, went to St. Louis before the primary to fix up the deal for securing the support of Ed Butler.

"I want him also to have full time and opportunity after he gets through extolling the glories of the plank in the national Democratic platform in regard to the publicity of campaign contributions to give the names of the people who subscribed the \$25,000 slush fund that Lawler P. Daly, the chairman of the Democratic Central City Committee, says was used to carry the primary for Mr. Cowherd in St. Louis. Or if the slush fund was not \$25,000, let Mr. Cowherd tell how much it was, who gave it, and how it was expended.

"I am also glad to extend to Mr. Cowherd full opportunity to tell what particular part or parts of the administrations of Stephens and Dockery he indorses. Does he indorse their conduct of the police departments of Kansas City and St. Louis? Governor Folk charges that they were both inefficient and corrupt; that policemen, sworn to protect life and property, protected neither life nor property; that officers sworn to protect the ballot, protected those who defrauded the ballot; that men sworn to enforce the law shared with the keepers of disreputable resorts and with criminals the proceeds of their evil doing."

Quotes a Folk Charge.

"Does he indorse their conduct of the election machinery in those cities? Governor Folk charges that under their administration a corrupt political machine had by crimes against the ballot eliminated the element of chance from elections and 'that the people of Kansas had more political rights than did the opponents of these nominees in Kansas City and St. Louis.'

"Does he indorse the work of the legislature under Stephens and Dockery? Governor Folk charges that during their administrations legislation was sold to the highest bidder, that for every act of bribery disclosed, twenty remained hidden and that the bribe-giver and bribe-taker stalked through legislative halls and went unwhipped of justice.

"Does Mr. Cowherd indorse the partnership with race track gamblers that was established while Stephens was Governor? Does he indorse the alm deal and the passage of a law permitting the consolidation of the street railways in St. Louis? Does he indorse the action of Governor Dockery, one of his political managers, in his attitude towards the hoodlums four years ago? Governor Folk said on the 22nd of March, 1904:

"More corruption has been exposed in Missouri during the past two years than in any like period in the history of the world."

"The people of Missouri naturally looked to Governor Dockery to blow the blast that would rally the forces of honesty in battle array. Instead of that he sat trembling and peering in his office, whispering and winking. His conduct during these trying times is indeed humiliating to Missourians."

"Let Mr. Cowherd be more specific in his indorsement. Let him say whether he approves of the evils and abuses that Governor Folk said existed under Stephens and Dockery, and which he asserts to have helped to correct."

Ask to Hear of Kansas City Record.

"I am also willing to go out of my way to give Mr. Cowherd a chance to tell the people more about his official record as Mayor of Kansas City. Let him tell why it was that at the expiration of his term nobody in Kansas City had the temerity to suggest his renomination. Why it was that his administration left the Democratic party hopelessly divided with two candidates as his successor. Let him tell why he appointed the Republican boss of the Second ward, a North End saloon-keeper, to the most important position in his administration, and also let him tell why he permitted the street department, while he was mayor, to be filled with criminal negroes and criminal white men, who padded the registration lists under the direction of his superintendent of streets.

"And when he gets through with these explanations, let him tell the people of the State why it was, as Mayor of Kansas City, and chairman of its Board of Police Commissioners, with authority to grant and revoke saloon license, he never closed or made an effort to close the saloons on Sunday. He cannot hide behind the miserable subterfuge that there was no public

sentiment to sustain him, for while he was Mayor the Rev. Chas. B. Mitchell, the pastor of one of the leading Methodist churches in Kansas City, and now one of its bishops, arraigned him at a public meeting for his official dereliction. And following his administration the saloons were closed on Sunday by the order of the chief of police, the late Colonel Irving.

"In short, let Mr. Cowherd say whether he stands for or approves these evils and abuses, these crimes against the ballot, these acts of corruption and betrayals of the people's rights that he knows and everybody else knows, characterize the administration of the old machine. W. D. Vandiver, Mr. Folk's leading lieutenant, stated in a speech at Nevada the other day that the election of Stone would be a triumph for all the evil political influences in Missouri. I challenge Mr. Cowherd, or any other Democrat, to name a single evil political influence or the name of a representative of any evil political influence that is favoring Senator Stone's re-election that did not work for Mr. Cowherd's nomination and is not now trying to accomplish his election."

How Cowherd Has Answered.

"In answer to my questions asked a week ago, Mr. Cowherd has up to the present time made only the answer that I have not done anything as Attorney General, and that W. S. Dickey, chairman of the State Committee, is 'connected with a trust. I will in answer refer Mr. Cowherd to the leading Democratic papers of the State during the last four years, and if he wants any further information he might inquire of some of his leading supporters, who are connected with the Standard Oil Trust, as to the result of my official labors.

"As to his other statement I can only say this, that Mr. Dickey owns the stock of a number of sewer pipe companies, which he personally manages and directs in the organization of his business he acted on the advice of J. V. C. Karnes, the Nestor of the Kansas City bar, and the first citizen of Kansas City. The plan of this business was submitted to me three years ago and I thought then and I think now that it was entirely legal. This must also have been the opinion of H. M. Hatley, whom Mr. Cowherd selected as the chairman of the Democratic State Committee, when he recently became an associate of Mr. Dickey in an important business enterprise.

"Mr. Cowherd also recites with evident satisfaction that he was elected to office once while I was defeated at the same election. Mr. Cowherd is one of those unreliable witnesses who tell only part of the truth. He fails to state that at that election I ran 2,000 votes ahead of my ticket, while he was several thousand below some of his associates. He fails to tell that in 1904, I carried Kansas City by more than 5,000 majority, while he lost it by nearly 5,000. He fails to tell that we were both elected in 1904, he being successful because his faction, 'the police faction,' bolted all of the local Democratic ticket with the exception of Mr. Cowherd.

"If Mr. Cowherd can get any satisfaction out of this record he is welcome to it. Mr. Cowherd has also stated in answer to the charge that he 'is the possessor of a stolen nomination,' that 'I am making myself a sewer for conveying to the public these charges of fraud in connection with the recent primary.' Mr. Cowherd has established such close and intimate relations with the bosses of the slum wards of Kansas City and St. Louis that he unconsciously adopts their language. I would prefer, however, to be the medium conveying to the people the truth as to how Mr. Cowherd secured his nomination than be the medium of restoring to power the corrupt and discredited machine that betrayed the people of Missouri and despoiled the good name of this great commonwealth."

PEOPLE VS. STANDARD OIL.

Supreme Court Commissioner's Report a Victory, But Supreme Court Decision Yet to Come.

One of the most foolish attacks upon the record of Attorney General Hadley was that made by Mr. Cowherd when he said in his Sedalia speech that in four years the present Attorney General's office "has reached the maximum in newspaper advertisement and the minimum in court achievement," and that his reputation for trust busting "has been made not by winning but by bringing suits."

This unfair statement shows the depth of Democratic duplicity. Unable to take away the laurels won by Mr. Hadley by reciting facts connected with his official record, Cowherd started out to discredit him through such sneering remarks as those quoted. Mr. Hadley has met this crude attack so successfully that Cowherd has become more careful in dealing with the official record of his brilliant opponent; yet it may be interesting to state some facts about the Hadley record which may have escaped public attention, though well known to Cowherd and the Democratic leaders.

One great effort of Mr. Hadley has been to break the hold which the Standard Oil Company had on Missouri under Democratic administrations. When he became Attorney General he found that giant trust flourishing in this State, with a grasp upon the oil trade and upon commercial interests which looked too strong to be broken. That the big octopus had its dangerous tentacles fastened around financial and business institutions, and that it had driven out all competition in the oil business and had successfully violated the laws of the State, was plain enough, but to locate its head and deal it an effective blow was not an easy task by any means.

Mr. Hadley proceeded on the theory that the Standard Oil Company was doing its business in this State under disguise, and that puppet organizations represented it. Accordingly suit was instituted in March, 1905, against the Standard Oil Company, the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, and the Republic Oil Company, charging that they were in a conspiracy to violate the laws of Missouri. These suits could only be resisted by the companies by claiming independent control of their affairs. It was

TABULATED STATEMENT SHOWING COWHERD VOTES AND TOTAL FRAUDULENT VOTES OF FOUR ST. LOUIS WARDS AT AUGUST PRIMARY ELECTION.

Out of Twenty-Eight Wards in St. Louis Four Have Been Completely Canvassed by the Police Under Orders from Governor Folk, Through the Board of Police Commissioners. The Canvass Shows the Following Results in the Third, Fourth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Wards.

WARDS—	3d.	4th.	15th.	16th.	Totals
Number of precincts canvassed to October 5, 1908.....	12	10	12	15	49
Total number of voters registered and eligible to vote.....	2634	2907	2680	3857	12078
TOTAL VOTE CAST—					
According to Judges and Clerks of Election.....	2015	1177	1399	2299	6890
According to house to house canvass.....	1004	568	804	1450	3826
VOTE CAST FOR COWHERD—					
According to returns of Judges and Clerks of election ...	1542	893	796	1675	4906
According to house to house canvass by the police	240	155	94	406	895

FRAUDULENT VOTES CAST AND COUNTED—

Recorded as voting, BUT—					
DEAD PRIOR TO AUGUST 4.....	33	13	31	36	113
Moved from the precinct before election day.....	371	77	170	315	933
Voters not known at house from which they voted ...	257	312	243	175	987
Voters who say they did not vote.....	171	51	83	167	472
Voters out of city on day of election.....	10	3	5	14	32
Transferred to other precincts.....	16	..	2	2	20
Not registered	27	62	9	42	140
Voters in penitentiary, jail or workhouse on election day..	3	2	5
Legal voters refused a ballot and told by Judges and Clerks that some one else had voted their names	7	5	6	20	38
Voted two or more times (repeaters).....	74	4	6	37	121
Votes cast from houses vacant an election day.....	11	36	13	11	71
Votes cast from houses which do not exist.....	5	12	14	9	40
Votes cast from vacant lots, stables, warehouses, etc.....	4	..	5	6	15
Votes cast from houses not in precincts.....	1	1
Poll books record more votes than statement sheets or vice versa	21	34	8	13	76
TOTAL NUMBER OF FRAUDULENT VOTES.....	1011	609	595	849	3064

IT WILL BE OBSERVED—

That 57 per cent of the entire registration in these four wards is recorded by the Judges and Clerks as having voted, and 44.5 per cent of that is fraudulent.

That the Judges and Clerks record 6,890 men as having voted, but that the police could find only 3,826 who would say they had voted. (This includes all those who refused to answer the question put to them by the police, and those who live at the given addresses, but could not be interviewed by the police.)

That the Judges and Clerks of the primary credit Cowherd with 4,906 votes, while the police, in the house to house canvass, could find but 895 men who would admit having voted for Cowherd—a clear case of stealing 4,011 votes in four wards, one-seventh of the total number of wards in the city.

That the Grand Jury's report indicates that the same character of fraud was practiced in all of the wards of the city. If this be true, and the same ratio holds good, Cowherd's bogus plurality would reach approximately 25,000 votes.

That 113 ghosts voted; that 933 men voted after moving out of the precinct prior to the primaries; that 987 people registered and voted from houses where they are unknown; that 472 legal voters are recorded as voting who say they were out of the city on primary day; that 20 men are recorded as voting who have been transferred to other wards or precincts; that 140 men are recorded as voting who did not take the trouble to register; that 5 men are recorded as voting who were either in the penitentiary, jail or workhouse on primary day; that 38 legal voters attempted to vote and were told by the Judges and Clerks that somebody else had voted their names; that 121 people voted two or more times; that 71 votes were cast from houses that were vacant on primary day; that 40 votes were cast from houses that do not exist; that 15 votes were cast from vacant lots, stables, warehouses, lumber yards, etc., and that one man was permitted to vote who does not live in the precinct in which he voted.

The wards mentioned are the only wards which had been completely canvassed by the police department up to October 5th, 1908. The other twenty-four wards were turned over to the police from day to day, beginning September 8th, 1908, for the house to house canvass.

WHO IS THE BENEFICIARY?

necessary for the State to show the connection of the three companies. Several States had failed to secure evidence of such connection, the State of Texas notably.

Speaking of the progress of these suits, Mr. Hadley said, in his speech at Springfield:

"The answer of the defendants was that they were independent and competing companies the one with the other. The court appointed Judge Robert A. Anthony of Fredericktown, Mo., to hear the testimony and report to it the findings of law and of fact. The taking of testimony began in July, 1905, and the State's case was concluded in March, 1906. During that time testimony was taken in five states, and for the first time the entire plan of organization and the business methods of the Standard Oil trust were disclosed. And this was accomplished against the most persistent efforts to delay the case and to prevent the witnesses from giving testimony. H. Clay Pierce of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, during the progress of this litigation threatened that he would resort to every method possible to defeat the suit and to wear me out by delay if I did not consent to a certain adjustment. The fact that I did not consent is abundantly demonstrated by the unrelenting efforts of his lawyers to make his threat good."

"The defendants began their testimony in September, 1906, and concluded it in January, 1907. The case was argued before the commissioner, Judge Anthony, in the latter part of February, 1907, and his decision was rendered in May of that year in favor of the State, sustaining every charge that I had made against the defendants. The defendants filed exceptions to the decision of Judge Anthony, which I at once asked the court to set down for hearing. The court set the case for argument in October, 1907, and on the 23d of that month the case was finally argued and submitted to the Supreme Court of this State for decision."

In his suit, Mr. Hadley proceeded wisely—shrewdly indeed—by charging that the Waters-Pierce Oil Company and the Republic Oil Company were in a conspiracy with the Standard Oil Company to evade and practically to nullify the laws of this State relating to trusts and monopolies. He laid his plans to catch the Standard Oil Company by showing that it was, in reality, the chief offender, controlling and using the smaller companies as a cloak with which to cover its tracks in this State, and he has so involved the slant octopus that it can hardly escape the penalties provided for breaking the Missouri laws.

The proceedings had reached the point in February, 1906, when certain facts had to be established. Mr. Hadley went direct to New York and began taking the testimony of officers and directors of the Standard Oil Company. He got some of them on the stand after chasing them around New York till they were forced to answer his summons, but they refused to answer his questions "on advice of counsel." Then came the test between the young Attorney General and the intellectual and legal giants of the bar, employed by the great combination of capital that had for years defied Missouri and other States. The result was that Mr. Hadley found a way to compel Rogers and other officials of the great corporation to take the stand and answer questions like any other citizen, and in the end he had, in permanent record, the testimony on which to present his case to Judge Anthony, who had been appointed by the Supreme Court to hear and report upon the facts involved.

Although the Supreme Court has had the complete case under consideration about one year, no decision has yet been handed down.

If a decision should be delivered before the election, sustaining Mr. Hadley's contention that the several oil companies entered into and maintained a conspiracy to evade the laws of the State and to prevent competition in the oil business, and assessing the penalties prescribed by Missouri laws for such a conspiracy or combination, the people could not be restrained from giving Mr. Hadley an overwhelming majority for Governor. Such a decision is not only probable but, with the report of Judge Anthony before it, the Court can hardly avoid a decision in favor of the State. Until the decision is handed down full credit for the great work done by Mr. Hadley may be reserved by Mr. Cowherd and his Democratic friends, but if the suit results in forfeiting the charter of the Waters-Pierce company, in excluding the Standard Oil Company and its puppet organizations from the State, and in heavy fines, with possibly a confiscation of property (possible under the law), then Mr. Cowherd's estimate of the usefulness and success of the Republican Attorney General will be subject to painful revision.

How Hadley Was Nominated.

I owe my nomination to the people of Missouri alone. I did not desire to be a candidate for Governor, or for any other office, but I responded to the expressed will of the people of Missouri without reference to party.—Herbert S. Hadley.

ENOUGH TO PAY SALARIES.

State Treasurer Makes the Money of the People Earn the Salaries of Officials.

The present State Treasurer, J. F. Gmelch, has made the money of the people earn about \$73,000 a year. With this interest money all of the salaries in the offices of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer and Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners have been paid—at least the interest earnings have been sufficient to pay such salaries if there had been no other revenue for that purpose. The salary list of the officers named, including the head of each department and the three railroad and warehouse commissioners, foots up monthly:

Governor's office.....	\$ 983.30
Secretary of State.....	1,783.30
Auditor's office.....	1,356.65
Treasurer's office.....	741.65
Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners.....	1,141.65
Total.....	\$6,016.55

These salaries aggregate \$73,198 per annum. But the Secretary of State collects fees equal to the salary list in his office, as does the Insurance Commissioner; so they are not a charge on the treasury, though all of their receipts are paid into the treasury and all salaries drawn therefrom. It is not wide of the mark, therefore, to say that the money earned from banks by the deposits of the State Treasurer now pays all salaries in the state house, including those of the Department of Education, and excepting those paid from fees. In other words, the management of the treasury is so efficient that none of the money coming into it from ordinary sources of revenue need be used to pay the salaries of state employes. Looking at the matter in this light, it is easy to see how valuable such a man as J. F. Gmelch becomes in the Treasurer's office. And it should be remembered that Wilbur F. Maring, now chief clerk in the Treasurer's office, and entitled to credit for his intelligent co-operation with Mr. Gmelch, is the Republican nominee for Treasurer, and is abundantly able to make the people's money earn enough every year to pay the state house officials and employes.

We declare that no question can be of greater importance than that of an honest ballot and a fair count, not only in the election of public officers, but also in the nomination of candidates for office.—Republican Platform.