

This is the Day of Party Leadership!
Instead of Boss-ship, and Hence the
Relegation in Politics of Such Men as
Senator Platt, Ex-Governor Odell,
David Bennett Hill, and Cox of Ohio.

Interesting Chat, Mostly New, About the Methods of Some of the Country's Most Noted Bosses—Oldest Member of Congress a Boss Whose Methods Were Looked Upon as Being Almost Ideal.

Crocker Last Real Boss of the Metropolis.

In strong contrast to Tammany Murphy has none of the personal influence which Croker possessed. He has power, he has a strong personality, but his discipline is similar to that of a disciplinarian, and behind it is none of the personal or moral sway which was one of the mainstays of the Tammany of the old-time boss. Murphy's manner is cold, formal, distant, whereas Croker's was cordial, sympathetic and responsive. It is this reason, rather than the fact that Murphy, sometimes called the "Boss of Tammany," has been compelled constantly to fight for the maintenance of the party's prestige, that has caused the relations with the democracy of Brooklyn still under the boss-ship of Senator Patrick H. McClellan to be so strained and bitter throughout the country as "Long Rats."

He was interested in politics, and had not been in New Haven a year before there began to gather around him the young men of the newly created National Republican party. At a state convention held in the late '80s young Sperry was a delegate, and he had attained so great authority as leader—some would call it boss—that the delegates unanimously urged his nomination, and, in fact, did nominate him for Governor, and nomination that year meant election.

President Lincoln was not a member. He was a member of the postmaster of New Haven. Boston, though he was, he nevertheless made the New Haven postoffice a model institution. He was a member of the training or perfecting the service. He was faithful in his attendance at the office. His business as a reason and builder was carried on by others. And yet, while thus faithfully serving as a postmaster, he helped to organize the organization of his country in the hollow of his hand. Industry; personal acquaintance, which included all the prominent citizens of the state, and a large number of them were secure; a constant and keen study of human nature; a kindly disposition all to help, going out of his way after to give assistance to those who were in his party; and a shrewd disposition of Federal and state patronage, and that, too, without incurring any enemies, perfected in Mr. Smyer the distinctive qualities of the American boss.

Bondsman for Ericsson's "Monitor."
One incident in Sperry's career illustrates the courage with which he was dis-

When Mr. Sperry signed this bond, he had no assurance that by reason of this he would be enabled to get a penny back, possessed, and he never gained any personal advantage from his action except the high sense of gratification that he should be able to do something to help what he regarded as a small way to the successful demonstration of the principles of the National Labor Monitor.

Almost every one of the old-time bosses maintained authority, in part, through personal consideration and influence, and in part by extending a helping hand the giving of assistance, or the starting of young men on the political road. No boss was ever willing to let the interests of his party and of the general interests of members of his party more

Intellectual restlessness and activity have made it inevitable that the old-time boss of politics should become tradition, and that new methods of leadership should be established.

How Croker and Platt Regained Their Power.

In obedience to public sentiment many laws have been passed prohibiting subscriptions to campaign funds by

Just after a legislative investigation held in New York City some 10 or 12 years ago, Richard Croker, who had been the boss of Tammany Hall, yielded his authority to John C. Sheehan. Mr. Croker, an Englishman and it was then said of him that he had never been permanently from politics. He admitted upon the witness stand that he had taken up politics and accepted leadership of the late Tammany Hall. He was known to have accumulated a large fortune in the 10 years of his leadership. He purchased a stockfarm and devoted himself to breeding and stocking it with horses, contemplating the breeding of racers.

For some reason Mr. Sheehan did not believe or maintain such authority as a boss was those who were known to the master of the Tammany organization. Croker was appealed to to return from England and he did come back. But there was grave doubt about his ability to wrest the leadership from

Mr. Sheehan. Suddenly, Croker was able to overthrow Sheehan and to regain absolute authority in Tammany Hall. And he secured this triumph through his ability to collect—and to

brief time—a very large campaign fund, receiving these campaign resources not from members of Tammany Hall who held offices in the city of New York, but from capitalists and importations which had interests to serve. He had the resources for a great political struggle for supremacy in Tammany, and within a week after he obtained them he again was in authority.

1881 Thomas C. Platt, then Senator in Congress as a colleague of Roscoe Conkling, resigned his seat because of factional disturbances. An attempt was made to involve Fred-

larger, and so on until the year 1888, when, by reason of his command of the purse, from which campaign funds could be obtained, he had so far regained power that he was numbered with Chanuncy M. Depew, ex-Senator Warner Miller and Senator Frank Hiscok as the "Big Four" who absolutely ruled the Republican party in New York State. This quartet so directed politics in 1888 as to make the nomination of General Harrison for President possible.

After that year Senator Platt's author-

One of the most dramatic spectacles is the relegation of Benjamin J. Odell from high political office to a position of local boss at first a local boss, having a fondness for caucus and ward politics, and considerable talent for a certain kind of management, and for obtaining statistical and political information, and for the favoring eye of Senator Platt and most cordial relations were established, until at last Odell, by the edict of Mr. Platt, was designated for Governor of New York State.

Odell's authority as a boss was not based so much upon his ability to collect information as upon his almost microscopic scrutiny of every individual vote at the stage, at least of his own party. He perfected organization of that kind as it had never been done by his party or by any other political organization in the State, the leadership of Tammany Hall. Furthermore, Odell, as a boss, insisted that his subordinates or lieutenants should always tell him the truth. When they came to him

with estimates which professed to show that in certain districts in New York State the party could rely upon a plurality definitely set down in figures, Odell would produce from his desk little note-books or memoranda, about the

IN THE TIME BOSS DON'T

had caused independent and personal canvasses to be made, and that by that method he had identified almost every voter in the district.

When his figures disagreed with those reported to him by his subordinates, and at last it was discovered that no favor could be obtained from this source by ascertaining complimentary things to him. He wanted the facts. Having this accurate information, he was able to strengthen weak places, and not displease anybody by giving attention to districts where the normal majority of his party was sure to be maintained.

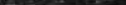
Frank S. Black, who was the youngest Governor ever elected in New York State, excepting William H. Seward, until Theodore Roosevelt was elected, was never a boss in exactly the way in which Senator Platt or Governor Odell gained and exercised that authority. In the Troy district, which was and now is the home of Governor Black, although he practices law in New York City, he did gain authority which had more of the element of leader-

ties to hip-hop, because he knew that the intellectual gifts prevailed. Yet shortly before the caucus of his party was held Governor Black was informed by the boss who controlled the organization in the state that the Democrats had been elected. Certain powerful corporate interests demanded this; it was with this intent that they had contributed largely to campaign funds.

Black realized as he did at no time when serving as Governor, what the autocratic power of the boss in New York State was. He cast political considerations forever, determined to make his career as a Democrat and a Republican. He purchased a great farm in New Hampshire, where he spends the Summer months, earns large professional fees and confesses to a sense of independence when he has no money when he was actively in politics.

Platt, Odell, Depew, Black, and from a narrower point of view, Timothy L.

Woodruff, have lost the authority as bosses which a few years ago they possessed. It is now recognized that the two commanding figures in New York State in public service or in political relations



THE FAMOUS AMEN CO
THE DAY BEFORE THE
HOTEL WAS CLOSED
CORNER PLATT BUILD
and these two represent the new ideal,
that of leadership rather than boss-ship.
Governor Hughes takes the public into
his confidence, earnestly seeks to dis-
cover what the public sentiment is, and
having learned it, to express it by admin-
istrative or legislative action. Governor
Root does not command this or that thing to
be done, but he counsels with leading
citizens and officials, and then, in the ex-
change of views there can be interpenetra-
tion with respect to men or measures;
and this is regarded as leadership.

authority and strength. He recognized the need of money, and tolerated as well as counseled the collection of it. He knew as well as anyone that higher authority which was behind all the bosses whose contributions maintained the bosses in power.

Governor Hill's power as a boss rested in an unusual gift of political organization. He had every district in New York State as absolutely under his controlling authority and within his understanding.

"This happened on Oil Creek, in the early days of petroleum. I had wandered over there in 1862. I was only a kid, but I saved \$50. About that time the flowing wells were coming in thick and men who were poor one day were finding themselves millionaires the next. I suppose there are a good many people out there who remember Jim Sherman. When I first met Jim he was a poor man, and as I had, but he had a lease on one corner of what was known as the Foster farm, and was trying to find oil on it. He had a few dollars in his pocket, but he hadn't cast the eye of favor on the Foster farm as yet, but Jim Sherman believed it had the oil and sand under it, and on the strength of Jim's faith his friends put up with him. He was rewarded as a legacy from her estate to help Jim out in his venture. When I

ran up against Jim I had been in the region only a couple of days and my \$50 was still intact. I had a boarding place about half a mile from where Jim was struggling to get his well into the sand



FOR RECOGNIZING ABILITY, FOR POLITICAL MACHINATION or manipulation. Therefore, in the first three terms he held on as Governor, he was at the head of an organization in the state as perfect as was the organization of Tammany Hall in New York.

In some features, Hill's machine resembled the organization of some of the great corporations. It enabled its head to make the New York delegation to the Chicago Democratic convention in 1892, unanimous in the support of his nomination for the Presidency, the first instance

But with the death of Senator Quay and with changed public sentiment, there appears now to be in Pennsylvania no longer any distinctive boss, but instead leadership represented by the

had received for a horse which he had traded another sixteenth interest in his well for, had all been absorbed and the drill had not yet struck oil. The condition of the Sherman well that I ran up against Jim. He was in despair. He had no hope of being able to obtain another dollar. He had been offering another sixteenth interest in the lease for \$50.00, but no one would buy. He was left with no takers. I thought, "I'll wait over a while and then said to Jim that I would take the one-sixteenth."

"Produce the fifty," said he.

"I felt for the fifty," I said, "there, and I at once remembered that I had put on my other vest when I came out and had forgotten to change my little wad of cash to it from the pocket of the vest I had on when I came out. I took out the Jim Sherman and started at once for my boarding-house to get the money. I got it all right, and was on my way back to invest it in the Sherman oil well, when

"Jim's struck it, by —! And struck it big!"



throw of Abe Ruef, who was back of ex-Mayor Schmitz, of San Francisco, and his subsequent prosecution in the criminal courts; the eclipsing of the authority of Boss Cox in Ohio, and in Chicago the substitution of a voters' league for boss authority, all illustrate the gradual passing of the old-time machine, and the new relation which the American public is assuming in the direction of its government.

"I pulled more than 2,000,000 barrels of oil, and that's the average price of oil during that time was \$4 a barrel. Jim Sherman cleared up something like \$6,000,000 out of it, and if I hadn't been so prosperous that was how he had to have two vests, 125,000 barrels of oil and the average price was \$4. That's how one of those vests cost me \$500,000."

The Main Consideration.
 (Washington Star)

Who cares for the money we'll make
 Here a notable price can be won?
 The time for the time is important is this:
 Will it be a good job when it's done?
 When you start a canal, men appeal to
 With figures surprising in dollars and years
 To all queries save one the world closes its
 Will it be a good job when it's done?
 Who cares for the hours that the orators
 keep?
 What to each favors a son
 And hinders without hesitation that talk will

"Will it be a good job when it's done?"
When reform or revision is set under way,
Be the cost what it may, a'en ten millions
a day,
We're content if we're sure we can pay.

WAISTCOAT COST SHARE IN AN OIL WELL

New York Sun.

"I was so prosperous in 1862 as to be able to have two vests," said a veteran oil man. "I had one of those vests cost me \$500,000. So when I was asked never put up as much as that, I believe, for his whole wardrobe. I could get a vest every bit as good as that now for \$150."

"This happened on Oil Creek, in the early days of petroleum. I had wandered over there in 1862. I was only a kid, but I had heard that at that time the flowing oil wells were being struck. Men who were poor one day were finding themselves millionaires the next. I suppose that was the good old days, when I was yet who you remember. Jim Sherman was the first met Jim he hadn't as much money as I had, but he had a lease on one corner of the Foester farm. He had a horse and was trying to find oil."

"For some reason or other speculation hadn't cast the eye of favor on the Foester farm as yet, but Jim Sherman believed it was good oil and under it and on the strength of Jim's faith his wife had put in every cent she had received as a legacy from her father, \$500. When Jim got out of the money he ran up against Jim I had been in the region only a couple of days and my \$50 was still intact. I had a boarding place about half a mile from where Jim was strolling to get his well into the eighth interest in his well for a drilling engine, and he had disposed of a sixteenth interest for \$60 in cash and a shotgun, and that \$50 and the \$15 he sold the shotgun for, together with \$100 he had received for a lease, all he had traded another sixteenth interest in his well for, had all been absorbed and the drill had not yet struck oil."

"It was at this interesting condition of the Sherman well that I ran up against Jim. He was in despair. He had no hope of being able to obtain another dollar. He had been offering another sixteenth interest in his lease for \$50, with no takers. I thought the matter over a while and then said to Jim that I was at the sixteenth."

"Produce the fifty," he said.

"I felt for the fifty. It wasn't there, and I at once remembered that I had put my last vest when I came out and had forgotten to change my little wall of wealth to from the pocket of the vest I had taken off. I explained matters to Jim Sherman and started at once for my boarding house to get the money. I got it all right, and was on my way back to invest it in the Sherman oil well, when I saw people running wildly from every direction toward the Sherman lease and heard them yelling:

"'Jim's struck it, by—! And struck it big!'"

drill in the Sherman well had dropped into the sand, and she was spouting at 2000-barrel rate; and she kept on spouting for two years. - Before she quit she had spouted more than 2,000,000 barrels of oil. At that time the average price of oil during the war was \$4 a barrel. Jim had cleared up something like \$6,000,000 out of it, and if I hadn't been so prosperous I was able to have two vests, 125,000 barrels of oil, and a horse. Jim said: That's how one of those vests cost me \$500,000."

The Main Consideration.

(Washington Special.)

Who cares for the time or the money we miss?

Ere a comfortable place can we have? The question of real importance is this: Will it be a good job when it's done? When you have a job, Jim, appeal to your fears

With figures surging in the world and yearning for a new day, we'll be sure to take care.

Will I keep a good job when it's done?

Who cares for the hours that the orator wastes?

We list to each favorite son And inquire without, hoping that talk will be a good day.

Will it be a good job when it's done? When you have a job, Jim, appeal to your fears

Be the case what it may, we'll be sure to take care.

We're not a day.