

# REPRESENTATIVES GEORGE AND MURDOCK REVIEW NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FROM BOTH SIDES

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**New York Lawmaker Says Presidential Primary Grows Out of Economic Demand.**

**PICKS TARIFF AS THE REAL ISSUE**

**Feels Certain That Democratic Record Will Bring Victory at the Polls.**

**REASON FOR HOT RIVALRIES**

**T**HE progress of the present extraordinary campaign for the Presidency will be traced for the HERALD in a series of articles, to be published three times a week, and written by Representative Henry George, Jr., of New York, on the democratic situation, and Representative Victor Murdock, of Kansas, on the Republican situation. Mr. George and Mr. Murdock while partisans, are independent students of political affairs. The HERALD will continue to publish on Sundays its unbiased estimate of conditions in both parties.

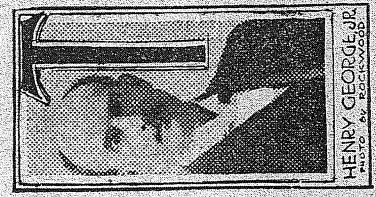
**Kansas Republican Traces Outburst of Popular Glamor for Share in Contest.**

**SEES OLD VIEWS OF DIGNITY UPSET**

**Predicts Uniform Ballot and Uniform Date for Nomination Four Years Hence.**

**EXTEMPORÉ SPEECH PERIL**

**By Henry George, Jr.**  
 (Democratic Representative from New York.)  
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HENRY GEORGE, JR.  
 PHOTO BY REYNOLDS

THE HERALD has asked me to write twice a week, over my own signature, a running commentary on Presidential campaign matters from the democratic party side. Believing, as I do, that this struggle will be marked by unprecedented party violence and personal bitterness, and that its consequences fraught with the gravest consequences to the Republic, I think it proper, in this first article, to make some preliminary observations in order to clear the ground, define at least the main issue and make plain what I understand to be the "democratic party side."

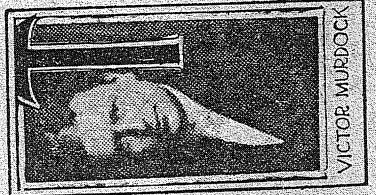
At what period in our history has a Presidential campaign begun so early? True, we are now only in the pre-convention stage, but when has the body of the people been so wrought up over such questions as who shall be and who shall get Convention delegates? When before have candidates for nomination engaged in regular, not to say arduous and even fierce, speaking campaigns through the respective States for those delegates? When before has the press so extensively reported and the reading public so eagerly sought news of the contests?

It does not answer the question to say that these things have come out of the recent introduction of the popular primary. This popular primary itself needs explaining. How came it among us? Surely it can have but one explanation—a popular desire to rule; a desire that finds its most intense expression in the Western movement for the initiative, referendum and recall. It is a sudden manifestation of a popular will to make, execute and interpret the laws.

But why this sudden desire, this sudden will? Is there a new birth of civic pride; an enlarged consciousness of citizenship; a quickened perception of national destiny? Is there a broadened view and a stronger grasp of political possibilities?

The explanation lies beneath these things. It is not political; it is economic. The people seek new political powers, not for political ends in themselves, but for ends that are economic. Traced back to its beginning, the cause of our extraordinary early and turbulent campaign is the unequal distribution of wealth.

**By Victor Murdock.**  
 (Republican Representative from Kansas.)  
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VICTOR MURDOCK

O-DAY President Taft is in Ohio. Last week he was in Maryland, two weeks ago in Massachusetts. This, a personal canvass by a President, is one of the lead admitted unique developments of the present contest. It has probably come to stay. For those citizens who demur to this sort of thing there is nothing left to do save to swallow their offense.

Because the promise of permanency in the new order of things is found in the fact that the personal Presidential canvass is a natural outgrowth of the Presidential primary. And, although it must be admitted this effect of more direct government was unforeseen, there is no reason why it should be disquieting.

So long as the Presidential nominee was chosen by the political machine, a personal canvass by the President was not only unnecessary, but was rated also as obnoxious. The President who sought a renomination believed his cause best promoted by an attitude of reserve and detachment, and while in the secrecy of the kitchen cabinet a chief executive might be suspected of disclosing to those privy to him, real, humanly anxious concern in his own success, he was supposed to throw upon the public's imagination the spectacle of a profound inward calm and dignified interest.

This attitude is no longer possible. Political machines are not making the nominations. The electors are. Political machines were built to resist the contagion of popular opinion, and because of this it was only the exceptional State in former contests which proved pivotal. Usually this was the State which had a large delegation; was fancy free, and held aloof until the moment its weight would turn the scales. In this connection there has been an interesting story in the cloak rooms of Congress for years that the single protest of Depeew in the New York delegation prevented the nomination of Allison for President in 1888.

George

Yet it is not so much the mere abundance or superabundance on the one side and want on the other. This would involve a struggle of poverty against riches. I do not read present conditions in any such way. Rather it is a sudden pinching of want on the part of the body of the people and an aroused fear by privilege of being found out.

No people on earth have been so serene as the people of this Republic. This country seemed the most blessed by nature. It lay stretched over a continent in the temperate zone, with every variety of soil, enriched with every mineral. Its mountains raised in their heights the vast rivers that watered or opened to commence every part of the land. Stimulated by a mingling of bloods and drawing ideas and inspirations from all the nations, its people founded a government which at the time was the most free and the most yielding to popular will. Under these conditions the American people came to be the most complacent and self-confident. Political weaknesses were viewed without concern, in the belief that whenever the people desired they could change what did not please them and substitute what would. While many from time to time grew alarmed at the trend of things, only the touching of the stomach nerve has at last roused the public at large.

**Tariff the Real Target.**

It is a matter for surprise that the first resentment should show itself toward the tariff. The last Presidential campaign was based upon that issue mainly. Or, rather, both great parties promised to reduce the tariff. The failure of the successful republican party to carry out its pledges awakened a resentment that swept a majority of the other party into the popular branch of Congress two years later. Since then the democratic House of Representatives has won deep and general approval by the passage of tariff reduction bills during the extra session last summer and again during the regular sessions this winter and spring; while the republican President and the republican majority in the Senate roused a Nemesis by their opposition to these bills.

The tariff was the head and front of the offending. At last the veil had been lifted from its workings. It was seen that it checked production and lower prices. All could see that it checked production and raised prices. It did not foster inside competition. It shut off competition from without, while it joined with internal forces to centre control and reduce production within. Reducing production, prices had to go up. With prices mounting the cost of living must needs mount.

Just when the public was ripe with resentment from its own discomfiture along came the exposures of the Steel and other trusts by the investigating democratic House of Representatives. Just when the highly protected New England mill lords were protesting against any lessening of their privileges the Lawrence strike laid bare their huge profits and starvation wages; a feeling spreads that the country, under the long monopoly rule, has not only been robbed, but, what hurts worse, has been swindled.

**Confirmed by Descriptions.**

More or less vaguely and confusedly the other forms of privilege are grouped together to be opposed, but the enemy named is the tariff. The republican party defended it, while the democratic party as a party attacked it. That a section of the republicans in Congress broke away and voted with the democrats only proves to the democrats the wisdom of their course and their vantage ground in the just commencing Presidential struggle.

The democratic party, besides having the conviction of being on the side of justice, has the further advantage of confidence of success. It is marching up to election day with the firm belief that a large majority of the voters are behind it. They voted it into power in the lower house of Congress two years ago, and all the signs indicate an even stronger support in the struggle to come.

This is the democratic party view as I understand it. It explains the recent course of the party in Congress. It explains the minimizing, almost the absence of "fool democratic blunders." It explains wise—to some miraculously wise—democratic caucus thought and action at Washington. It gives promise of controlling the Baltimore Convention and carrying the party triumphantly through the campaign to the polls.

Is it any wonder, then, that democratic candidates vie for the nomination? With the Presidency almost within its grasp what democrat in politics would not like to be his party's standard bearer?

And would not the powers of privilege like to get control if they could, set up a democratic candidate of their own choosing, and by controlling a false army leader confuse and confound a war against the allied tariff and other privileges? This has been realized so often in the past that it is ever a danger with the democratic party. Its present safeguard is that the people who made it their party for this tariff struggle were never so vigilant.

As for the frenzied struggle for control in the other party, the democratic side might, were it not for the national humiliation suffered, regard it with complacency since the President and the former President are eliminating each other and there is no third man who can bridge the chasm.

murders.

**Primaries Make Every State Pivotal.**

Now, with the direct popular vote in operation, every State becomes in a way pivotal. It is no secret here in Washington that the results in Illinois and Pennsylvania had extraordinary effect upon the vote in Massachusetts, and in a similar way the struggle over Maryland, which closed last Monday, had, as an added incentive to the desire for victory, the certain effect of the result on the Ohio primaries—May 21—now the greatest battle that impends.

The voters in their use of the Presidential primary do watch the expression of the different States with the most intense interest, and consequently the power of the individual in those States which vote early is magnified and his influence multiplied in a marvellous way.

It is the necessity of reaching the mind of this individual which has broken down the old custom of Presidential reserve.

It is, too, one of the ironies that President Taft should be the President called upon first to depart from the practice. Temperamentally he must have been averse to the innovation, and before the rally into Massachusetts his campaign managers, who insisted, after the Penrose blow-up in Pennsylvania, that the President take personal part in the canvass, must have had a lively session with him.

Especially happy in his short addresses, as his response to toasts and his prepared speeches upon special subjects show, the President is not rated as particularly familiar with the forms of effective presentation of things on the campaign trail. His prepared matter is rather judicially heavy for the stump, and he is never quite free from the desire to extemporize and never safe from the perils of following it.

**Mr. Roosevelt's Method on the Stump.**

Colonel Roosevelt, on the stump, grows. While preparing with care, he holds fast to the colloquial style, a style becoming more and more effective throughout the land. The Colonel has, in a greater degree than any public speaker within my knowledge, the ability to put tang to his thought and punch behind the spoken word which carries it. I think he can extemporize, and with safety, but I would guess he does not risk it.

On the democratic side, while the speaking campaign lacks accent through want of concentration, it is, nevertheless, in full swing. Speaker Champ Clark always a ready talker, indulges in an occasional foray into disputed territory to renew old acquaintances with audiences that know him of old in a Chautauqua way, a past activity which is now helping Clark tremendously in the popular vote. Clark prepares his speeches with great care.

Governor Woodrow Wilson has covered the country more thoroughly than any of the other aspirants. He has much grace of speech, and polish—really too much for the stump—and he has in a high degree the gift of pointed, snappy and scholarly extemporization, and he indulges it, not always safely.

While the campaign has progressed, Senator La Follette, intense, untrifling, and with all the uncompromising conviction which characterizes his public address, has never paused for a day. He is in California.

Governor Harmon, of Ohio—they say at Columbus he is "the man without nerves"—is also in the canvass. His style seems a trifle heavy for the present situation, and those who have followed him during the present campaign assert that he hasn't changed his style for the situation.

**"One Speech" System Ended.**

So far as I can learn not one of the contestants has maintained a single address for the whole campaign as was the wont of candidates once. The reportorial exigencies of the day will not stand for that. The head writer, too, is an unseen friend worth winning, and he is cold to a speech that is familiar.

There is repeated change in the text of speeches. The Presidential aspirants are everywhere. They were scouring Maryland last week. They are scouring Ohio this. Towns in Maryland which had not been known of men for a hundred years, save as blurred spots on the land, loomed suddenly in the date lines. Villagers, solicited heretofore by nobody, unless it was the candidate for comfortable, found themselves standing on the village green weighing the words of rivals for the Presidency.

This development, the personal Presidential canvass, has had all the delights of novelty. And while it will prove permanent, it will never again have the measure of excitement, activity and potency that it has had this year.

For in another four years with the spread of the Presidential primary over the whole country, with the uniformity of ballots which must come, there will also appear the provision of the same day for all Presidential primaries in all States.

And the glory of the village which happened to be located in a State with an early primary this year will pass. It will not see again the President and his rivals. In the next campaign they will make only the larger cities. But that President and rivals will make them, I am sure. It is part of the new democracy.

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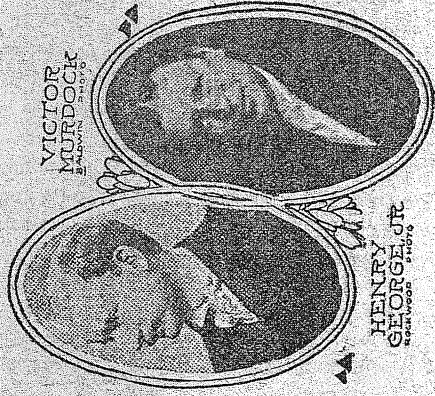
# CONVENTIONS DOOMED, SAYS MR. MURDOCK; PUBLIC GOADED TO ACT, ASSERTS MR. GEORGE

Republican Rivals Transgress the Old Rules, Says New York Lawmaker.

LAYS CHANGE TO DEMAND OF PEOPLE

Stung by Cost of Living, They Want to Know for Themselves the Men They Trust.

MR. CLARK AS AN ORATOR



Old System Will Crumble Under Impact of New Order, Declares Kansan.

JUNE GATHERINGS MAY BE THE LAST

Representative Believes Old Method of Nominating Has Served Out Its Day.

UNIT YET TO BE DECIDED

By Henry George, Jr.

(Democratic Representative from New York.)  
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THE next big event in this extraordinary Presidential campaign is to be in Ohio. There the President and former President are vying for the control of the convention delegates. Although election day is yet six months off, they are campaigning in the style of, not the beginning, but the ending of the fight. Indeed, they are transgressing the old rules. They are using language toward each other as seldom used in our history even toward the exciting close of Presidential struggles.

Formerly a high decorum restrained the actions of nominees for the Presidency as well as candidates for nomination for the Presidency. Thomas Jefferson's famous letter, setting forth tersely his principles and views, not only constituted his whole personal Presidential campaign but afterward became the essential part of the democratic party platform, and indeed to-day furnishes a lofty model.

Henry Clay was fond of quoting a phrase from one of the earlier patriots that "the Presidency is an honor neither to be sought nor declined."

Mr. Bryan's Tour Criticised.

With all the passion of the country over slavery and the greatest of the world's wars impending, the candidates for the Presidency in 1860 did not engage in speaking campaigns in the sense that we now see exhibited.

Even in 1896 Mr. Bryan's course in stumping the country from end to end was denounced as revolutionary and insulting the dignity of the exalted office he sought, yet that stumping occurred not until after the Democratic Convention at Chicago had named him as his party's choice. And he had no other means, he thought, of reaching the people.

As if to accentuate his depreciation of such unseemly conduct, Mr. Bryan's rival, Mr. McKinley, while making many campaign speeches, did so from the porch of his home in Canton, Ohio, and in answer to visiting delegations.

How different in the year 1912!

The other night I visited Baltimore. On reaching the hotel I found a mass of people wedged together at the entrance. On questioning I found that Mr. Roosevelt had just come in from a train and that after privately dining he would speed away in a motor car to make one or several speeches before rushing for a train to speak in other parts of the State of Maryland. A little later a confused roar of voices outside the windows where I dined betokened the appearance in the street of the speaking meteor and his start for his first audience. Meanwhile Mr. Taft was acting in a similar way in another part of the State. The old custom of thoughtful, formal addresses to the electorate, mostly in writing, has gone. Instead has come face-to-face

By Victor Murdock.

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)  
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MR. MCKINLEY, President Taft's campaign manager, is claiming four delegates in Maryland. This is important, but there is more in the Maryland snarl than the choice of four or even of sixteen delegates between Taft and Roosevelt. Sixteen votes one way or the other on the first, second, third or any following ballot are not likely to nominate or defeat either aspirant.

But Mr. McKinley's Maryland claim is significant chiefly in this—that it marks the beginning of the end of the national convention system—a system which has woven its threads into the warp and woof of the nation's life for nearly one hundred years.

Here are the facts:—The Maryland Legislature passed a few weeks ago a Presidential preference law. This law provides that the electors of Maryland could express individually a choice between rival aspirants for the party nomination for President, the proposition having at bottom the idea that if a voter is competent to choose between a republican and a democrat election day he is also competent, if a republican, to choose between republicans for Presidential nominee, or if a democrat to choose between democrats on primary day.

Wants Complications Avoided.

The plan adopted in Maryland was imperfect. Its chief fault was this:—It presented to the voter separately two parts of a single proposition—namely, the business of marking his preference for the Presidential nominee and then the business of voting for delegates to a State Convention to carry out the voter's direction. One transaction by the voter should have covered both propositions. The plan also adopted the unit rule for the State. If, in place of this provision, the plan had made the popular preference vote in each of the Congressional districts determinate upon the national delegates from that district, a part of the present complication would have been avoided.

The Maryland voter, confronted with a ballot inviting the expression of his choice between Presidential aspirants in his own party and another ballot permitting him to choose State delegates, gave, promptly, in his collective and composite capacity, a majority of preference votes to Mr. Roosevelt and also elected a majority of delegates who are Taft men. Now the delegates to the national convention produced by this machinery are bound by law to vote for the Presidential aspirant who received the majority of all preference votes cast by the party in the State—in this instance Mr. Roosevelt. And, by law, these national delegates are compelled to vote for that candidate so long as they believe in their consciences that he has an opportunity to win.

George

Myrdal

encounters, with the attendant excitement, his want of formality, and too often its rough-and-ready, its reckless, its spectacular features that give an unpleasant reminder of the huge, frenzied ancient hippodrome—the Roman forum elections and circus adjuncts.

**People Want to See and Feel.**

To me this change grows out of the condition of our people at large. They are not in a condition to consider questions in the old, quiet, decorous way. They want to see and feel; they want to see and feel for themselves. The cost of living is the immediate incitement. It bites like a gadfly. They must know the cause or causes. They demand to know about taxation, particularly tariff taxation; about monopolies, their cause and victims; about special privileges generally; about whom they hurt and whom they help; about the control of politics and how and why, and so to the end of the chapter, and they want to know all this while they wait, and they want the waiting to be short. Moreover, they want to see who tells them about these things and what he looks like while he says it, and they want to judge for themselves whether they can put trust in what he says.

In other words, it is a part of this helter-skelter, monopoly breeding, monopoly getting and using, rushing, squeezing, devil catch the hindmost period of mammoth trusts and vast strikes. Speeches must be made while you wait and serious thought must take its chances in the flurry. The same effect may be seen in public speaking in other parts of the world where similar economic and political conditions exist. The old style oratory has well nigh disappeared in Great Britain. I had the honor to participate in the Parliamentary campaign of 1909, known as the "budget campaign." I had an opportunity to study, at close hand, the best types of speaking in both the liberal and the conservative camps.

Mr. Balfour while addressing thousands had the manner of one talking in a club.

Mr. Asquith had the easy, finished, polished style of an advocate before a chosen body of lawyers.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor had the delightful manner of an after dinner speaker, where good taste prevails, but formalities are disregarded.

Mr. Churchill, despite an impediment, used such directness, such clearness of diction and intimate intensity, that, while appealing to a multitude, he spoke as to a single person.

**Informality of English Appeals.**

Mr. David Lloyd-George, the most versatile, the most varied in style, the most resourceful of all the popular speakers, had none of the old style orator about him. His greatest set speeches, before enormous audiences, had the informality of conversation and yet the sudden rushes of passion, the flashes of humor, the touches of poetic imagery, the notes of sentiment ornamented a narrative that built up and clinched his arguments.

I have seen him suddenly emerge from an argument with a metaphor that brought his whole audience to its feet wildly cheering. He is a man from the people, of the people, for the people, and he speaks to them in the quick, direct, short, terse terms that carry understanding and conviction.

On our side of the Atlantic there is no one with the same combination of dazzling extemporaneous powers as those displayed by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The President still has the habits of the bench upon him, although in the present exigencies he is fast learning a blunt directness.

Mr. Roosevelt, too often in a metaphor and epithet, is "of the earth earthy."

Governor Wilson reveals the highest scholastic type. He has ease, poise, readiness of flow, fullness of knowledge, delicacy and exactness of expression, logic, sweep and poetic thought, and a rapier skill of irony. But still he is a man of the closet. It is the intellect in him that appeals to the intellect in his audience.

It is the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Champ Clark, who more nearly than any other public man, to my thinking, bridges things from the old style to the new style of public speaking. With a long experience of varied House speaking behind him, he has the ability carefully and elaborately to prepare for an occasion and then deliver what he has prepared word for word, but without the sign of a note, with entire freedom of manner, or he can interject into his memorized speech thoughts as they come from a surcharged audience, or he can abandon entirely all preparation, "go after" an audience in plain, blunt language and a metaphor that recalls the powers of Lincoln.

**Moral Obligation Will Control.**

As there is considerable doubt about the element of time involved in the action and reactions of a delegate's conscience and its possible pitiable helplessness in the storm and stress of a convention absolutely certain to be cyclonic, President Taft's manager, Mr. McKinley, with ready optimism, is supposed to be preparing to gather the Maryland delegation to the bosom of the Taft family after the first ballot. Of course, nothing of the kind will happen. The delegation from Maryland will continue to vote, after the first ballot, for Mr. Roosevelt. For always and ultimately when the noise and tumult of contest are thrown out of the equation public opinion rules. It will in Maryland. Moreover, the Taft managers will hardly dare to ask their friends on the Maryland delegation to assist the Taft forces in an attempt to organize the National Convention. There, too, the moral obligation will control, as it should control. However, it is not in the complication of Taft men serving under legal instruction as Roosevelt delegates that the collapse of the national convention system is seen. That event is opened to view best by the clash in authority between the law of Maryland and the rules of the National Republican Committee.

The law of Maryland decrees that the preference vote of the whole State shall control the votes of all the delegates from the State. This is the unit rule.

**Brings Conflict of Authority.**

The National Republican Committee in arranging the rules for election of delegates declared that "in no State shall an election be held so as to prevent the delegates from any Congressional district (to the National Convention) being selected by the republican electors of that district."

In each of two Maryland districts Mr. Taft received a majority of the preference votes. Under the Maryland law these are included as part of the vote in the whole State and are merged in it. Under the National Committee rule these districts would be counted for Mr. Taft and the four delegates from the two districts accredited to him. The matter might end there. But Manager McKinley, of the Taft camp, claims those four delegates. Here, then, is conflict, flat, direct, clear. The strange knight in the field, the Presidential primary, has his lance levelled, and the old champion of the lists must snup his visor shut and get busy with his rowels. For this is no holiday joust. Wisconsin, with a Presidential primary plan, came to the tourney in the National Convention in 1908 and escaped rebuke only because advocates of the old order didn't think it was worth while to spank the youngster; but times have changed. State after State has put in the Presidential primary system. While all differ in form, they are essentially the same.

**Districts May Be the Units.**

Uniformity of form will come later and probably the Congressional district will be held to be the unit of representation in popular preference votes. Ultimately this may happen. But now the advocates of the old convention plan, although seeming to challenge only the letter of the primary plan, are, in fact, challenging its spirit. They are against any Presidential preference primary at all. That means war.

Before the impact of the new order, headlong, high spirited, puissant, the old convention system will crumple up and fall. With uniformity of Presidential preference primary methods the nominating convention will pass, as it has already passed in several progressive States, and the only delegates to gather together will be the party nominees sent to a national party council to draft a platform. The next national conventions are, in all probability the last. The system served its day. Born of popular affront at the Virginia machine manipulating selfishly the old Congressional caucus which preceded it, the national convention system not only superseded it, the national convention annihilated the electoral college. The sin of the caucus and college was indirection. And indirection is the sin of the convention.

That is the significant thing in the Maryland situation and the contest between popular primary law and national committee edict which has grown out of it.

# OHIO THE CRUCIAL POINT FOR REPUBLICANS, DECLARE MR. GEORGE AND MR. MURDOCK

Democrat Likens the Contest to Locked Horn Fight of Wild Beasts.

## CLIMBING SLIPPERY

POLE ALSO RECALLED

Candidates' Sole Purpose Seems To

Be to Kick and Scratch,

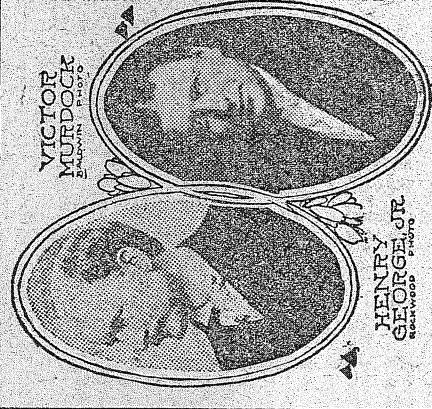
He Writes.

## CHANCES OF HARMONY GONE

Campaign of Recriminations Has Reached

Such a Stage No One Can Save

Party, He Believes.



Republican of Kansas Sees Added Interest Through Absence of State Bosses.

## SAYS VOTERS WILL

ESCAPE BAND WAGONS

Result Will Be Accurately Indicative

of Mind of Electorate, He

Believes.

## RECALLS OLD CONDITIONS

Days of Forakers, Hannas, Allens and

Thurmans Will Have No Influence

Now, in His Opinion.

These political reviews will be written for the HERALD by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

(Democratic Representative from New York.)

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THE struggle in Ohio for national convention delegates between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt reminds me of a pair of interlocked antlers I saw in a glass case in the State Capitol of Montana two years ago. The antlers were large, very strong and must have been driven together in a tremendous head on collision. A note accompanying them explained that they were found accompanied by skeletons of what must have been two very large elk. The infuriated animals in their mad duel had together been caught in a death grip and so died.

It looks to me as if this is precisely what the President and the erstwhile President will accomplish for each other in their campaign in Ohio. They are rushing at each other with lowered horns and will lock in a death grip.

Each acts as if possessed by a frenzy of madness. Each seems to be talking without reason. Each appears to have forgotten the past or as if to him recent events were far away and remote.

Their whole purpose in life would appear to be congested into the purpose of a few days or weeks, regardless of what the country knows of each and of both together—remembers with vividness of things learned but yesterday. This President and this one time President of the nation struggle with one frantic purpose—to decay, to be foul, to destroy the other.

Or take the case as presented by a brilliant Western editor, Mr. Louis F. Post, of Chicago, in The Public. "Imagine two full grown men," he says, "trying to climb a greased pole at a country fair to snatch some tempting prize at the top. If your imagination can stand the strain you will have a picture of the Presidential contest between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt. Your fantastic picture will gain in verisimilitude if you imagine the pole climbers as old chums whose self-absorption in pursuit of the prize has got them to scratching and clawing, kicking, punching and pulling and exchanging uncomplimentary remarks while incidentally contributing valuable information confidentially acquired. In itself this Presidential exhibition is disgusting; yet it may be worth enduring for its disclosures."

BY VICTOR MURDOCK,

Republican Representative from Kansas.

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OHIO'S vote on the aspirants for Presidential nomination will be virtually free from the ordinary political methods of machine manipulation.

This circumstance, with the time and place of the vote, conspires to stage the supreme moment, so far as the republican Presidential contest is concerned, in Ohio.

The primary is late—May 21—after most of the delegates to Chicago have been chosen. Ohio is the President's State, and Ohio is in a condition of unusual disorganization politically. For Ohio is bossless. This fact, if not the most interesting feature of the contest between President Taft and Colonel Roosevelt, may prove the most controlling of all the factors involved in the battle.

In the State which had once its Hanna, once its Sherman, once its Allen and its Thurman, no one to-day sits high in his castle and sends his courtiers clattering across drawbridges and out upon the highways with orders. No one here levies tribute or exacts feudatory service. No one is issuing fetters of menace and reprisal.

For while there have been political lords and lordlings in the Buckeye State in the past, there is none now. There may have been a day when the science of politics and the art of manipulation reached that degree of perfection where a wish on the lips of the leader at midnight in Washington became a movement for the capture of the delegates at Coshocton, Gallipolis or Wapakoneta by the following noon.

But that day is no more. Many of the Ohio men here in Washington make no secret of the fact that the State as a whole is without organization, and they declare that the condition is equally true of both the republicans and democrats.

The State is Bossless.

This disappearance of central organization in the State makes the struggle which culminates this week extraordinary, particularly in the number of campaign speakers who will be rushed into the State. For when organization is absent the voter is to be reached in only one way—by direct appeal to the individual.

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George

How Roosevelt Has Turned.

What are these disclosures? Everybody is talking about them. Mr. Roosevelt says that Mr. Taft "means well" but that "he means well feebly," and that, what is more to the point, his administration "has been under the influence of men who are neither well meaning nor feeble."

Mr. Roosevelt it was who selected Mr. Taft for a successor. He said at the time in response to objections to the succession that "they [meaning the delegates in the Republican Convention in 1908] will take Taft or else they will have to take me." But now this very Taft—this President of Roosevelt's own choosing and forcing upon the Republican Convention and into the Executive chair of the nation—"means well feebly." And observes the erstwhile President:—"It is this quality of feebleness in a normally amiable man which pre-eminently fits such a man for use in high office by the powers of evil."

After more of this sort of talk Mr. Roosevelt has consigned his erstwhile friend—this President of his own making—to a high place in the Ananias Club.

And Mr. Taft speeds about the State of Ohio at the end of a train, stopping wherever a few are gathered and uttering such words of wisdom as "He has hit be below the belt. I now have my back against the wall, and I mean to fight."

He declares that Mr. Roosevelt speaks falsely and says that in many of the things for which Mr. Roosevelt is blaming him he had been acting on Mr. Roosevelt's own advice. "Mr. Roosevelt," cries the President, "is guilty of iteration and reiteration of high purpose without offering any practical solution of the difficulties he proposes to overcome."

Thus these two men, who have enjoyed, and are again candidates for, the highest honors of the Republic, back and hew at each other, charging ignoble actions and ascribing sordid motives.

Cannot Pathos Their Purpose.

What can be possessing them? From what point of view are they surveying the field? Whom are they trying to vanquish—each other or the common enemy?

After they have got done chopping off each other's arms and legs, how can either expect to meet a champion fresh from the democratic ranks, whole in body, alert in faculty, in armor complete to the last rivet?

Suppose Mr. Taft downs Mr. Roosevelt in Ohio—or suppose Mr. Roosevelt shall get the better—then what? Is the survivor of such a struggle in a State to be fit to enter the greater, graver struggle before the nation?

It really looks as if these two men have their eyes and their hearts more on the nomination than on the election. It really seems as if Mr. Roosevelt, having for a variety of reasons become poisoned in mind against Mr. Taft, intends to humiliate him at any cost by preventing his renomination.

On the other hand, it is difficult to draw any other conclusion than that Mr. Taft, feeling this purpose, resists it with all the fire and recklessness of an aroused and indignant normally passive nature.

"After us the deluge," they might both properly say. Mr. Taft is actually credited with saying that "I'd rather be beaten at the polls by old Champ [meaning Champ Clark] than to be beaten for renomination by Roosevelt."

To date the erstwhile President has said little on this particular point; but it is noticed that he has put a razor edge on his battle axe.

Sees Election of Democrat.

How can such a struggle end but in the election of a democrat in November? Mr. Taft needs considerably less than a hundred delegates to win the majority in the republican convention—and a bare majority will nominate.

Does Mr. Roosevelt hope to attract from his opponent some Southern delegates? The moment that occurs a break is likely to occur in Mr. Roosevelt's own Northern ranks. Delegates in the States of Illinois, Pennsylvania and Maryland favorable to Mr. Taft, but now held to Mr. Roosevelt as the Southern delegates are held to Mr. Taft, would break ranks for the incumbent of the White House.

Or do any believe that Mr. Roosevelt can look for any advantage from the number of contesting delegations his side will send to Chicago? That is where Mr. Taft has a great advantage. The National Committee is a Taft committee. According to all precedent that committee will seat its own partisans.

"Well," say some wise ones, "neither Taft nor Roosevelt will be elected. The Republican Convention will realize this and will name a third man who will reunite the party."

Mr. Justice Hughes is named as the harmonizer. But Mr. Justice Hughes can no more harmonize the two great warring wings of the republican party than he can harmonize ore and brimstone. The fighting has become too bitter and too general. No one can accomplish the feat of harmonizing. The chasm is not to be bridged.

McKinley

With the elector no longer susceptible to intermediary influence of the machine kind, the rival aspirants for the Presidential nominations, with their oratorical cohorts, are abroad to meet the voter face to face.

President Taft, Colonel Roosevelt and Senator La Follette will all tour the State this week. Governor Harmon and Mr. Bryan, for Governor Woodrow Wilson, have been in the midst of a spirited contest and will continue. Besides, both republican and democratic parties legionsaries of the forum are preparing to storm the State from the hills that line the Ohio River on the south to the dunes along Lake Erie to the north.

A curious evolution is back of this noteworthy freedom of the Ohio voters from the restraints usually incident to close organization. In almost all the States where strongly entrenched organizations have collapsed the event has been a dramatic popular explosion against the machine. In Ohio organization has simply faded away.

The Ohio citizen has never lacked in vigilance over his rights. He has never hesitated also to attack organizations, and there has been in Ohio as a consequence in both parties for years nearly all the time two watchful factions. In the republican party after the war Senator Sherman had a powerful organization, and while Sherman did not attain the Presidency, it was during this period that Hayes and Garfield.

The Foraker Days.

It was in the day of Ohio's ascendancy in national politics that Mr. Foraker came into public life and immediately gathered about him a formidable force, part of which held tenaciously to him as long as he remained active in politics.

It was in the days of the Sherman régime and the Foraker challenge to that régime that William McKinley appeared as a national figure. His Congressional career, the unflagging zeal with which he upheld his principles, his personality gave him throughout the State a popular favor equal to any political organization and quite apart from the power of any machine then existing.

This following grew during his terms as Governor, and was all powerful after he had become President. Senator Hanna succeeded to the immediate direction of the organization. Later Mr. Foraker gained the Senate.

Then Colonel Roosevelt became President. His relations with both Senators from Ohio were amicable. When Senator Hanna died Representative Dick succeeded him. The once powerful organization which had come into Mr. Dick's care plainly was on the wane. He did not hold it together. Possibly it was not in the stars for it to survive longer.

In the meantime there was a clash between President Roosevelt and Senator Foraker over several things, including the Brownsville affair. Senator Foraker's seat went from him and his organization declined. Senator Burton, who succeeded to Senator Foraker's place, found both old rival organizations in the State adrift. He did not reorganize the State. He may have tried. I do not know. If he did try, it is likely he found the time unpropitious and the task baffling.

The citizen of Ohio is characteristically independent. Environment and training make him so. His land is rich in his landscape fair, his cities numerous and busy. Tucked away in every valley is a schoolhouse, and every section has its academics and colleges. In the midst of his holdings and his activities, the Ohio citizen has been possessed always of a certain civic cogency. He is watchful of his rights.

When Clay Was Defeated.

President McKinley once told me that older men had told him that many an adherent of Henry Clay in Ohio, after Clay's defeat for the Presidency, took his dog and his gun and went away into the woods, remaining weeks to hide from his neighbors the signs of his humiliation. And in the years since the civil war the followers in Ohio of Sherman, Garfield, of McKinley, of Foraker have shown genuine partisan vigor, but a partisan vigor which discriminates for popular favor has never been lightly won in Ohio nor easily maintained.

The voter has always had a mind of his own. To him the aspirants for the Presidency are turning. They will find him in more than an ordinary degree detached and free from control.

The rich rumble of the band wagon, as it is identified by political guides, may lure him of course, but certainly less than it has in the past. Upon the whole, he will break no fingernails grabbing for the end gate of that vehicle.

He will cast his own vote, and the record the majority of ballots cast a week from next Tuesday will make is certain to be illuminating. And, what is more, the vote will be accurately indicative of the mood of an informed electorate, expressing, without trammel, its real sentiments.

# MR. GEORGE SAYS TARIFF IS ISSUE; MR. MURDOCK DECLARES CONVENTION TRICKERY IS VAIN

Mr. Roosevelt dodges question of high cost of living, Democrat asserts.

CRITICISES "I AM ONLY CANDIDATE" LETTER

Emphasizes, he thinks, that fight is finish one between Progressives and "Stand Patters."

MR. LA FOLLETTE AS FACTOR

Writer minimizes prediction that Wisconsin Senator might be successful 'Harmony' candidate at convention.



These political reviews will be written for the Herald by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.  
(Democratic Representative from New York.)

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MR. ROOSEVELT puts the matter flatly. "There is just one candidate whom it is possible to nominate against the bosses, and that is myself. Every vote for every other candidate from now on is in reality a vote for Mr. Taft."

This is what the erstwhile President says in his published letter to Mr. I. A. Caswell, of St. Paul, Minn., chairman of the Roosevelt committee.

Certainly the language is flat and plain. It is, in essence, "I alone can win." It dismisses Mr. La Follette with a wave of the hand, although there are many men wise in politics who think the Wisconsin man will win the republican nomination. They argue that Roosevelt should have kept out of it and let the progressive republicans get behind the Senator; that that would have split the party between La Follette and Taft, and that then Roosevelt could have come in with a rush as the one man in the emergency to save the republican chances.

This looks as if it might have proved shrewd political strategy, but Mr. Roosevelt, whether from a lack of self-restraint and an impetuous desire to get into the struggle at once or whether it was that Mr. Roosevelt had some move that was superior in tactics, rushed at once into the fray.

Senator La Follette's Long Chance.

And in this way he, not Senator La Follette, stands as one of the splitters of the party, and the Senator from Wisconsin, in the judgment of the afore mentioned wise ones, thinks there may be a crisis in the convention that will sweep both Taft and Roosevelt aside and bring La Follette forward in their stead.

Republican belittles fear that National Committee will name candidate.

PUBLIC OPINION WILL RULE, HE IS CONFIDENT

Contrasts old time methods for control of temporary power with modern demands.

DAYS OF SCHEMING GONE

Leaders now recognize, he writes, that people, awakened to situation, have final voice.

BY VICTOR MURDOCK  
(Republican Representative from Kansas.)

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IN some quarters the belief grows that the members of the National Committee and not the delegates of the Convention will name the republican candidate at Chicago. That will not happen.

The belief that the committee has the power of bestowing victory arises in part from the large number of contests which are pending before the committee, and is given emphasis by the prominence just now of the political news item that the committee is about to make up the temporary roll of the Convention. But the host, which hangs upon the rumble and crash of instant political event and which is now gathering around this work of the National Committee as the chief transaction of the whole affair, is doomed to disappointment. Its mistake is in persisting to think in terms of the convention system in a day of prevalent public opinion. Certainly the business of making up the temporary roll is no minor matter, and yet it is not the major transaction it has been on other occasions.

What is the temporary roll? It is a list of delegates who are to be admitted to seats in a convention before the convention's permanent organization.

Old Time Convention Control.

In the day of complete convention control the importance of the temporary roll rested upon the axiom that the right to the first move constituted nine points of the law of conventions. The massive engine, made up of a thousand excited or excitable delegates, out of which a candidate for President was produced, moved only by immediate direction, intimate and commanding, and consequently the faction or committee or man who led and pointed the way in the beginning had a distinct advantage in seizing control.

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Personally, I do not think much of this idea. The struggle between the President and his predecessor is too deadly to admit of harmony. They are not only fighting each other as individuals, but they have involved their followers. It is internecine war. It is a repetition, so to speak, of the deadly strife of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Each party or faction views the other with a hatred far in excess of any hostility shown the common enemy, the democrats. They are at each other's throats in each of the States.

The Taft partisans say that the nominee must be Taft or a Taft man. The Roosevelt partisans say that they will not possibly support any one else than Roosevelt or a Roosevelt man. The two factions will no more get behind a "harmonizer" than would the Guelphs and Ghibellines get together in peace and amity during the height of their blood-drenched animosities.

Besides this, Senator La Follette himself has drawn a clear line of principle between the conservatives and progressives in the republican party. He has repeatedly proclaimed that they are animated by hostile principles. He has preached revolution against the stand-patters. How, then, could he or any man of his kind ask or obtain the support of the stand-pat wing of the republican party?

Perhaps Mr. Roosevelt perceived this situation. Perhaps that is why he states in his Caswell letter, "I became a candidate only when I became convinced that no other progressive candidate could by any possibility be nominated against Mr. Taft."

Or perhaps it was that Mr. Roosevelt just wanted the place that the Senator from Wisconsin was occupying, and, regardless of understandings, expressed or tacit, swept down upon the situation, elbowed La Follette out of the way, and now announces himself as the only possible winner against Taft.

#### Dodges Tariff Issue.

Another thing to be noticed about this Caswell letter. All the iniquity that the champion from Oyster Bay pits himself against is personified in a political boss. He is against bosses. The political boss is the issue. There is no mention of the high cost of living, no mention of the tariff as one of the immediate causes of the high cost of living. No reference to Mr. Taft's record as a defender of the tariff, as the man who said that the present Payne-Aldrich law is the "best tariff this country ever had."

No; Mr. Roosevelt passes over these. He must too well know that it is a very delicate question to raise with the American people. He, himself, before his Presidential days breathed fire against the whole wicked tariff institution. Indeed, during his earliest period in politics he was a free trader, a member of the New York Free Trade Club and of the Cobden Club, of England. Rumor even says that when he was an incumbent of the White House he had a message ready to send to Congress indicting the tariff in terms far stronger and with illustrations far more startling than those used by Grover Cleveland in the message that threw the whole country into a tremendous debate over the question of tariff robbery.

Mr. Roosevelt did not send in this message. In fact, he avoided the dangerous subject for the seven and a half years he was in the White House. He preferred to denounce the trusts—the bad trusts, not the good trusts. He condemned in loud, sounding language the "malefactors of great wealth," while he carefully protected such "malefactors" as were the supporters of his "policies."

#### Ignores "Bosses" in Own Ranks.

So that now, in his campaigning against Mr. Taft, he has nothing to say against the weakest part of Mr. Taft's position; nothing to say about the high cost of living; nothing to say about what ought or what ought not to be done respecting the tariff. He explodes with cannonlike reports about the candidate of the bosses, and he names specifically some of the bosses behind Mr. Taft.

He says nothing of bosses in his own ranks; he says nothing of Mr. George W. Perkins, who, in his privilege seeking and privilege defending capacity, might be regarded as far more dangerous to the public weal than all the purely political bosses in the United States put together.

"My personal interest," says Mr. Roosevelt in the Caswell letter, "is of no concern one way or the other, but it happens that at this time I typify and embody the great cause which can only be furthered by supporting me."

What great cause? The great cause of how to get a living; the great cause of how to get more food, raiment and shelter in these hard times; the great cause of want, of dire hunger of body and soul, of hundreds of thousands in the Republic in this year of Our Lord 1912?

No; the great cause is the bosses. The great cause is against the bosses who are for Mr. Taft and for the bosses and for everybody and everything else that are for—

**Roosevelt.**

at the start and in maintaining disrupted control afterward.

This advantage, attaching to the first move in the game, was inherent in the convention system and one of its evils. The framework of a convention when there were no contesting delegates was the county chairman.

The usual method followed in the system for seventy years in this country was that seen in the ordinary county fair convention. The night before the convention a group of interested workmen met in secret conference and decided that John Smith should be temporary chairman on the morrow. That individual was not present. Indeed, he was innocent, in all probability, of any knowledge of the imminent honor. But his friend Jones was present and arranged for Smith's selection. This was consummated easily the next day by arrangement with the county chairman, who consented to give recognition first to Jones, who, in turn, nominated Smith.

#### How Machinery Worked.

Smith, if he was without guile, and very often he was, gained the stage and made hurriedly a short, memorized and finely florid speech, and then, as a shipwrecked man come at last into a sheltering harbor, he gave a sigh of relief, straightened up and declared in measured tones and with easy command:—"What is the further pleasure of the Convention?" Smith had been told beforehand that his neighbor, Brown, would move the appointment of a Committee on Credentials, and he now turned to that individual with a singleness of purpose, hearing and vision which gave Brown a monopoly such as Mr. Rockefeller must have dreamed about when he was still young and experienced with the futility of human endeavor had not yet turned his ambition cold.

Brown duly moved that the temporary chairman be empowered to appoint a Committee on Credentials, and John Smith, if he were true to the traditions of his high office, extracted from his vest pocket a list of delegates previously handed him, and after a general laugh, without which no county convention would have appeared regular, announced the names of the delegates appointed to the committee.

When there were no contesting delegations the work of the Committee on Credentials was perfunctory, of course. But if there were contests its work was of the first importance, for it could seat and unseat delegates, and this meant in a close Convention the decision of victory or defeat for faction and candidate. In those days a Committee on Credentials followed in a fight the direction of the force which created it, and the line of control from caucus to Jones, from Jones to Smith, from Smith to Brown and from Brown to the Committee on Credentials was perfect in its articulation. Jones in a contest was supreme.

#### Present Day Methods.

In a measure the right of initiative is still potent in conventions, but as a controlling factor it has gone to the attic with discarded political methods.

Still a national committee guards jealously the precious first move. In Chicago the republican committee will sit with the dignity of a court and deliberate with solemnity and judicial calm. It will admit delegates and exclude delegates from the temporary roll of the convention, and so determine those who shall have part in the first function of the conclave—the selection of a temporary chairman. That chairman will select, upon motion, a temporary organization, which will perpetuate the temporary roll.

This, if the national committee were in control of public opinion or if its activities were protected by an atmosphere of public indifference, might mean the end of the whole matter.

But it happens that the national committee is not in control of public opinion this year, and that the advantage attaching to the right to make up the temporary roll has become more shadow than substance. Those who persist in believing that the national committee is to exercise dominion at Chicago and name a President are thinking in terms of the old régime—the terms of machine politics. There might have been warrant for such a belief in a similar situation thirty years ago, or twenty, or ten, but now, while the National Committee may seat delegates, it cannot control them after they are seated.

The truth is, the national committee cannot stand before the pressure of strong prevalent desire or quickly moving popular determination. As all other depositories of power, political committees are strongest when they are unchallenged. They thrive in the lazy atmosphere of popular indifference and wax fat on apathy. Before assault their prestige melts, their power fades.



# "PRESIDENCY PRIZE OF RICH," MR. GEORGE SAYS; MR. MURDOCK DESCRIBES OHIO CAMPAIGN

Democratic Writer Deplores  
Huge Sums Spent in Can-  
didates' Behalf.

ROOSEVELT EXPENSE  
A MILLION, HE SAYS

Depicts the Many Avenues of Outlay  
That Handicap Poor and  
Capable Men.

## PRIVILEGE'S OPPORTUNITY

Despite Popular Primaries, Conditions,  
He Asserts, Make for the Rule  
of Money.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

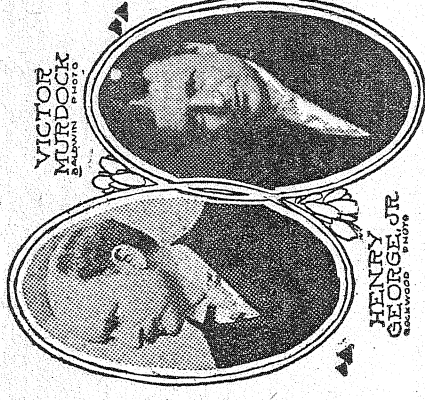
(Democratic Representative from New York.)  
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WHO is paying all the expenses of the organized delegate-hunting in Ohio? Who paid the expense of the campaign in Massachusetts, Maryland, Illinois and the other States? Who will meet the cost of the campaign in the States still to come? It costs money to travel, to hold meetings, to send out literature and all the rest of it. And when before in our national history were there such expenditures in getting delegates for national conventions? Is this one of the accompaniments of the movement toward direct primaries or the direct expression by the people of their will as to who shall be the Presidential candidate of the two great parties? Are candidates within a party to go into these elaborate and expensive campaigns in each State in an effort to get the party nomination, and then have to make a second elaborate and expensive campaign against the other party's choice for the Presidential office?

### "Presidency Prize of the Rich."

If this is to be the case the poor man will be out of it, unless under extraordinary circumstances. The rich man will be favored; or the poor man who is in the hands of the rich. The Presidency will become the prize of the rich. Take Mr. Underwood, democratic leader of the floor of the House of Representatives. He is by character and capabilities amply qualified for the Presidency. But he is by no means a rich man. He desires to obtain the support of his State, Alabama, for the nomination. Since he could not leave his most responsible post in Congress to go speech-making, his friends advised him that the wisest, most effective and economical way to reach all the people of the State would be through the newspapers.

An address and biographical matter, printed in sheets of newspaper size, were therefore prepared for circulation with the Alabama newspapers. The average charge by each newspaper was small, but the aggregate expense was very probably between two and three hundred thousand dollars.



HENRY GEORGE, JR.

VICTOR MURDOCK

*These political reviews will be written for the HERALD by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.*

Republican Compares the Old  
Time Stumping Tours with  
Modern Methods.

'HIGH GEARED,' HE SAYS,  
'AND BALL BEARING'

Present Day Trips a Physical Test  
Requiring the Fitness of  
an Athlete.

## HOW CROWDS ARE DRAWN

Telephone Operator in Rural Regions  
Summons Farmers to Meetings  
at Hour's Notice.

BY VICTOR MURDOCK.

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)

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THERE is an old story, employed frequently and fetchingly thirty years ago in high school graduating essays, that once the great Kentuckian Henry Clay on his way home from Washington halted the coach on the summit of the Alleghany Mountains, near Braddock's grave in western Pennsylvania, stepped to the ground, wrapped his great cloak about him, and stood with his face to the west in a listening attitude. Some one asked him to what he was listening, and he answered prophetically, "I am listening to the footsteps of the coming millions."

This may or may not have happened. Be that as it may, if Henry Clay, equipped with the same ears and imagination, could strike the same posture to-day at the same spot, he could hear an equal volume of sound. But it would not be footsteps. It would be a roar of campaign oratory rising in one great diapason from the State of Ohio.

### Modern Electioneering.

The campaign orator is everywhere. He is telling them what on the banks of the murmuring Maumee, he is ripping them up the back by the fair waters of the Scioto, he is laying down the law where the Muskingum gropes its way through the hills to the sea. In the annals of the Mississippi Valley, so far as primary elections go, there has never been anything like it. As an example of modern electioneering, it is high geared, ball bearing, triple expansion, with a reciprocating carburetor and a back action spark plug.

Not only is the campaign orator everywhere, but here in Ohio he is at his best. The battle of the Buckeyes turns back always to the characteristics of the rival aspirants, and it is in the hot work of lading out opinions to audiences hungry for the high flavor of personalities that the orator glows to white heat and reaches higher and yet higher levels of eloquence. With his left hand spread out nervously over the top of a white water pitcher and his right hand held on high and among the overhanging boughs of a stage forest, the campaign orator in Ohio just at present is doing that

George

in mind out.

Now to do so simple a thing as that in forty-five or more States would mean more than a hundred thousand dollars. Where could a poor man find a hundred thousand dollars? And a hundred thousand dollars is a pretty large sum for the friends of the average poor man to find—the poor man, I mean, who might by his character, qualifications and political circumstances, properly be a candidate for the nomination.

Speaker Clark has been singularly fortunate in being able to get so many delegates on a very small expenditure. He is a poor man, like Mr. Underwood. He has no means beyond his official salary. He has had some friends to raise him a little money to enable him to get out his letters, send out a few organizers and hold some campaign meetings. But he has been extraordinarily fortunate in the number of voluntary workers who have sprung up throughout the country. His campaigning through the States has been a poor man's campaign.

**Presidential Campaign Expense.**

But when it comes to the expenditures of the President and Mr. Roosevelt there is another story.

The President gets an official salary of \$50,000 and \$25,000 additional for travelling expenses. Then, too, as he moves about the country there are many Presidential appointees and their subordinates who might consider it to be within their personal obligations to show some attentions to the Chief Executive. Moreover, there is the party organization, which, considering the President to be the head and front of things political, might turn out with more or less demonstration. On top of these things the President has a brother who has large means and a generous nature, and who has in the past been liberal in the President's support and might naturally contribute at this time.

So that in one way and another Mr. Taft might be expected to have what ordinarily would be called large means with which to meet the costs of delegate campaigning.

But what of Mr. Roosevelt? He cannot have saved much of his late Presidential salary. He has since followed the vocation of hunter and editor—neither greatly remunerative. He has had some inherited means, but, as riches go by travelling, public meetings and the circulation of literature he has been conducting the most expensive kind of a campaign. He has left off in one State only to begin in another. Everything is done on a grand scale, and with almost prodigal liberality. The Taft camp, perhaps with not too much magnanimity, estimates that the Roosevelt campaigning for this nomination has cost up to date close to a million dollars.

**Mr. Roosevelt's Expenditures.**

Certain it is that in the New York county primary fight the Roosevelt committees, by their own sworn statements to the State authorities, spent \$71,000. For all that expenditure they obtained only 14,500 votes for Mr. Roosevelt's delegates, making an average of \$5 for each vote cast.

In the instance of New York county it was plain where the money came from, or most of it. By the statement filed with the Secretary of State the chief contributors were Mr. George W. Perkins, former member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Mr. Frank A. Munsey, magazine and newspaper publisher; Mr. Alexander S. Cochran, carpet manufacturer at Yonkers; Mr. Amos Pinchot, brother of Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester of the United States under Mr. Roosevelt's administration; Mr. George Baxter and Mr. Henry L. Stoddard.

And who are the contributors to the obviously very large expenditure of Mr. Roosevelt's campaign over the rest of the country? Who, indeed!

It must be apparent that here is where the special interests will get in their work—if not now, then hereafter. If the men directing them are not taking any active hand in these present State campaigns they will scarcely fail to do so in the next struggle. If direct primaries are to be carried by campaigning that costs money they surely will spend money freely. They have special privileges to protect, and they want more privileges. As business men they will consider campaign money well invested.

The matter comes down to this:—That if large amounts of money are needed to conduct these preliminary delegate campaigns, poor men who are independent will have small chance of nomination. The special interests will get in with their money and will expect to get a mortgage upon the Presidency. Perhaps events will soon show what part they are now taking in the present preliminary delegate campaigns.

which the Rev. George Washington Calhoun Watkins, of Ponca City, Okla., threatened once to do to his congregation in a certain sermon—explain the unexplainable, define the indefinable and unscrew the inscrutable.

In this connection it may not be known generally that the mechanical marvels of the age have revolutionized campaign oratory along with other things. While the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the automobile and the rural mail carrier, together with the newspaper, severally and collectively, have been weaving the spell which makes every place near, every event immediate and the whole world a neighborhood, they have been changing also radically the styles in political campaigns.

Here is the evolution. The regulation political rally, as it was known before the civil war—in that period when the main part of the population devoted all its time to public affairs, never permitting either business or duty to interfere with the pleasures of politics—was a picnic. It started early in the morning in a convenient grove, and the whole countryside had come by ten o'clock. The feature of the day was a barbacue. In the afternoon the orator of the day drove up in a buggy and was served hog, hominy and vinegar pie in a special tent. At the appointed hour he pulled down his vest, straightened his neckerchief, mounted a box and spoke wisely and for three hours to an audience that was full of open mouthed wonder and hot ox.

**Changes in Political Methods.**

After the civil war the political rally changed gradually into a night meeting. After a torchlight procession the orator arose before an audience composed wholly of his own partisans, and to the accompaniment of their screams of approval, lambasted, in the technical language of the hustings, the daylight out of the opposition, dexterously avoiding anything like legitimate argument and disdainful of all facts not confirmatory of his side of the case. In this period the orator travelled by rail and did not make often more than one town a day.

That is all changed now. The night meeting remains, but it is preceded by numerous other meetings earlier in the day. The speakers in the Presidential class, President Taft, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Bryan, Senator La Follette, travel by rail and automobile. In the morning they speak every few minutes to little knots of voters lost in seas of school children wedged in between the railway stations and the rear coach. They dash across country in gas cars to an afternoon meeting at one place at two o'clock, at another place at three, at a third town at four, and at eleven with a response at a commercial dinner at six, and at eleven with an outside speech to an overflow meeting after concluding the main address inside the hall at night.

Ten speeches are not an unusual number every day for each of them. All but the one principal speech at night are short. While the nervous strain is considerable, the physical benefit of this strenuous oratorical exercise is undeniable. Mr. Bryan, by reason of his unremitting platform work largely, is as fit physically as Ty Cobb, and Mr. Roosevelt is as trim to-day as he was the morning he departed from the land of the lion and the elephant after months of outdoor life and came back to civilization and campaigns.

**How Audiences Are Collected.**

There is never a lack of auditors for a Presidential aspirant—no matter how short the notice of his coming. In most of the rural neighborhoods the girl at the telephone exchange has a "general alarm" ring by means of which she calls all farmers instantly when she has any considerable news items to impart. Whole neighborhoods may be brought into a town within an hour by this device, and a hastily arranged meeting never lacks for an audience—that is, if the orator is of sufficient importance to warrant the "general alarm" and Central is his friend.

While all the great figures are thus touring Ohio there are between them, around them and in the midst of them the minor orators, swung into battle from Washington and from State capitals, decorously in silk hats and frock coats, energetically in business suits and derbies; in every style, from that of Secretary of State Knox, who is as grave in life as Daniel Webster looks in his saddest statues, to the style of Representative Ned Taylor, of Columbus, who treads to wear, among statesmen, becoming ties and tan shoes.

# MR. ROOSEVELT FEARS OHIO, MR. GEORGE HINTS; STATE IN A BLAZE, ASSERTS MR. MURDOCK

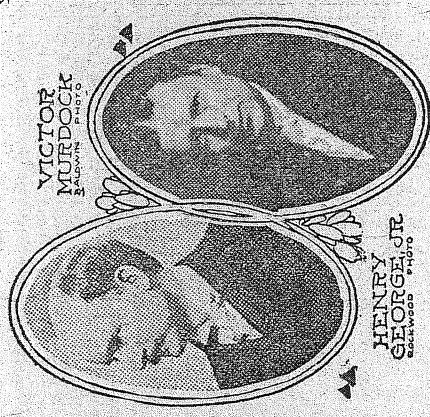
One Time President's Claims  
Not Impressive, Says New  
York Representative.

TRACES THE TARIFF'S  
HISTORY IN STATE

Shows How the Early Pledges of Re-  
duction Were Gradually  
Forgotten.

TELLS OF "EVIL FRUITS"

Cites Vote Selling in Adams County as  
an Outgrowth of "Rotten Monop-  
olies and Rotten Politics."



*These political reviews will be written for the HERALD by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.*

Battle Vitalizing Republican  
Party in Ohio, Kansas  
Lawmaker Believes.

YOUNG MEN EAGER  
TO GAIN CONTROL.

Contest Turns Sons Against Fathers  
and Divides Many Partisan  
Families.

ORATORY FLOWS UNCHECKED  
Thousands Leave Their Employments  
to Hear Rivals Discuss the Burn-  
ing Issues of the Campaign.

**BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.**  
(Democratic Representative from New York.)

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**A**LTHOUGH California, Nevada, New Mexico and New Hampshire have registered their will as to delegates during the last few days, public attention continues to centre in Ohio, and as the primary election on May 21 approaches general interest quickens.

And while many may be trying to weigh the effect of Mr. Bryan's campaign against Governor Harmon's candidacy in the Governor's own State, circumstances are carrying most eyes away from the democratic to the republican struggle.

It must be admitted that if the President cannot get the delegates of his own State against his rival he is indeed weak. The delegates in the Southern States pledged to Mr. Taft, but susceptible to the influence of prospective patronage, may break away from him, while, if he shall win the Ohio delegates he is likely to hold the Southern delegates. The addition of the Ohio delegates will carry him close to the desired majority that will confer the nomination at Chicago.

In the opinion of many cool onlookers Mr. Taft is carrying himself with far more confidence than is Mr. Roosevelt. The President is appealing to his own people for "justice," and as though he felt certain of their support.

On the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt in the first part of the week sounded a note of preparation for defeat:—"I don't need Ohio to be nominated, but I should like to have it." He has since followed that with a broad claim to five hundred delegates assured and an assertion of his certainty to get more than the thirty-nine additional delegates needed to nominate. Since this is backed by no details or proof, however, it can scarcely impress any one.

**Typical Men of Buckeye State.**

The people of Ohio, drawn largely from New England and Middle States stocks, took a lively interest in "the underground railway to Canada" for slaves that managed to get north of the Ohio River preceding the war. Later she sent a magnificent body of men into the struggle that cut

**BY VICTOR MURDOCK.**

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)  
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**N**OT in modern days has any one seen anything like the present political situation in Ohio. And no one in Ohio save the uninformed and the old fashioned denies the marked vitalizing effect of the battle upon the republican party in the State, for, viewed near at hand, the spirit of the republicans of the State shows in the contest a vigor it has not known for years.

The intensity of the issue between President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt is attracting and holding hosts of those who are usually indifferent. The universal disorder in ancient local organizations here and the occasional actual disruption of venerable county machines have become, as a matter of fact, a blanket invitation to the younger men of Ohio to take a directing hand in public affairs. As a consequence there is new blood everywhere, and with it renewed energy and a patent inclination to high political emprise.

Whatever easy gratification may warm the democratic breast outside Ohio over the supposed "split in the republican ranks" here in Ohio, no democrat has for himself any such flattering soul unction in stock. Because the Ohio democrat is daily an eye witness to the shift in republicans from a state of sleepy eyed apathy to a condition of wide-awake militancy. Moreover, the Ohio democrat knows that the political hour among the republicans is sufficiently fluid, by reason of its heat, to close up any serious division among them.

**Democrats Closely Watching the Situation.**

This thought is not merely by the way of comment. It is vividly a part of the situation itself. The democrat in Ohio knows it, and he is watching, with interest, on the other side of the fence a repetition of that which took place on his own side in the summer of 1896 when Bryan, by his youth, the vigor of his attack, the sway of his eloquence, turned the democratic party into a fighting machine after Cleveland's disastrous administration had virtually annihilated

to out of the republic with the sword the monstrous cancer of chattel slavery.

After the war her sons had a chief hand in reshaping public affairs in the reunited country. General Rutherford B. Hayes became President and John Sherman became more active in the legislative halls at Washington as his battle-scarred brother, William Tecumseh Sherman, retired from the ways of war.

But a party which had triumphantly fought the greatest of wars was fast becoming drunk with supreme political power. Protectionism, dying out just before the war, had swollen out to unprecedented proportions during that life and death struggle, when Congress levied and the people of the country willingly submitted to every sort of a tax that would raise revenue. In Ohio pottery and a variety of other industries had come to be established, and their heads went to Washington and lobbied against any lowering of the war tariff taxes against foreign manufactures.

And while John Sherman and General James A. Garfield, as leaders of Ohio's Congressional forces, worked for this policy, they kept talking about a time of reduced prices ahead. Both kept saying that they were for a "protection that leads to free trade." They argued that by shutting out foreign competition and so insuring high prices at home, competition among home producers would be induced, and that this competition would lead ultimately to prices as low as the foreigner's, and so make a tariff unnecessary.

#### Monopoly as an "Ohio Idea."

But the reverse of competition was being fostered at that very time in Ohio. John D. Rockefeller was stepping out of his clerkship in a small oil refining plant in Cleveland, Ohio, to commence, through secret railroad rebates, a phenomenal career in oil and, through oil, into other kinds of combinations also. Monopoly combination was an Ohio idea at that time. That idea did not foster competition. It destroyed competition. It fostered combination, as the wolf on the prairie "combines" with the lamb that strays from the fold.

Railroads, coal and other natural opportunities and the tariff protected interests were all being combined. Ohio's delegation in Congress, taken as a whole, came to be not for a "protection that leads to free trade" but for a protection that leads to more protection—to monopolies and trusts.

Mr. McKinley, from the pottery district of Ohio, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee at Washington and author of a tariff act and later as President, did not talk of tariff reduction—of taking the tariff off. He said it was good to continue, since "the foreigner paid the tax." Perhaps he fooled a lot of people and perhaps he fooled himself to boot.

At any rate, the protective tariff interests, with the combining railroad, coal and other interests, took possession of Ohio politics, ruled its State executive, legislative and judicial offices and controlled its delegation in Congress. It even ruled the opposing political party, and Calvin S. Bruce was a brilliant type of the kind of "democrat" who stood in with the rings and their political rule. There were some sturdy exceptions like Allen G. Thurman, but such men were isolated.

#### Mr. Hanna's Leadership.

At last monopolistic and political power became personified in M. A. Hanna, who was to the later republican party and to the State of Ohio what the consul and dictator Sulla became to the party of privilege and to Rome.

Michael D. Harter, a manufacturer and a real democratic democrat in the southern part of the State, and the peerless Tom L. Johnson, the free trade steel rail manufacturer and single tax Mayor of Cleveland, in the northern part of the State, struggled against the combined monopolies and the monopoly-rule politics; but both were overborne and both lost their lives.

Following their lead have come up a new brood of equal rights men—open and avowed free traders, open and avowed antagonists to monopolies of every kind. Newton D. Baker, successor to Johnson in the Mayor's chair at Cleveland, is one of these men in the North. Herbert Bigelow, of Cincinnati, president of the State Constitutional Convention, is a type in the South.

But rotten monopolies and rotten politics have grown their evil fruits in Ohio. In Adams county those fruits were not so long ago exposed to the world, and a large number of the adult males were, and they still remain, disfranchised for the self-confessed crime against the Republic of selling their votes on election day. In what other counties and to what extent is this vote selling unexposed in Ohio?

It is under these circumstances that the President and the one time President are campaigning for the primary election next Tuesday.

if. For, while victory did not follow the restoration to consciousness of the democratic party by Mr. Bryan, men in this part of the world still marvel that, after Cleveland, Bryan could set it to breathing again at all.

Now the same elements which enabled the Nebraskan to lift his party out of the depths then are serving to invigorate and vitalize the republican party in Ohio to-day. These elements are two.—First, great popular and partisan excitement and, second, an era of party reorganization. The two elements are operating reciprocally. The younger partisan, often crowded out of politics in the past and indifferent on that account, now finds his newly awakened interest stirring him with a desire to help direct public affairs, and at the same instant he beholds with joy disorder in the organization—disorder that offers him an opportunity to take a hand—an opportunity that does not come to younger men when local political machines are old and as long as they remain supreme.

#### Battle Even Divides Families.

This activity of the younger men in Ohio this year is one of the high points in the present situation. In many instances it squarely divides families and sets father against son. In several counties over the State members of the same family are rival candidates for delegate. And they are fighting to win as they never fought before.

The whole State is at white heat. In the imagination of the Buckeye man, Ohio has become the whirling centre of things, and into the midst of it he feels himself dizzily drawn. Partisan by nature, he has made his choice and joined his crowd.

No speech is so out of season that there is not a crowd to give it hearing. It is becoming a daily occurrence for whole country sides to tumble out of bed before dawn and dash off across the country to hear a notable personage outline the issues.

There is Norwalk, for instance. Norwalk is in Huron county, Northern Ohio, a neat little city with pleasant homes and charming people, whose ancestors were from New England. It is a community that produced, among other notables, Petroleum V. Nasby and Josh Billings. In the course of years Norwalk has heard nearly all the orators worth while—Blaine, Conkling, Garfield and the others.

But Norwalk never faced an actual avalanche of oratory until this week. And after the crash the citizens of Norwalk were still on their feet calling for more. The experience is typical of the high tension throughout the State.

#### Mr. Bryan, Breakfastless, Speaks.

Mr. Bryan came first. He arrived at daybreak Monday. Long before dawn the folk on the farms were up, dressed and headed for town to get the best seats in the hall. Some of the town folk as a result had to stand. At half-past six o'clock Mr. Bryan, in the ruddy glow of the rising sun, marched down to the hall, and smiling, fresh, but breakfastless, arose before an audience that filled the big hall from wall to wall and bulged out at the doors and windows. At the end of forty minutes, during which he gave publicly a few of his private opinions of Governor Harmon, he went away and Norwalk went to breakfast.

Wednesday, at seven o'clock in the morning, Mr. Roosevelt appeared. The crowd was out again before it had got fairly to sleep, for there had been a Roosevelt rally in the armory the night before. But out they came, men, women and children, filling the avenues and forming into a closely packed multitude at the railway station. Mr. Roosevelt, on the rear platform, gave them his views with vim and vigor. Norwalk watched his train till it disappeared and then remembered that President Taft was to be along in a few minutes, hurried home, breakfasted, and turned out again, this time to meet the Chief Executive.

Everybody was there again listening to the points he made, basking in the light of his genial countenance, deliberating upon his views and bidding him goodby in a huzza.

This was not all. Once more there was a general alarm, and the citizens were notified that Governor Harmon had been booked for Norwalk. He comes to-morrow. He has a few intimate views of Mr. Bryan, which he will show with genuine enthusiasm, and everybody at Norwalk will be out to hear him.

That is the way it is in Ohio this week. No one has seen anything like it before. And it is not likely that, in a primary campaign at least, any one will soon see anything like it again.

MAY 20, 1912.

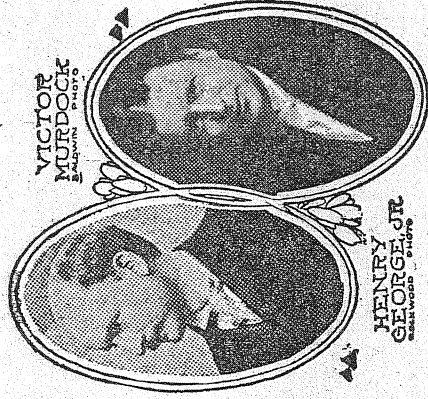
# TRUST MONEY AIDS ROOSEVELT, MR. GEORGE SAYS; MR. MURDOCK TELLS OF 'TRICKY' OHIO BALLOT

Democrat Sees in Mr. Perkins' Activity Influence of "Big Interests."

CALLS HIM "DIPLOMAT OF BUSINESS WORLD"

"Field Marshal" for Corporations Which Seek Candidate "Safe and Sane" for Monopolies.

STEEL COMPANY BIG FACTOR Writer Can Find No Other Explanation of Millions Contributed Than to Control Presidency.



These political reviews will be written for the HERALD by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR. (Democratic Representative from New York.) [Copyright, 1912, by the New York Herald Company—All Rights Reserved.]

WOULD Mr. George W. Perkins be contributing to Mr. Roosevelt's delegate hunting campaign if the election of Mr. Roosevelt to a third term in the Presidency promised in any way to be inimical to Mr. Perkins' great business interests?

What are Mr. Perkins' great business interests? Mainly steel and things relating to steel. He was a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. when that firm made that greatest of trust combinations in the world—the twelve hundred million United States Steel Corporation. He himself is called the author of the Harvester Trust.

Against both of these combinations Mr. Roosevelt when President had abundant official information to warrant anti-trust action that probably would have put them at very serious inconvenience, to say the least. But Mr. Perkins had the Presidential ear and nothing was done. Then, too, there was the Tennessee Coal and Iron absorption by the Steel Trust during the panic, which Wall street says J. P. Morgan & Co. helped to get up, or at any rate helped to push along, with the purpose of first squeezing and then absorbing the Morse chain of banks in New York, and of financially squeezing the New York brokers who were handling the Tennessee Coal and Iron securities and wresting those securities into the Steel Trust's possession.

Mr. Perkins as a Business Diplomat. Mr. Perkins at that time was, and is still, regarded as the diplomat who arranged these matters with the President for Mr. Morgan. Now he is contributing to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign expenses. By the sworn statement filed at Albany Mr. Perkins contributed \$15,000 toward Mr. Roosevelt's delegate campaigning in New York county alone.

Mr. Perkins is the kind of citizen who puts trust business ahead of public business. During all the years he has been in the public eye he has not been conspicuously identified with any large public welfare movement. He

Kansas Republican Tells of Politicians' Efforts to Cloud Issue.

SAYS FIGHT IS BETWEEN TAFT AND ROOSEVELT

Primary Ticket, However, Framed, He Asserts, to Confuse Voters of the State.

DECEPTIVE DELEGATE LIST Taft State Committee Blamed for Confusion, but Voters Carefully Forewarned, Writer Declares.

BY VICTOR MURDOCK.

(Republican Representative from Kansas.) [Copyright, 1912, by the New York Herald Company. All Rights Reserved.]

SUPERIOR methods for the dissemination of information and intense popular interest in the issue alone will save the Ohio election from confusion to-morrow. Far from being a direct vote in the way of registering a Presidential preference by the elector, the ballot on which the Ohio republican is expected to record his choice between President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt is a marvel of indirection and intricacy.

It is, in fact, the last word in obliquity and obscurity in a long and venerable list of adroit methods for not recording easily public opinion, changeable to a political past that has been expert in nothing if not in intrigue.

"Taft or Roosevelt," the issue. There is only one issue in Ohio—that is the contest between President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt. In the uproar and intensity of that combat all other contests have been lost. Even the spirited collision between Governor Harmon and Mr. Bryan, which at any other time would stir the bitter waters of politics to their depths, has been obscured by the supreme struggle between the President and Mr. Roosevelt.

So, however vague the elector may be as to other issues, in this controversy on the one side or the other he is definite and resolute.

Yet if the Ohio republican approaches the ballot box to-morrow without certain unofficial information he will find himself as helpless as a child in his effort to record his choice. The information which ought to be on every primary ballot is not on the Ohio ballot.

Instead, confronted with a long, alphabetically arranged list of names of citizens running as candidates for delegates and alternates to the National Republican Convention from each of the Congressional districts, the voter in a given district must be armed with knowledge of the fact that two of the citizens running for delegates are for his choice for Presidential nominee, and he must know their

has been known only as an active field marshal of that Napoleon of Wall street, J. Pierpont Morgan, and the only movements that Mr. Morgan has been identified with have been movements on the federal treasury or upon public confidence.

It is idle to suppose that Mr. Perkins and his kind are now taking an interest in politics for any other reason than to promote their trust operations.

Nor is it to be supposed that a man of Mr. Perkins' great standing in the world of privilege is acting alone and without some kind of effective understanding with his associates in the great exploiting fields. Men of that kind never act alone. In all their "business" enterprises they hang together. Their business is to be conducted only by their hanging together. So that when one of them appears in any large matter it means that he speaks for all the rest.

That was the way in which Mr. Harriman collected the \$200,000 of campaign money at Mr. Roosevelt's request in 1908. Mr. Harriman did not act for himself alone; he acted for the large Wall street interests and collected the money from them.

#### Sources of Roosevelt Campaign Fund.

In exactly the same way Mr. Perkins does not now act for himself alone. He acts for the Steel Trust and the Harvester Trust—for what, in brief, might be called the J. P. Morgan interests.

In the monopoly world centralization is the end. It was shown in the way Mr. Morgan organized some of the trusts. He invited to his office a few of the larger banking, trust company and insurance company heads, and, frowning on questions or discussion, he briefly informed each what quota of the bonds and stocks he could have and at what "ground floor" prices. Morgan sat at the head of the table and with a blue pencil scribbled on a yellow slip of paper, in almost illegible handwriting, the names and sums of the participants.

A financier invited into such a coterie could "go it blind" and take what was offered him or he could let it alone. But all within that circle knew by some well remembered and woful examples that not to go in or even to stop to question was to offend Mr. Morgan and to get left out at the next dispensation of the financial conquerer and giver of "good things."

#### Steel Trust as Factor in Campaign.

Can anybody with common experience and plain horse sense suppose that the Steel Trust is not in politics? Politics constitute the very breath of its nostrils. The Steel Trust came out of politics. It can be protected only through politics. Hence the law of self-preservation would compel the Steel Trust to take the liveliest and biggest kind of interest in every stage of the present Presidential contest. Its very existence is involved.

Nor is the collection of one or two or even ten million dollars for campaign purposes of any great moment to the group of combinations represented when Mr. Morgan bows his head. A mere verbal message through a confidential man would set in motion the collection of such a sum in the Broad and Wall street centre within a few minutes.

Nor would it be necessary to take the money out of the treasuries of the controlled corporations, and thus make the stockholders pay in the end. A little thimblerrigging of the stock market would fetch the desired sum out of the speculating public. To men who control the speculation in stock shares, what would be easier than to "shoot" the market up or flurry it down? To those on the inside, who have made preparations, either move would mean a gain of millions. A flurry down might serve the added purpose of scaring general business credit and so bring support to the candidate that the monopolies might cause to be held up to public view as "safe and sane."

Who is more "safe and sane" for the monopolies in this struggle than Mr. Roosevelt? In his Ohio campaign he avoided the tariff question as if it were a hot iron. He charged Mr. Taft with omission and commission relative to the trusts, but he himself made no pledges to proceed against them.

Indeed, in one speech he said that when he had become

nominated by the Republican Convention in Chicago he

would change the issue from the tariff to "the recall of

judicial decisions."

With Mr. Perkins contributing to his delegate hunting

campaign it is a fair question to ask if Mr. Roosevelt did

not mean instead of "the recall of judicial decisions," the

recall of Steel, Harvester and other trust prosecutions?

names with sufficient clarity and certainty to select them as they appear haphazardly in alphabetical order.

#### Confusion of Ohio's Primary Ballot.

Let me illustrate this by giving a list of the candidates for delegates to the republican National Convention from the Twentieth Congressional district, which is composed of a part of the city of Cleveland and several adjoining counties. The list follows:—A. D. Aylard, Edward W. Doty, N. S. Everhard, P. J. McCarthy, Joseph H. Speddy, Chester R. Williams. Now, two of these six men are for Mr. Roosevelt, two are for President Taft and two are for Senator La Follette. But there is nothing on the ballot which designates the two who are for Taft or the two who are for Roosevelt or the two for La Follette.

Neither the name of Taft, of Roosevelt nor of La Follette appears on the ballot in any way, although the general impression among the Senators and Congressmen in Washington is that all the names are there. On the contrary, the voter must know the Presidential preference of the candidates for delegate before he enters the booth.

This task of informing the individual voter of this preference of candidates for delegate has proved an enormous one for the Taft and Roosevelt campaign committees. For example, the Roosevelt committee in the Twentieth district has industriously pointed out for the last ten days, through newspaper announcement, by advertisement, on post cards and by recital in detail at every public meeting, that the Roosevelt adherent must know before he enters the booth that Aylard and Speddy, in the list given above, are the Roosevelt candidates for delegates to the National Convention, and that the Roosevelt man must mark before Aylard's name, and then pass over the names of Doty, Everhard and McCarthy, and mark again at Speddy. The instruction seems simple, but it is essential.

Everywhere in Ohio the Taft and Roosevelt committees are so advertising their candidates for national delegates and their delegates to county conventions which, in turn, are to select delegates to a State Convention, which will have the choosing of six delegates at large to Chicago.

#### Blames State Committee for Ballot.

The State Republican Committee of Ohio is responsible for this complex ballot. In the course of human events political committees time out of mind have wedged themselves into and across the natural current of affairs obstructively, but never before has a committee shown itself so completely out of step with the swing and movement of the hour as did this committee when it resolved that there should be no direct Presidential preference vote among the republicans and barred the names of the Presidential aspirants from the ticket. Durling the canvass the Roosevelt managers have made much of the fact that the State committee was controlled by President Taft's friends.

The Democratic State Central Committee provided for a direct vote on Presidential aspirants. Still, indirect as the republican ballot is, so overshadowing in its popular interest is the Taft-Roosevelt contest that the republican vote will outnumber by many thousands the total democratic vote in the State. The republicans, awake to the intricacy of the ballot, are busily informing themselves and their neighbors.

#### Voters Awakened to Situation.

District lines, save for the necessity of the voter knowing the names of candidates for delegates who favor his Presidential candidate in his own Congressional district, have been erased largely in the present struggle. The absence of republican Representatives from the contest may have contributed, in a measure, to this feature of the campaign, for while Ohio has twenty-one members of Congress, only five of these are republican and only two of these are participating personally in the canvass.

There is in the State, as a whole, a vivid realization that the eyes of the nation are upon the State, and this, with the circumstance that almost every one reads a daily newspaper and that excitement is running high, insures an indelible record of public sentiment in Ohio in spite of the wholly inadequate method provided by the State Republican Committee for registering it.

# MR. GEORGE SEES IN ROOSEVELT FIGHT NEED OF LIMITING TERM; MR. MURDOCK TALKS ON OHIO

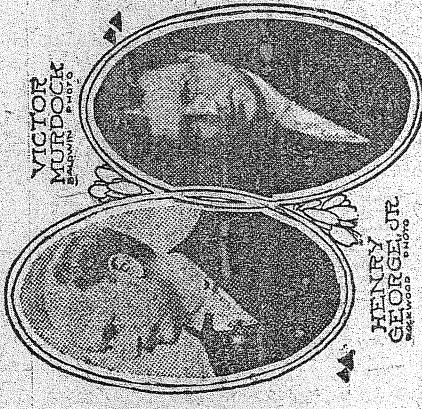
Representative Says Candidate's "Inordinate Vanity" Is Menace to Nation.

"HE WILL RUN EVEN IF DEFEATED AT CHICAGO"

Compares Race with Stampede of Wild Horses, with Erstwhile President Helpless Leader in Front.

CITES JEFFERSON'S VIEWS

Writer Agrees with Him That Two Terms of Four Years Should Be Constitutional Restriction.



These political reviews will be written for the HERALD by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Republican Describes "Novelties in Publicity" in the Primary Battle.

MOVING PICTURES ARE UTILIZED IN CONTEST

Banners, Billboards and Newspaper Advertising Used with Proficacy Throughout State.

CROWDS' GOOD HUMOR

Was Saving Factor, It Is Said, in Tense Controversy and Relieved Much Bitterness.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

(Democratic Representative from New York.)

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HOWEVER we may view the returns from Ohio, one thing appears certain, and that is that Mr. Roosevelt will be a nominee for a third term.

With all his earlier protestations of undying loyalty to the republican party, his subsequent course showed that, failing to get the regular republican nomination, he would set himself up as an independent candidate.

A man who has gone as far as Mr. Roosevelt, who has proclaimed himself the only possible hope of progressive republicanism and the salvation of the Republic itself from the bosses and from the bad trusts cannot stop at the failure of the regular Republican Convention to nominate him.

He is like one who has stampeded a multitude of wild horses, himself on one of them in the lead. With the mass in movement, he must needs lead. He cannot stop nor turn to right nor left. The mass will carry him forward or trample him under foot.

"Victim of Inordinate Vanity."

Nor is it the nature of the man to stop at this juncture. He is headlong. All his characteristics are headlong. Audacity, audacity and yet again audacity is what whispers within. He has had an extraordinary career. Far less would subject the average to those most subtle and dangerous enemies of public life—ambition and vanity. We must judge Mr. Roosevelt by his words and actions. Vaulting ambition he surely has, and inordinate vanity.

With Mr. Roosevelt as a regular or independent candidate the Taft men will certainly bitterly, implacably oppose. He cannot possibly be elected; a democratic President is assured. Yet such is his political name—its glamour, its terror or what you care to call it—that men actually fear his election and raise the question of limiting the incumbency of the Presidency in order to shut him out.

Many times during the twelve decades that have since transpired fear of a dictator—of "a man on horseback"—has brought into public debate the question of amending

BY VICTOR MURDOCK

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)

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TO a considerable extent the Ohio campaign which closed last evening was saved by the good humor of all concerned. It was, as a campaign, notable for its intensity, it is true, and yet the multitude of readers and auditors who actively participated in it, stood ready always to throw in a punch of the correcting flavor of fun whenever the contest reached too peppery a stage.

The canvass developed no battle cry. The charge made by President Taft that Mr. Roosevelt was a "honeyfugler" and the characterization of the President by Mr. Roosevelt as a "puzzlewit" gave the two words instantaneous and universal vogue in the crowds, but they were rarely used at all except in that spirit of badinage their oddity naturally inspired.

Many of the photographs of sections of campaign audiences published in Ohio newspapers show the faces of auditors to be serious, studious and alertly critical, and yet their relaxation into laughter at all the meetings was frequent. This was particularly true in instances of nipping interruptions of the speaker by some one in the throng. Mr. Roosevelt met more challenges from the audiences than any of the many speakers. His retort was confined usually to a sentence or two, and more often than not brought laughing approval from the crowd.

President Taft met with only one serious interruption. That was at Lima, just at the close of the campaign, when an old man in the front row of seats finally arose and insisted upon approving seriatim the assertions of the President, much to Mr. Taft's amusement and to the merriment of the multitude. The old man refused to sit down, although urged by the President to do so, and at the conclusion of the speech oracularly assured the President that he would be elected again.

An incident such as this carried genuine relief to a population that was not only under a continual oratorical fire, but was also confronted everywhere with argument and exhortation.

the constitution so as to limit the incumbency, but the dangers passed and so debate subsided.

#### Move to Limit Presidential Term.

But now with what some seem to think the menace of a Roosevelt third term and then an indefinite succession there is possibility of an amendment coming before Congress. President Taft has advised a single term of six years, and Mr. Clayton, of Alabama, chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the House, has introduced a joint resolution making that the term. A canvass of the members of Congress and of the Governors of States develops a strong sentiment in favor of such a constitutional change.

But even if such a bill were to pass Congress and be signed by the President it would have to be submitted to the States, and it would be scarcely possible that three-quarters of the States, as required under the constitution to amend that fundamental instrument, could be induced to act favorably by next March 4, when a new President shall take the oath of office. Amending the constitution is a very slow and deliberate business.

Moreover, it is very questionable whether a six year term is desirable. The President of France is elected for one term of seven years. But the French Presidency and ours are very different. The French President is elected by the national legislative body and is largely a figure-head, like the British King. The legislative, and largely the administrative power, lies with the legislative branch of the government, as in Great Britain, and the Cabinet Ministers are the head men controlling the majority in that body. These few leaders define policies and set the bounds to legislation. They constitute the "government," precisely as in Great Britain.

The moment the "government" fails to carry a majority on an important measure it steps out of power and the "opposition" is requested by the President to form a "government"—that is, to take the administrative offices and try with the majority to control the legislature.

In England a "government" may "appeal to the country"; that is, it may have a referendum to the body of the voters of the nation, as Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd-George and their Cabinet associates did within the last few years on the budget question or taxation of land values the House of Lords veto question and other lesser questions.

Our President obviously has far more power than any other national executive in the world. He has many of the powers of the French and British "governments." And yet he is fixed in office under our constitution as it now stands for four years. No matter how much public opinion may change he can pursue his policy without change.

#### Would Make Limit Two Terms.

Why, then, prolong such a term to six or seven years? It would be far better to limit the time to two terms of four years each, giving the people an opportunity of recall after four years if the Presidential policy of the incumbent should run counter to public desire.

In this regard I quote a letter from Thomas Jefferson, the wisest political philosopher of all time. He wrote to John Taylor, at that time United States Senator from Virginia. The letter was dated Washington, January 6, 1805, and gave the reasons why he himself would stand for a second term but retire upon its completion. He said:—

"My opinion originally was that the President of the United States should have been elected for seven years, and forever ineligible afterwards. I have since become sensible that seven years is too long to be immovable, and that there should be a peaceful way of withdrawing a man in midway who is doing wrong. The service for eight years, with a power to remove at the end of the first four, comes nearly to my principle as corrected by experience, and it is in adherence to that I determined to withdraw at the end of my second term. \* \* \*

"General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after eight years. I shall follow it, and a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to any one after a while who shall endeavor to extend his term. Perhaps it may beget a disposition to establish it by an amendment to the constitution."

In view of these considerations, it would seem wise, if we are to change the constitution, to change it in this way—to limit the incumbency of the White House to two terms of four years each and leave the people free to remove the incumbent after four years.

#### Novelties in Publicity.

For a noteworthy feature of the Ohio contest was the attempt at novelties in political publicity. In the city of Toledo, for instance, the two Taft candidates for district delegates to the National Convention were Mr. Willys and Mr. Libbey. Their friends may be regarded as having given the latest word to the young and as yet undeveloped science of political advertising. The aforesaid friends posted the billboards of the town with a violently colored sheet of mammoth size bearing the names of Mr. Willys and Mr. Libbey and this legend:—"Washington wouldn't; Grant couldn't; Roosevelt shouldn't."

The likenesses of Mr. Willys and Mr. Libbey were displayed everywhere by the Willys-Libbey-Taft Club. Like wise full page advertisements were carried in the Sunday morning newspapers.

While the Willys-Libbey following was encouraged—again in large type—to hold fast to the absolute certainty of overwhelming victory, in the next breath the same following was cautioned not to be grossly guilty of overconfidence. This word of caution was conveyed with a delicate, hearty to heart intimacy in the following sentences, addressed—once more in large type—to the voter and his susceptible neighbor by the Willys-Libbey club:—

"If you feel complacent, if you think that the other man will do your work, you invite defeat, with all that that means to this district at this critical time. It is up to you not only to do your share, but to see to it that your friends do not grow lukewarm. If you will buttonhole your next door neighbor and urge him to talk to his friends further down the street, we shall get out the full vote to which our candidates are entitled."

#### Post Card Campaign.

This same club also sent out return postal cards to certain groups of workmen asking them kindly to designate whether they favored the Taft delegates.

This instance was not the only one of its kind in the State. In point of fact the post card has not been employed universally in the Ohio campaign. It has not been employed always honestly as one candidate for State delegate at Toledo discovered. Mr. Shafter found, to his great perturbation, that his enemies had put out a card upon which was printed this desperate appeal:—"Liberals! Do not let the Y. M. C. A. beat me. Primaries Tuesday. Jacob Shafter." And when Mr. Shafter learned that the cards had been sent chiefly to members of the Y. M. C. A. his already overheated temperature continued to ascend.

This of course is an exceptional case. The legitimate use of campaign cards has been of great assistance in the canvass; indeed, it saved the republican primaries from the greatest confusion. In a helpful, practical way the Roosevelt committee sent out all over the State a post card bearing the names of the Roosevelt candidates for delegates with this indorsement in autograph:—"The cause for which these candidates stand is the cause for which I stand. Theodore Roosevelt."

Similarly the Taft committee sent out a post card bearing the portraits of Washington, Grant, Roosevelt and Taft with the following:—"Under Washington's portrait, 'Declined a third term,' under Grant's, 'Denied a third term,' under Roosevelt's, 'Wants a third term,' and under Taft's, 'Desires a second term.'"

Every agency of publicity has been employed here in Ohio in the last ten days. Banners carrying the names of candidates for delegates with instructions how to vote were stretched across streets and over headquarters. Names of delegate candidates were thrown on the screens between films at motion picture theatres. Many of the newspapers surrendered daily part of their news space to announcements giving the names of favored candidates.

In short, a new level of campaign publicity was reached. There was not a flambeau, a Roman candle or a kerosene torch in the campaign, but the printer's type and the sign painter's brush caused more excitement than flambeau or torch ever did.



# MR. GEORGE SAYS ROOSEVELT HAS BIG FIGHT AHEAD; JERSEY PIVOTAL, MR. MURDOCK THINKS

Democrat Declares Taft Will Have Stronger Position Before the Convention.

## CONTROL OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE THE ISSUE

Favors the President, Writer Asserts, and with New York Vote Likely to Bring Him Victory.

## CONTESTS WILL ALSO FIGURE

Defeat in These Will Probably Be First while President's Excuse to Bolt, Is Representative's Opinion.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

(Democratic Representative from New York.)  
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**T**HEODORE ROOSEVELT has declared that the Ohio result has "settled the contest" and it will be "hopeless to try to beat us at Chicago."

Of course this is mere political war talk. Both sides seem to have gone into the business of claiming everything, or at any rate of claiming far in excess of the possibilities. The claims of both Taft and Roosevelt added together would exceed the sum of all the delegates. The New York Herald's estimate, based upon the most careful scrutiny of the returns from the beginning, gives the President within fifty odd delegates of enough to nominate. The Ohio contest has reduced that small number surely by ten and possibly by sixteen. So that assuming that the President shall continue to hold the delegates he previously had he will require less than forty odd more to have a majority in the convention.

This getting of a majority is predicated on the condition that the President shall hold the delegates he already has. But right there is where Mr. Roosevelt's supporters put their finger and smile significantly. They say that that is just exactly what the President will not be able to do; that forty of the Southern delegates have already signed statements that they will not vote for Mr. Taft on the first ballot, but will vote for Mr. Roosevelt.

This kind of evidence would look far stronger if but a few of the signed statements were publicly produced. It would find more general acceptance if Mr. Roosevelt's managers were not at this time claiming everything. As it is, we can only await events for proofs.

### Uncertain Factors in Chicago Convention.

In the meanwhile there are two other matters to consider. One is, can Mr. Roosevelt hold his own delegates? The other is what is going to happen to the delegates who have been elected to the convention, but not committed to either Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt?



VICTOR MURDOCK  
REPUBLICAN

HENRY GEORGE, JR.  
DEMOCRAT

*These political reviews will be written for the HERALD by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.*

Result in Wilson's State Involved with New York, Republican Says.

## MIGHT COUNTERACT WESTERN PRIMARIES

Combination of Neighboring Commonwealths, It Is Suggested, Could Swing Convention.

## POLITICIANS IN CONFUSION

Thought Administration Had Clear Sailing with Southern and Empire State Support and Are Disappointed.

BY VICTOR MURDOCK.

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)  
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**A**LTHOUGH from this time on the controversy over the Southern delegates and the attitude of the National Committee will claim the major share of public interest in the republican contest, the battle in New Jersey, which ends in a popular primary next Tuesday, holds a peculiarly dramatic place in the situation.

New Jersey, a pioneer in the adoption of the popular primary, is the last this year to employ it. A very large proportion of the voters next Tuesday will be men whose activities are touched vitally by the influences of New York city, and the sentiment registered by those men in New Jersey will be generally regarded over the country as the first clear record of republican sentiment in New York city this year.

There is, too, an added degree of interest in the New Jersey campaign because of the fact that the last vote taken in this vicinity was before Mr. Roosevelt had demonstrated his strength in direct popular primaries. For, it will be remembered, the vote of New York came early in the contest, and at a time when the weight of the State's large delegation was expected to be determining. The New York vote added to the delegates from the South who had been named for President Taft, was expected to influence Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and the other larger States and bring about an early victory.

### Practical Politicians Confused.

But the truth is, New York has had no effect. The development of the whole campaign has been irregular, and, from the viewpoint of the practical politician, inexplicable, for from that viewpoint the campaign projected in the beginning for President Taft was a perfectly feasible one. As the Taft managers designed, the initial movement for

Many signs have been given that at the first indication of Southern delegates breaking away from Mr. Taft, delegates in Illinois, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts may break away from Mr. Roosevelt. Rules and precedents are being smashed these days, and the rules and precedents that formerly held men may not in this convention hold them. Mr. Roosevelt himself has been the champion smasher of rules and precedents. He may show his political enemies the kind of weapons to use against him.

And then look at the New York delegation! The man who gets that delegation in the convention, or a large portion of it, must receive an overwhelming advantage. What does Mr. William Barnes, Jr., chairman of the Republican State Committee of New York, mean when he says in a formal public statement, "I have no doubt when the Chicago Convention assembles there will be delegates there who have been favorable to the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt before they realized the real psychology of his candidacy, but will act as patriots rather than as servitors? The contest will come between mental courage and physical cowardice."

#### Attitude of New York Delegation.

The New York delegation was not committed to either Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt. Does this utterance of Mr. Barnes mean that the New York delegation will be led against Mr. Roosevelt and to the support of Mr. Taft? It certainly sounds that way.

Listen further to what Mr. Barnes says:—

"The result in Ohio has possibly added enough delegates to the Taft column to insure his nomination, but those republicans whose purpose is to prevent the republican party being used as an agency to subvert democratic form of government in America and establish, through defeating the voters, an autocracy in its place should relinquish no effort in making it clear to those who do not comprehend what is going on to stand fast in their allegiance. All questions relating to the coming campaign have sunk into insignificance compared to the preservation of our form of government.

"It must be a source of congratulation to the straight thinking people of the United States that but for a scattering few the voice of New York will be steadfast at Chicago."

What can this mean but a getting down from the political fence on the side of Mr. Taft?

#### Contests May Affect Result.

Then, again, the matter of these contests must be considered. How does a national committee usually decide between contesting delegations? Does it sit like a high court of justice and consider the facts and the law? Or does it sit like a body of partisans? Why is there such strife always between would-be candidates to get control of the national committee of a party? The answer is well known to any one familiar with politics. The national committee in all cases of contest decides who shall get the seats in the convention.

Mr. Taft has an overwhelming majority in the national committee, and unless this committee is different from all other national committees it will throw Mr. Roosevelt's contesting delegates out.

Mr. Roosevelt must know this. In fact there are wise ones who say that he not only knows it but that he has deliberately built his campaign upon it. These wise ones go so far as to say that he expects his contesting delegations to be refused seats and that he will then issue a proclamation to the world that he has been cheated out of seats; that he will not allow his name to be presented to the convention and that he will immediately set about organizing a bolting convention, which will be all his; that in that convention he will be nominated with every demonstration of unanimity and enthusiasm.

I do not pretend to say myself that this is Mr. Roosevelt's programme, but it is certain that it is the kind of a programme he might very well lay out. It would require great audacity, great energy and enthusiasm to execute. In respect to these qualities he is par excellence.

the President was to come from the South, and this was to be strengthened by a victory in Indiana and another in New York. The Indiana victory was partial only, but the New York triumph was as designed, save for the elimination of instructions.

It was through the failure of the early action in New York to affect the rest of the States that the peculiarities of the present canvass first became apparent. Usual methods did not have usual effects.

In any ordinary national campaign a growing list of delegates has an unmistakable influence upon the political mind, which does not easily resist the spectacle of approaching victory, and, knowing this, the managers of President Taft, when the New York vote was added to the long list contributed by the South, must have watched their programme prosper with supreme gratification.

It was at this point that the reversal in the ordinary processes, which reversal the practical politician thinks remarkable, took place. One morning a little item appeared obscurely in the papers carrying the news that Governor Deneen had called the Legislature of Illinois into extraordinary session to enact into law a Presidential primary bill, the Governor having secured a sufficient number of pledges from members to insure its passage. The Legislature met and passed the measure. On this small pivot the whole unprecedented campaign has turned.

#### Mr. Roosevelt's Illinois Victory Turning Point.

Immediately Mr. Roosevelt won his brilliant victory in Illinois. The politicians of the old school, at a loss for an explanation, succeeded in placing at last the result at the door of Senator Lorimer and his unpopularity. But they placed it there because they did not want to credit Mr. Roosevelt with popular strength after the vote in New York was supposed to show he possessed none.

Then sharply on the heels of Illinois came Pennsylvania. Senator Penrose was loaded up with the blame for this by the practical politicians. After Pennsylvania came the great struggle for Massachusetts, where Mr. Roosevelt gave the machine the greatest fight in its history. Maryland followed with a Roosevelt victory with the State administration opposing him.

Then came Oregon, then Nebraska, then California, each recording in a direct primary a resolute demand for the candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt and each singularly free from the influence the support of President Taft by the South and New York in combination was expected to exert.

#### Effect of Vote in Ohio.

By the time Ohio was reached New York, with the result of its vote, was forgotten, for the Ohio vote was not influenced by any outside elements. It was cast in rebuke of no boss, in protest of no unpopular State leader. It was a vigorous, affirmative popular indorsement of Mr. Roosevelt and his policies as he had expressed them to Ohio at the Constitutional Convention, and as he had repeated and emphasized them in his canvass of the State to thousands of critical auditors, a goodly share of them the younger men. To these younger men, many of them new in politics and inexperienced in political affairs Mr. Roosevelt owes much in his triumph in Ohio.

But whether Mr. Roosevelt's supporters be young or old, new or experienced, it must be evident to everybody that his candidacy, in its development in the face of well laid arrangements to destroy it, has reached dimensions to-day which entitle it to a place by itself in American political history. Two months ago the politicians of the old school saw only two factors in the fight, New York and the South taking the initiative, and a National Committee favorable to President Taft. As a combination this seemed to the politicians insuperable.

To-day, with the echoes of the Ohio victory dying away in the dim of battle which is rising in New Jersey, the oldest and most practical politicians admit privately that this year all signs fail, ordinary tactics are of no avail and strategy, in the old sense, has been eliminated, temporarily at least, from the game.

MAY 27, 1912.

# MR. GEORGE SAYS CLARK WILL BE PRESIDENT; MR. MURDOCK DISSECTS JERSEY PRIMARY LAW

Democrat Sure Speaker Will Swing Two-Thirds Vote at Convention.

SEES HOPELESS SPLIT AMONG REPUBLICANS

Writer Forecasts Bolting Ticket at Chicago Whether Roosevelt or Taft Is Victor.

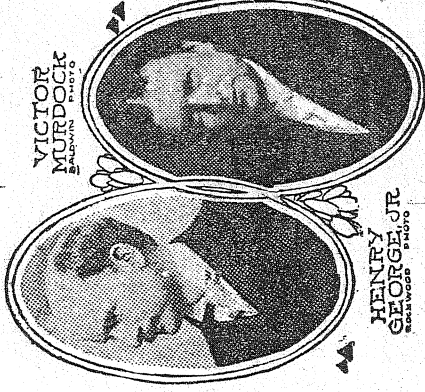
WILSON'S FAILURE IN SOUTH Source of Great Part of His Strength Destroyed, It Is Said, by Other Candidates.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.  
(Democratic Representative from New York.)  
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WHATEVER be the result for the republicans in New Jersey to-morrow and whatever conclusion it may appear to indicate—whether it be that Mr. Taft will be nominated at Chicago and that Mr. Roosevelt will bolt or that Mr. Roosevelt will capture the regular convention and then that Mr. Taft or another will lead a revolt—it can all have but one result so far as the democrats are concerned. It will split wide open the party opposed to them and make way for a democratic victory. The question for them is who will the democratic party nominate? Most of the signs clearly indicate Speaker Clark. By the New York HERALD's computation he has most of the delegates. But his friends give him even more than the HERALD. His managers at Washington say that he has now 363 sure and fast delegates. They say that of those delegates yet to be elected Governor Wilson is likely to get practically all from New Jersey and surely all from Texas, but that he will probably have only a few beyond these. They think that Clark will get substantially all.

**Estimates of Clark's Majority.**  
The States other than Texas and New Jersey that are yet to elect delegates are Minnesota, 24; South Dakota, 10; Montana, 8; Arizona, 6; Idaho, 8; Kentucky, 26; West Virginia, 16; Louisiana, 20; Vermont, 8, and Rhode Island, 10. This will make 136 delegates.

Mr. Clark's friends confidently expect to get all but a few scattering delegates out of this number. Adding these to the 363 the Speaker now has would make his total 499. To get a simple majority he would require 548 votes. His friends confidently believe that the desire to float with the tide will bring to him a number of unbound delegates, so that at the meeting of the convention and before the first ballot is cast he will have very close to or quite a majority of all the votes to be cast there.



VICTOR MURDOCK  
BALDWIN PHOTO

HENRY GEORGE, JR.  
BALDWIN PHOTO

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Republican Sees a Popular Awakening Among Voters of Empire State's Neighbor.

REDRESS FOR YFERS OF POLITICAL FRAUD

Statute Is Sequel of Old Scandal and Public Demand for Share in Nominations.

'BOSSSES' CAUGHT OFF GUARD Credit for Legislation Given to George L. Record—Insignificant Clause "Put Teeth" in Act.

BY VICTOR MURDOCK.  
(Republican Representative from Kansas.)  
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OUT of the midst of the tumult and red fire in New Jersey one fact has stood forth dominantly during the last four days—the Jerseyman has awakened to a full realization of the power of a direct primary. The awakening has found in him, too, all the sudden alertness of a soldier aroused by a bugle call.

It is this popular outburst of enthusiasm over a new found power which gives the last touch of intensity to the situation, for issues have gained in heat and personalities in color because of it.

The individual in New Jersey is to have part in the process of President-making. And he knows it. He is not to be confined merely to the activity of choosing between candidates after the politicians have attended first to the vital business of nominations, but the voter himself is to help in the initiatory presentation of alternate aspirants.

**State's History of Political Fraud.**

Perhaps this dominant feature in the contest gains in accent because of a curious political history which has preceded it. Twenty-three years ago, in one of the populous counties of the State, then traditionally democratic, fraud in elections finally reached the quick of public indignation. Thirteen thousand ballots printed on tissue paper were found in the boxes in Hudson county. These ballots had been folded inside the ballots of thicker paper. The outrage was barefaced. Punishment for many followed, and the Legislature barred the way to future fraud at general elections by adopting the Australian ballot.

The primary election system, however, was left open. Partisan machines, sometimes in contest, often in collusion, continued to name the rival candidates for office, and the average Jerseyman, particularly in the urban counties of Hudson, Essex and Passaic, finding himself at first helpless in primary politics, eventually surrendered the func-

The Speaker seems to share this view of the matter himself. He carries himself with a quiet confidence, and, if this estimate is correct, a few more weeks should see him the nominee of the democratic party for President of the United States.

Of course it is true that a simple majority in the democratic Convention will not nominate. That number will nominate in the republican Convention, but a two-thirds vote is required in the democratic.

But while two-thirds are officially required to nominate with the democrats, a majority commands the situation usually, and sooner or later compels a two-thirds result.

Only once in the history of the party has a majority in a democratic Convention failed to bring about a nomination. That was in 1844, when Martin Van Buren tried in vain for a renomination. He received a bare majority of the votes of the Convention, but not only failed to get more; he failed to hold his majority.

There is little likelihood that if Speaker Clark goes into the Convention with a majority of the delegates he will not hold them. They came to him freely, and they are likely to stand.

#### Wilson's Failure to Win the South.

This indicates a singular characteristic of the Speaker's strength. At the outset Governor Wilson filled the public eye as the probable democratic nominee. He was strongly presented by the larger Eastern papers and loudly urged by the progressive wing of the democratic party, while he was to some degree spoken of by the progressive wing of the republican party in that part of the country as a possible refuge. In the South his blood relationship was expected to prove magnetic, and in the West his espousal of the initiative, referendum and recall principles were believed to make him strong above all other democratic aspirants.

But in the South Mr. Underwood developed an unexpected strength and four States went to his support, namely, Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Mississippi. Clark took two other Southern States, Tennessee and Maryland. Governor Wilson got some of the Virginia delegates and may get some scattering delegates elsewhere, but the indications are that the remainder of the South will go chiefly to Clark.

I myself travelled last Fall through the Northwest, the Pacific coast and the Southwest. The sentiment I encountered I interpreted to be strongly for Governor Wilson and very weakly for Speaker Clark. I believed that the Speaker to be nominated would have to find his strength elsewhere. But the results so far have reversed things. Mr. Clark has had overwhelming support of it, and Governor Wilson has obtained but one complete State delegation, namely, Oregon; and he seems likely to get the complete delegation of but one other State in all that region, Texas. Also in the Middle and Eastern States, where Mr. Wilson was expected to be strong and Mr. Clark to be weak, results have so far gone by contraries. The Speaker received the support of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, while New York, Maine and Delaware were non-committal. To date Mr. Wilson has had the delegates of but one of the Eastern States, and that is Pennsylvania.

#### Speaker's Strength Surprises Friends.

All this strength developed by Speaker Clark so early in the canvass for the nomination and so easily was a matter of surprise to his closer friends. They believed that he would gather his strength in the Convention, as they believed him the logical candidate growing out of the struggle of the democratic party against the tariff and high cost of living. They expected him to go into the Convention with the delegates of his home State, Missouri, and those of the neighboring States. With these as a nucleus they believed he would grow in the Convention.

Instead of that the Speaker has grown before the Convention, so that his friends are confident that he will take to Baltimore nearly, or something more than, a majority of the delegates, and that the swinging of one big neutral State to his side will start a movement that will quickly end in a two-thirds vote and make Champ Clark the democratic candidate and the next President of the United States.

tion to the politicians, and popular participation in nominations disappeared. The primary habit in New Jersey thus passed peacefully into a twenty years' sleep.

#### Revival of the Primary.

It was in 1898 that George L. Record, of Jersey City, the father of the Presidential Preference Primary law, which is to be inaugurated next Tuesday, went to Governor Werts with the idea of a direct primary. Governor Werts took the idea, gave it the benefit of his skill in bill drafting, had the measure introduced and advocated it in a message. As a primary it was only a beginning, and it slept, naturally, the unwaking sleep in a pigeonhole.

Ten years passed. Again Mr. Record put the direct primary plan forward, and in 1908, under Governor Murphy, a bill passed. The law itself did not embody a very radical tender of privilege to the partisan. It merely extended to him the right to vote directly, not upon nominees, but upon delegates to conventions, with this right protected from fraud by law.

But there was in that law a little provision that proved mighty, the tiny seed from which the whole situation in New Jersey has grown. This little provision permitted a candidate for delegate to print next his name on the ballot the name of the man for whom he would vote if he were sent to the Convention. This provision went through unnoticed by the political machines.

Two years after the passage of this act, in 1905, Everett Colby, of Essex county, since the idol of the progressive republicans in New Jersey, then a young lawyer with a taste for politics, ran for the republican nomination of State Senator against the wishes of the machine. Colby's candidates for delegate printed Colby's name on the ballot. Colby won. Here was direct participation by the individual in primary politics. Little by little thereafter the primary idea was extended, under Governor Stokes and again under Governor Fort.

#### Machines Fight Vainly Against Innovation.

Bitterly the old machines fought against the innovation, but their battle was lost completely when, in 1910, Woodrow Wilson, democratic candidate for Governor, in reply to a challenge by Mr. Record, indorsed the full direct primary. In the early months of 1911 Governor Wilson threw his influence behind the Geran bill, incorporating the Record idea of a Presidential preference primary, but he found he had only twenty-nine members of the House for it, two short of the number required by the constitution. The progressive republicans produced three more members, the new bill passed and a republican Senate gave it virtually a unanimous vote.

The measure has been a law for more than a year, but only in the last ten days has the Jersey electorate seemed to realize the full significance of the new order. It is this realization that has filled the halls to overflowing everywhere and lined the country roads with people waiting to see Colonel Roosevelt and President Taft pass.

The State has 2,500,000 people. Of these more than 1,800,000 are urban. But whether the voter is in town or country, the excitement has caught him in its whirl, and the rural Jerseyman apparently is as restive as commuter, industrial executive, artisan and business man, all right now in the midst of a political upheaval that is quite without precedent in primary politics in this part of the country, and with which recent popular excitement in Illinois and Ohio can not be, as a matter of fact, compared.

# MR. GEORGE BELITTLES BRYAN BOOM; MR. MURDOCK FORESEES ROW IN CHICAGO CONVENTION

Democratic Representative Says Nebraskan Has Eliminated Himself as Candidate.

NEW ISSUES REQUIRE NEW MAN, HE ASSERTS

Tariff Now Paramount Question and Speaker of House the Logical Leader, He Declares.

ROOSEVELT'S "STRADDLE"

Writer Tells of Erstwhile President's Efforts to Avoid Subject for Speeches on "Bosses."

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

(Democratic Representative from New York.)  
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WHY are so many at this time mentioning Mr. Bryan in connection with the democratic nomination at Baltimore? Has Mr. Bryan anywhere stated that he intended to be a candidate? Has he stated anywhere that he desired to be a candidate? Has he attempted anywhere to obtain for himself delegates to Baltimore?

Has he not, on the contrary, stated repeatedly and in the plainest terms that he had no intention of being a candidate; that he would make no effort to get delegates; that his purpose was to leave the field open for others, and that his hope was to promote the election of a democratic democrat to the Presidency?

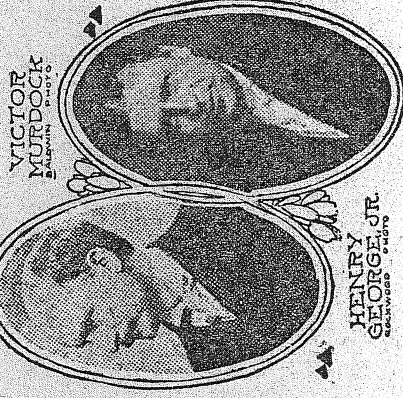
Why, then, do so many persist in speaking of Mr. Bryan as the probable nominee at Baltimore?

Motives of Bryan Boomers.

Some who do this are enemies, both of Mr. Bryan and of his party. They think that, having been beaten several times, Mr. Bryan would be regarded by the people at large as a doomed candidate, certain of defeat again. Such persons would like to select that kind of candidate for the opposing party.

This pays a high compliment to Mr. Bryan, but not so high a compliment as might be paid, for the age is progressive and both parties have advanced in the last few years. The republican party is now occupying ground which formerly the democratic party occupied, while the democratic party has advanced to ground still beyond.

Others speak of Mr. Bryan because they think the republicans at Chicago will name Mr. Roosevelt. They take the nomination of the one-time President by the Republican Convention for granted. To those of cool judgment and without partisan views such a result is not probable. To them Mr. Taft seems to have the advantage and will be the nominee of the regular party Convention. They believe Mr. Roosevelt will be nominated, but by a bolting convention; so that there would be, in that event, two republican candidates in the field.



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Republican Discusses Split Over Temporary Chairman and Campaign Planks.

TWO VIGOROUS RIVALS FOR MR. ROOT'S POST

Governor Hadley and Senator Clapp Candidates of Roosevelt Men for Keynote Speech.

SEEK STRONG PLATFORM

Writer Expects to See Unusually Exciting Times in Preliminary Organization.

BY VICTOR MURDOCK.

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)  
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WITH New Jersey in repose and disposed of, interest turns to the make-up of the machinery of the Chicago Convention. The first business is the selection of a temporary chairman. From the moment the gavel falls there will be clash and contest. There is no doubt about that. It was made inevitable when the National Committee tendered to Elihu Root, Senator from New York, the place and he accepted it. He is acceptable to the Taft forces, but not to Mr. Roosevelt's following.

The temporary chairman makes the opening speech. Only on the most extraordinary occasions does the Convention hear the speech. The audience is so large and so noisy that the delegates, if they have not already resolved to read the speech in the newspapers after the Convention adjourns, cannot hear it. It will be remembered that at the last Republican Convention the temporary chairman produced something which may have been unique in pantomime, but was certainly not much along the line of oratory.

None is so deaf as a delegate who knows that a convention is cut and dried. In the past he hasn't cared to hear. This year he will demand the right to hear, for this year in Chicago the Convention will not be cut and dried.

Roosevelt Objections to Senator Root.

The selection of Senator Root makes that certain. Here is the objection of the Roosevelt forces to him.—The New York Senator, if he should gain the chairmanship, would deliver the keynote speech. He would lay the foundations on which the Convention would rear its platform and candidates. Senator Root could not build a platform for the candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt or for his principles, if the present situation holds. Therefore, if the National Committee was moved by a desire for harmony, the selection of Senator Root was not a particularly happy one, nor was his acceptance distinguished by a real inspiration for the eternal fitness of things.

But this aside, what is said of Mr. Bryan in connection with Mr. Roosevelt, is that the latter has espoused so many of the Bryan ideas as to make the gentleman from Nebraska very much in favor. Imitating the latter in so many respects, he appears to put the highest sanction on practically all the things Mr. Bryan has stood for during the recent years; so that if a part of the Bryan programme is good a larger part of it would be better. On this principle it is thought that Bryan would be stronger than his imitator—Roosevelt.

But to assume that the next Presidential campaign can be fought in the main on issues that were dominant in recent Presidential struggles is just as unwarranted as to assume that conflicts with arms repeat themselves not only on the same battle fields but with repetition of attending circumstances.

#### New Issues Have Arisen.

In Mr. Bryan's three campaigns the underlying issue was between equal rights and special privileges. Reduced to its essence that should be the issue this fall. The watchword in Mr. Bryan's first campaign was "Money." The watchword in the second campaign was "Imperialism." The watchword in his third campaign was "Monopolies."

What will be the watchword in the coming campaign? Certainly it should be none of these former words. It should be "The tariff."

Of course, many think that if Mr. Roosevelt is in the field, he will make the issue. Indeed, the erstwhile President in his Ohio campaign for delegates boldly asserted not only that he would be a candidate but that he would make the issue, and that that issue would be "The bosses."

That he would like to avoid a fight on the tariff issue is perfectly palpable. The tariff has been to him the lion in the pathway. In his earlier days he was an avowed free trader—not a "tariff reformer," not a "revenue reformer," but a member of both the New York Free Trade Club and of the Cobden Club, of England. No man in America has since those days had a better opportunity of studying the evil fruits of protectionism close at hand, and no man could better flay with whips of scorpions the whole swindling institution.

But Mr. Roosevelt has avoided all discussion of this question as if it were poison.

So that Mr. Roosevelt as a candidate would have none of the tariff. He would avoid that issue. His very avoidance of it should make clearer the opportunity of the democratic party. It is the one supreme question with that party.

Two years ago the great republican majority in the House of Representatives, headed by Speaker Cannon and Mr. Payne, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, was thrown out, and a democratic party, headed by Champ Clark, was put in. The issue then was the double one of Cannonism and Payneism. When the democrats came into the ascendancy in the popular branch of Congress the Speakership was shorn of its great appointive powers. This carried the power autocratically to control legislation, and so the power to punish and reward. This killed Cannonism.

#### Strong Position of the Democrats.

That became a dead issue, but the tariff issue remained. And the democratic majority in the House has consistently and persistently kept that issue to the front. Other political pledges it has kept, but the fight against the tariff has been the subject of most of the party caucuses, and of the most frequent and by far most bitter and prolonged debates and struggles on the floor of the House.

Who would be the more natural leader in such a fight than the man who has led in Congress? Champ Clark led the minority fight against the Payne tariff in the Sixty-first Congress. As a consequence he was continued as party leader when his party came into power, and he was unanimously chosen as Speaker to direct the party in its assault against the tariff in the present, the Sixty-second, Congress. The party will act logically if it makes him the candidate for President on the tariff issue.

It is a remote possibility that the National Committee believed that Senator Root would prove acceptable to Mr. Roosevelt. He is not, however, and the Roosevelt men will present another candidate and close with those behind Senator Root. This contest will be for first blood. It will be in deadly earnest.

That means many things among others that the speech of the temporary chairman will be heard, that for once it will not be a mere formality, but that it will be vividly and vitally a part of the Convention. It will really sound a keynote. For in the circumstances no man could rise and indulge in convenient platitudes. That custom, for once, will be foregone, and the chairman will speak with spirit, out of a full heart, and with emphasis, to the point. In the degree in which the speech is genuine in its fervor will it put fire into the giant mechanism, which a National Convention usually is, a mechanism usually dull, leaden and tedious in its processes.

Senator Root has been known to Washington since his first activities here under Mr. Roosevelt as a man of remarkable acumen, "learned in the law," as the lawyers say, to an extraordinary degree, and conservative always. He is regarded as effective in a set speech, more for the profundity of his preachment than for grace of delivery.

He is, as he is seen daily in the Senate, a slender man, with a long head, a clear, thin complexion, a playground for quick, hot flushes, which curiously enough come and go when he is under excitement. He is thought to pre-serve in his breast always a profound respect for things as they are, standing ready to throw himself between them and any violating hand, and just at this moment he is supposed to be burring inwardly with the deep indignation of affronted conservatism at once defensive and defiant.

#### Candidates for Post Against Mr. Root.

Two men are mentioned by the Roosevelt forces as possible opponents of Senator Root. One is Governor Hadley, of Missouri, and the other Senator Clapp, of Minnesota.

Governor Hadley is young, lithe, handsome, with a clear, strong voice which carries far. He is epigrammatic and has that charm of manner that wins an assembly of men and occasionally causes stampedes. This charm, too, has had part in his success as a republican in a normally democratic State.

Senator Clapp is big, with a strong voice, the eye of an eagle kindling beneath beetling brows, black as Logan's. He was one of the insurgent Senators who took deep offence when Attorney General Wickersham sent the draft of the new railroad rate measure to Congress and word simultaneously was passed around that the President expected Congress to pass the bill without dotting an "i" or crossing an "t." Among the provisions in the bill which Senator Clapp fought bitterly was the Court of Commerce, passed, he declares in his public speeches, because five federal judgeships were dangled over the heads of the Senators. He burns with the fires of insurgency.

#### Convention Will Be Exciting One.

So, whatever the outcome, the first hour of the Convention will be no formal affair of unheard speeches, of motions taken for granted and unchallenged votes. Those who are fortunate enough to obtain tickets will hear real speeches and enjoy real debate.

There is little doubt that the high tension will continue throughout the Convention. For instance, little has been said about the platform, and yet the platform will occupy considerable time not only in committee but on the floor. The disposition is unmistakable to give the planks in the platform point and punch. The vague and verbose are to be barred. Let us rejoice and be exceeding glad for that. Debate of the first order will distinguish it.

These are some of the reasons why it is possible to say this early that the attendance at the Convention will break all records. Word received by Senators and Representatives here in Washington is to the effect that every Northern State will send several special trains carrying many thousands who cannot expect to get inside the Convention. The tickets are coupon affairs, with a detachable stub for each session, and while the tickets will be passed around to give as many as possible the opportunity to see at least one session, many thousands will see nothing of the actual proceedings.

But everybody who attends any one of the sessions will see some kind of a contest. There will be no dull moments in that Convention and few compromises.

# ROOSEVELT TARIFF SILENCE VEXES MR. GEORGE; LEADERS MENACED, SAYS MR. MURDOCK

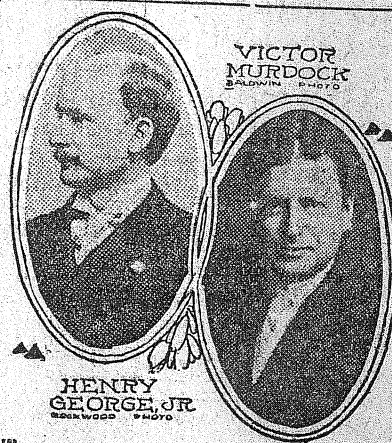
New York Representative Re-  
calls One Time President  
as a Free Trader.

DENOUNCES PLEDGE TO  
"DIVIDE THE PLUNDER"

Calls Lawrence Speech an Admis-  
sion That Protection Is  
Iniquitous.

SEES HIM AS A RENEGADE

Has Sinned Against Economic Freedom  
to Gain Political Power, Says  
Lawmaker.



*These political reviews will be written for the HERALD by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.*

National Committeeman a  
Waning Institution,  
Says Kansan.

SEES ANOMALIES IN  
WHOLE SYSTEM

Too Far from the People and Too  
Indifferent to Popular Will,  
He Says.

GIVES CREDIT TO NEW ORDER

Believes Progressives Will Reform Con-  
ventions and Eliminate "Party  
Beadle."

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

(Democratic Representative from New York.)

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For a man as outspoken, versatile and voluble as Mr. Roosevelt always has been he is singularly meagre of speech about the tariff. During his more than seven years' incumbency of the White House he uttered practically nothing on the subject—absolutely nothing—looking toward practical legislation. And how much did he say during all the rush and heat of the just closed State campaigning for convention delegates? He indulged in but a single thought upon the matter; just a touch-and-go, as it were, and that a pure piece of balderdash or worse.

In Lawrence or another of the manufacturing centres of Massachusetts, when addressing an audience of operatives he chanced to say—or perhaps he deliberately intended to say—that if he were again President he would have a government bureau established to see to it that less of the profits of protection should be retained by the counting-

BY VICTOR MURDOCK.

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)

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To appreciate fully the situation existing to-day between Mr. Roosevelt and the older members of the National Committee one must know the National Committee. Indeed, unless one does know that august institution the piquancy and relish of this particular political hour will be lost.

The immediate issue, the adjustment of some 204 contests for seats, which begins this week in Chicago, a settlement which may not, probably will not, have much to do with the Presidential nomination, is really secondary an incidental in interest to the figures of the gladiators who are to settle the issue.

The National Committeeman of the old school as a type and in most of his mental processes is as filial a part of the old order of things as Mr. Roosevelt is a legitimate

Report

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Of course such supposition is impossible. No one better knows the truth of the whole matter; no one has had better opportunities to learn; no one could with more indignation fly the offenders.

But he does not flay them. He protects them. They are robbing the consumer. He ignores that. He says in effect to the factory operatives and other hard driven, intensely competing workmen:—"Elect me again and I'll use the government of the United States to get you part of the fruits of the robbery. I'll make the interests give to you a part of their plunder."

And where does the consumer come in—the consumer that makes the great mass of the American people? What is he going to put into the market basket of this multitudinous consumer? What, but added hardships, is he going to put on his back? What new gloom will be brought about his head? How different from this is the Theodore Roosevelt that my memory brings to mind. The picture goes back to the early eighties. I was clerk to the Secretary of the New York Free Trade Club and Mr. Roosevelt was one of the shining members.

It was when I had an ambition to read law. My brilliant young friend, Mr. Poulney Bigelow, invited me to enter nominally as a clerk in his law office in the Equitable Building, read law, and subsist meanwhile on a salary of next to nothing a week which was his to grant if I would act as clerk of the Free Trade Club, of which he had just become the militant secretary. Being of princely leisure at the time, I accepted the munificent offer.

While I was still new in the office the club gave a public dinner, I think in a building in West Twenty-third street. The place has long since gone down before the march of change.

#### Mr. Roosevelt as a Free Trader.

The room was crowded and many notables were present. Across the upper end of the room ran a long table at which sat mostly men of years. My recollection is that Parke Godwin and Captain Codman were among them.

At one end of that table was a vacant place. I asked who was to occupy it and was told that a very promising young free trader named Theodore Roosevelt would sit there later and speak. I had not heard of Mr. Roosevelt up to that time.

The speaking soon began, but it did not suit me. I had been bred to be downright. The tariff to me was a cancer, and cancer I called it. The speeches were of the cautious, "reforming" kind. I knew no remedy but to cut the cancer out. The speeches were for "gradual reduction" and "reforming."

I was in an increasing state of displeasure when into the chamber came a somewhat heavy set young man, who strode up to the chief table and took the vacant seat at the end. He was dressed in a military uniform, but without sword; had, I learned later, just come from an armory drill; wore eyeglasses and smiled in a marked way in acknowledgment of the applause that greeted him.

"Young Roosevelt," said some one, and to my further questions it was explained that this Roosevelt was one of a bright, energetic group of young fellows from Gramercy Park, who had just broken into city and State politics and were going to reform things.

This fastened my attention, but I mentally resented an air of command he affected among the gray heads at the high table.

When he arose to speak I, however, quickly forgot my resentment. He became the champion of my heart. He would have no shilly-shallying, no trifling, no paltering, no "gradual reducing," no "reforming" of the iniquitous tariff institution. He would hit it hip and thigh. He would strike it at the roots, drag it up and cast it out. What he wanted for trade was freedom!

There was no rhetoric or finish about it as a speech. It was merely the straight out, strong, enthusiastic utterance of young manhood that saw and uttered the truth.

But, alas! shortly after that speech Theodore Roosevelt resigned from the Free Trade Club. He also resigned from the Golden Club in London, of which he had at the same time been a member. He pulled out of independent politics. He wrote Mr. Bigelow that if he (Roosevelt) was to get anywhere in politics he would have first to get into the republican party machine.

Since then Theodore Roosevelt has sinned against the free trade light and turned his back upon economic freedom.

#### "Quarantined Against Popular Fever."

In the old days the National Committeeman did this because it was expected of him by those who had selected him. It was expected of him because of the indirect and involved manner of his election. Delegates to a county convention were only one remove from the voters and subject to all manner of fitful popular influence. Delegates to State conventions were two removes from the voters, and, while a bit callous to the wish of the electorate, still were, upon occasion, responsive. Delegates to the National Convention were supposed to be untrammelled by public sentiment, but did not always prove so under stress. But the National Committeeman who was the product of the national delegates, who were the product of the State delegates, who were the people—the National Committeeman was expected to be independent of public influence, free, in perpetual quarantine against any popular fever whatsoever, and to all infection from the pestilence of popular progressive inclination immune.

So the National Committeeman grew into a type. Usually he enjoyed long tenure—some of the members of the Republican National Committee have served for decades. There is no salary attached to the position, and sequentially wealthy men became frequently aspirants for the places, and as a rule poor men did not. While the position carried no pay it had honor and power. The National Committeeman had, and still has, entrée to the White House, which comprehends an occasional invitation to a meal, usually luncheon, with the President and his family, and the right to offer suggestions in the matter of the more important federal patronage, such as the appointment of federal judges. In addition to this, the National Committeeman has part in the National Convention, participating in the choice of the city where it will be held, the time of holding it, and the right to decide contests for place in the temporary roll of the Convention, which right, in a close vote, might prove the privilege of determining the party nominee for President. This right is based on no law or grant of power from any source. It is purely traditional. And it is complicated by the curious practice through which the National Committee selected at one National Convention is permitted to determine contests in the National Convention four years later. From the viewpoint of the advocates of a Presidential preference primary this plan is anomalous, and it is only a question of time when it will be relegated.

#### Thinks Committeemen Are Menaced.

Now it is this practice that increases the interest in the National Committee at this moment and brings the old time National Committeeman into bold relief. For the National Committeeman is menaced. And Mr. Roosevelt is the menace.

It is true that Mr. Roosevelt numbers many friends among the members of the committee, but to the older type of committeeman Mr. Roosevelt embodies all that is politically dreadful. Disdainful of outworn precedent, indifferent, yes, almost joyously indifferent, to the sanctities of the small traditions that are dear to their hearts, Mr. Roosevelt, to the imagination of the friends of the National Committeeman, is jubilantly advancing upon the citadel of the National Committee with a great, glad, aboriginal desire and design to bowl the party beadle and his gorgeous livery over in the dust.

The anti-Roosevelt National Committeemen do not understand Mr. Roosevelt. Not they. They know him. They do not like him. They never did. During his day in the White House they dissembled. Men like Senator Penrose and Senator Crane, both members of the National Committee, suffered and were silent. They couldn't help it.

When he passed out of the White House into the jungle they sighed a mighty sigh of long-deferred relief. And when he came back again and snatched Illinois from a machine half a century old, and Pennsylvania from another equally as venerable, captured Ohio, gobbled Maryland, took over California and Oregon and Nebraska, and gathered New Jersey to himself on a popular vote the National Committeeman, let it be confessed, even with some humiliation, the National Committeeman identified within himself a strange emotion, alien hitherto, now unmistakably present—alarm.

And as Mr. Roosevelt approaches his fortifications the National Committeeman is beginning to suspect, not without secret chagrin, that there has survived in him strangely through the years not only capacity for alarm, but that which it feeds upon—fear.

And should he fear—should our national political beadle find himself weakly human at last—the best that could be said in way of consolation is that as a nation we are still young, and reversions to democracy, even among National Committeemen of the old school, are inevitable occasionally.



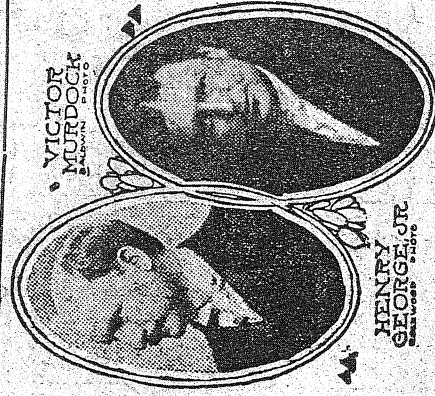
# THIRD PARTY UNLIKELY, THINKS Mr. MURDOCK; MR. GEORGE SEES STRONG MAN IN UNDERWOOD

Democrat Discusses Alabama Representative's Qualifications as Presidential Candidate.

CALLS HIM A CALM AND SHREWD LEADER

Has Courage of Convictions, Writer Asserts, and Refuses to Cater to False Popularity.

HIS POSITION ON THE TARIFF House Leader, Viewed as Conservative, Generally Described as Advance Progressive on This Issue.



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BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.  
(Democratic Representative from New York.)

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WHO is Oscar W. Underwood—the real, intimate, eye-to-eye man? Look in the Congressional Directory, in the biographical part, and you will find but four and a half lines about him. Presumably he supplied the matter, and its length indicates one of the characteristics of the man—modesty.

He is the candidate of four Southern States—Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Mississippi—for the Presidency, and although he is a typical Southern man there are a great many people in the United States who believe he will be the Republic's next President.

Another of his highest qualities is courage. In my brief experience as a member of the House I have seen this quality revealed by him many times, both in the regular sessions of the House and in party caucuses, where the expression of opinion is freer than on other occasions, because of its privacy.

**Example of Mr. Underwood's Courage.**

An instance of this was to be seen in the "Phossy Jaw bill," as the Hughes bill, penalizing by taxation the making of phosphorus matches has been called. There was not the remotest chance that that bill would not pass the House. It had come up in the Ways and Means Committee, and in opposition to Mr. Underwood's expressed views a majority voted to report it to the House.

The debate on the floor seemed to be pretty much one way, to penalize the business, owing to the hideous disease of the jaw that arises from its pursuit. But just before the close of the debate Mr. Underwood took the floor and made a ten minute speech in opposition. He said that he was conscious that most of his colleagues on the committee differed from him, that he must, nevertheless, state his position and oppose the passage of the bill. He, of course, would like to get rid of the hideous disease, although he would indicate that the hearings before the committee had developed the fact that its prevalence was far less than might be supposed from the statements made about it; but he said he was opposed to using the taxation powers of the federal government in this way, since it clashed with State functions.

A few moments after the conclusion of this little speech a vote was taken and was overwhelmingly in favor of the passage of the bill.

Republican Minimizes Possibility of Conservatives Seeking Their Own Ticket.

BRYAN AND ROOSEVELT SUGGESTS DILEMMA

Prospect of a Bolt Grows Out of the Belief of Many That These Men Will Be Nominees.

CITES POLITICAL HISTORY

Declares Desertions of Party Have Rarely Succeeded and Believes "Choice of Lesser Evil" Will Guide Voters.

BY VICTOR MURDOCK.

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)

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ABELLEF persists in Washington that a new party, for conservatives, is about to appear. It rises out of the considerable speculation over the predicament of the conservative if he should be confronted with the alternatives of Bryan or Roosevelt.

It is true, of course, that no such alternatives may develop, but there is a popular insistence, born possibly of some instinctive demand for the preservation of the "logical thing" in American politics, that in the end Mr. Bryan and Mr. Roosevelt will be the opposing candidates. So far as the conservative and Bryan are concerned, the conservative has followed for years the Nebraskan's activities with an irritation that finally fatigued the conservative's indignation and left him benumbed and at times incapable of further feeling in the matter.

For nearly an equal length of time the same conservative has waited with a pathetic patience for the day when that mysteriously delayed disaster, which all conservatives have predicted steadily for the last ten years, would overwhelm and annihilate Mr. Roosevelt.

**Sources of Irritation to Conservatives.**

Recently Mr. Bryan, by his unfriendly attitude toward Mr. Underwood, who is approved by the conservatives, and by his spirited challenge of Governor Harmon's candidacy as part of a reactionary movement, has aroused in the conservative's memory all manner of inflammatory recollection of the heaven born ratio of sixteen to one, government ownership of railroads and other picturesque doctrines into which an incautious disregard of the conservative has led Mr. Bryan from time to time in the last fifteen years.

In the same period Mr. Roosevelt, by his Presidential activities, filled the conservative breast with anguish. The distress was not alleviated when he became a candidate again, and there was something very near a paroxysm when at Columbus, in touching on the subject of recall, he intimated that if a cat may look at a king the electorate may occasionally with propriety steal a glance in the direction of the judiciary.

#### Seeks No False Popularity.

Mr. Underwood was an announced candidate for the democratic nomination for the Presidency. Candidates usually are very reluctant to cross public opinion. They feel that they must be "popular" at all hazards. This was not a big bill, but it was the kind of bill that might cost him some supporters in places that would count. Yet, just to be square with his own code of principles, he ran counter to the current.

He is the leader of the House, and it is not good for the prestige of a leader to be beaten. It would have been an easy matter for him to have stayed away, or discretion might have whispered that the "politic" thing for him to do then was to yield at this point and vote for this little measure and to be "strong" on some other occasion when that would "count for more."

But Mr. Underwood did not choose to do it this way. He stood up, stated his principles and voted accordingly, as part of the day's work.

Who could help liking—no, more than that—admiring a man of that kind? And in truth he is one of the most admired men in the House; admired even by those who differ from him in policy; admired even after floor and committee differences; admired for his manhood, for his quiet strength, for his calmness in the moments of general excitement.

#### Is Resourceful and Calm Leader.

Mr. Underwood had the kind of Congressional training that would make for resourcefulness as well as calmness in a parliamentary jangle. This is his ninth Congress, and he got his early training under James Richardson, who was one of the most adroit and resourceful parliamentary leaders the democrats ever had. Mr. Richardson took a fancy to the young Mr. Underwood and taught him with a keen interest, with a result that Oscar W. Underwood is a match for any one member of the big republican brigade of tacticians that for so many years swept everything before them in the House.

It is perhaps this combination of skill, courage and calmness, going with his naturally sedate and reserved manner, that gives him the reputation of being a very conservative man. Outside the House he appears to be ranked as a "conservative" democrat.

It is true that Mr. Underwood would preserve the constitution of the fathers and would make changes only after the utmost deliberation and with the greatest caution. It is also true that he has announced repeatedly from the public rostrum within the last few months his opposition to the initiative, referendum and recall principles which have made such extraordinary advances over the country west of the Mississippi and inroads upon the States north of the Ohio and through New England.

#### Has Progressive Views on the Tariff.

But as to the tariff questions, which he believes should be the chief issue in the coming Presidential struggle, he is for all intents and purposes a radical, or, to use a word which I think he perhaps would prefer, a "progressive" democrat. He believes in a tariff for revenue only, and on those lines he will fight with all his power and resourcefulness.

To my view the man who will fight against the protective principle—and Mr. Underwood is absolutely against that principle—is radical enough, considering that question alone, for all intents and purposes, at this time in the tariff war. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, a consummate politician, waged war against British landlordism, entrenched for a thousand years, by a little budget proposition amounting to one-fifth of one per cent.

It does not matter how much or how little Mr. Underwood would reduce the tariff at this stage. The one thing important is, would he fight against the tariff? As to that his record is clear. He is the democratic leader, and a superb leader, on the floor of the House of Representatives against protectionism.

But in one respect he can, and very probably should be, called a conservative. He selects the most cautious ways of accomplishing his ends. This is perhaps a temperamental quality, but whether in him by temperament or by training it is exercised in the highest degree whenever he brings forward a tariff bill. He endeavors to make the measure appear the natural and logical, and therefore the inevitable, result of circumstances.

The West has regarded Mr. Underwood as a conservative, and Mr. Bryan has repeatedly given voice to that sentiment in very powerful terms. It remains to be seen how widespread and potent that idea will be in the Baltimore Convention. For it matters not what a man is, but what he is believed to be, at such a time as the selection of a candidate for the Presidency. That, I judge, will be the rule that will govern the great convocation of representative democrats in Baltimore toward the end of this month.

Therefore it would be a sad hour for the conservative if he should be asked to decide between them. Out of this possible dilemma has come the easy solution of a third party for the conservative. And that is no solution at all. For that would merely remove the conservative from the equation and deprive him of his only affirmative function in the situation—the right to record his vote for the man he disliked the less of the two.

#### Precedent in Don Quixote's Career.

For, as a matter of fact, the conservative in this embarrassment would find full play for his ability in logical refinement. And he would probably come out at last where Sancho Panza did when as Governor of the island he decided the bridge case.

It will be remembered that the bridge case came to the Governor on appeal. Under a certain law four commissioners stationed themselves at the end of an important bridge, and there halted each wayfarer and required him to declare whether he journeyed and what he proposed to do. If he answered truthfully he was permitted to cross the bridge and continue on his way. If he did not answer truthfully he was put to death on a gibbet there provided. In the case appealed to Panza a man had approached the commissioners, and when asked what he proposed to do had announced that he had come to that spot to be hanged.

At this startling assertion the commissioners put their heads together. Plainly, if they let the man pass freely, he would have sworn falsely, and by the law ought to die; but should they hang him then he would have verified his oath, and having sworn the truth should have passed on unmolested, as the law ordained. Sancho Panza decided that the man should not be hanged on the ground that when in doubt one should do good rather than harm.

In some such homely philosophy the conservative would find a way out in the embarrassment of a choice between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan. Bitter as late alternatives might appear at first, the conservative would finally champion one candidate as against the other, for our national politics do not as yet turn on the doctrine of comparative hatreds, and one of the basic reasons for the failure of third party movements among us is that permanent effective action in concert in national politics cannot be maintained on protest alone, and third parties are born usually of protest.

#### Status of Conservative Partisans.

That the tables are turning on the conservative in American politics there can be no doubt. The result will be not to make him more conservative. Inevitably the process will make him less conservative. In the same way, on the other side of the process, the protesting partisan progressives in the past were made less progressive by the action of the conservatives when they were in control and when in dominating the nominations of both old parties they compelled the progressive to choose between two reactionaries. During the years the great majority of the partisan progressives, watching futile third party movements come and go, took their bitter medicine, learned the lesson of organization and fought for the progressive cause within their party.

There has been another factor in American politics in the period since the civil war which has not subscribed to third party movements, but which has had its part in wearing away the power of the conservatives—this is the independent vote which would not join a new party, but which did exercise the right to shift handily from one of the two old parties into the other and back again without organization, but with singular and potential unanimity.

#### Influence of the Independent Vote.

It was this shifting element in politics which has made the government part of the time, not a government by the majority, but a government by a comparatively small, shifting, independent vote which swung easily back and forth and created a majority whenever it attached itself to the one party or the other.

Ultra-conservative control in parties has always had the effect of driving this vote back and forth between the two parties in a rather mechanical and ineffectual saw, much to the chagrin of third party advocates, who have always made ardent love to this shifting independent vote and in vain.

But, however slow the evolution, the war of the progressive within his party and the shift of the independent voter back and forth has been crowding the reactionary element gradually out of dominion. It has had place, prestige and power. Its voice in the past has been often the voice of undisputed authority. Sometimes it has had joy, a kind of jocund, ostentatious way peculiar to conservatism in watching the progressive march up to the polls and choose with painful deliberation between two reactionaries. It was a discipline which the progressive needed in the opinion of the conservative. There was always satisfaction in the conservative when the progressive took his medicine, as he usually did.

# IRMISH—BOLT IS THREATENED PEOPLE DEMAND 'PUBLICITY,' MR. MURDOCK SAYS; MR. GEORGE PICTURES MR. CLARK'S CAREER

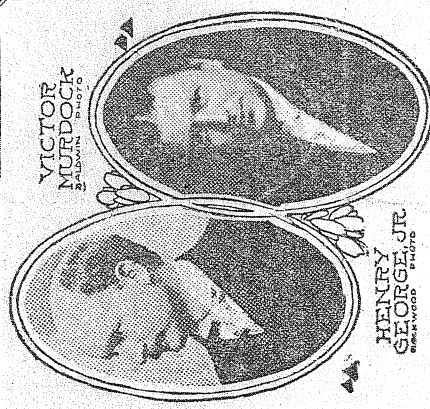
Speaker's Candidacy Represents West's Dominance in Politics, Democrat Asserts.

SIMPLE AND FORCEFUL FIGURE IN POLITICS

Writer Describes Missourian's Entrance in Arena at Tammany Hall Meeting Years Ago.

THE TARIFF IS HIS ISSUE

New York Representative Predicts 500 Votes at Opening of Baltimore Convention for Seeker of Nomination.



These political reviews will be written for the HERALD by Representatives George and Murdock three times a week until the campaign closes, appearing Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Secret Sessions and Caucuses Are Going to Limbo, Republican Declares.

PENNSYLVANIA GIVES EXAMPLE TO COUNTRY

State Convention There Opens an Epoch, He Asserts, in Insistence on Fulfillment of Party Pledges.

A CHECK ON LEGISLATORS

Programme to Control Legislation in Keeping with Promises Marks Change in Public Opinion, He Declares.

**BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.**

(Democratic Representative from New York.)  
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WORD comes from Missouri that the friends of Mr. Clark who will go to the Baltimore Convention will fill forty-five Pullman cars and that the aggregation will include a pack of the real 'houn' dogs' from the Ozark Mountains, of the kind that must not be 'kicked around.' The Clark partisans will go to the Maryland metropolis confident of the nomination of the Speaker as the democratic candidate for the Presidency. State after State has fallen in behind Missouri, until now the friends of Mr. Clark say that the Missourian will enter the convention with approximately five hundred delegates. With five hundred delegates at the start they expect to sweep the convention.

**Missouri's Day of Fulfillment.**

To Missouri it is the coming of the day of fulfillment. She has long looked for it. Southern in the great slavery struggle, her interests and sympathies have since been with the West. She has been a typical Western State. In her bosom ambition first aspired among the Western sisterhood for the Presidency, or at any rate Missouri had the fondest expectations. Richard P. Bland, farmer and Member of Congress, Missouri expected to put in the White House as successor to Grover Cleveland, of New York. It was only at the conclusion of a marvellous speech in the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1896 by a newer and younger man that the nomination was denied the son of Missouri and was conferred upon a son of Nebraska—the spotless, dauntless, passionate William Jennings Bryan.

**BY VICTOR MURDOCK.**

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)  
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NO better idea of the profound disturbance in our political methods may be obtained than by a contemplation of the proposal to make public the hearings in the contest for seats now in progress before the Republican National Committee in Chicago.

While no one foresaw open hearings six months ago and while the results of publicity in this instance will not likely be as potential as they are expected to be by the advocates of the idea, nevertheless the open hearing of internal party differences is so radical a departure from the old ways that it becomes at once not only noteworthy as the end of one political epoch but also important as an indication of many changes which will develop in a new era.

**Secrecy in Party Politics Nears End.**

For the new forces in prevalent popular desire and determination which insisted upon open hearings in Chicago are certain to move with equal decision upon the secret session generally, the closed legislative committee in nation, State and town and finally upon the last citadel of indirect government—the secret caucus.

Just in proportion as the new forms of direct government increase in importance the function of publicity in politics, customs which have countenanced secrecy in the conduct of public business become less and less secure.

This manifestation of a new force shows at times in unexpected places. Recently the Pennsylvania republicans

Aside from its matchless oratory the significant thing about the Bryan convention speech was that it made the West's answer to the East. Senator Hill, of New York, and others had told the West what the East would compel it to take—a gold standard. Bryan cried in his electrifying way that the West would not be crucified on a cross of gold or have crushed down upon its brow a crown of thorns. The West challenged the East, and the superb young orator, then in the zenith of his early manhood, physically a young Lochinvar fresh from the West, won the nomination. The East in answer subsequently bolted with the Palmer and Buckner gold democratic ticket.

#### Entrance of Champ Clark Into Arena.

Three years before the 1896 campaign, and when Missouri had high hopes for the nomination of her son, Richard P. Bland, a newly elected Representative from Pike county in that State, came to New York bearing Missouri's message. His name was Champ Clark. He was forty-three years old. He had been elected to the Fifty-third Congress, and he has represented that same district in the national Legislature in all the Congresses since, save one, the Fifty-fourth.

He came to New York to be one of the short speakers at the Tammany Hall Fourth of July celebration, 1893. He was a man of classical features, but of Western build. He was above the average height, large and heavy set and strong as an ox. His eyes were blue, his face clean shaven and his hair grayish. He had been school teacher at fifteen and a college president at twenty-three. He was profound in American history and capable of the most polished diction, but he preferred to express himself in the manner of the West—in the simple, careless, independent style of the Missouri mountains, vales and prairies.

Speaker Crisp, of the United States House of Representatives, and other members of that body, besides New York political celebrities, were upon the programme, but Champ Clark's name, or, rather, Champ Clark's speech, led all the rest.

Tested by the canons of academic oratory it was not much of a speech, but tested by the canons of getthereitiveness it was a perfect speech. It was plain, direct, blunt, forceful. It minced no words. It was couched in the briefest Anglo-Saxon. It tasted of the earth. In short, it was a typical Champ Clark speech. It set forth the purpose of the West in the practical way of a man who has a job to perform. It breathed the spirit of Champ Clark's political life—practical ends and practical ways to those ends.

With loud and powerful voice, as if to make all men hear, but with slow, deliberate utterance, as if to avoid mistakes, the new Representative from Missouri delivered the message of the young, independent and radical democracy of the West to the old democracy of the East in its very stronghold.

#### The Appeal of the West.

"The West," cried Mr. Clark, in the height of his speech, "has been treated as the stepchild of the national democracy long enough. We have lunched off the cold, broken victuals till we are growing decidedly weary. You of the East have kindly furnished us most of our Presidents and Vice Presidents for one hundred and five years. It's a long lane that has no turns, and now we purpose considerably to furnish you Presidents and Vice Presidents for another hundred and five years—perhaps longer. We propose henceforth to eat at the first table, close up to the head at that."

No great oratory about that; no measured sentences; no dazzling metaphors; no fountain of words that tinkle like bells. Just plain home talk from Pike county, Missouri, in the style of "You've gotta quit kickin' my dog aroun'."

With this mandate was a bill of particulars—brief, but straight to the point. The West's view of the currency question was set out flatly, also the West's view of trusts

evolved the most advanced project for utilizing the power of publicity yet proposed. Compared with it some of the Oregon innovations of the same nature are conservative.

The last Republican State Convention in Pennsylvania did not adjourn. It recessed. It is by that the tale of revolution in political methods hangs. Because, before the members of the State Convention temporarily dispersed they appointed a select committee with instructions that the committee draft bills to give full expression in constructive legislation to the various planks in the State republican platform. This, in itself, is a startling innovation, because in the past there has been often an early inclination to overlook the obligations of a platform in the turmoil of triumph and the diverting prospects of re-election.

In many instances the memories of Governors have failed them, and legislators, elected under solemn pledges, have offered as reasons for not fulfilling them the convenient excuse that the bills presented were not properly drawn or did not carry out the precise letter of the platform or that the idea in the platform was not practical and could not be warped into legal form.

#### Check on Legislators' Evasions.

The Pennsylvania programme precludes this evasion by providing that a committee armed with the authority of the Convention and granted power of interpretation over the platform shall prepare the bill itself, as nominated in the bond, and have it presented to the Legislature.

Now, novel as this feature is, it is not all the proposition. The more vital part of the project appears later—in the power of this special committee to call the State Convention into session again. It may be easily imagined that no Governor or legislator is likely to be recalcitrant while there perches on his bedpost the vision of a party convention in special session solemnly passing resolutions condemning him for recreancy to a trust. This is the Pennsylvania programme, and the element of power it employs is publicity.

As in the case of open hearings in Chicago, so in this, no one foresaw such a proposal. Both sprang from the spirit of the hour. It is not recorded that previous to this time any demand was made for publicity of national delegate contests. When the proceedings in other years were star chamber no one seemed to care. When a delegate was snuffed out by a partial and discriminating national committee he ascribed his defeat to the fortunes of war and went his way, if not chastened, at least enlightened in the philosophy that in convention politics kissing is apt to go by favor.

This year, however, everything conspired to focus public condemnation upon the old custom of secrecy. There are more than two hundred and thirty contests and they have variety. The important bearing of the votes in dispute on the Presidential contest brought the issues out sharply. Yet without the new popular demand for publicity it is doubtful if open hearings would have been granted.

#### Popular Demand for Publicity.

This is not all—the same sentiment exacting publicity has under rigorous examination everywhere the secret ses-

# REPUBLICAN PARTY RUINED, SAYS MR. GEORGE; MR. MURDOCK SEES MR. BARNES AS WARWICK

New York Democrat Compares Taft Administration with That of Buchanan.

TARIFF IGNORED, JUST AS WAS SLAVERY

Finds That Both Presidents Found Themselves at the Point When the Old Order Was Passing.

SURE OF BOLT AT CHICAGO

Representative Asserts That Third Term Candidate Will Also Go Into the Field.



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Kansas Lawmaker Believes New York State Chairman Is Following His Grandfather.

RECALLS LEADER'S FIGHTS FOR FAVORITES

Thurlow Weed's Descendant Fired by a Spirit of Emulation, He Suggests.

DEEMS POSITION STRONG

His Conference with Delegation When He Reaches Convention City Commands Deep Interest.

BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.

(Democratic Representative from New York.)

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"Prepared deliberately to murder the republican party" were the words used by Senator Dixon, the third term candidate's manager, to describe the manner in which the Taft majority in the National Committee began casting out third term contestants for seats in the Chicago Convention. If murder it be, it is only the kind that is always committed by factions in partisan conventions, and which was committed by Mr. Hitchcock at the third term candidate's order in the Convention four years ago. Throwing out third term delegates at this time was to be expected.

But throwing out third term delegates is nevertheless helping to kill the republican party. Mr. Taft may be weak, but he will prevent the third term candidate from being strong.

BY VICTOR MURDOCK.

(Republican Representative from Kansas.)

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Second only to the principal figures in the Chicago Convention in interest will be Mr. Barnes, of New York. Dividing the interest with him will be the conference which the New York delegation is to hold when the members of it reach Chicago.

Neither Mr. Barnes nor New York may develop the determining vote in the convention, but New York's place in the contest may become such that, at the instant of climax, the State will be close to the centre of the event. For this reason the position of the State, as it is almost sure to be shown at the preliminary conference, presents angles that are entirely novel and of sufficient intricacy to put a whole nation of politicians to the business of analysis.

One of the developments of the New York conference

Genye

Murch

**"Breaking Up of the Old Things."**

So with the Taft administration. It has come at the break-up of the old things. A new struggle is coming to its culmination. Call that struggle what you will—industrialism, syndicalism, a fight between equal rights and privilege—it is stirring the people to the depths, and the Taft administration, by attempting to remain neutral, raised up enemies on every hand.

My reading of the returns from the Taft-third term State fights for National Convention delegates is that they showed largely a feeling against Taft. The demerits had been confident for a long time of winning in the fall of 1912 not only a new democratic Congress, but the Presidency as well. They all along regarded Mr. Taft as weak.

In the same way a great many republicans regarded the Taft administration. They did not want to renominate Mr. Taft. But they realized the great difficulty of beating him in the Convention. An administration has vast patronage. Patronage commands delegates. Delegates confer nominations. It is a very difficult matter to prevent an administration being renominated.

Therefore these republicans were ready to reach around for any club with which to beat down the Taft administration in the National Republican Convention.

As to who should be set up in his place—why, there were lots of good republicans, tried men and true, very progressive republicans and republicans not so aggressively progressive. They were to be had for the mere naming. But who to name in place of Taft was not the matter of concern to the mere anti-Taft republican. The one absorbing matter was who to use as a club to beat Taft.

The third term candidate offered himself. Indeed, he rushed in and elbowed out of the way others who had earlier gone into the fray. La Follette, Cummins and others were shifted right and left with short ceremony. The doughty champion from Oyster Bay jumped with a roar to the front.

Why should not the republicans opposed to Taft get behind the third term candidate if his business was to prevent a Taft administration being continued? What might happen in respect to the third term candidate when the Taft administration was disposed of was not a question to trouble at that time. That bridge could be crossed when it was reached.

**"Used" the Third Term Candidate.**

And so it was that a multitude of republicans scattered about the country used the third term candidate against Mr. Taft, indifferent to the third term candidate's fortunes, and, perhaps, feeling that if he should grow too strong he could be even more easily disposed of than the Taft administration, since the Taft people would turn upon the man who had pulled them down.

But there were a great many other republicans who were not merely negative—not merely opposed to the Taft administration—not merely against a balancing policy. These republicans were positive. They called themselves progressives. They were opposed to Taft because they were for a policy that antagonized his policy. These men hailed the third term candidate as their prophet and their leader. They went forth with banners flying. They emulated their leader's physical energy. A large proportion of them were inspired with a spirit of human welfare, without any hope of personal reward.

These republicans were third term men because the candidate personified in their imaginations their principles and their aspirations. Their enthusiasm, their activities, their loud proclaiming and their waving of banners made it appear as if the old republican party was turning inside out—shedding its skin like a snake—and before our very eyes coming forth with a new radiance and a new power. It looked as though the big strength turning up in the State contests behind the third term candidate was nothing more nor less than the old republican party deserting the titular head of the republican party, Mr. Taft, and offering the diadem of power, with the titular rank, to the third term candidate.

But the truth was that while a vast portion of the party was repudiating Taft, it was not of necessity—was not in fact—exalting the third term candidate.

And as a result of all this the republican party as we have hitherto known it is destroyed. Mr. Taft may be renominated, but the third term candidate will go into the field also. Two republican candidates, it seems certain now, will dispute the field and destroy all hope of republican success in November next.

not only hereditarily but through environment. Since the day when Thurlow Weed warped men and events around the fortunes of Seward and built ladders to the White House for him which never reached, there has been a distinguished company for Mr. Barnes to contemplate. There was Conkling, whose effort for Grant in 1860, despite its failure, still stands as the high water mark of tactical brilliancy in convention history. There was New York's part in the Convention of 1884, with the embarrassment of a division of sentiment on Blaine and Arthur, and the biting spice of a civil service group for Edmunds thrown in. There were Depew and Platt in 1888, when New York sat not only above the salt, but at the head of the table. Men still dig up out of their memories stories of that day, now told for the first time. I heard this one in Ohio last month.—Depew and Platt were sizing up the prospective candidates. In the course of their visits they called upon Mark Hanna, then in charge of John Sherman's candidacy. There was mention during the conversation of the loaves and fishes of federal patronage in event New York's delegation was thrown to Sherman. "We have no terms to offer," Hanna said shortly. Depew and Platt took firmer hold upon their hats, bowed and said:—"We bid you good day." And as they passed through the door there passed with them the last chance for the White House John Sherman ever had. A little later John C. New, of Indiana, welcomed the New York leaders with open arms, dilated upon the excellence of Benjamin Harrison and sent them away with the determination to make him President.

**Force of Mr. Platt's Example.**

There was, too, if Mr. Barnes will look into the past, Platt helping at Minneapolis in 1892 in the business of vindicating the President with a renomination; and Platt again in 1896 holding the State for Morton; and Platt would know that McKinley had the nomination; and Platt again in 1900 carrying the Roosevelt Vice Presidency idea to Philadelphia, if tradition is right, and falling afoul of Mark Hanna, who did not want Roosevelt, but did want Cornelius N. Bliss, and came near getting him.

There is plentiful precedent for Warwicks in New York. Now, if some eight years ago Mr. Barnes set out, as is charged, to be "boss," he found the republican party in New York in excellent condition. The popularity of the national administration, with the popularity of Governor Hughes, paved the way for Mr. Taft's great majority in 1908. Then New York had landed Mr. Sherman in the Vice Presidency. Senator Root became at once one of President Taft's counsellors. Seneca E. Payne, of New York, was to be author of a new tariff in the House of Representatives. Another New York Representative, Mr. Vreeland, was chief next to Senator Aldrich, in framing a new currency law. Mr. Dwight, of New York, was republican whip under Speaker Cannon and intimate of Speaker and President. So, while Senator Platt had left his power to no single successor, there was in the republican party of the State remarkable prosperity, and dominion fell, as nearly as one can tell, to a league of leaders, among them Mr. Barnes, of Albany. When in 1910 the third term candidate came home from Africa his renewed interest in politics was challenged immediately by Mr. Barnes.

**Aftermath of Saratoga Fight.**

At the beginning of the battle which ended at Saratoga Vice President Sherman's friends believed that President Taft would support Sherman for Chairman of the State Convention. Afterward Sherman's friends believed that President Taft's support was deep offence at President Taft by the Sherman men. This situation between President and Vice President is said to have been relieved later by the appointment of Mr. Millington, Mr. Sherman's friend, to the Sub-Treasury in New York.

Now, at the time of the selection of uninstructed delegates to Chicago this spring, the rumor persisted that the offence by Sherman's friends had part in the failure to instruct. At present, however, the reason assigned for the failure to instruct—that is, the reason assigned for the political oracles—is that at the time Mr. Barnes believed that a situation might arise in Chicago which would enable him to make a President, to be more than a Weed, a Warwick.

How much Mr. Barnes regrets to-day the failure to instruct New York's delegates, if he regrets it at all, how extensive is his power among the delegates, the magnitude of his leadership, if he is "boss" or if he is not, all will have illumination the day the New York delegates arrive in Chicago and go into conference.

JUNE 12, 1912.

# MR. GEORGE SEES EARLY BOLT; MR. MURDOCK URGES UNIFORM METHOD OF CHOOSING ELECTORS

Third Term Candidate's "Declaration of Independence" Expected This Week.

MR. BORAH'S SPEECH VOICE OF REGULARITY

"Many Straining Every Nerve, for Sage of Blue Point Will Not Quit Convention."

CONTESTS ARE ASSAILED

"Builds His Case on a Flimsy Structure," Declares New York Representative.

**BY HENRY GEORGE, JR.**  
(Democratic Representative from New York.)  
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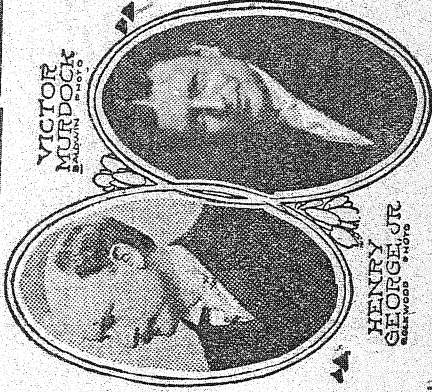
"No bolt for me," says Senator Borah, of Idaho, chief spokesman for the Philosopher of Oyster Bay, in the struggle for Convention seats now going on before the Republican National Committee at Chicago. "I have not even considered such a possibility. And I don't expect to consider it."

This is the voice of regularity. It was formerly the voice of the Oyster Bay candidate himself. He has in the past been "regular" to a fault. It has been a republican party trait. Threats have a thousand times been made before conventions to bring down the very Heavens themselves unless thus and so were done. But after the conventions regularity had its accustomed sway and the Heavens remained in their accustomed place.

For this reason many predicted that, despite all the fiery words, all the thunderous utterances, there would be no bolt at Chicago; that having threatened revolution before the Convention all would be quiet and harmonious after the Convention.

**Many Will Refuse To Go Further.**

This utterance of Senator Borah appears to confirm such predictions. Certainly many who are now straining every



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Change from the Convention to Direct Primaries a Step in This Direction.

PENNSYLVANIA MIX IS CITED AS AN ARGUMENT

Third Term Men on the Ticket, Yet Mr. Taft May Receive the Nomination.

WOULD REQUIRE PLEDGE

In Politics of the Past a Colossus Has Been Chiselled Down to a Pigmy.

**BY VICTOR MURDOCK.**  
(Republican Representative from Kansas.)  
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One of the results of the collapse of the convention system and the substitution thereof of direct primaries will be undoubtedly a uniform method for the selection of Presidential electors in all the States.

The matter, although it may not seem of first importance at first glance, is momentous. The Presidential elector, as the nation has known the agency for nearly one hundred years, has presented the curious spectacle of being himself authority of a constitution, but subject alone to the create and does not recognize.

The forces of the democracy in the very beginning displayed a fine impatience with the indirection of the Electoral College, and instead of selecting men with the purpose of permitting them in turn to choose a President, the people converted the Electoral College into a mere form by putting the Presidential elector under iron-clad instructions.

**Convention Has Been the Voice of Authority.**

This was done through the use of the party convention which nominated the Presidential elector and pledged him implicitly to vote, if elected, for the party nominees. The real voice of authority to which the Presidential elector has always harkened, consequently, has been that of the convention, and in the general elections the personality of the candidate for elector has been of no moment.

But with this effacement of power in the Presidential

nerve to have the Sage of Blue Point nominated will refuse to go further if he shall be rejected and Mr. Taft nominated.

But, on the other hand, there are some who have gone into this fight for victory or death. They have bared their trusty blades and thrown away the scabbards, resolved to come forth victors or find glorious graves. Mr. Frank A. Munsey appears to be one of these. His brilliant spokesman, Mr. Judson C. Welliver, who writes special editorial matter over his signature for the Munsey newspaper syndicate, announces "on the highest possible authority" that the third term candidate will run for the Presidency, no matter what befalls, and he broadly intimates what has for some time been whispered in Washington, that the republican members of Congress who remained in the Taft camp would find themselves opposed by other republican Congressional candidates at the fall elections.

Incidentally it might be remarked that this would play into the hands of the democrats and insure them a larger democratic majority in the next Congress than they have in the present one. But such matter aside, the question is what does the Philosopher of Oyster Bay himself say about bolting? The time for action will soon be at hand. His contesting delegations are being remorselessly thrown out. It may not be going on altogether according to the rule of ethics, but it is strictly according to the rules of politics.

#### He Knows Difficulties of Leading a Bolt.

Yet no one could have known better the difficulty of leading a bolt from the republican ranks. Consummate stage master as he is, the erstwhile resident realized that he would have to set his stage for a spectacular change. He must appeal to the imagination. He must make a supreme call upon morals. He must save the old party. He must go forth in the progress and lead the people out of the land of bondage under the bosses. He must re-deem politics and lift the Republic itself to greater and nobler heights.

And then all went according to programme. Just as soon as the first of these contestants were thrown out and the Taft delegates got the seats the third term candidate issued a proclamation appealing to the world for the justice of his cause and the rectitude of his intentions. The thing happened so pat! The proclamation was issued on Saturday, so that it could appear in the Sunday morning newspapers, when all America does its most deliberate newspaper reading.

#### Builds His Case Upon a Flimsy Structure.

Observe, by the way, what happened respecting the Alabama delegates. Two of these he claimed as absolutely his delegates—his beyond any matter of doubt. As to the others he conceded that "there was room for honest doubt." Nevertheless, he had his adherents set up a claim for all the delegates from that State.

The committee heard the cases and promptly awarded every one of the Alabama seats to Mr. Taft. The argument was so weak that even his own partisans on the National Committee voted with the Taft partisans.

Yet on such a flimsy structure as this he builds up his case; for the Olympian wrath against "fraud," "injustice," "theft" increases day by day.

No matter who else may waver, no matter who, like Senator Borah, may cry "No bolt for me," the man from Oyster Bay will be compelled to bolt and to urge all he can possibly get to bolt with him.

He has stampered a drove of wild horses, himself riding at their head. To try now to turn, or to stop, means to be trampled under foot.

But, probably, he never intended to turn or to stop. Probably he intended from the beginning to rule the republican party or to ruin it, and certainly its utter ruination will begin the moment he gives the signal to his following to leave the regular Chicago Convention and attend another convention to name him for President.

Indeed, signs are not wanting that he will not wait until next Tuesday, but will issue a declaration of independence this week and call upon his followers not to attend the regular Republican Convention, but to meet in some hall in that city which his lieutenants have already prepared, there to hold a convention for truth and justice.

elector there has come also neglect of the institution itself. All regularity in the manner in which the Presidential electors are certified to the State secretaries, who arrange the printed ballot, has disappeared.

In some of the States the names of electoral candidates appear under the names of the party nominees for President and Vice President. In others the name of the political party only is used at the head of the list.

#### Pennsylvania Electors Said To Be Third Term Men.

In this connection there has drifted into political circles this last week from Pennsylvania a story which has enhanced the whole discussion over Presidential electors. According to this story the republican electors in the Keystone State were nominated at the general primary. It is understood they are for Mr. Roosevelt. As is the wont of electoral candidates, after nomination they sank out of sight and out of mind. Then these candidates were suddenly dragged back into the light by the reiterated assertion in the despatches that there would be division, schism and blow-up in Chicago.

It had been a long time since the Pennsylvania politician had had occasion to look the Presidential elector, as a governmental agency, over; and naturally he found some curious things. If, as the newspaper despatches insisted, a break in Chicago was inevitable, and there were to be two republican nominees for President, both claiming to be regular nominees, the thirty-odd electoral nominees in the Keystone State appearing under the heading "republican electors" could go on the ballot pledged to Roosevelt, and President Taft would be without an electoral ticket in Pennsylvania.

Or, in case the thirty-odd electoral nominees concluded not to pledge themselves to anybody, they could, if elected, vote as they pleased.

It was the thought of a Presidential elector voting as he pleased which filled the Pennsylvania political breast, lately given over to all manner of strange emotions, with a wonder that grows apace the longer the Pennsylvania politician studies intimately the elector's place in government.

#### Chiselled from a Colossus to a Pigmy.

For he is discovering the Presidential elector to be a mighty man and helpless; in theory, real; in practice, only seeming; substantial in the letter of the law; a feeble shadow in the spirit of it. No one in American government was given more power by specific grant, and under general usage no one ever exercised less. The forefathers reared him as a Colossus, and the democracy chiselled him down to a pigmy. Accountable under the constitution to no one for his actions, as supreme in his field as the Supreme Court in its field; superior to and creator of the President, and inferior only to Congress, and inferior then only when unable to reach a majority vote, sole constitutional officer without a wage, the Presidential elector, recently rediscovered in Pennsylvania, seemed upon examination to be a political ghost, doomed to walk the night on the battlements of a forgotten Electoral College, neglected, outworn, unhonored, unused and unsalaried.

If, in Pennsylvania or elsewhere, after a century of phantom life he should linger after dawn and embarrass things by insisting, as a constitutional right, on being real there would be an instance of reasserted authority that would make every one, even a national committeeman, sit up and take notice.

#### Must State His Position and Keep to It.

Such a thing is inconceivable. The weight of tradition is against it. The Presidential elector, wherever he is and whoever he happens to be, will be compelled by public opinion to give his word as to his choice for President. He will not be permitted to slide through the campaign without stating his position. And once he states it he goes into eclipse of his own pledge, back into the dark upon the battlements, unseen save by an occasional philosopher and by a few more or less biliously melancholy constitutional scholars. So the Presidential electors in Pennsylvania would have it to say whether they were for Roosevelt or for Taft.

In keeping with the desires of the democracy, as it has dominated the Electoral College, the electors should be placed on the ballot by the Secretary of State, as other successful party nominees are placed, and above the list of electoral nominees there ought to be carried, in every instance, the names of the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees for whom the electors pledge themselves to vote in event of their own election. Undoubtedly, with the spread of the Presidential preference primary, this rule of uniformity will come.