

ON REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

THE preliminary campaign for the election of a President of the United States will be inaugurated on March 7th, when the partisan voters of Indiana will assemble at their respective primaries and choose delegates to the forthcoming National conventions. The Democrats will designate representatives favorable to the renomination of President Wilson and the Republicans will name advocates of the nomination of the Honorable Charles W. Fairbanks. New Hampshire will elect delegates on March 11th, Minnesota on March 14th and North Dakota on March 21st and eight more commonwealths, including the great States of New York and Illinois, will take like action during the month of April. The climax of the preliminary campaign will be reached on June 7th, the date fixed for both Republican and Progressive conventions in Chicago, two weeks precedent to the assured renomination by the Democratic party at St. Louis of President Wilson.

The ensuing struggle for ascendancy will not only involve issues of greater import to the Nation and the people than at any time since 1860 but also, we fear, may be characterized by bitterness and passion such as has not been witnessed since the days of Andrew Jackson. It is but natural and probably inevitable that the aroused temper of a warring world should be reflected in the course of an election more distinctively international in character and effect than any other ever held in the United States.

The most striking circumstance bearing upon the quite tentative situation now existing is the complete confidence of all most intimately concerned. Those charged by the President with responsibility for continuance of the Democratic party in power are firmly convinced in both mind and heart that nothing less than abrupt termination of the war can imperil Mr. Wilson's chance of re-election. Peace and Prosperity, supplemented by appropriated Preparedness, they regard as an irresistible slogan,—and there is much in history to justify their faith in the reluctance of the American people to swap horses or even donkeys while crossing a stream.

The leaders of the opposition, on the other hand, feel no less certain that only a fair measure of unity is requisite to success, while full amalgamation would effect an over-

whelming triumph. This predication is based upon the fact that, if the votes cast for Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft in 1912 had been combined, Mr. Wilson would have lost at the polls by 1,311,544 and would have received in the Electoral College only 152 ballots against 379. This, too, may be regarded as reassuring by those who for one reason or another are dissatisfied with the conduct of the present Administration.

For ourselves, in view of the unprecedented condition of affairs now existing and of unforeseeable happenings that may take place, we perceive but little basis for confidence in either hypothesis. It is quite clear to our mind that neither the partisan "ins" nor the partisan "outs" have sufficient numerical strength to win beyond peradventure. And if, as we suspect, the result will be determined finally by the increasingly large body of patriotic citizens who, especially in a time like this, place their country far above party or prejudice, the fact is more than gratifying; it is alive with promise for democracy at the very instant when monarchism as a more efficient machine seems most threatening to what we of America have come to regard as civilization.

We may not forecast, then, at this early stage; but we may speculate, possibly to advantage, with respect at least to the preliminaries of the momentous contest which so soon is to absorb our minds, our energies and our patriotic fervor.

One severely practical question arises immediately: Can the elements comprising the Opposition be united effectively? And the answer, in so far as paramount issues are concerned, is unhesitatingly affirmative. The sharp line of demarcation between Republicans and Progressives drawn by Mr. Roosevelt in his famous Columbus declaration has been blotted out by its author. While not admitting definite and final abandonment of the radical proposals then enunciated, Our Colonel now not only concedes but insists that they be set aside as of minor importance in the face of more pressing problems. It may be assumed safely, moreover, that with the exception of a negligible number of sentimentalists represented by Miss Jane Addams, the Progressive rank and file are in accord with their leader. Indeed, so many have already returned to the Republican fold, as indicated by the various bye-elections, that probably not

more than one-fourth or at the most one-third of the four millions of the recalcitrants of 1912 remain unaccounted for.

Meanwhile, the chiefs of the Republican party seem to have learned their lesson. Mr. Aldrich, the most powerful and most incorrigible of the reactionaries, is dead, Mr. William Barnes has stepped aside, Mr. Penrose no longer scoffs at the Progressive sentiment of his State, Mr. Taft's animosity does not go beyond Mr. Roosevelt,—and Mr. Elihu Root, who thrilled the country with his eloquently liberal speech at Albany, and Mr. Murray Crane, who redeemed Massachusetts by demanding the election as Governor of a man renowned for his independence, stand forth as the broader-minded, more enlightened and more tolerant leaders of the old organization. Agreement upon a statement of principles under such conditions is readily attained.

The one problem that confronts the Opposition is that which, somewhat oddly, does not affect or even concern the party in power, namely, the selection of candidates. And this task, since no Progressive except Mr. Roosevelt is mentioned in connection with the Presidency, narrows in turn to the Republican party. Can a ticket be constructed, along with a platform, that will serve the two essential purposes of eliminating the possibility of a third menacing candidacy, and of winning the support of those independent citizens whose action may prove to be decisive? That is the question, the very interesting question in a political sense and the very vital question as it affects the future of the Nation, that must be answered at Chicago three months from this very week.

The solution, although far from easy, is rendered less difficult by the certainty respecting the outcome of the Democratic convention. The Opposition already knows precisely what and whom it will have to face before the great popular tribunal. So completely has the President possessed his party, it will be in fact Wilson, that's all,—Wilson, his record; Wilson, his foreign policy; Wilson, his Mexico; Wilson, his diplomacy; Wilson, his Congress; Wilson, his party; Wilson, himself, no more like Jefferson than like Cleveland, but more agile than Van Buren, more canny than Tilden, more daring than Jackson. However the balance may be struck when the time shall come to weigh the good against the ill of the present Administration, there is and can be no question of either the intellectual or the

wilful supremacy within his party of the Democratic candidate.

This fact, no less than the unexampled condition of public and more particularly international affairs, calls for discrimination on the part of the Opposition not unlike that of the colored preacher who, at the time of the Charleston earthquake, implored his Maker to "Come and help us, and come yo'self, o Lord; don't send yo' Son; this ain't no work for boys!" Time was when a Rutherford B. Hayes could be elected or at least inaugurated President by the Republican party,—but not now, when the world is aflame and the country is aroused to the need of its best brain and fullest experience at the helm, not merely for performance at home but for the influence of an international reputation abroad. With all due respect, then, for the many excellent qualifications of Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Weeks, Mr. Smith, Mr. Estabrook, Mr. Brumbaugh, Mr. Hadley and of all other favorite sons or sons-in-law whose aspirations may have escaped our attention, we pass unhesitatingly on to Mr. Cummins, who is lamentably weak east of the Alleghenies and to Mr. Burton, a man of parts but wholly of negation and consequently quite out of the question as the rival of a personality so vividly affirmative as Woodrow Wilson.

That Mr. Justice Hughes could obtain the nomination we have no doubt; that he would be elected is a common belief in which we do not unreservedly share; that he should not and will not become the candidate we are confident. There might—indeed, there may—come a time when the services of some particular one of the five million individuals qualified might be required as President, or temporarily even as Dictator, to save the Nation. Such a condition or something approaching it, we fear, exists in England today, and if the like obtained in our own country we should not blanch at the desperate remedy. But no peril of so great imminence now confronts us and, if there did, there is no ground for belief that Mr. Justice Hughes's qualifications to meet it, as compared with those of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Root, Mr. Roosevelt or of many others, are pre-eminent. The only conceivable reason for forcing the nomination upon him would be "to beat Wilson" and to gather the offices into the Republican basket. His acceptance of such a nomination, unanimous or not, thus ignobly made, would constitute a flat betrayal of trust, as interpreted from his own reiter-

ated declarations. While wishing earnestly that Mr. Justice Hughes might see his way clear to say simply, with General Sherman, "If nominated, I will not accept and if elected I will not serve," so far from questioning his sincerity, we consider it a virtual, though perhaps a necessary, impertinence to even mention his name in connection with the Presidency at this time.

There remain Mr. Root, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Borah and Mr. McCall,—equipped for the filling of the requirements enumerated in the order named. Governor McCall's strong grasp upon public questions, his profundity as a scholar, his breadth of vision and his sturdy independence, no less than his long service in Congress and his demonstrated ability to win Progressive votes, clearly establish his availability. Senator Borah stands easily at the head of the younger statesmen developed within the Republican party, as second, in intellectual capacity, only to Mr. Root, and in strength of purpose, in fidelity to American ideals, in liberal thought and in oratorical power as second to none. If Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt must be set aside upon grounds of expediency, as a consequence of the antagonism engendered by the bitter contest of 1912, Borah and McCall or McCall and Borah, as determined by considerations respecting the West or the East as the chief battleground, would make the most effective appeal to the entire Opposition. But neither the Governor of Massachusetts nor the Senator from Idaho has profited from the great experience in international affairs of the former Secretary of State or the former President and in a comparative sense both are practically unknown in foreign capitals.

All resolves, then to the two questions: Would the three and a half millions of regular Republicans who voted for Mr. Taft condone the offense of Mr. Roosevelt? and Would the million and a half of remaining Progressives forgive Mr. Root for his part in the proceedings at Chicago? That Mr. Root personally would support Mr. Roosevelt we are certain. That Mr. Roosevelt would support Mr. Root we have good reason to believe. If anyone is qualified to speak with surety for their respective followers, he is not within the range of our acquaintance.

While to our mind the Republican party would stamp itself a coward by refusing, at this crucial time, to nominate for President Elihu Root, the foremost statesman now

living in this country or in the world, we fully recognize the strength in union. Despite the fact that he overshadows all others combined, President Wilson cannot be the sole factor on the Democratic side. Linked with him inevitably and most conspicuously will be Colonel Edward M. House, maker of Cabinets, confidential adviser and Ambassador-at-large in full charge, without official responsibility, of foreign affairs, and Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, who hangs like a millstone about the neck of his patient but apparently helpless patron. Against this Democratic trio, either of two combinations would seem to be more effective than any other that could be devised, to wit:

I

For President,

ELIHU ROOT

For Vice-President,

WILLIAM E. BORAH

For Secretary of State,

HENRY CABOT LODGE

For Senator from New York,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

For Senator from Massachusetts,

SAMUEL W. McCALL

Great courage in grave times is good politics!

II

For President,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

For Vice-President,

WILLIAM E. BORAH

For Secretary of State,

ELIHU ROOT

For Governor of Massachusetts,

SAMUEL W. McCALL

“Nec sibi, sed toti gentium se credere mundo!”

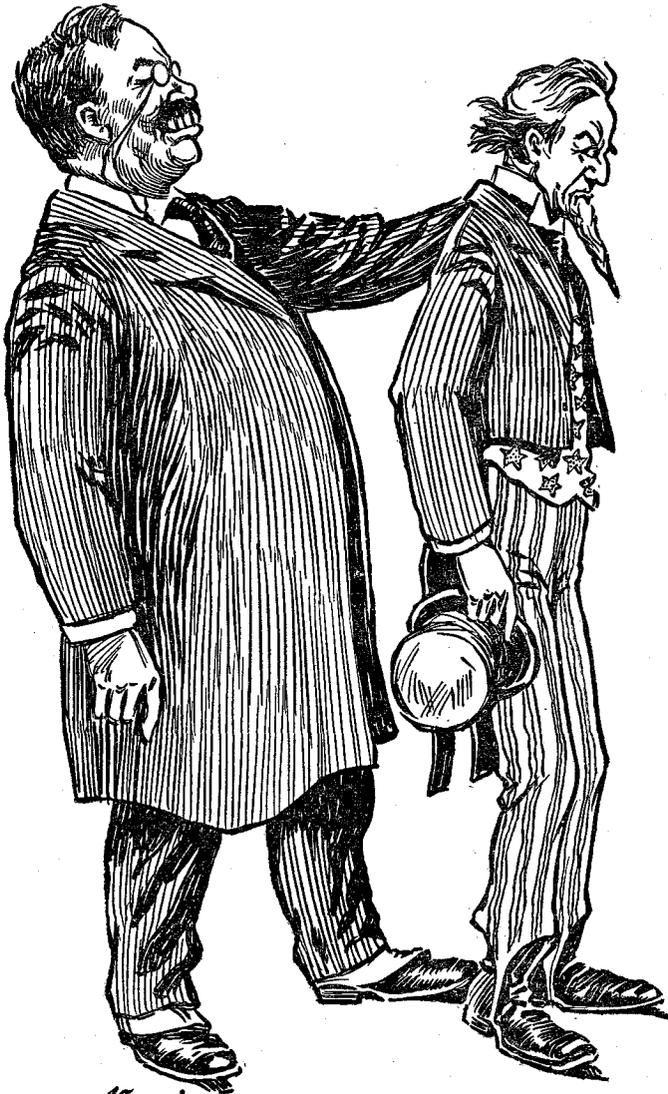
From the New York Evening Mail—1908



1904 U. S.—“He’s Good Enough for Me!”

The most bewildering of the many applications of Homer Davenport’s famous cartoon we have ever seen, appears in a paper called *Harper’s Weekly*, as presented herewith. Our Colonel himself remarks with a grin that it “most emphatically shows an Uncle Sam who would *not* like to have

From Harper's Weekly—1916



MORRIS

1916 T. R.—“He’s Good Enough for Me!”

me behind him,”—which we suspect is correct. May it not be possible that, in a busy moment, Brother Hapgood got the wrong man behind that particular conception of our venerable Uncle?

DOES PREPAREDNESS MEAN MILITARISM ?

PROPHECY may be past. Prevision is not. There are men still able to judge the future by the past. There are those still who are sufficiently prudent and foresighted to make preparation for the exigencies which experience teaches us to expect. The words of Washington, Hamilton and their contemporaries, concerning the necessity of military strength, have been cited a thousand times. But such counsels did not die with them. In our own time we have had equally clear sighted men who have continued that same service of admonition and exhortation. Thus only a score of years ago it was said:

It is idle to say that the rules of international law are more humane, or that they are better understood, or that they are better protected by treaties, than they were a hundred years ago. The rights of neutrals have depended in the past, and will depend in the future, in every life and death struggle between nations, whatever treaties may say, upon the exigencies of the hour. Our naval and military prestige, and our wonderful physical and material resources, are no doubt quite sufficient to cause any statesman, not under stress of some controlling necessity, to think twice before provoking us to war. But who can believe that in the midst of a desperate struggle any great naval Power would, for fear of retribution at some future day, imperil its existence by taking account of the rights of a neutral Power which was for the time being unable to maintain them? We do not need a maritime force as large as that of Great Britain, or even France; but our navy should always be so formidable that no Power could ever deem it wise, even for a moment, to offend against the right of our flag upon the seas.

Those were the words of Hilary A. Herbert, uttered while he was Secretary of the Navy in Mr. Cleveland's second Administration. There were those at that time who considered him an alarmist and a militarist. There are doubtless those to-day who thus esteem him. To such we commend the consideration that his words have been justified by the progress of affairs to a marvellous degree; so perfectly that his words could not have been more accurate if they had been uttered after, instead of a score of years before, the event. There is nothing that this war has made more unmistakably clear than that the methods of warfare are no more humane, and the rights of neutrals are no more secure, than they were a hundred years ago. Indeed, they are actually less so. A hundred years ago there was no practice