

HAVE A CARE, UNCLE!



Nashua, N. H. Telegram
July 24/13

CARRYING THE FLAG.

Senator Borah's opinions on any public question will command attention. He is an independent thinker of remarkable ability and sincerity of statement. He sees in the proposed treaty with Nicaragua "the going up of the American flag all the way to the Panama Canal as certainly as time goes on. It is the beginning of that policy whose irrefutable logic is complete dominance and control and ownership by the United States from here to the Panama Canal."

His argument supporting his view is forceful. "The Central American States are vastly wealthy in natural resources. They are inviting fields for exploitation and the minute we begin establishing protectorates American capital will flow in and take possession and we will have to protect those citizens and this capital in the minutest details of government. We will have to insure order, protect property and life, and we will have to do that on the American plan and in the American way."

It is vain to deny the possibility of this outcome but it cannot be affirmed as a certainty. We are trying the experiment in Cuba and it is yet to be

demonstrated that Cuban independence and self government are impracticable. There has been an immense flow of American capital into Mexico, fairly satisfied with the assurance of protection under a native government in the native way, and there would have been no thought of intermeddling if the tolerable government of Diaz had been maintained. Unless emigration from the United States should exceed the present population—and there has been no considerable drift to Cuba since the forming of the protectorate—there will be no strong pressure for the remodeling of Central American forms of government.

Senator Borah assumes that a protectorate, and yet shaped and practically certain to be less controlling than the one established over Cuba is to be a destruction of national entity. The Cuban Republic has not yet been destroyed and we are apparently disposed to nurse it along without any greed for annexation. When Central America becomes, as he apprehends, a subservient dependency, there will be more justice in his portrayal of our imperial dictatorship. From his point of view, treating his own conceit as an accomplished fact, there is nipping sarcasm in his contrast of the extension of a protectorate with progressive profession. This is a new role, as he says, for a Republic which is just now preaching from a million scaffolds popular government and the

rights of every people to say what kind of government they will have.

It may simply be remarked in return that the proposed treaty arrangements are still in the air and that whatever is finally concluded will not be an imposition on Central America but an assurance of the maintenance of a tolerable government desired by Nicaragua and other states or it will not be put into execution. If the people of Nicaragua prefer a respectable government under the guarantee of the United States to a succession of overturns by rival revolutionists, have they not the right to choose for themselves what kind of government they will have and why should Senator Borah debar this freedom of choice? There is probably a closer approach to government of the people, by the people, for the people

Cuba today under our "imperial" protectorate than exists in any Central American state endowed by Senator Borah with fanciful freedom.

BORAH TELLS THE WORLD WHY HE OPPOSES U. S. SUZERAINTY

By Telegram to the Editor of The World.

Washington, July 21—I am unwilling to take the first step until I have weighed all the consequences of the last step; and, therefore, I am opposed to a protectorate over Nicaragua until I am satisfied that we ought to take possession ultimately of all the territory from here to the Panama Canal.

This proposed treaty is outside of any principle of the Monroe Doctrine as understood by its authors, and turns the principle of protection into the doctrine of aggression. For this Republic to assume the position of a protector over an independent government, that subtle form and specious guise by which deliberate aggression is always concealed, is, to me, unthinkable.

When this three million is gone—what then? What is a treaty worth, made by a kaleidoscopic government which may change in a fortnight? What will be our duty to American citizens who go in under a protectorate and make investment?

When can we quit pulling up, and when can we withdraw?

It is clear to every man that "drumstick diplomacy" can only end in ultimate and absolute possession and ownership. If we had not wandered so far from the concepts of our fathers, this would startle the country; but as it is, I presume it will pass to a glorious fulfillment.



SEN. WM. E. BORAH.

WILLIAM E. BORAH.

From

Address: THE WORLD

Advertisement: New York

Date

WITH ITS EYES OPEN.

If the policy of the Administration toward Nicaragua is correctly reported—acquiescence on our part to a request from Nicaragua that we establish over her what amounts to a protectorate—then the Administration's attitude in this specific case cannot reasonably be attacked as an act of aggression.

The danger, however, lies not in this specific case of a solicited protectorate but in the tendencies which our acquiescence will stimulate. It is but one step between granting and offering our protectorates; it is but another step between offering and forcing them.

Senator Borah will hardly, therefore, be accused of using extravagant language when he says of Mr. Bryan's Nicaraguan policy that "this means the going up of the American flag all the way to the Panama Canal;" that it is "the beginning of that policy whose irrefutable logic is complete dominance and control and ownership by the United States from here to the Panama Canal."

Undoubtedly the new plan has elements of great popularity, as shown by the attitude of Senators and Representatives toward it irrespective of party lines. But if the country is going into the business of underwriting Central American republics, it should go in with its eyes open.

This thing cannot stop with Nicaragua, or with Nicaragua and Salvador and Costa Rica. It cannot stop with Central America. Whenever the external pressure is sufficiently strong the policy must be extended to Santo Domingo and Hayti. It must be extended to Mexico. It must be extended to Colombia and Venezuela, and to every other Spanish-American republic that invites a foreign aggression which might jeopardize the control of the Panama Canal. It must be extended peacefully if possible, but by force if necessary.

To be sure, all this will not take place in a day or in a week, but it is what Senator Borah rightly calls the "irrefutable logic" of the policy proposed by the Secretary of State and endorsed by the President.

It has been the history of the Monroe Doctrine that every Administration which found occasion to apply it also found occasion to extend it, until the Monroe Doctrine as it now takes shape in the public mind bears no relation whatever to the doctrine that James Monroe promulgated. It reached its ultimate definition in the declaration of a Secretary of State that on this hemisphere "our fiat is law."

Fortunately, thus far our fiat has usually been moderate and great caution has been displayed in assuming responsibilities, but if this proposed step is taken our responsibilities can no longer be indefinite. We become suzerain, rather than guide, counsellor and friend. Our fiat must be law, and it must be law as applied to our vassal republics no less than to European nations.

It is far easier to inaugurate such a policy than to limit it or define it. Mr. Bryan will not always be Secretary of State. Mr. Wilson will not always be President. But even if they were they could not escape the inexorable conclusions of their own actions. We give them both credit for a hearty hatred of jingoism and aggression, but under this policy it will not be necessary to invite trouble. Trouble will come uninvited, unheralded and unexpected.

Such a policy must in time necessitate the abandonment of the Administration's navy policy. The Government cannot ride two horses going in opposite directions. There can be no harmony between the gospel of peace that Mr. Bryan preaches and the gospel of blood and iron which this policy would lead to. Ultimately the United States is likely to need all the battle-ships that the most exuberant jingo ever demanded as a guarantee of peace.

St. Louis Post Dispatch July 23 - 1913

JINGOISM'S "IRREFUTABLE LOGIC"

Senator Borah will hardly be accused of using extravagant language when he says of Mr. Bryan's policy that "This means the going up of the American flag all the way to the Panama Canal; that it is 'the beginning of that policy whose irrefutable logic is complete dominance and control and ownership by the United States from here to the Panama Canal.'"

We do not see how it can mean anything else if this is what the American people want, this is the way to take the first step.

Perhaps it is what they want. Undoubtedly the new plan has elements of great popularity as shown by the attitude of Senators and Representatives toward it, irrespective of party lines. But if the country is going into the business of underwriting Central American republics, it should go in with its eyes open.

This thing cannot stop with Nicaragua, or with Nicaragua and Salvador and Costa Rica. It cannot stop with Central America. Whenever the

external pressure is sufficiently strong the policy must be extended to Santo Domingo and Hayti. It must be extended to Mexico. It must be extended to Colombia and Venezuela, and to every other Spanish-American republic that invites a foreign aggression which might jeopardize the control of the Panama Canal. It must be extended peacefully if possible, but by force if necessary.

To be sure, all this will not take place in a day or in a week. But it is what Senator Borah rightly calls "the irrefutable logic" of the policy proposed by the Secretary of State and endorsed by the President.

The administration's Nicaraguan policy will necessitate the abandonment of the administration's navy policy. The Government cannot ride two horses going in opposite directions. There can be no harmony between the gospel of peace that Mr. Bryan preaches and the gospel of blood and iron which he proposes to practice. Ultimately the United States is likely to need all the battleships that the most exuberant jingo ever demanded as a guarantee of peace.



HON. WM. E. BORAH OF IDAHO,
The Statesman Who Has the Integrity
and Courage to Speak the Truth.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S NEW DEPARTURE.

("Dunderhead" Not "Drumhead" Diplomacy.)

I.

That the Administration, backed by the enormous resources and giving effect to the resistless power of the Nation, may set up and maintain a Protectorate, not alone over Nicaragua, but over all the Central American States, is plain enough. Thus far at least to the Southward, if no further, our flag can be established as law. But before we undertake a task so stupendous, shall we not count the cost?

Says Senator Borah, of Idaho:

"I am unwilling to take the first step until I have weighed all the consequences of the last step; and, therefore, I am opposed to a protectorate over Nicaragua until I am satisfied that we ought to take possession ultimately of all the territory from here to the Panama Canal.

"This proposed treaty is outside of any principle of the Monroe Doctrine as understood by its authors, and turns the principle of protection into the doctrine of aggression. For this Republic to assume the position of a protector over an independent government, that subtle form and specious guise by which deliberate aggression is always concealed, is, to me, unthinkable.

"When this three million is gone—what then? What is a treaty worth made by a kaleidoscopic government which may change in a fortnight? What will be our duty to American citizens who go in under a protectorate and make investment? When can we quit pulling up, and when can we withdraw?

"It is clear that 'drumhead diplomacy' can only end in ultimate and absolute possession and ownership. If we had not wandered so far from the concepts of our fathers this would startle the country; but as it is, I presume it will pass to a glorious fulfillment."

Here we have the language of a Statesman. Let us consider it. "This proposed treaty," to repeat the Senator's words, "is outside of any principle of the Monroe Doctrine as understood by its authors." It is outside every profession hitherto made by William Jennings Bryan. As for the Monroe Doctrine, we abandoned it long ago. To name no other instance we put foot upon its promise of noninterference with European affairs when we established ourselves in the Philippines and wrenched Cuba and Porto Rico from Spain. It will not do, therefore, to plead the Monroe Doctrine in support of an aggression having neither "manifest destiny" nor "benevolent assimilation" for a pretext.

"What is a treaty worth," says Senator Borah, "made by a kaleidoscopic Government which may change in a fortnight?" Verily, not the paper it is written on. Its sole binding power is battleships and marching armies. Declining to unite with any faction in Mexico, we propose to finance a faction in Nicaragua; and proceeding Southward, to take in Costa Rica, and Northward, to include the mongrel Republics of Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras—why not, since we have already despoiled Colombia of Panama, penetrate South America and give the protesting Latins sure proof at once of the truth of their fears and of our all-conquering intentions?

Whatever argument there may be as to Nicaragua is good for all the rest. The only argument for say is derived from the much-abused and ill-understood gospel of "expansion." That rests on conquest and conquest alone. It actually implies all, or none. We cannot stop with Nicaragua. And, when we have taken over Central America, and invaded South America, what about Mexico? Can we safely leave Mexico outside the combine? By that time the jingo will be firmly in the saddle. He will require that we annex Mexico.

"If we had not wandered so far from the concepts of our fathers, this would startle the country," concludes the Idaho Statesman, "but, as it is, I presume it will pass to a glorious consummation."

It may be so. The surrender of the Administration to the jingo spirit of the time—crossing the tracks of its professions of sanity, peace and reform—of progress on sober and orderly Democratic lines—invites alliance with the very System we came in to dethrone—that is, every questionable element in the land, the Armor Plate Trust, the Steel Trust, the Money Trust, all seeking outlet and deliverance from too close scrutiny of home affairs through a splendid, all-absorbing foreign policy, promising plenty of battleships and at one and the same time new fields for investment along with the safety of investments already made.

Nothing put forth by Theodore Roosevelt in his most ambitious and destructive mood—nothing suggested of him, or feared of him—was so far-reaching and fantastic as this half-baked scheme of mistaken national aggrandizement and wanton international spoliation.

The fly-by-night Republic of Panama, with William Nelson Cromwell working one end and Philippe Bunau Varilla working the other—the Roosevelt Administration holding whilst these two adventurers skinned Colombia—the Gray Wolves of the Senate looking on complacent—the Forty Thieves of Paris and Washington to pocket the Forty Millions of swag—was bad enough. It wrote the blackest page in our Diplomatic annals. But it was a begatelle by the side of this undertaking, when we contemplate its full meaning, its reach and consequences.

II.

The canal is the pretext. Not satisfied with the discredit—or, shall we say the infamy—it has brought to our door—including the violation of treaty obligations, the clandestine bestowal of subsidy and the assertion of warlike purpose—we are now to extend our activities from the Isthmus to the Continent, that is the contiguous territory, beginning by the payment of \$1,000,000 to the chance faction of half-breeds ruling in Nicaragua. For what? To safeguard the Panama Canal that is about to be against a rival Nicaragua Canal in Mr. Bryan's mind's eye. That anybody could sell a gold-brick to Mr. Bryan would surprise nobody. But, what about Mr. Wilson? He has been thought to be rather up to snuff.

Another canal is unthinkable. There is not a treasury in the world—not a group of financiers on earth—to consider such an enterprise. In the unlikely event that some "kaleidoscopic government" of Nicaragua should perform some confidence game upon some visionary collection of capital the other side of Mars, seeking moonshine investment, it would be cheaper for us to send Mulhall over, flanked by Lauderbach and Lamar, to pull off a counter revolution.

But, the \$1,000,000 we engage to embark will be but the beginning of the outlay which must surely follow. We paid \$20,000,000 for the Philippines, not counting the collateral expenses, and the Administration is considering the policy of giving them up. First and last, they have cost us a pretty penny, yielding us little in return except care and trouble. They are uncomfortably distant and expose us to many outpost dangers. But we have our copy-book precepts; trade goes with the flag; the Bible goes with trade; and, are we not a Christian people?

Recalling the McKinley formula for the World Power his Administration was asserting to the front of nations, and how Mr. Bryan especially railed against it, simple-minded and straight-forward Democrats may well stand aghast before this measure of insidious revolution and incredible folly. It is a reversal of all our professions, built upon exigencies that do not exist and headed toward ends that stagger conjecture. We actually butt into Civil War and put a premium on insurrection. If we have found the Philippines a hard nut to crack, what shall be thought of buying a volcano and erecting it as a plaything in our back yard?

They are naming it "drumhead diplomacy" to distinguish it from "dollar diplomacy." Why—because we suppose the drum is the symbol, the drum-tap the signal, of war? We omitted no word to express our contempt for "dollar diplomacy." What shall we say for this "drumhead diplomacy?" Only this, that it is "dunderhead diplomacy."

III.

We hear that, nevertheless, it is growing in favor at Washington. Senator Borah surmises that it will prevail. And why not? There is never a corrupt and corrupting interest which will not array itself in its behalf. There is not a beleaguered Trust menaced by the Sherman Act which will not hail it as a friend in need. Every speculation hanging on to the ragged edge in Mexico and Central America will take heart of hope and reach for the hand of Uncle Sam to help it out of its particular hole.

Not is this all. The Lobby, driven for the time away from Washington, will find congenial occupation and rich pickings in Managua, Bogota, San Jose, and other Spanish-American capitals. The commercial world looks on and laughs. "Our South American trade is safe enough now," says

"Yah, myn herr," says Germany, "ours too."

President needs to look both to himself and to his Administration.

Since Mr. Bryan took the portfolio of the State Department he has appeared as a man in strange surroundings, if not actually dazed. A proper man within himself, his sense of social and official propriety seems not to exist. His mind is fertile of oratorical suggestion. He is a popular entertainer. He is at home only before an audience. When he gets down to brass tacks and boot heels he is lost. He should have been an evangelist.

This Central American trumpety is of a piece with the Railway Ownership foolishness. Truly, as Senator Borah says, if we had not traveled far away from our moorings to original principles and cardinal faith, it would startle the country. As it is, with parties at loose ends and politics in a fluid state—the politicians on the run and the masses as well as the combines on the make—the country does not stop to consider ethics that do not immediately strike its pocket.

It is itself on the gamble. Yet changeable, likely to strike back when hit though by a fancy, quick to unjust conclusions and artificial resentments. If the Administration loses the next House of Representatives it is gone. It cannot therefore afford too many experiments. Thus far its innovations have prospered. It should beware of overdoing. Ridicule is a terrible gorgon, and more than once the Presidential bark has run through funny waters perilously near the laughing rocks.

When, two years ago, Mr. Wilson resolved to take a shirt-tail shoot to the Southwest corner of the Bryan reservation, and ruthlessly to brush aside everything that might get in his way, he showed a subtle understanding of political conditions and acute foresight. It was keen, practical politics. The event justified it. He is now Chief Magistrate.

No one of his predecessors in that great office better knew the history of the country. Many of them have been commonplace men who were wise enough to do nothing—at least nothing out of the common. Obviously Mr. Wilson, a scholar and a thinker, means to do something. He is ambitious for the glory of his Administration.

Yet, after all, his peculiar experience has not wholly fitted him for so great a task. He is still on trial. He grew to manhood during times when chaos ruled as to principles, and at Washington the opportune was the only wear. It has become a sign of the obsolete to insist upon dogma—a proof of enterprise to go after the bizarre. For example, Theodore Roosevelt. But down beneath the surface, the full-bodied, clear and limpid current of old-fashioned Americanism still flows toward the goal of good government; of good government at home, before all else; laid in proper restraint under limitations fixed by law and a proper respect and sense of justice toward all mankind.

We need not go abroad to find work to do. We have plenty within ourselves. This Nicaragua project is only the entering wedge of a foreign policy regardless alike of peoples and consequences. It is a complete reversal of all our Latin-American pretensions. Central America is the very crater of revolution and the Central Americans the very offscourings of Christendom. If we require naval bases and coaling stations let us buy them and pay for them. There is nothing else in that quarter that we want, or need.

A Protectorate in Nicaragua forecasts Protectorates over the other Central American States. Soon, or late, we shall have Mexico on our hands. All this means Imperialism; and, let us repeat, plays into the hands of the great Money Combine we affect to be so eager to quell. In short and in fine, Woodrow Wilson, the Schoolmaster, will do well to subject Woodrow Wilson, the President, to a course of philosophic study and intellectual discipline, whilst as for Mr. Bryan, the more he lectures and the longer he stays away, the better it will be for the Administration.

From

Address

Date

DISPATCH
COLUMBUS O

The most astonishing thing about it is that the new doctrine should be proposed by Mr. Bryan, the pacifist, and approved by President Wilson, whose first utterance on the foreign policy of this country was an outright repudiation of the "dollar diplomacy" of his immediate predecessor. The Nicaraguan plan is rightly denominated a modified—and it might, also, to use a word employed in another connection recently by President Wilson, be characterized as an insidious—form of this very "dollar diplomacy." Senator Borah is quite right in saying that the doctrine of protection and guardianship of Nicaragua implies ultimate possession and ownership of the country to which it may be applied. We are to keep order in the domain of the nation accepting the suggested plan, and to protect it from outside interference. That means, of course, that it must accommodate its foreign policy to our ideas of what that should be, in other words that we will hold its portfolio of foreign affairs, and also that it must avoid domestic excitement of a revolutionary nature. Those are severe restrictions that are bound, at some time or other, to produce resentment and recalcitrancy, and then will come the necessity for forcible intervention on the part of the guardian to impose the terms of the appointment. There is where the pacific policy of Mr. Bryan will break and the necessity for a strong arm, so deprecated by the present administration, will appear. We shall, undoubtedly, have to discipline our troublesome wards at some time, perhaps frequently, and however shall we do it if we are without the essential instruments of punishment, convenient and numerous battleships and other transports of war? That is a question Mr. Bryan will have to think upon between lectures.

At present it is only to the countries desiring the prescribed treatment that it will be given. It is a voluntary course. But the time will come when its enforced extension will be made, and once entered into it will be imposed to the end. After a majority or a convincing number of the Central American States—why not call them the Panama canal states at once, and be done with the definition?—have accepted the proposed relationship to the United States, it will be only a very short step to impose its terms upon those remaining outside the charmed circle, on the ground of national and neighborhood interest and safety. That will bring us perilously near to conquest, or say, to be as suphemistic as President McKinley was with his phrase of "benevolent assimilation," as applied to the Philippines—establish a policy of protective aggression. We shall take over the control of the canal countries for their own good, and ours.

It is, indeed, a violent departure from the doctrine of friendship and freedom so beautifully celebrated by Mr. Bryan in his Chautauqua addresses. His rhetorical fleet, with its flagships "Friendship" and "Fellowship," is fully armed with purpose, at least. If we are to police and administer the canal neighborhood Secretary Daniels will have opportunity not merely to stand on the bridge of the naval vessel that leads the procession through the Panama canal, but to hold constant station in the waters adjacent to it. And the canal forts will be useful for something more than fortification of that waterway, being, indeed, well placed headquarters for a mobile army that may be moved in one direction or another to enforce peace in Central America and the good will and determined policy of the United States. Still, as Senator Borah says, it all seems—its contradictions with the rest—to fit in well with the current ideas of government and the prevailing national ideal—or lack of it.

From

Address

Date

PROTECTIVE AGGRESSION

The extension of the Monroe doctrine as contained in the proposal by Secretary Bryan of a treaty with Nicaragua that would mean the establishment of a virtual suzerainty by the United States over that country and any others in its neighborhood—meaning in the neighborhood of our canal—that has a hankering for such a relationship, has moved comparatively little and exceedingly moderate discussion, considering the sweeping possibilities of the policy. Perhaps the most positive expression, which includes, too, a likely explanation of the indifference with which the proposal has been received, is made by Senator Borah of Idaho, the Progressive Republican leader. "It is clear to every man," says Senator Borah, "that 'drumstick diplomacy' can only end in ultimate and absolute possession and ownership. If we had not wandered so far from the concepts of our fathers, this would startle the country; but as it is, I presume it will pass to a glorious fulfillment." Just so.

POPE
UNIVERSITY, & C
JUL 24 1913

A Warning Lesson.

With respect to the Nicaragua Protectorate foolishness the Courier-Journal would by no means emulate the hero who—

—for the measure seems sufficiently dead—and yet one passing and parting word over the holed-in-the-ground to which, without benefit of clergy, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate has consigned it, may serve at once for epitaph and admonition.

A scheme of international policy at once more ill-judged and short-sighted could hardly have been devised. From every point of view it was positively senseless. It proposed precisely the things which wisdom and duty told us plainly not to do. To start with, it bore out the hurtful contention that our ultimate aim is the domination of the residue of the Continent south of us. It asserted a police power which cannot be maintained except at enormous cost, physical and moral, implying vast moneyed responsibility far reaching in its consequences. And, finally, it committed us to an endless and dangerous crusade of warlike aggression, menacing to our liberties at home and our peace abroad.

Yet but one member of the Senate Committee—Senator Borah—in the beginning set himself resolutely against it; though truth to say, his colleagues, notably Senators Bacon, Williams and Clark among the Democrats, came bravely to him, when time was called.

To a gentleman up-a-tree it occurs that a spoonful of intelligence in the State Department would have saved us the equivocation in which this dead treaty still leaves us. It caused all Spanish America to sit up and take notice. The Gressers said, "What next?" Even as matters stand, they will go away brooding over what might have been. Those that are hostile to us will use it as fuel to feed the flame of anti-Yankee prejudice. Yet, for thirtyodd years we have been striving to lay the ghost of the Monroe Doctrine in the minds of our southerly neighbors.

What could Mr. Bryan have been thinking of? We established a Pan-American Union. We set up a Bureau at Washington and built a palace to house it. Mr. Root hied all the way to Buenos Aires, Chile and Brazil to disabuse the minds of those countries touching our intentions and to assure them of our disinterested friendship. "We consider," said Mr. Root, with the universal approval of his countrymen, "that the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations deserves as much respect as those of the great empires. We pretend to no right, privilege, or power that we do not freely concede to each one of the American Republics."

This was to meet, and if possible, to dispel the ever growing suspicion of us which was discrediting our relations and destroying our commerce. Yet by one sweeping act in Nicaragua Mr. Bryan proposed to do away with all that had been done to reach a better

thing and again to raise before of all the Latins the old, old flag bearing the hated onerous Doctrine." That was their fears and to courage them, to our loss and the gain of our trade rivals.

II.

In view of the Mexican situation in 1823, and our Central American and South American relations in 1903, this would seem a good time for fishing the Monroe Doctrine, so-called, out of the basket of old clo's and taking a long, last look at it before transferring it to the dark closet of things no longer useful. It served its purpose and its term. It was put to sleep by events. Nor has it ever been awakened except to be saddled with aims and ideas wholly foreign to its origination.

We had better let the French remain in Mexico. In no event could we have since had worse neighbors. France is now a Republic. With England dividing North America with us—Mexico on

the side—what have we to say against Monarchy? Yet Monroe declared:

"The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by European powers. * * * We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. * * *

"With the existing colonies, or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere," said Monroe. What about Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines? Then and there we bore false witness to our own promise—went back on our pledges—and, by the act, abrogated the Monroe Doctrine.

If we reassert it as to Mexico—as we did reassert it in Venezuela and proposed to reassert it in Nicaragua—it will not be the Monroe Doctrine at all, but some other gospel masquerading as such—a Policeman pretending to be a Statesman—a son-of-a-gun of a Boss deserving to be soundly whipped and thrown out.

We should never forget that the Monroe Doctrine did not originate with us at all. When it was promulgated by the Monroe Administration a situation, not a theory, confronted us. At the time the "foreign world" was wholly Monarchic. Monarchism being the antithesis of Republicanism Monarchy was the bugbear of Republicans. The Monroe Doctrine, which still adhered to Washington's Farewell Injunction, touching entangling foreign alliances, was intended to meet the specter which thus most affrighted Americans. The Spanish provinces in America had thrown off the yoke of Spain. The Holy Alliance was pledged, among other things, to help Spain to whip them back. We had hurried to recognize their independence. At this juncture, George Canning, the Premier of England, suggested to the Monroe Administration through Richard Rush, the American Minister at the Court of St. James, that His Majesty's Government would approve and support such an attitude, and, thus strengthened, the declaration was made. Alas, we were scarcely equal to it. But, backed by England it sufficed.

Yet are there those who, when the Courier-Journal urges that, with respect to Mexico we call England into council and concert, swear that this would be a desertion of the Monroe Doctrine, which we got of England, the same England that divides with us the possession of North America and is equally concerned with us to have peace and order—good neighborhood—established in that country.

III.

In a recent private letter written by an old lawyer-diplomat learned in the lore of the State Department, we read as follows: "Somebody in high place at Washington—or assistant to somebody in high place—was surely 'in cahoots' with the bankers and promoters in exploiting Nicaragua for a long time—as they are doing San Domingo, and thence extending, even if slowly, surely—to Patagonia! They can always buy the support of some bun-dit in temporary control who wishes to live in Paris! In one loan to Honduras these 'Financial' thieves allowed 4 per cent to reach there, dividing the other 94 per cent between themselves and the bun-dit. In San Domingo we paid a certain 'Professor' one large salary, whilst the poor San Domingo paid him another, to fix on their necks our protectorate, which is paying about ten times the amount the exploiters sent there. Who is behind the exploiters of the Nicaragua loan? Whose do their tracks lead? Let us hope and believe not to the White House nor the State Department, though if so, of course, without the knowledge of either Wilson or Bryan; but surely the country, and especially the Democratic party, is entitled to know all the inside history of this nefarious plot."

The Courier-Journal notes, and glad it is to note, the attitude of Mr. Kent, of California, an Independent member of the House, who is said to own thousands of head of cattle yet votes for free meat, and who has large interest in Mexico yet opposes the sending of American soldiers down there to be killed in its defense. Mr. Kent went the extreme length, for a Congressman, of inserting a portion of the scriptures in the Record. He chose three verses from Proverbs, truly saying they absolutely put the kibosh on the Monroe Doctrine, which, as truly, he declares obsolete. Here are his Biblical citations foreshadowing the present situation:

"My son, if thou hast become surety for thy neighbor, if thou hast stricken thy hand for a stranger, thou art ensnared with the words of thy mouth."
"He that passeth by and seeth him-

self with strife that notwithstanding yet is silent is like one that taketh a dog by the ear."
"He that is surety for a stranger shall smart for it."

Mr. Bacon cannot be too wary. No more can be Mr. John Shelby Williams and Mr. James P. Clark. The Democratic party is a new-comer. The Foreign reports emanate mainly from Republicans. Behold Henry Lane Wilson and stand on guard. Anybody can sell a gold brick to Mr. Bryan. Let the patronage go, Senators, and save the country and the party from the danger of tyra and tyroism in the Department of State.

It is to laugh. But it is well. Three jumps of sugar for each member of the Foreign Relations Committee who have done such good work, but the biggest three to the courageous, upright and sagacious statesman from Idaho, for he saw clearest and spoke first!

Denver Times July 14/13

Western Candidates

Some Eastern newspapers appear to be deriving entirely no comfort from the damper Senator Borah has put on any uniting to work up enthusiasm for his presidential candidacy three years hence. They would interpret his own statement and the present lack of buoyancy of the Borah boom as practically eliminating him from the race. But it will usually be observed that the journals whom fears are thus easily allayed are the timorous, skittish sort who perpetually shy at the idea of a Western president.

Mr. Borah came through the party crisis and disruption of 1911 practically unscathed. He is one of the few—the very few—who bear no scars of that battle. But Mr. Borah, or any other man, for that matter, would be the veriest fool in the nation should he declare himself a candidate for the presidency thus far in advance of the actual fight. There will be much getting together, smoking of peace pipes, burying of hatchets and incidental sacrificing of individual hopes in the next three years among Progressives and Republicans. Many issues and men will be caught and ground between the stones of the political mill. Mr. Borah simply but wisely refuses to offer himself for three years' grinding. The Republican or Progressive who openly inflates and exhibits his boom during these and the reorganization days to come but makes his boom a target to be certainly punctured by the crossfire of both parties. Mr. Borah has proved himself no simpleton in the past. He refuses to lose his wits at the first complimentary notice.

The papers who find consolation in the Borah declination prove themselves overmuch like the boy who whistles lustily in the night-enshrouded graveyard. They are too willing to have their alarm appeased. They should remember that no less a prophet than Colonel Harvey has pointed to Senator Borah for 1916. And as a political prognosticator Colonel Harvey to date has a perfect score.

BORAH'S CANDIDACY.

Editor Barker, of the Sanpoint Review, says he thinks Senator Borah's letter to a Kansas admirer sets at rest for the time being at least the talk that Idaho's brilliant member of the upper house of congress may be a republican candidate for president in 1916. But his discussion of the matter, instead of bearing out such a conclusion is a positive argument against it. The quotation from the senator's letter and the argument follows: "I have not my lightning rod up as is now being published abroad, and I haven't the slightest intention of putting it up. I am not and cannot be misled by the generous work of friends as to the real situation or persuaded into the belief that there is any possibility, much less probability of such a thing happening, and I promise you as my personal friend that I do not propose to divert my mind into a serious consideration of the matter."

It is hardly to be conjectured, however, that if Senator Borah is "drafted" he will refuse the call and the call is coming as surely as the election, if political conditions as they exist today continue until that time and there is no great reason to believe that these conditions will change. No progressive candidate in the republican party can unite, through the charm of personality and the absolute cleanness and vigor of his political record, the warring party factions. His nomination will come from the great arbiters of these things, the people themselves, and Senator Borah has already grown to full stature in their confidence and esteem.

The republican party is not going to run counter to public demand again very soon, and it is in that fact that Borah's strength is growing. By 1916 he will be able to repeat his performance of 1912 in Idaho when by almost unanimous consent of the electorate of the state he was bigger than any "boom" or aggregation of politicians, through his firm grip upon the people themselves.

Chicago, Ill., Post
Tuesday, May 20, 1913.

Colonel George Harvey, in Harper's Weekly, predicts that William E. Borah of Idaho will be the Republican presidential nominee in 1916. As the colonel has an uncanny reputation for prophetic pronouncements, Messrs. Cummins and La Follette should be inclined to indulge in a worrying process. Also possibly, Mr. Hadley.

The self-impeding of the Venustus at sea practice is like the failure to get out

Paper, The Salt Lake Tribune

Published, Salt Lake City

Date APR 16 1913

Senator Borah of Idaho has written to the Kansas Republicans: "Believing as I do that the great body of the Republican party and those who have made its history are in thorough sympathy and full accord with things which ought to be done, I propose to remain with them." Which is good, no sound sense, undiluted with warped sentiment or futile agonies about nothing.

Burlington
Hawkeye JUL 1 11

SENATOR BORAH'S POSITION.

Senator William E. Borah, who was a staunch republican, went over to the progressive ranks and endeavored to secure the nomination of Roosevelt for president, and afterwards refused to follow the colonel out of the republican party, and who is now registered as a progressive within the republican ranks, says he has no ambition to become president. Nearly every man prominent in political life, is slated by some one as good timber for president. There are without a doubt, thousands of men in this country who would make the very best of chief executives. It really is a mistake to presume that but one or two men in the country in each party are available for the position. Borah is a man of brains and of ability in national affairs and would probably make

From
Address
Date

TOO EARLY FOR BOOMS

Senator Borah promptly gives the quietus to a Kansas admirer who wants to assist in booming him for the Republican presidential nomination. He says that he is not making, or consulting at the manufacture of a presidential boom for himself, and begs his Kansas admirer to put all such thoughts out of his mind.

The Kansas had some ground for his belief, for a well known political prophet, with some claim to honors in that activity, has predicted that Borah will be the next Republican candidate. The senator is a progressive who refused to follow Roosevelt, and he has, since the campaign, delivered himself of some party wisdom. But he is wise in his decision of have no boom for him begun at this time. Not a year has yet elapsed since the election, and a great many things may happen in the interval between now and the true season for booms. Besides, a boom planted now would be ripe too early and might be under foot and in decay when it ought only to be ready to fall.

From SUN

Address: New York

1913

MAY 17 11

The Drawn Bow.

In the Journal of Civilization we find this more or less interesting announcement:

"We predict to-day—May 17, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for President of the United States will be William E. Borah of Idaho."

Insatiate archer! Could not one suffice?

a first class president. But he says he does not want the position. He, rather, according to his authorized statement sent out from Washington, is desirous of being free to use his best influence to bring the republican party back into power. In the course of his statement, Borah says:

"I should like to be helpful in making the republican party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs again, to help direct it along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, to make it the faithful medium through which its millions of devoted supporters can enjoy the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and I do not want to be considered while doing this as a candidate at all for any office I positively am not."

Senator Borah's sentiment does him credit, except that he would have a hard time improving the principles of the old party. There is vastly more hope for a reunited republican organization in his method than in all the ideas so far presented of rebuilding and revising the party. The fundamental principles of the republican party are just as sound and correct now as they were when the party held full sway with a united and effective membership.

The trouble with the party is not its failure to carry out its principles and to work for the best interests of the country, but the antagonism within its ranks of ambitious men who sought by breaking down its power and turning the people against the men who were its leaders, to become leaders themselves. They have succeeded temporarily in their plans, by assisting from the inside the assaults made upon the party by the enemies on the outside.

But they will not realize their ambition to become leaders. Their very action in opposing the party organization has prejudiced the minds of too many people against them. Had they, instead of fighting the party and its leaders and filling the minds of the people with distrust for men as honest as themselves, stood for their ideas of reform as republicans in the republican ranks with respect for their fellow partisans, they would have won just as quickly, and might have become a powerful influence in the party ranks today.



Morris, in the Spokane Spokesman-Review

WILL THE TEDDY BEAR RUN WITH THE HAKE OR HUNT WITH YOU?

The World To-Day



Munnely, in the New York World

CLIMBING OUT

WINCHESTER JOURNAL

Senator Borah, in spite of the fact that he belongs to no political party, continues to do things. His bill, amending the law passed at a recent session of congress whereby the settler was compelled to clear fifteen acres during his second year of occupancy of land, allowing the settler to pay \$1.25 in lieu of the clearing of an acre, passed the senate safely and will no doubt pass the house and become a law. It matters little of what political faith a man is as long as he

lives for a just and equitable division of the good things of life that belong to all who toil and strive for a better condition while here. It can be truthfully said of Senator Borah, that never yet in his public career has he betrayed the trust placed in him by the people.

Does Presidential Talk
 as prediction made some weeks ago Colonel Harvey in Harper's Weekly that Senator Borah of Idaho will be a Republican nominee for president in 1916, has led to considerable gossip around Washington where the senator is known, and also in newspapers published in various parts of the country where his renown has spread. It is a remarkable fact that there is no adverse comment upon the suggestion of Colonel Harvey though many politicians are frank to confess that it is too early to make predictions for the next presidential fight. And after all, why should not Senator Borah have as good a chance of being the Republican nominee in 1916 as any other man in the party? There is just one argument against him, and that is that he hails from Idaho, which numerically is not strong in congress. Hereafter, it is true, presidential candidates have been picked from big states, strong politically, but times are changing, politics is undergoing a radical reform, and is it ridiculous to say that a man from a state as small in population as Idaho shall not be nominated by his party merely because of his geographical location? The disposition of recent times is to look around for men of ability rather than to look into their postoffice address and the number of neighbors they have.

If the next Republican nominee for president is to come from the senate, is there any Republican senator any more likely to be chosen than Borah? There is not. Senator Borah, while believing in true progress and in practical progressive ideas, refused to leave the Republican party during the last campaign, even though he fought as hard as anyone to bring about Roosevelt's nomination at the Republican national convention. Since the Democrats have come into power and it has been demonstrated that their control of the government will continue indefinitely if there be three parties in the field, Senator Borah has worked earnestly to bring about a reunion of the Republican and third parties under the Republican banner, and he has been striving to have the Republican party take a stand on a real big issue on which these two parties or two factions can unite.

No man in public life in recent years has developed as rapidly as has Senator Borah. He is just beginning his second term in the senate, and today is as powerful as any member of the senate and he has the respect of every member of that body. Moreover, none doubts his ability. Being then a tried and true Republican, but believing in a progressive Republicanism, he seems to stand out as preeminently qualified to lead a movement to reunite the party, and there is no member of the senate better fitted for this service at this particular time.

True, Senator Borah is not a candidate for the nomination in 1916; he not only is not a candidate, but he refuses to allow his friends to make the fight for him. But if the Republican party is to get together it must find a leader acceptable to both factions, and there are many wise men who agree with Editor Harvey that Senator Borah is just the man for that job.

Record
 PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

MAY 18 1913

If you have nothing more important to do just mark down the fact that on May 17, 1913, A. D., Colonel George Harvey, of Harper's Weekly, predicted that "the next Republican candidate for President of the United States will be William E. Borah, of Idaho." The particular bearing of this prophecy lies in the fact that Colonel Harvey was the original Wilson man, and predicted his nomination long before other people had awakened to the possibility of making the Princeton president the successor of Taft. Senator Borah is one of those progressive Republicans—not Progressives—who lately held a conference in Chicago over the desirability of reforming the G. O. P. and bringing it up to date. But why bother now about 1916? There are endless possibilities of lightning changes in three years, and a successful Democratic Administration will make the next Republican nomination a mere formality.

PAPER
 CALDWELL, IDA.
 PUBLISHED
 MAY 30 1913
 DATE
 people.

BORAH FOR PRESIDENCY

The Tribune is highly gratified that a citizen of Idaho should be even seriously mentioned as the nominee of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States. Knowing his worth and ability we are still more highly gratified that the citizen of the state upon whom this honor is to be thrust is none other than Senator Borah. Harper's Weekly in a recent editorial expression predicted that Senator Borah would be the Republican nominee in 1916. Harper's Weekly is edited by Col. Geo. Harvey, the discoverer of Woodrow Wilson and the man who predicted his nomination two years prior to the event. However the then governor of New Jersey, after he was well on his way to the nomination concluded that the support of Col. Harvey was inimical to his interests, and asked that the active support of the Weekly be withdrawn. As a predictor Col. Harvey hit the mark once at least and that is a very fair average as predictions go. He should have stopped there. The candidacy of Senator Borah has been discussed by the New York Sun and other eastern papers of prestige and influence. Not a few Idaho newspapers have become highly enthusiastic. The enthusiasm is highly commendable. We wish we could feel it.

There are at least two reasons in the opinion of the Tribune why Senator Borah will not be the nominee of the Republican party, any one of which is sufficient to defeat the project. In the first place Senator Borah, if we are frank with ourselves we must admit, has not reached a position of such prestige in the nation, that all thought of expediency will be thrown to the winds. Senator Borah comes from a small, unimportant state. He would not add that strength to the ticket which the candidate is supposed to add in at least one large doubtful state. Geographically he is all to the bad. In the second place who knows whether or not Senator Borah is a Republican. In an interview given in the Lewiston Tribune the chairman of the Progressive party states that within a reasonable length of time Senator Borah will be found working heart and soul with the Progressives. It is well known that during the last campaign Senator Borah promulgated a brand of Republicanism peculiarly his own. We hardly imagine that the Republican party will take as its nominee a man whose political convictions are in doubt.

The First Established and Most Complete
 Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From
 Address
 Date
 JUL 28 1913

Senator W. E. Borah of Idaho, who is a member of the committee now probing the strike situation in West Virginia, came near being named by former President Taft to the place in the supreme court made vacant by the death of Justice Harlan. His appointment was urged by many prominent men. He was decidedly persona grata with Mr. Taft, and for a time it seemed almost certain that he would receive the honor. Then something happened—just what no one knows, or if they do won't tell—and so the sturdy statesman from Idaho still wears the toga instead of the judicial gown of the supreme court.

WHO'S WHO IN PUBLIC LIFE



(Copyright, 1911, by Hester Davenport Syndicate)

WILLIAM H. TAFT

President Taft has no secrets. His face would give them all away. While a President naturally says many nice things to his callers at this season, when reelection or defeat is but a year away, with Taft there is less of the before and after voting shown in his make-up than most any one you could meet. Taft is a real, genial, good-natured man. His laugh is by all odds the heartiest in Washington life.

There is only one thing about Taft you can't imagine, and that's how he could discharge any one from his service, from the cook up, or down. But there are certain shadows thrown on the President's forehead by visible bumps, not caused by playing golf, that are never seen in any other statesman of this period, and when the laugh that is so hearty and pleasant dies down, it is then that these brain cells under the before-mentioned bumps can do things.

In these sort of Eskimo huts on his forehead are the seeds from which possibly reciprocity sprung, and, while the laughter on the lower part of the face may be raging at its height, the upper head can work uninterrupted. It is useless to say Mr. Taft is big and ponderous, that he comes from Ohio, and can tell what part of the country they have the best food. These things we all admit.

But in his face is a great study for the whole people. You can see the baseball enthusiast, the golf player,

who would delay writing his speech to the last moment, and then, to save time, give it extemporaneously. You can even see the big boy that would play marbles any minute if he had a law that would just suit him. And yet you cannot pick out the features that are responsible for this game of ball, or that game of golf, or the marbles, or the hurriedly prepared speech. There is a wide, smooth strip of skin between Mr. Taft's eyes and his eyebrow that makes his face different from any one else's, but whether this is reciprocity, or tariff revision, or baseball, you don't know.

A picture of his father, hanging on the wall at his left side shows where many of his strong facial characteristics come from, and I recall a portrait of his mother that accounted for many of the other strong features of his face, including his well-shaped, big ears. His voice is very remarkable in a tone distinctive of the man. Some voices are harsh; you will recall others that grate; others are whiny, some have so little in them that it is impossible to recall them, and still others are like the ringing of bells in the distance. In the South a voice that "roars like a lion" is prized. But Taft's is yet different. It drips with mirth most of the time, but can ring with a meaning where there is no laughter. It is the same voice and at all times voice not comically heard.

And sometimes, such was the Taft's duty, which is a study less of a mere failure.

WHO'S WHO IN PUBLIC LIFE



SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK

A more reserved, dignified man than Speaker Champ Clark could be harder to find than a spotted mule in Missouri. He is one of those characters that look drowsy almost to the point of laziness. In the contrary, he is a wit, a humorist of the highest type, a man whose sarcasm can cut like the edge of a newly sharpened blade. His lightning change set is one of the quickest on record, from the drowsy philosopher to the fun-maker.

Nothing affords more interest than the study of so serious and yet so witty a man as is this distinguished Missourian. He seems to be a mass of power that has you guessing all the time. His expressions even are strange. When he hears a funny story and starts to laugh, his eyebrows begin to let down, as if he was really going to cry instead. His laugh is a mellow, sweet smile, like a father would give his child.

Clark's greatest feature is his natural dignity, a stately

at the girth than at the shoulders, with a finely shaped head and firm features, with eyes so thoughtful that you scarcely catch the changes, so quickly does he shift the sarcastic and humorous slides.

Notwithstanding that he wears short hair, somehow you would know Champ Clark was a Southerner, if by nothing else than the hang of his clothes. From the shape of his face it is plain that he never sprained any ankles running away from the battle. Such faces never belong on sprinters; such features spell wade in. They suggest the student of men and affairs, and are always found with heads that grind out big problems.

Whether walking or sitting, he seems always to be thinking. All of this study has landed him at last in the right place, for he is a real leader of men. I might say that in my own estimation there is no public office too big for Champ Clark, for the simple reason that his journey up has not been made in a day or overnight, but has been hard and slow, and is not easily forgotten. His face and chin are of a weather any storm, and at the end of a minute's acquaintance

ANOTHER CASE FOR THE CORONER



From HARVARD WINKER
 Address New York City
 Date Aug. 2, 1916

Some Obvious Arguments for Protecting Nicaragua

It is not at all surprising that our provisional treaty with Nicaragua should have instantly arrested public attention. It could not for a moment be mistaken for anything less than an extremely important departure in our diplomacy. In emergencies, as with Cuba and the Philippines after the Spanish War, we have taken steps more or less like this; but this, taken deliberately, has the earmarks of a policy whose reach is not determinable. Neither is it surprising, reserving the objection, as they say in the House, that the administration's proposal, fully concurred in by the Nicaraguan government, should have instantly found favor in the Senate and other strong quarters; it aims at things too plainly desirable.

As to securing the Nicaragua canal rights and a new naval base, these are things which stand apart and for which we had already made offers. As two administrations have not thought three millions too much to pay for them, that valuation is doubtless all right. Of course, we don't want to build a second canal, only to keep others from

doing it. The late Senator MORAN, of Alabama, the tireless and learned advocate of the Nicaragua route, is in a way vindicated by our thus continuing to guard it.

But it is the new parts of the proposal we are all thinking most about, and these, too, aim at things desired, which may as well be given first. They aim at peace and settled government in Nicaragua, from the lack of which we ourselves have recently suffered in men and money; at a sound financial system for that perpetually embarrassed state; at a sensible management of her affairs to keep her out of broils with the rest of the world. It seems only true to say that the proposal would readily have been extended to embrace Nicaragua's independent neighbors if they had wished, but that for them also these of its aims are desirable. On the other hand, we believe one can say honestly that mere territorial aggression or absorption is *not* one of its ends. There are a few filibustering Americans, no doubt, most of them in Latin America, but the

great mass of us have no such designs in any direction, and our politicians know it.

Some Sources of Hesitation

So much is good; perhaps there is enough, and it is good enough, to overcome all fears and objections. But nobody should advocate treating these otherwise than very carefully.

There are the promptly declared objections of Nicaragua's neighbors. Not only have Honduras, Salvador, and Costa Rica declared their aversion to any such arrangement for themselves, but they regard Nicaragua's act as something like treason to the old dream of a federated Central America. It seems probable they stand now for the general Central-American feeling, and that it is too strong a feeling to be overcome by anything but time and very happy developments. Nor can we at all assume that it will not extend to a revival of a like feeling over most of Latin-America; for we have too much evidence that Latin-Americans find it hard to believe us disinterested. Professor BISHAM, the South-American explorer, has recently dwelt at length on the extreme difficulty of making them think well of us, and the extraordinary ways some of us go about it. Of course, too, there is Mexico, likely to remain for a long time, whatever we do, an abundant source of misunderstanding.

But, after all, the character of the task itself is and should be our main source of hesitation. It is a delicate and trying task, and one for which we assume, and must assume, great powers. We shall be setting up a protectorate. Nothing less, perhaps, would serve; but that is what it will be. The language of Nicaragua's concessions is taken from that which made us protectors over Cuba. We will control Nicaragua's power to make war and to make treaties and to borrow money, and we will have the right to use force to do it. There are colonies whose mother countries have much less to say in their affairs. Such control must of course bring corresponding responsibility—in war and diplomacy, in finance, in respect of order and peace.

By all means, then, let us study the undertaking out thoroughly, solemnly, trying, as Senator BORAH would, to see the last step before the first is taken. Let us try and make sure that the *people* as well as the government of Nicaragua welcome us. And let us look no less cautiously to the arduous things our enterprise may lead on to than to the possibility, which is really less daunting, of a mere failure.

SENATOR BORAH'S VIEW.

The paper of United States Senator Wm. E. Borah, of Idaho, on "The Lawyer and the Public," which the senator was prevented by illness from reading before the West Virginia Bar Association Wednesday night, presents such an admirable view of the obligations and unusual privileges of the lawyer who sits on the bench or in a legislative body that the Register believes it should be printed and a copy placed in the hands of each member of the legal fraternity in West Virginia.

The senator takes the broad view that "the public weal has a right to exact services in proportion to our ability to meet the exaction, just as the government should collect taxes in accordance with the ability to pay," and since almost every conceivable question of moment to the citizen at this time involves in some way a knowledge of law, the obligations resting upon the lawyer are perhaps greater than those which any other class of citizens should bear. In the public service the lawyer finds his widest sphere of usefulness on the bench and in legislative halls, and Senator Borah appears to think that the greatest menace that confronts the lawyer is the central, controlling, absorbing thought of "acquiring wealth either through professional or business channels," which "dominates and directs and shapes our life as a people."

This cupidly is displayed frequently by lawyer-legislators, and occasionally by jurists. The public is learning through the lobby probe now in progress at Washington to the extent to which it has influenced congressmen, not so much by what Senator Borah calls "affirmative and specific corruption" as by indirect but none the less sinister methods. The lawyer-legislator would be free from such influences if his conception of duty should lead him to regard the public alone as his client. On this subject Senator Borah says:

I do not believe that the lawyer has any more right as a matter of correct public service to hold a retainer while writing a law in the public interest, and that may affect his client adversely, than has a judge to hold retainers from those whose interests may be affected by the decisions which he renders or the judgments which he signs. Is it not as important to the public that laws be framed free of the influences, conscious or unconscious, of private interests as that they be administered free of such influences?

The senator points out that custom has inured us to a different code of ethics, but this custom has also brought in its wake inert, inefficient statutes, timid and ineffective in their terms, shielding special interests and protecting private advantages. The statute books are filled with laws of that character, and Senator Borah is justified in defending the courts against assaults for constructions placed upon such statutes. He says:

The marvel to me is, in view of the influences which surround legislation, the selfish, sinister influences which warp and twist our statutes in the making, that the courts have done as well as they have in interpreting them. When legislatures and congress enact laws so involved and ambiguous that their meaning is difficult of interpretation by the authors of the law, it is no surprise that courts sometimes fail to apprehend their purpose, or differ as to the construction to be placed upon them. Some people seem to think that we need for the bench, not lawyers but clairvoyants and mind readers.

The weakness of public criticism lies in the fact that it does not reach back to the root of the evil, which is improper influences exerted upon the law makers. It would be an extraordinary congressman, drawing from a corporation an annual salary several times as large as his congress-

sional salary, who in framing a law would be guided solely by his duty to the public if it conflicted with the interests of his client. It is therefore a sound view which Senator Borah takes, that congressmen should stand free from the relationship of client and attorney with reference to all matters upon which they are called to legislate. Referring to the impeachment of a federal judge at the last session, the senator said:

I do not hesitate to say that in the realm of strict morals, in the matter of correct public ethics and of true and upright public service, that the judge thus unfrocked was guilty of precisely the same offense and no other and greater than that of the legislator who draws \$7,500 a year from the government and \$25,000 from some client, and flatters himself that he can thread his way with honor and a clear conscience between the public interest and the antagonistic demands of private interests.

The sound and wholesome views expressed by Senator Borah are very timely, considering what is going on in Washington at present. If the public looks at the lobby disclosures from his viewpoint it will not be disposed to regard some congressmen named by Mulhall as exonerated merely because of a failure to prove that they actually accepted money for their votes for measures favoring private interests.

From **LEDGER**
Address **TACOMA, WASH.**
Date **7-2-1914**

COURTS AND BIG BUSINESS.

Senator Borah, an able lawyer, has been investigating the attitude of the courts toward business corporations, and it is understood that he will give the results in a speech before the senate this year. Instead of being a friend of monopoly, the courts are, and long have been, the chief opponent of monopoly in both the United States and Great Britain. Senator Borah so finds, and he is preparing to set forth a review of this matter, believing that there are erroneous impressions in the public mind.

It is his view that the legislative and executive branches of the government are far more blamable than the judicial for the state of affairs against which complaint is made. It is the legislative branch that authorizes the formation of corporations. It is the legislative branch that has power to say what corporations may do and may not do, though in construing laws and constituting precedents the courts are sometimes called upon to say what they may do or may not do. It is reported that Senator Borah finds the courts have done a remarkable service for the protection of the public by the enforcement of principles of public policy, though had they so been disposed they might not have construed these principles against monopoly.

In the absence of statutes, there is the common law against monopoly, and this the courts enforce. In the midst of so much criticism of the courts, their historic attitude against restraint of trade has been largely overlooked, and it is Senator Borah's purpose to review the subject.

It is not the province of the courts to go out and find monopoly or other illegal corporation business, though they do sometimes call grand juries and direct an investigation to be made. Their province is to apply the law when the case is presented, and prosecutions depend upon the executive branch of the government. The Sherman law has been on the books from the time of the Harrison administration, yet it was not until the administration of William H. Taft that widespread attacks on restraint of trade were made. If illegal acts were done by corporations engaged in interstate business, it was not the fault of the courts.

In many of the states no serious effort has been made by legislatures to prevent monopoly. For a long time New Jersey encouraged the incorporation of "trusts." The state got a big revenue in the form of fees, and there was apparently not much opposition among the people. Yet there is somehow a popular notion that the courts have been remiss in their duty. It is, as Senator Borah will contend, the fault of the legislative and executive branches rather than the courts that we have combinations in restraint of trade.

From
OREGONIAN
Date
WYOMING, OREGON MAY 12 1914

WRONG DONE TO LANDLESS POOR.

Senator Borah's letter to Samuel Friedman brings home to the people of the West the wrong being done them by the reservation policy which now rules the Land Office. We have been inclined to assume that the people of the West are the only sufferers by the obstruction placed in the way of settlers, but Mr. Borah's letter shows that Eastern people also feel the sting. The doctrinaires who follow Mr. Pinchot have been taken as speaking for the East, but there are thousands for whom they do not speak—the people who live in the congested districts of the cities and who would be only too glad of an opportunity to make a home for themselves in the West where there is room to breathe, to become independent and to raise children without packing them into a tenement.

But these people are poor, and have little beyond their strong arms and their willingness to work, and, as Mr. Borah says, "it requires men of wealth to get a home on the public domain under the present administration of public land laws." The homestead law was passed to enable the poor to secure homes. Under its provisions the Middle West was populated and many thousands found homes west of the Rockies. But it is now so construed as to defeat its own purpose. A rich man can more easily pass

through the needle's eye than can a poor man comply with the homestead law as now construed.

The thousands who pine for escape from the congested districts of the cities include many who came from farms in this country or in Europe and would soon make themselves at home again in the West. It is not a fight of the Western people alone. It is a fight of the landless poor the country over for that which the law offers them, but which the Land Office denies them.

Pacatello Tribune

CONFIDENCE IN SENATOR BORAH.

A little incident in the senate the other day when a bill in which Senator Borah was interested came up for consideration serves as sufficient commentary on the estimation in which he is held by his colleagues to those who know the ways of the senate. The bill had just been reported from the committee and was pressed for immediate consideration. It was not very well understood by many members of the senate, and not knowing the pressing need for the relief sought to be provided by it, certain senators began to make inquiries and rose to object. There was no time to explain but the statement was made that it was Senator Borah's bill and the amendments met with his approval, which was suf-

ficient. Objection to immediate consideration was not made and the bill was passed without opposition.

It is well known that Senator Borah has been remarkably successful in getting legislation through the senate introduced by him or which he has had in charge, and while his fighting qualities and generalship have been called into full play in pushing matters like the direct election of senators, where there has been a fundamental difference of opinions of years standing, there have been several occasions like this where his colleagues have been willing to rely upon his judgment in matters which they know have had his particular attention, important though they have been, so that he has been able to obtain unusually quick action upon them.

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Borah's Tribute to Prospector

Senator Borah of Idaho, in addressing the United States senate the other day, paid the following fine tribute to the mining prospector:

The prospector is one of the unique, one of the most exceptional and most worthy of all those remarkable characters who have exploited and led the way for the development of the west. The west owes him a debt of gratitude which the west can never pay. Always poor, often homeless, self-reliant, hopeful, generous and brave, he has been the solitary explorer of desert and mountain fastness; the man who has unlocked from its imprisoned silence the countless millions of what is now the world's wealth. He penetrates the most remote and inaccessible regions, defies hunger and storms alike, sleeps upon the mountain side or in improvised cabins, restlessly wanders and searches through weeks and months and years for nature's hidden and hoarded treasures. Oftentimes his search ends in poverty and distress and failure, sometimes in success. Without the prospector—this poor isolated wanderer—the great mining centers of the west would not exist. Without his uneasy, never-tiring efforts millions of dollars now on their way to minister to the happiness and comfort of the race would never have been poured into the channels of business and commerce.

ASKING FOR BREAD, GIVING A STONE

It is extremely edifying to observe that our own Senator Chamberlain, mindful ever of the interests of his constituents, is firm for a duty of 15 per cent on wool. He stands with his back to the wall resisting the far-clone onslaught of the wivens of free trade, and boldly raises the cry for moderate protection for a languishing industry. However, if he cannot get the 15 per cent duty, he will accept a compromise for no duty. His constituents will know in any event that his heart is right if his vote is wrong. Whatever he does and however often he acts against the interests of his own people, they may be assured that they have his deepest sympathy. He will give three cheers for them at any time.

Idaho has two progressive Senators—Borah and Brady—but it will be found that they are not under the necessity of making excuses about their attitude on wool. What they see is the great disadvantage their state is under in the wool market, because of costly transportation, and they will fight to the last for the compensating advantage protection gives them. We have the word of the Idaho Statesman that the freight rate on wool from Idaho to Boston averages \$1.50 per hundred pounds, while the rate from Australia and New Zealand is \$1.50 per hundred. Now we see how easy it will be for Australia to undersell Idaho if the tariff duty is removed. No wonder Idaho is agitated.

But of course an Oregon Senator's duty to his party justifies him in preferring the welfare of a New England manufacturer and a Boston buyer to an Oregon producer.

REPUBLICAN

ss. SPRINGFIELD, MASS. MAY 9- 1913

The Obnoxious Rider.

President Wilson should veto the left-over sundry civil appropriation bill, precisely as his predecessor did, and thus force Congress to pass it again by a two-thirds vote of both houses if Congress is determined to retain the rider exempting from prosecution under the antitrust law farmers' organizations and labor unions. President Taft called the rider "vicious class legislation." It was doubly obnoxious to him, apparently, because he would oppose any direct amendment of the antitrust act embodying the exemption principle not less than the bad practice of placing in appropriation bills measures of general legislation which cannot be considered on their merits by the executive apart from the question of money supplies for the government.

President Wilson must be as much opposed to "riders" as his predecessor was. But if he differs from him on the question whether labor unions and farmers' organizations should be exempted from prosecution under the antitrust law considered as an original proposition, he must still be impressed with the thoroughly vicious method Congress had adopted in modifying the law by indirection. If certain classes of people should be privileged under the Sherman act to do things made criminal for other classes of people, there is a straightforward way of doing it. Congress should amend the law itself. What it does now is to display its phenomenal cowardice by providing that none of the money appropriated by the sundry civil appropriation bill should be used in prosecuting these classes. As Senator Borah said in the Senate debate last Monday, Congress not having "the courage" to go back and amend the law, places itself in a position "where we are leaving a law upon the statute books and at the same time undertaking to exempt its operation."

Senator Root properly characterized the performance in saying that the acts for which the provisions in the bill "decried farmers and laborers should not be punished were left crimes under the law, and the doers of those acts remained criminals. The provision, in exempting these criminals from prosecution, would bring the law into contempt and shatter the faith of the country in the justice of Congress." Such methods of lawmaking strike at the sanctity of all law. A law which remains on the statute book to be rigorously enforced against certain classes, but which is in effect suspended as against other

classes by an exercise of the congressional power over the purse, becomes a mockery in its moral effect upon a large element of the people, if not in its effect upon all the people. How can modifications in the law thus brought about fail to weaken it as a whole and render more difficult its enforcement against any class of persons whatever?

The practical effect of the rider in the sundry civil appropriation bill must be to prevent the administration from using any other money available for the enforcement of the Sherman act against farmers' associations or labor unions. For, while the rider lawfully restrains the attorney-general from using only a particular appropriation in such prosecutions, he could hardly fail to interpret the rider as an expression by Congress of its wishes regarding the enforcement of the antitrust law in any way whatever. Congress undoubtedly realizes this and expects to amend the Sherman act in effect by this indirect method without changing a line or a word in the text itself. President Wilson is very sure to be disappointed if he signs this appropriation bill in the expectation that later on Congress will undertake to accomplish its purposes by an actual amendment of the antitrust law. It will not have the courage to do openly what it now seeks to do by stealth.

There is undoubtedly much to be said in support of some amendment of the Sherman act so that organized labor would not be subject to its most sweeping provisions. Although the courts have always held that no class should be exempt from its provisions, some eminent lawyers in the Congress that passed it believed that it did not apply to wage-earners and farmers. As a matter of fact, the antitrust act embodies old common law doctrine in regard to conspiracies to monopolize or restrain trade, but in gaining the simple right to strike wage earners have obtained a status which the old common law principle of conspiracy had denied to them. Labor's general legal position today rests largely upon departures from the common law theory of "master and servant." If the Sherman act, applying to interstate commerce, endangers a position which labor has gained in our time with the acquiescence of modern thought and legislative opinion, the law should certainly be amended.

But the method Congress persists in following is unworthy of any lawmaking body. By vetoing the bill the president may succeed in forcing the lawmakers to approach the question like men. He will not succeed by encouraging them to play the part of cowards.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

om PANTAGRAPH
Address BLOOMINGTON, ILL

date MAY 12 1913

was "cure" is not yet demonstrated

Senator Borah of Idaho has pointed out the hypocritical feature of the proviso in the sundry civil appropriations bill exempting labor unions and farmers' organizations from prosecution under the Sherman law. He explains that the limitation is simply that the appropriation carried in this bill for the department of justice shall not be used in prosecuting bodies of the two exempted classes. But there is no wholesale exemption and Senator Borah finds that the limitation does not apply to other funds that are at the disposal of the department of justice. So, with the sundry bill carrying this exemption, approved by President Wilson, it will still be possible to use funds from other sources for the prosecution of the exempted parties. As a piece of class legislation, the bill as it has passed, is only a make-believe and a sham.

A Law to Break the Law.

The Democrats in the Senate seem to make only a halting and half hearted defence of the law-suspending rider in the sundry civil bill. Who indeed can answer the powerful assertion by Senator BORAH of the range and sway of law under the Constitution:

"When the representatives of an entire people of all stations and both sexes, of every race, color and condition of life, have crystallized the views of those they represent into a rule of action that rule is universal, impertious and indifferent to all who violate its terms. If it be a bad rule, change it in the open, manly way pointed out by the Constitution, but do not compromise with vandals by suspending its enforcement as to some and seeking to compensate your conscience by erring out more loudly for its enforcement as to others."

Separately and squarely put, this shameless caste provision would be entitled an act to enable associations of labor unionists and farmers to violate the Sherman act.

A law and license to break law! Is this the Democratic interpretation of "equal rights to all, special privileges to none"?

Springfield Republican
May 7/13

Pittsburg Press
May 28/13

Senator Borah has done good service in pointing out that in addition to the other undesirable features of the provision in the sundry civil appropriation bill exempting labor unions and farmers' organizations from prosecution under the Sherman law, the thing is a piece of hypocrisy. The limitation is simply that the appropriation carried in this bill for the department of justice shall not be used in prosecuting bodies of the two exempted classes. There is, however, no wholesale exemption and Senator Borah calls attention to the fact that the limitation does not apply to other funds which are at the disposal of the department of justice.

COURTMARTIAL TRIALS SCORED BY SEN. BORAH

National Legislator From Idaho Tells Why He Favors an Investigation by Upper House of Congress Into Paint Creek Troubles.

NEWS Bureau, Southern Building.

WASHINGTON, May 23.—"By my attitude in favor of an investigation by the Senate into the troubles in Paint Creek region in West Virginia,"



said Senator Borah of Idaho, to the NEWS today, "it is not to be construed that I am in any way in favor of mob violence. It may be quite true, as the West Virginians alleged, that the only way to put a stop to the rioting along Paint Creek was to declare martial law.

"My point was made exclusively against the trial of people by a military commission when the civil courts were there within easy reach and every one of the offenders tried by military commission or court martial could have been tried before the civil court. Martial law should not be used to supplant the civil authority, but to assist it. It is quite possible that all of those accused were quite as guilty as they were represented to be, but I consider this aside from the question.

"Martial law is invoked to disarm those in rebellion against the civil law, but when they have thus been disarmed, there is no reason why the civil law cannot handle them.

Used in Idaho.

"You had some experience with martial law in Idaho," suggested the NEWS, "did you not?"

"Yes, we did," responded Senator Borah. "I was the prosecutor in the cases in the Cour d'Alto regions when martial law was declared. But in that instance we served all our writs and processes by a sheriff or other officer of the civil law, sending with him one, two, half a dozen or even more soldiers, enough to insure his safety and the proper service of the papers. The idea of trying any of the charges by military commission never entered our heads.

Faith in Constitution.

"I have enough confidence in the constitution of the United States to feel that it has not yet outlived its usefulness, and I believe in its protection to the rich and poor alike. I feel that if we try the poor by military commissions, or court martial, it will not be long before the rich are being tried by the mob.

"I believe in the supremacy of the law, and for that reason I opposed the provision in the sundry civil bill, which practically exempts labor unions from the operations of the anti-trust law. I construe it as a di-

West Virginia Probe Ordered

THE senate at Washington is performing great public service in investigating conditions in the West Virginia mine fields. The resolution ordering the inquiry was adopted by a decisive majority yesterday, and a committee of five was appointed with Senator Borah of Idaho as chairman. Mr. Borah's aggressiveness and strong progressive sympathies are an assurance that the task entrusted to himself and his colleagues will not be slighted. The resolution grants the committee broad authority. It is to ascertain whether the immigration laws and the laws against peonage have not been violated. It is to determine whether there do not exist among the operators combinations in violation of the Sherman anti-trust act. It is to inquire into the shipment of arms and explosives into the Paint Creek region for improper use. And finally it is to probe the state's violation of the constitution and laws of the United States by the denial of jury trial and the trial of citizens by military tribunals.

Senator Goff of West Virginia pretends to think that the part of the resolution instructing the committee to inquire into the violation of the federal constitution by the drum-head court martial is "indefensible." The charges are that Goff thinks nothing of the sort. That part of the resolution may be unpleasant—to people like Goff and to the non-union coal operators whose inhuman greed is the cause of West Virginia's industrial troubles. But "indefensible" every intelligent person knows it is not. It would have been indefensible if the senate had not made this very thing the chief feature and objective of the investigation. West Virginia has undoubtedly trampled the constitutional guarantees of its citizens under foot. They have been violently deprived of their civil liberties and privileges, and as they are citizens of the United States it devolves upon the United States to teach West Virginia that it must not and shall not so treat them. Government of the people by a combination of coal operators for the benefit of those coal operators is not what our political system exists for. West Virginia deserves a better fate than that which the greed and stupid unscrupulousness of her present rulers are threatening her with.

The only fault that can reasonably be found with the resolution ordering the United States senate inquiry is that it does not specifically direct the attention of the investigators to the relations between the coal companies and the railroads. There is good reason to believe that these relations are of an illegal character. However, if the committee diligently exerts itself it will probably find abundant ground within the terms of the resolution for drastic recommendations. The mere fact that the investigation has been ordered will have a moral effect of incalculable value in restraining such abuse of official powers as has been witnessed not only in West Virginia but in Idaho and other states. The common welfare requires that exemplary rebuke be administered to the West Virginia governor.

rect invitation to labor unions to violate the law, and when we once begin saying to one class that they are above the law, we are embarking on a very dangerous procedure. At the same time, if we wish the poor to obey the law, we must show them that they are entitled to its protection and will have it at all times."

Hope For Union.

"What are the prospects as the result of the recent conference in Chicago, of the Republican and Progressive get-together leaders?" asked the NEWS of a senator who attended that gathering.

"I think they are most excellent," was the reply. "The people are really very anxious to get together. It is all up to the national Republican committee; and if that party takes the right course, it will soon have back in the party the great majority of those who left it at the last election. The Democrats are really doing very much to help us," continued the senator, "though for goodness sakes do not say I told you. Their tariff bill is satisfactory to no one, and promises to cause them a great deal of trouble.

"It is not a Democratic measure, but is a hybrid. It is free trade in spots and protection in spots and tariff for revenue in other spots. Hence it is satisfactory neither to the protectionists, the free traders, or the tariff-for-revenue-only Democrats. It is not a Democratic measure because it does not produce, or rather will not produce enough revenue and has to be supplemented by the income tax.

Give Them a Chance.

"It does not afford enough protection to do any good except in favored localities, and I do not believe that its free trade features are sufficient to afford the consuming public any great amount of relief. It is unnecessary for the Republican national committee to issue a call for a convention, but only to give an indication of its willingness to provide for cutting down the representation of the southern states, and to meet the Progressives somewhat near half way.

"The people are anxious to get together, and it is up to the Republican national committee to give them a chance to get together."

Newspaper Cutting Bureau
From PATRIOT
Address HARRISBURG, PA.
Date MAY 17 1913
SENATOR BORAH, of bloody shirt fame, says that West Virginia has been "Mexicanized" by its Governor. And Sen. Borah is probably right. When a large section of a State is under martial law for the best part of a year, and when martial tribunals have taken the place of its regular courts and men are hurried to jail for little or nothing, Mexico has little on that State.

AGAINST MARTIAL LAW.

The stand taken by Senator Borah against the use of martial law to lay down strikes will find hearty support from the average American citizen. The civil authorities are competent to cope with any situation which may arise if they take it in time, and if the militia is called out it should be merely as an aid to the civil authorities.

Conditions in the West Virginia coal fields during the past two years are responsible for the stand taken by Senator Borah. He was a member of the senate committee which conducted the investigation into the strike outrages and his unqualified declarations condemning the martial law orders is worthy of more than passing thought.

It is certain that the civil courts should determine the punishment to be given offenders against the laws of the land. The constitutions of the United States and the various states of the union declare that the military authority shall be kept in strict subordination to civil authority, and the spirit of the framers of these bulwarks of liberty was that the militia should never usurp the civil power or retain it for any length of time. Yet in the face of these constitutional guarantees, martial law has been declared under every possible pretext in the past. Drumhead courts martial have condemned men to prison for terms in excess of those proscribed by the civil law. Men have been deprived of their right of trial by jury, have been driven from their homes, herded into penitentiaries and clubbed and beaten without any warrant of law or pretext of justice. Homes have been destroyed and men shot down under martial law when the civil courts were open and the civil authorities were able to deal with the situation.

These conditions should not be tolerated in a free country. If the same practices were to take place in Russia a storm of protest would immediately go up from America, but when the outrages have been perpetrated here, not a word has been said. It seems that the civil authorities should be held responsible for strike disorders. The average police department is able to cope with riots, and in the event there are no armed thugs to incite trouble there will be little disorder upon either side in a strike.

Strict enforcement of law against carrying concealed weapons will simplify the problem of dealing with strikes. Prohibition of the practice of employing armed guards for property will also serve to destroy the incentive for rioting. A tight rein held by the local authorities during the early periods of the strike will serve to prevent trouble from starting in the future and will render the task of the police less difficult.

If the militia is called out, it should follow the policy of the governor of Colorado and disarm all belligerents upon both sides and then turn them over to the civil authorities. It should simply restore order while aiding the civil authorities. Martial law should not be tolerated in a free country for any extended period of time and the governor should hesitate long before

turning the bayonet of the soldier against the breast of a citizen. Borah's stand will serve to awaken the people to their danger and it is certain that once awake, the custom of martial law in America will soon go out of style.

W. O. Sen
Tuesday, January 6, 1914.

IN WEST VIRGINIA.

Senator Borah is a lawyer of ability. He comes from a state which has suffered from violent industrial contests. He is not likely to be either sentimental or hesitating in his judgment respecting the primary necessity for the maintenance of law and order.

The findings of fact submitted by Senator Borah in the matter of the West Virginia strike situation are, therefore, to be taken with exceptional respect.

The following are especially important—viz:

"That at the time these arrests were made and the trials and convictions had, the civil courts were open, holding their terms as usual, disposing of cases, and dispensing justice in the usual and ordinary manner."

And "that great feeling and interest doubtless prevailed generally throughout the country, but the existence of this feeling and its effect upon the grand and petit juries were not tested by the calling of a grand jury or the submitting of the charges against these persons to a grand jury, and no attempt was made to try them before a petit jury."

In other words, the authorities, from panic or partisanship, hurriedly declared martial law without any fair resort to civil processes, and under the plenary authority of their extraordinary power proceeded to use it without much discretion or moderation.

Martial law, says Sir John Scott, is an unfortunate phrase, and in a sense a misnomer. It is not military law, but a suspension of ordinary law "rendered necessary by circumstances of war or rebellion."

It is the exercise of the will of the military commander, who takes upon himself the responsibility of suspending ordinary law in order to insure the safety of the state." The Petition of Right declared that "No man shall be forejudged or subjected in time of peace to any kind of punishment within this realm by martial law," but according to Scott "is indirectly declared lawful in time of war and intentional commotion when the courts are closed or when there is no time for their cumbersome action."

In short, the declaration of martial law is justified only by a situation of present or imminent chaos, when the ordinary means of public safety are paralyzed. Senator Borah plainly believes that the conditions in West Virginia were not of this nature, and if he is right there should be an emphatic declaration warning hasty or irresponsible authorities against future resort to such extraordinary action. If whenever there is excitement and local disorder we are to fall into a panic and suspend constitutional guarantees, the respect for law and liberty in the republic will dissolve. Already there is such distrust of the militia among the wage earning class that its leaders throw their influence against callment in what should be our citizen army, and even against the regular army.

Order must be kept in this country, and men must be taught to use the ample means of redress for grievances which our institutions offer. But they will not be taught to respect them if the authorities do not set the example of respect. The West Virginia resort to martial law has done great damage by increasing the hostility of organized labor towards the necessary instruments of national defense and giving irresponsible agitators too much excuse for charges that the guarantees of life and liberty are readily set aside in the interest of property.

From POST DISPATCH

Address: St. Louis, Mo.

Date

JAN 7 - 1914

CARABAO RULE AT HOME.

"Civilizing 'em with a Krag" is not peculiar to the Philippines. It appears they have been doing it in West Virginia, almost within the shadow of the national capital. Senator Borah officially condemns it.

The Senator reports to the Senate that during 1912 and 1913 West Virginia military authorities, directed by the Governor, who seems to have been directed by the associated mine owners, established martial law when and where "there was no evidence that the civil courts had been intimidated, or that they would have failed to perform their duty faithfully." He adds:

"During the reign of martial law a number of individuals were arrested, tried, convicted, sentenced and punished for offenses alleged to have been committed by them.

"That the parties were arrested on orders issued by the military authorities and not by virtue of any warrant issued by the civil authorities or from the established courts of the State, and were put upon their trial, without the finding of an indictment by a grand jury, before a courtmartial created by the order of the commander-in-chief and composed of individuals selected by him.

"That in rendering judgment and assessing punishment the parties were punished, by terms of imprisonment unknown to the statutes, in excess of the punishment provided for such offenses under the laws of the State."

The Senator doesn't understand. The Governor and the associated mine owners were not trying to have the laws administered "faithfully," they were trying to break a strike.

When they neglected to have a man indicted and tried by a jury of his peers, it is only fair to presume they did it because they felt sure they couldn't "get him" that way.

And when they sent their victim to prison for 20 years, for an offense which the law punishes with only two years, they did so not to express contempt for the laws, but to terrorize the strikers.

When they appealed from the civil courts to the Krag-Jorgensen, they did it because they were afraid to resort to the courts to protect what they conceived to be their property rights. They took the short cut. Thus:

They own the mines.

They own the land the mining towns stand on.

They own the roads leading into those towns.

They own the huts the miners live in.

They own the stores the miners' wives trade in.

They own the schools—such as they are—that the miners' children study in.

They own the few churches in which the miners and their families assemble to worship their Creator.

They own the graveyards in which the miners bury their dead.

If they did not exactly own the Governor, they at least got him his nomination, and felt they had a property right in him, to the extent of requiring him as commander in chief to use the State troops doing their work.

They think they own the miners, because they control the miners' jobs and their condition of life.

When "anarchists" like Borah and other Senators presume to meddle with the right of the associated mine owners of West Virginia to "do what they please with their own property," we feel that these respectable gentlemen are entitled to a full and exact statement of the facts. This is a free country.

THE PEOPLE TOILING AND THINKING

Can any reader tell from the following excerpts from a speech of Senator Borah as to whether he is a Progressive or a Republican? The speech well illustrates the contest which is now going on between the Progressives and Republicans in bidding for the support of those who desire a party to voice the present social unrest. Borah is a Republican, and unless he and the leaders like him go wrong in the specific application of the principles which they espouse, there will be little chance for the Progressive party ever again getting a serious hearing. Borah says:—

"I believe in agitation. It seems to precede any marked advance in morals or government. From John the Baptist crying in the wilderness to Sam Adams arousing the early patriots and Garrison and Phillips touching to life the sodden conscience of a slave weighted nation, it has always been so. But the hour for action must also have its place in order that the fruits of discussion may be gathered. We have witnessed during the last several years a remarkable uprising against certain forms of wealth and privilege. We have said some wise things and some unwise things but on the whole it has been a tremendous moral revolution. The sole question now is are we prepared to put in substantial and practical and permanent form efficient and serviceable laws and institutions as a result of this agitation? With the great purpose of this movement, to-wit, a fairer chance at the opportunities of life and a more equitable distribution of the obligations and burdens of government, most of us have been in full sympathy.

"Nevertheless, the time for a new gospel is here—the gospel of do something and do it now. We must be prepared to submit a plan, to offer a program, we must enter the laboratory and out of these warring and elemental forces provide a practicable and effective remedy. The time has come when we must not feel too proud to associate with those common people of the intellect—facts.

"Out yonder in the open field of industry the countless millions are toiling and thinking. Do not misread them or misunderstand them. They are thoroughly informed and they are thoroughly in earnest. They are not playing the game of politics for the passing honors which come and fade as they go, they are interested in those substantial and permanent principles of right and justice which will carry blessings to their children and to their children's children. They believe in our form of government. They believe that its fundamental principles and great concepts of justice can be adjusted and adapted to every onward and upward step of the human family. They are neither willing to tear it down and abandon it nor are they afraid to amend and adapt it to the economic and political conditions of the twentieth century. But they are not at ease nevertheless. They feel that sinister influences are clogging the machinery of government now which the fathers did not provide for. They are certain that adaptation is needed. They know the evil and they feel that the hour of discussion should soon give way for the period of work and construction. But they want remedies, not narcotics and pain killers, but the elemental treatment which will get rid of the disease."

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the world
REGISTER LEADER
Also Moines May 27/13

SENATOR BORAH'S FEARS.

The Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, after setting forth a proposed plan of reorganization that is to avoid the necessity of calling a preliminary convention, concludes with this significant statement:

The fact is that the progressive republicans are split on the proposition of having a preliminary convention to reorganize the party. Senator Cummins has advocated one from the start, but has been opposed by Senator Borah and many others. There is a widespread idea that the convention proposition is loaded with political dynamite.

If the name of Senator Borah were not the one mentioned it would be easy to surmise that the political dynamite referred to was a likely demand for a declaration of progressive principles. But Senator Borah's name is enough to give progressives pause. Is it possible that Senator Borah fears the convention might be reactionary and take the back track?

Wisluta Reason May 21/13

TIME FOR SENATOR BORAH AND OTHERS TO COME ON OVER.

The Standpatlers of the national committee have put a crimp in the proposition to have a special Republican convention this year and turn the organization of the party over to the near progressives. These gentlemen who met in Chicago a few days ago have claimed to have as- surance right along that the Republican leaders wanted the Progressives to come back to the Republican Party and that they were willing to do anything to bring about the reunion, even going to the extent of changing the national committee from its present standpat membership into a committee made up of near Progressives who remained in the Republican Party. In fact, all the fatted calves seemed to be standing around, just waiting to be killed to welcome the return of the Progressives into the Republican Party.

The announcement now that the Standpat leaders have put a stop to the effort started by Cummins, Borah and others, to call a special Republican convention and patch up a harmony agreement is in line with what we have always thought would take place. The Standpat leaders in Chicago, last June sacrificed the Republican Party's opportunity for victory rather than surrender control of the party and they do not intend to surrender control of it now. The thing for these alleged progressive Republicans who have been wandering round and round and round, making prophecies about what we could do with a harmony arrangement, is to come on over and join the Progressive Party where they belong and quit fooling around with the Conservatives.

The Republican Party is not ready to become Progressive, it never will be ready. It is in the hands of men who do not believe in the progressive program and who intend to keep their present control over the Republican Party.

Paper, Herald-Republican

Published, Salt Lake City

Date APR 17 1913

Mr. Borah's Wisdom

SENATOR BORAH'S announcement that he means to remain with the Republican party indicates that his well-known political sagacity has not deserted him. The Idaho senator is convinced that forward movements in constructive statesmanship must be accomplished through political parties, and his mature judgment, as one on the inside of politics, is that in America this must be done through the Republican party. He speaks no more than the simple truth when he declares that "the great body of the Republican party and those who made its history are in thorough sympathy and full accord with the things that ought to be done."

It is true, of course, that the Idaho senator, in speaking of "the things that ought to be done," is considering those things that he thinks ought to be done. But the phrase he uses is strikingly significant as emanating from one who has always been a warm admirer of Colonel Roosevelt. The latter planned at Chicago to present Mr. Borah as his candidate for temporary chairman of the national convention, an intention which he revised later without telling anybody why. But that incident, and others, are valuable as showing the extent to which Senator Borah has figured in the Roosevelt plans, and the knowledge he has thereby gained of the probable future of the Bull Moose movement.

It is no reflection upon the Idaho senator to assume, from his statement, that false progressivism, as exemplified by the colonel and his followers, does not seem to him to have a bright political future. The wise man, however high or low his ideals, must work with the material that is at hand. Mr. Borah may have many reasons for adhering to the Republican party, but chief among them is his conviction that it will return to power and that it will do, in the future as in the past, the things which the American people wish to be done.

ENTERPRISE
LIVINGSTON, MONT.

BORAH HAS IT RIGHT.

Great Falls Leader: Senator Borah of Idaho, one of the brightest men in the United States senate as well as one of the most progressive, has written a letter to the republicans of Kansas, in which he says:

"Believing, as I do, that the great body of the republican party and those who have made its history are in thorough sympathy and full accord with things which ought to be done, I propose to remain with them."

Hundreds of thousands of republicans throughout the United States are feeling the same way politically as does the senator from Idaho. There is no need for particular excitement over the matter at this time for the political situation in these United States will adjust itself. The republican party has accomplished too much to drop out of existence because of any one man or set of men. Senator Borah has the right dope.

Borah and Teddy

WHY BORAH STICKS

Before and during the Republican national convention no more zealous anti-Taft man than Senator Borah was to be found. His admitted superiority as statesman and lawyer made his opposition conspicuous in the country over. He was a Roosevelt man from the ground up, and the colonel had no lieutenant of greater ability. Not even his admiration for the colonel is potent enough to cause the Idaho senator to abandon the Republican party and ally himself with the Progressives. In a recent letter to some political friends in Kansas he explained at some length the reasons why he continues a Republican. At the outset he declares: "Believing as I do, that the great body of the Republican party, those who have made its history, are in thorough sympathy and full accord with the things which ought to be done, I propose to remain with them." He then goes on to show that the record of the Republican party is one of progress. To quote from his letter:

"During these sixteen years in which the Republican party has been in power there has been created the department of commerce and labor, within which, entitled to special mention, is the bureau of corporations. The interstate commerce act has been greatly improved and amplified and the interstate commerce commission has been strengthened; a drastic anti-trust law has been passed and enforced. The employer's liability measure has been enacted into law; the widows' pension bill and the age pension bills of 1911 and 1912 passed; the safety appliance law enlarged and extended; rural delivery established throughout the country; a postal savings system inaugurated; a parcel post law enacted; the eight-hour extended and made effective; the children's bureau created; the department of labor established; the three-year homestead bill enacted; the title bill for settlers upon reclamation projects passed; the enlarged dry homestead bill enacted; amendment to the constitution providing for the levying of an income tax submitted and adopted, and an amendment providing for the popular election of senators submitted and now practically ratified; an election publicity law enacted; the physical valuation of railroads provided for; the Panama canal acquired and practically completed."

From this record Borah draws the conclusion "that within the party there always has been and there now is a powerful force for progressive and efficient legislation and efficient and capable administration." Then comes this rather significant passage:

"Where are we to find among any body of voters a greater capacity for that singular political insight and remarkable wisdom which chooses the real from the spurious and the permanent from the ephemeral, who know that progress consists not alone in the things which are new, but also in the things which will stand the test when they come in contact with actual affairs of life. That progress consists in selecting these plans and policies which serve not alone to interest and excite, but which will actually administer to the wants and necessities, the comforts and joys of those actually engaged in the struggle for existence."

SENATOR BORAH'S POSITION.

Wiser Signal
The Signal is gratified to know that Senator Borah has made his choice for president known, not so much because of the weight it will have upon the result in Idaho, but because it shows he has the courage of his convictions and is perfectly willing to throw the consequences to himself to the winds and stand for what he believes to be right. Senator Borah has the best of reasons for opposing the nomination of President Taft, most of which are known to the Taft supporters, but notwithstanding this there has been veiled threats of opposition to his return to the senate if he did not line up with the administration forces. In the face of this, and with the knowledge he must have that certain politicians of this state are anxious to get his political scalp, he courageously proclaims his choice and says he hopes Idaho will get in line for Roosevelt. He might have returned, or evaded the issue, but believing he is right he tells his constituents he is for the ex-president and rests his future on his own record. He ought to receive the plaudits of even those who are opposed to him in the presidential contest.

Senator Borah has definitely announced himself as favoring the renomination of Theodore Roosevelt for president.

This announcement was expected, for everybody who knows the big Idahoan knows that he is in thorough sympathy with the spirit of the Roosevelt trend of mind. And he is close enough to the people to know that they are for Rooseveltism for the general good.

Veiled threats of political assassination if Borah failed to come over into the anti camp, have been current in Boise, but the victim has not yet been pushed out to try to wield the knife or the poison bottle. Several names have been mentioned, but of such small calibre compared to Senator Borah that it would be ridiculous to enter them.

In view of the fact that, in case of a deadlock in the convention, it might be the easiest thing imaginable for Senator Borah to be nominated by the Roosevelt and LaFollette and Cummins support coming to him--where it would not be possible to suppose that the Taft support could ever turn to him except after it was decisively beaten--the people of Idaho have a lot of fine opportunities to show how they feel toward Borah. They have believed in his political judgment, in his integrity, in his ability, in his sincerity for their interests. Now, he sees in Roosevelt the best hope of the popl of the West, of the nation. It is perhaps so small a chance that Borah will be the compromise nominee, that that alone is not a great argument. But--why not give him the chance, however remote? No one who knows Senator Borah, needs to be told that his support of Roosevelt is of the same sober and honest reasoning as his support of the three-year homestead bill, the bill for direct election of senators, and every other big measure he has championed for the general good. The West, and the East, must respect the stand taken by Senator Borah on any such matter as being based on a very rare sympathy and understanding of the public needs. In Idaho, where he is the real idol of the people, his choice in the face of the frantic opposition of the old political theory that the war is not yet over, is a fine tribute to the common people, to the men who have nothing to do with politics save of vote and to pay the taxes. The organization is against his course; whatever support he has, is from the common voter. To be willing to take this stand in the face of the organized opposition, argues a fine faith in the common people of Idaho. These same common people, 85 per cent of whom live outside of cities or towns of 5000 population, and 70 per cent in the country or in rural towns of less than 2000, are preferred in honor above the powerful organization. Well, Senator Borah put his first faith in the common people, when he went before them for a senatorial endorsement, against about as powerful a political combine as you'd care to see. He and the people won then. They ought to win again.

It is very true that Senator Borah has many friends and admirers in Idaho who will favor Taft; indeed, there are few who would not do much to make him president. But with the state pledged to Taft, such chance is gone; the national Taft strength could not come to a progressive like Borah. It could come from the progressive elements combining for him. But the one big element in deciding what Idaho should do, is, this trust in the ordinary voter who is for Roosevelt; the ordinary voter whom Borah and Roosevelt never threw down.

SENATOR BORAH.

To the men and women of Idaho who think and act without political or personal obligation or fear:

It is up to you to see to it that your best friend, Senator Borah, is not politically assassinated because he had the courage and judgment to stand for the people's choice, Theodore Roosevelt, rather than for the administration.

If this is not a free country; if not even Senator Borah, with his splendid record for and with the public, may have a personal choice for president save one put into his mouth by any organization whatsoever, without being ambushed for his independence; if the majority is content to be ruled by the revengeful minority; if not even such valuable public service as Borah has always given in the name and interest of the common people is as good as a hide-bound party regularity--then we believe in and act under a theory of government that plays us false at every turn.

Senator Borah once had a chance--yes, more, a definite demand--to allow himself to be elected by the votes of democratic legislators. To the shame of those who will be in ambush against him in his own party, he may need democratic votes this year. As a matter of public policy, he ought to have them. He is a non-partisan asset of the state--as well to the democrat or the socialist as to the republican; and no man in Idaho but will be the gainer by his election.

There is an old Greek story that is not inapplicable here. By ballot, the Greeks could exile any unpopular person. One day an illiterate fellow came to a scholar in the market place and asked him to write a ballot of exile against one Aristides. The scholar--who chanced to be Aristides himself--inquired, "Why do you wish to exile him?" "Oh," was the answer, "I'm tired of hearing him called 'Aristides the Just.'" Bear this in mind up to election day.

Borah Defines Real Insurgency

N. Y. American Apr 30/11

Can Not Be Confined to Any Party

Idaho Senator Says Aim of Progressives Is to Divorce Business and Government, Commercialism and Politics

He Asserts There Is No Disagreement as to Main Questions of Movement, but Only Regarding the Procedure

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES.

Washington, April 29.—What is the meaning of the insurgent or progressive Republican party? And what does it propose to do?

There the multitudes of people throughout the country who are asking this question to-day with increasing interest. I propounded it to Senator Borah, of Idaho. The reason I carried the question to Senator Borah is because he is especially fitted to answer it. No man in the insurgent or progressive ranks speaks with greater authority because of great ability and great integrity than Senator Borah, of Idaho, is a name to rally by in the progressive party.

A great, broad-minded lawyer and a great, Catholic-spirited statesman, the Western Senator has already commanded the full confidence of the Senate and of the country. There is a certain rugged strength, mixed with gentleness and simplicity, about Borah that makes him human and approachable and unusually liked among his colleagues and the people.

Moreover, his attitude toward public questions is as newly unselfish as that of any man in public life. He has no ambitions beyond his present state. There is no Presidential bee in his bonnet. He is earnest, sincere, purposeful and has nothing to conceal.

Would Bar Commercialism.

These are the reasons which moved me to go to Borah among the progressives for an answer to the question which heads this column. And this is the clear, strong way in which he answered it—The situation has never been more strongly stated. Said Borah:

"The progressive movement is founded upon an issue, to my mind as simple, as distinct and as important as that of slavery in former days, to wit, divorcement of business and government—of commercialism and politics and the adjustment of our laws and the operations of government so as to make the decree of divorce final."

"Many will shrill and say that this is a hopeless task—a day dream—but if hopeless, then free government must end in failure. If the selfishness which characterizes business is to find its enactment into laws and governmental systems, it will have to be under a form of government which has sufficient military force to make it a success. It cannot, in the long run, prevail in a Republic."

"If any one should say that the progressive movement consists of tariff revision, of the election of United States Senators by popular vote, or the right to tax incomes or the initiative and referendum, he would be referring to different phases of the movement, to different means for the attainment of a certain end. These are all means to an end."

"When I say that the progressive movement means the divorcement of business and government—of commercialism and politics—it must not be understood that this implies in the remotest way an attack on legitimate business, or business operating in its own proper sphere. The American people do not find fault with wealth, honestly acquired and legitimately used. Every sane man must realize that an attack upon wealth, as such, upon honest business, is an attack upon thousands who depend for their small income and daily living upon the success of our business enterprises."

Bills Now Need New York O. K.

"Legitimate business simply asks to be let alone. But illegitimate business wants control for the purpose of protection in carrying on its scheme, and it, therefore, seeks at all times to control the Government agencies. It seems purely sensational to say, but it is the sober truth, nevertheless, that certain kinds of legislation and certain classes of bills must pass muster in the business centre before they can make headway in Washington. The long-distance telephone between New York and Washington must be cut.

SENATOR BORAH.



"Some intense partisans will immediately say, 'It would be different if our party was in power.' But this condition with which we deal is non-partisan. The progressive movement is to change the system, not to change a particular party—to make it impossible for such conditions to exist under the administration of any party."

"But, Senator," I interrupted, "there is the general belief that the progressives will form a new party; is that true?"

"Those who seem to think that because men in either party are declaring for certain principles they are seeking to form a third party to my mind wholly misunderstand the facts. If this movement means anything at all it means nobility of individual effort for the public good in whatever party the individual may be found. It means that business shall be driven out of politics, whether Democrat or Republican is in power. It means the recognition of the changes in our political, economic and social lives and the adjusting of the affairs of government in accordance with those changes, and these things are not to be incorporated with success in any third party movement, nor, unopposed, it is to be hoped, by any particular party."

Not an Attack on Republic.

"Neither does the progressive movement mean an attack upon our form of government, as those who oppose it are fond of saying. The fight to-day is to bring the Government back to its true function and restore it in operation to the place from which it has been wrenched through the commercialism that has existed since the close of the Civil War. The right to levy an income tax existed for one hundred years after the government was formed, and was exercised for one hundred years. We want to restore that power."

"The Fathers never intended for a moment to throw absolute constitutional barriers around idle income and place all burden of government on backs and appetites of men. They were building a republic, not an aristocracy. The Fathers never intended that the method of electing United States Senators should be so manipulated that the position could be auctioned to the highest bidder, or that special interests could interpose between the people and their agent. Economic conditions having brought that state of affairs about, we believe it wise to admit the agent who has proved incompetent, so wit, the Legislature, and go direct to the principal—the people—and let the people elect their Senator."

"Other illustrations might be made. These are simply for the purpose of illustration. But the progressive movement, so far as this particular feature

of it is concerned, is designed to prevent this government to operate along lines and under the guidance of the great principles marked out and designed by its founders. To make, in other words, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It will often be said that we are engaged in an open attack upon government, upon old and settled policies, and that we are making trouble for trouble's sake. But what principle of government do we attack? What evil that men dare openly to defend? What are we advocating that is morally wrong or politically unwholesome?

Progressives Are Agreed.

"You will also be told the progressives do not all agree—that we have no unity

of view. I do not think there is a particle of disagreement as to the main questions. The difficulty as to details—as to how best to accomplish what all want accomplished—there is a difference upon these matters. We would no longer be progressives if this were not true. If there were somewhere an intangible power or organization which could make us all think alike whatever else we would be we would have lost the element of progression."

"There is one prerequisite to membership in the progressive movement; that is, that each member have a brain of his own; and one privilege, extending to all—that he be permitted to use it. In my judgment, the chief aim and effort of the progressive should be to keep to the main question and move up on a high plane."

"It is difficult to avoid being drawn into personal bias and dislike, but the progressive movement is a great moral movement for better government, for more unselfish public service; for the recognition of character, rather than wealth, in the public service. We ought not to scold ourselves to death away, therefore, from the real issue, nor to flatter ourselves that we can incorporate it into a pure party movement. The Democrats may have one view of the powers of government, the Republicans may have a different view, but conditions ought to be brought about so that both would be compelled to recognize the necessity of a different standard of public service."

"Then," said I, "there is to be no new party?"

"The fact is that we must look it squarely in the face, or in the end be branded as cowardly scoundrels before a great crisis. But this is not a question of party. In my opinion, if a new party would be born to-day, equipped for action, it would go up against the system before the first day's fight was over."

"Finally, let us hear in the words of the greatest of political philosophers:

"Wise men will apply their remedies to vices, not to names; to the causes of evil which are permanent, not to the occasional organs by which they act and the transitory modes in which they appear."

Idaho's Junior Senator, William H. Borah, is worthy of all the good that can be said of him by everybody and then some. Even those opposed to him, politically, can but admire his tactics, which are invariably straightforward and unbending as the sturdy oak. He is honest and convincing in his arguments, never retracting one whit from his original purpose even if the obstacles arrayed against him seem insurmountable. And what he goes for he usually gets away with, the word "failure" evidently being foreign to his vocabulary. During his entire service in which he has introduced and fought for several bills, which bills were for the benefit of and not to the detriment of the great commonwealth, his latest and best, the three-year homestead bill is conceded by all those of small means who wish to homestead, vs. capitalists who wish to gobble up large tracts, to be the best thing that ever happened. It will be remembered that this bill "hung fire" for a long time, Senator Borah finally winning out. His bill for U. S. senators to be elected by direct vote of the people, thereby obliterating the buying up of state legislatures by such candidates as have the ready cash, will prove a blessing through weeding out official corruption at its

SENATOR BORAH AGAINST TAFT.

Senator Borah has set at rest all speculation as to his attitude on the presidential muddle. In a telegram to McReynolds, chairman of the Ada county Republican central committee, he states unequivocally that he is for Roosevelt and expressed the hope which has now been realized by a scratch, that Ada county would select a delegation to Lewiston favorable to Roosevelt. No one will question the right of Senator Borah to express his choice for president and it is only fair to presume that he has done so purely from patriotic motives. It will be a disappointment to the many Taft supporters in Idaho. Coming at this time the senator's endorsement of Roosevelt is more than likely to turn the Republican tide in favor of the ex-president for it cannot be denied that Senator Borah wields a greater influence in Idaho than any other one man. Nor will his action prove any injury to himself politically. The Taft men are, as a rule, broad-minded citizens. They fully recognize and appreciate the great service Mr. Borah has rendered the people of Idaho since he entered the senate and will work just as loyally and faithfully for his re-election as they would had he seen his way clear to declare for Taft. Yet they will continue to believe they are right in supporting Taft and that the senator is mistaken as to which of the men would prove the greater friend of Idaho and the better president. As the Leader-Herald views it the Taft men have the whole argument when it comes to that. The record is that Roosevelt through his Man Friday, Pinchet, locked up, hard and fast, about all of the natural resources of this state under the pretext of conserving them for the use of the people, but took no steps whatever to give the people any use of them. When Taft came in he apparently took some interest in conditions in this intermountain country with the result that he found Pinchet inimical to our interests and dismissed him. Following this he had released to the people many hundreds of thousands of acres of land which had been withdrawn under one pretext or another and there is every reason to believe that he will continue this policy if kept in power. But aside from all this what excuse is there at this time for conferring upon Mr. Roosevelt greater honor than has ever been given any American citizen since the nation had its birth and in violation of all precedent and the teachings of our greatest statesmen? He never stood out for any great well-defined issue that would distinguish him above all other statesmen, nor has his candidacy so far developed any. Nobody knows right now what he stands for that is essentially different from what Taft and all other Republicans stand for. He says in all his speeches: "Let the people rule." A nice sounding phrase that is apt to bring forth the plaudits of the crowd, but is nevertheless meaningless in this republican form of government. Practically everybody wants the people to rule, and they do rule wherever they have the energy and intelligence to assert their power. If Mr. Taft has failed to measure up to his great responsibilities certainly there should be some one to point out the specific act or acts wherein he has failed. No such thing has been done. If Mr. Roosevelt has in mind exact specific things he will do that Taft has not done he has so far failed to explain what they are. In his keynote speech at Columbus he had a splendid opportunity to do so but utterly failed to take advantage of it. The only thing in that speech which was new or attracted any attention was the suggestion that the people should be empowered to nullify supreme court de-

visions. This it must be admitted rather startled the nation and for the most part was received with great disfavor. Senator Borah was quoted in the press dispatches as having characterized this feature of the speech as "all trash." No doubt the senator was misquoted as he could not well regard the only distinctive thing in a keynote speech as all trash and still be of the belief that Roosevelt should be nominated as against Taft.

The Republicans of Idaho may be carried off their feet as they were in 1896, but the Republicans of the whole United States are not going to be so stampeded. They know what makes a good president and what constitutes a square deal and they know that Taft is not getting a square deal at the hands of Roosevelt. They are going to stand by him and there is no doubt in the mind of the Leader-Herald that he will be nominated. About the most that Idaho Republicans can accomplish by going off on a tangent is to get themselves out of alignment with the administration and be in no position to ask for the favors that will be needed in the material growth of the state.

The Issue of Importance.

(Pioneer-Record, Rupert)
Laying politics aside and looking at the matter from an independent standpoint, it appears that one of the most important matters to be considered during the coming campaign is the election of a United States senator for Idaho. The term of Senator W. E. Borah will expire next March and his successor must be chosen at the coming session of the legislature. Mr.

Borah has proven himself worthy of the trust and confidence placed in him by the people, so why make a change? The Pioneer-Record does not believe in perpetuating one man in office, but there are cases when it is best to keep a good man in office. This is the situation with a United States senator. His first term barely prepares him for the work of the office and if what he is able to accomplish during the first term proves him competent and worthy, the voters can seldom make a mistake by returning him for another term.

That Senator Borah has made a "lean record" that he has accomplished much for Idaho, that he has been true to his state, and worked at all times for the people is admitted by Democrats and Republicans alike. It is important that his friends do not lose sight of the fact that they must take care of their interests by re-electing him—if they believe in him—and none can afford to be blinded by other issues sufficiently to pass him up.

THE CHIEF THING FOR IDAHO'S CONSIDERATION

Everywhere in the state of Idaho, not alone among the great majority of Republicans but among many Democrats as well, it is regarded that it will be of vastly more benefit to Idaho to secure the return of Senator Borah to the United States senate than it will be to the state to elect any particular man president of the United States.

Yet, strange as it may seem, the Taft forces, particularly those of Ada and Canyon counties, are determined upon a policy of humiliation and embarrassment of Borah, even if not of repudiation. They want, not only to force upon the people of their own state a presidential candidate whom they do not want and who, Senator Borah and his friends realize, will be a burden to him in his campaign, but they want to do this in the face of Senator Borah's request that it be not done and they want to do it by selecting the active enemies of Senator Borah as delegates to the national convention and by leaving Senator Borah at home.

This is Senator Borah's year in this state and he should be entitled to give advice and to have that advice followed. What he has at all times desired is that an uninstructed delegation be sent to Chicago from this state. It is not much to ask and his friends in every county should not hesitate one moment to grant his request, and then to add to their evidence of good will, they should elect him as the first man to head the delegation from this state to that convention.

None but the frantic machine followers of Taft, imitators of the plans of "Big Business" in the east, and enemies of the senator are opposing his wishes.

It has been only in those cases where it had become evident that instructed delegates would be selected from counties that Borah has asked that they be instructed for Roosevelt. That was why the bitter fight came in Borah's home county. Those who would rule or ruin, organized a Taft club with "An Instructed Delegation for Taft" as its slogan—a club which required its members to pledge themselves in writing to work for such pledged delegation. The only other thing to do was to organize and fight the issue out squarely which was done. The Taft people were defeated by popular vote and they were defeated in convention numbers. It was largely because of a desire to show that Ada county is friendly toward Senator Borah, to be sure, but why shouldn't Ada county show its friendship for Borah? And why shouldn't all the other counties of the state show their friendship for him too? They can do this by sending him to Chicago at the head of an uninstructed delegation from Idaho.

SENATOR BORAH.

The people of Idaho may congratulate themselves that they have a direct primary method for nomination of state officers instead of the old convention system.

Possibly nine-tenths of the people of the state desire Roosevelt, LaFollette, Borah or Cummins nominated for president. On presidential candidates, however, we have no primary law as yet and in county after county under the old convention system, Taft delegates are being elected to attend the state convention says the Ho Register.

The people with deep earnestness desire Senator Borah renominated for the senate, yet the machine is against him and if we did not have the primary methods of

nomination he would be face to face with the fight of his life.

The machine men of the state say that Borah needs watching on the tariff question. And why? Because he stands for tariff modification where tariff duties are unreasonable. He believes that schedule K is wrong, and last summer he with other progressive republican senators voted to instruct the finance committee of the senate to report out by a certain day, in some manner the Underwood bill which had to do with the woolen schedule.

Later he voted for the first LaFollette amendment. He refused to vote for the wool bill as finally agreed upon because he felt that it had gone too far. Representative French took same position on the house side. Senator Borah's action, however, in desiring reasonable modification made him a "dangerous man" in the eyes of those who prefer that a senator should stand by schedule K without batting an eye, just as a position of Mr. French made him the object of criticism by woolen manufacturers and other big interests.

The interests and the machine politicians don't want any tariff modification. They don't like election of senators by direct vote. They don't like these new fangled agencies by which actual facts can be ascertained and the voice of the people find expression, and they don't like Senator Borah.

The place that Senator Borah has made for himself in the United State senate is an enviable one. Borah not only commands the attention of the senate and the country, but he is right, and he stands for what the people believe is right. He stands for what is best in government. He should be returned to the senate from Idaho without a doubt and we have full faith that he will receive such an expression of confidence in the vote that will be given him at the primaries as will insure his return. Yet in spite of this, if we had the old convention system, Borah would be in danger of defeat.

THE THREE-YEAR HOMESTEAD BILL

"The three-year homestead bill of Senator Borah is now tied up in conference committee and Secretary of the Interior Fisher is actively

opposing the measure. He has from the beginning been in active opposition and is now continuing his opposition before the conference committee. When the bill was before the house he went before the house committee, and, not content with that, he urged upon members of the house to oppose it. He has been offering amendments and suggesting changes which would make the law practically useless if it should pass. The amendments which he has offered disclose his intention, and that is to kill the bill if he can. He has made an effort within the last few days to enlist the opposition of the Conservation association, but the report is that the Conservation association refused to join with him in opposition to the bill. The secretary has apparently repudiated in full his statement made while in the west last summer.

"This opposition to the three-year homestead bill is only one of the measures which he has been actively opposing which have been introduced for the benefit of the west. Every measure which Senator Borah has introduced during the session has a written report filed against it signed by the secretary of the interior. The measure providing for the issuance of patent to homesteaders upon reclamation projects at the end of residence period has been reported against by the secretary, also the measure modifying section 5 of the \$20,000,000 bond act so far as to permit entries upon the Payette and Minidoka projects is urgently opposed by him likewise.

"A few weeks ago congress passed a measure providing for the sale of burnt timber and for the payments of the amounts realized from the sale to the settlers in proportion to the period of time which they had been upon the land. After this measure had passed both houses of congress and had the approval of all the western members the secretary of the interior prevailed upon the president to veto it. Now the timber which might have been sold and put upon the market will rot upon the public domain.

"The secretary has stated unofficially that the president will not sign Senator Borah's homestead bill unless it is made to conform to the secretary's wishes. And if it is made to conform to his wishes it will offer very little relief to the settlers."

NOTHING NEW.

The Statesman favors the re-election of WILLIAM H. TAFT as president of the United States.

The Statesman favors the re-election of WILLIAM E. BORAH as a United States senator from Idaho.

RESULT IN BOISE AS AFFECTING SENATOR BORAH.

While it is true that Boise want for Taft 2 to 1 in the selection of delegates to the Republican county convention it is not true that the expression in behalf of the president in the home town of Senator Borah, who favors Roosevelt, indicates to any degree hostility to the senator. The fact is that the friends of Taft as a body are Borah's supporters for re-

election and as true friends as he ever had or ever will have.

So strong is this feeling among Taft supporters here that many of them remained away from the polls Thursday in deference to the senator.

From the outset of the campaign there was evidenced a purpose on the part of agencies outside the Republican party to injure Senator Borah. The first attempt was to array Taft sentiment against him and since Boise has gone so strongly for Taft an effort is being made to stir up further strife in the Republican party, obviously to the injury of the senator, by making it appear that it was a vote "against Borah."

Senator Borah has never asked any Taft supporter in Idaho to give up his presidential choice because it did not agree with the senator's. If the senator should lay down such a dictum as the price of his friendship or support for his re-election he would be placed in an unprecedentedly dictatorial position. He would not think for a moment of assuming such an attitude.

The senator's friends here and over the state should not pay the slightest attention to attempts being made in Boise to inspire opposition to Senator Borah because of the outcome of the election here.

Senator Borah will have Ada county solidly behind him for re-election when the time comes.

Meanwhile every Republican, anywhere in Idaho, can go to the polls and vote for Taft, if he prefers Taft, in the knowledge that Senator Borah grants to him the same political privileges he takes to himself.

IDAHO STATESMAN.

THE FACTS OF THE CASE.

The Statesman favors the re-election of WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT as president of the United States.

The Statesman favors the re-election of WILLIAM EDGAR BORAH as a United States senator from Idaho.

There is no reason why any Taft supporter could not support Senator Borah; and they will support him.

Senator Borah is not asking Taft men to surrender their preference for president as the price of their support for him.

The senator is not a candidate for president, and there is no more chance of him being nominated for that office than there is for him to fly to Mars.

Senator Borah is a candidate only for re-election to the senate, and every voter in Idaho should support him in that ambition for the splendid work he has done for his state.

In giving that support there is no reason why any should waver in his advocacy of his choice for president. Senator Borah is not asking it. No one is asking it, indeed, excepting a few trouble makers on both sides of the presidential fence and a Boise newspaper that would like to create a condition that would produce a Republican candidate against Senator Borah and tie up the legislature adversely to him.

The Statesman has at all times been among the warmest supporters of Senator Borah, from the day he entered political life. It states the foregoing facts advisedly and with the senator's best political interests at heart.

THE JOY RIDERS

Boston Journal
Aug 28/13



BEST MAN FOR SENATOR IDAHO HAS.

Caldwell News, (Dem.): Senator Wm. E. Borah is in an awkward position politically. He is a progressive of the first rank and such a progressive as the people need, for he goes after things and gets them. He is the most effective worker for progressive measures in the national congress today. He has succeeded in accomplishing greater things for the west than any man Idaho or the west has ever had. He has been forced into his political dilemma by the course of events in the republican party, but notwithstanding the position he occupies as a partisan he is the best man Idaho could have in the United States senate. If Canyon county could express a choice directly for U. S. senator, Borah would get at least 75 per cent of the votes. No use for any one else to figure in the senatorial race in this county and we are persuaded that Idaho is pretty much the same as Canyon county on the matter.

The editor of this paper is a democrat and a candidate on the democratic ticket, but we pretend to know something of the facts regarding the standing of Senator Borah and are willing to tell the truth about it. The difficulty with too many papers is that they will dodge the facts and will dissent against any candidate that happens to be on the opposite party ticket regardless of his merits. The News wants to be honest in these matters and its news column or its editorial col-

umns will not be colored to cover up the facts as we understand them. When Senator Heyburn's term expires there will be an opening for some capable, progressive man and at that time we would like to see a man of the capability of Senator Borah get the position—one whose qualities as a democrat, a progressive and a statesman measure up to the standard of Senator Borah.

SENATOR BORAH AN "INSURGENT."

Call him progressive if you will, but Senator Borah is "insurgling" some. The word "progressive" is better liked by him and is better liked by Teddy Roosevelt and some other statesmen who believe in a "progressive" party, one not tied to the apron strings of selfish interests. Idaho's junior senator has been back in Wisconsin making speeches for the greatest "insurgent" of them all, the original "insurgent" Senator La Follette, who was being damned by Roosevelt not two years ago and who the other day carried Wisconsin stronger than ever and with the help of Roosevelt and Borah, Cummins, Bristow and Dooliver. The "progressive" movement has arrived and as it goes marching on it will drop the designation of "insurgent" and take on the more appropriate name of "progressive." A party man will hesitate to "insurge" but he has no objection to being "progressive," and so long as they mean the same thing and get to the same place it makes no material difference what name is chosen; the less "sounding" is perhaps better.

The progressive movement is along Borah's natural bent of mind and thought. Being a clever politician Borah has been a mild "insurgent" for some time, but never of that sort which thinks it necessary to ride to victories over the prostrate form of party organization or in the face of greater numbers. He has been content to wait the "feel" of public opinion, well knowing that the time was not far distant when to be a "progressive" would not mean a person out of step with the majority of his party. Now that the time has come when the "insurgents," or the "progressives," have come into their own they will find Borah one of their strong members. The only stumbling block he will find is the tripping stone of many a western "progressive," and that is the avowed policy of Roosevelt, the latest recruit of the "progressive" cause, to keep the forest reserves of western communities under government control instead of turning them over to state control where such control really exists.

ALL FOR BORAH.

Grangerville Globe.

Outside of partisan bias, there is probably not a Democrat in the State who would not rather see Senator Borah re-elected to the U. S. Senate than have the best representative in his party succeed him to that important office, and the reason is known of all—he is the biggest man in the State of Idaho today, and one of the very biggest in the nation. There is no man in the State, Democrat or Republican, who could fill Mr. Borah's place in the National Congress at this time, for he has made a place for himself and for his State, peculiarly his own and its own, and of which we are all proud. Mr. Borah's ability as a constitutional lawyer, a constructive legislator, a lucid reasoner, an eloquent and forceful speaker, a vigorous but fair debater, and an affable and courteous western gentleman, is not only recognized in the Senate, but throughout the entire East, as evidenced by the heavy tax upon his leisure time as a speaker on state occasions as well as from the flattering newspaper comments which appear in the leading eastern journals. If Mr. Borah did nothing but pose he would do more for Idaho than many Senators are doing for their constituents, but he is an effective and an untiring worker and his state is reaping the benefit of the same, and those benefits are distributed alike to Democrat and Republican. Then why should not Democrats and Republicans in turn forget the political brand and remember only the man and what he has accomplished for them and their State and which will require the best efforts of our very best men to secure, and has ever shown his willingness and ability to do things for his State and people?

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BORAH ON ISSUES OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

Idaho Senator Discusses Vital Subjects in Twin Falls Speech.

OLD RULES, NEW CONDITION

He Declares Progressive Policy Is Required in Order to Bring Them Together.

Statesman
(SPECIAL DISPATCH) 1910

TWIN FALLS, Sept. 29.—Before a large audience here tonight United States Senator William E. Borah delivered an address in which he took occasion to indicate his course as a "progressive" Republican with relation to national legislation. He took up the leading issues of the day and some that are prospective, and outlined his position in unmistakable terms. The senator plainly revealed his purpose to adhere to the program he mapped out and to shape his action in the senate in conformity therewith. The speech created a most favorable impression, and although it did not deal with state matters, there is no doubt it will exert a potential influence in the state campaign on the side of the Republican ticket.

Senator Borah was introduced by W. P. Gutaris, prosecutor of Twin Falls county. He was given a hearty ovation by the thousand people crowded into the hall.

Full Text of Senator Borah's Speech. The following is the full text of Senator Borah's speech.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The beginning of all good government under our system is the interest and activity of the common citizen in matters of public concern. Neither the beneficence of genius nor the wisdom of statesmen can supply the absence of this force for clean and efficient government. The streams of national power should have their source among the real builders of its wealth. The miner, the mechanic, the merchant, the laborer and the farmer manifesting an earnest and sustained interest in political organizations constitute the best guarantee we can have that we are not to be disappointed in the solution of the problems with which it is ours to deal.

No one would underestimate the value of the cultured or the learned or unnecessarily disparage the tendency of today to seek the knowledge of the expert in the science of government.

But nothing under our system can take the place of the wholesome and uplifting influence which comes from the aroused and sustained interest of the millions of men and women who crowd the field of industry. Government deals not with speculative philosophy nor with theories but deals essentially with the passions and appetites, the wants and necessities, the contentions and ambitions of men. It is for this reason that the man who brings his thought with his labor is indispensable at the council board where policies are adopted and statutes are framed.

Political parties are therefore not only a convenience but indispensable agencies in the successful administration of government. Not only do they bear responsibility but they are the only agencies through which the people can give practical effect to their demands. No other process, it seems can the immediate operating forces of government under a representative form of government be made amenable to the judgment of the people. How indispensable, therefore, are these agencies. How vital it is that they be kept clean and wholly responsive to the rank and file. How important it is that all men identify themselves with some political organization. If it is not what you would have it to be, seek the cooperation of others and make it so.

Why He Is a "Progressive"



HON. W. E. BORAH.

SENATOR BORAH ANNOUNCES POLICIES HE ADVOCATES AS A REPUBLICAN NATIONAL LAWMAKER.

Senator Borah is a "progressive," as he announced in his Twin Falls speech, because progressiveness makes possible the safest and surest application of old principles to new conditions. He is not an "insurgent" or a radical and he is opposed to insurrectionary methods or appeals to class prejudice or hatred.

He believes the tariff should be revised on the basis of the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, and he stands firmly for the underlying principle of protection.

He deprecates any attempt to secure improved conditions through denunciation or demagoguery, urging utilization of the powers the nation already possesses in a wise and firm manner.

He favors government regulation and control of corporations and forfeiture of the charters of any corporation violating the law.

He stands strongly for the principle of conservation as announced by President Taft and former President Roosevelt—conservation with use. He advises the national government to exercise the powers it possesses in the interest of the people before it shall undertake to exercise powers peculiarly within the province of states that are now protecting the people from monopolistic control; and yet he assails the disposition of demagogues to arouse passion over "states' rights."

He insists that wealth, through an income tax, bear its full share of the expenses of government and that it be not saddled so unfairly as at present upon what we eat and what we wear.

He believes that labor should have its rightful portion of prosperity and comfort.

He declares that the "progressive" policy is not revolutionary or menacing but that on the other hand it embodies the possibilities of great benefits to the people.

The phrase is as contemptible in politics as he is in religion. The man who stands aloof from all political organizations knowing as he does that in the correct and righteous determination of these political problems is involved the happiness of countless thousands is a moral coward. I count it the highest evidence of good citizenship that men take an interest in politics, that they give their influence to make their party faithful and efficient in dealing with these matters and vigilant and loyal in guarding the welfare of those upon whom rest most heavily the burdens of our industrial life.

Progressive But Not Radical.

A political party if it is to be serviceable and constructive must necessarily be a progressive party. There may be a place in the political arena for a party of criticism, there may be a sphere in political life where men can afford to be content with things as they are, but a political party which takes upon itself the vast responsibility of government, of dealing with the forces of industrial and moral growth

must be a progressive party. Its traditions and past achievements are valuable only as a guide to the footsteps of the political pioneer and as an inspiration to them to put forth their best efforts. The human race has not ceased its march. Mankind is not content to sit down like a profligate heir and waste the estate—the present has its obligations, the future its calls.

I would not want to see our party an irresponsible or radical force, dealing in unwise and fanciful experiments of government. But I want to see it at all times faithful to the rule of the greatest good to the greatest number; not the foe of business or the enemy of industrial growth; not the tool of factions or the slave of any man or class of men's ambitions; but a great, powerful, progressive organization, sensitive to the demands of humanity and the necessities of our industrial life, meeting in a bold, hopeful, tolerant, progressive way the problems of the hour. I want a party which believes with an unchanging faith in the self-governing capacity of

the American people—which recognizes that the American nationality is made up of all men, rich and poor, great and small, seeking in diverse ways their individual betterment and all alike entitled to the shelter of just and equal laws; a party which holds its first great duty to be the enactment of good laws, and secondly to fearlessly enforce them.

Applied to New Conditions.

Nowhere is the value of the progressive spirit more essential in politics than in dealing with old and established principles and applying them to new conditions. The Republican party believes in a protective tariff. It has no less faith in the worth of that policy now than it has had in the past. It will put forth its efforts to retain it at all times. But that it may retain and secure its full benefits to American industries and American labor it is important that we neither permit its abuse nor shut our eyes to changed conditions. The time was when it was not very material as to the amount of the duties levied or imposed, so long as it was a protective duty. When competition was unrestricted the American market place was sufficiently safeguarded by that great law. It was safe to assume that however high the duty, competition at home would bring prices to a proper basis. In many fields of industry monopoly has repealed the law of competition. The force which once protected the consumer has been eliminated by great combinations in many places and many ways. Recognizing these conditions, the tariff law should be written in the light of the new facts. There should be an honest and continued effort to fix duties according to the safe and sure rule—to wit: the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad. There should be as nearly a scientific adjustment upon this basis as investigation and a faithful effort can bring about. We realize from experience that it is most difficult to secure the information necessary. It has not heretofore been at hand. I believe it will be had with sufficient accuracy at least to guide us in an honest effort to take away any abuses which may exist and at the same time preserve unimpaired the true doctrine of protection as understood and defended by Hamilton, Clay, Lincoln, Garfield, Blaine and McKinley. Through the persistent and faithful efforts of President Taft the foundation has been laid for a commission to gather facts and a scheme for individual revision outlined.

Must Preserve the Principle of Protection.

There should be no hesitancy in adjusting tariff duties to changed conditions. The friends of the policy ought to be most anxious to do so. But in

doing our work nothing is more important than to preserve the principle of protection, to give our people the advantage of the difference between the cost of production here and elsewhere. If we should in eradicating its abuses destroy the whole system there would be three million workmen in the streets asking for work within six months. The mildew of stagnation would whiten the industrial life of the country and while prices would be lower there would be no consolation in that fact to the workmen who would have nothing with which to buy. Let it be understood that those of us who favor the making of such changes as new conditions demand, still believe in the great economic system which has helped to make us a rich and powerful nation, a doctrine now accepted by every great nation save one and it gives evidence that it will accept it before another decade.

I agree entirely with those who think the last tariff bill was not altogether what it should have been and that many duties were left too high. I have no doubt it was the best possible bill to be had at that session and that it was much better than the tariff bill which it supplanted. Many who voted for the bill did so because it was a step in the right direction and all that could be had. But little can be gained now by reverting to that matter. It is rather our duty to get the facts which we did not get at that time and to act upon them as scientifically as we can adjust the schedules in accordance with the facts and in accordance with the rules announced in our platform.

Government and Corporations.

The most important question of this hour, the one upon which turns very largely the future of the republic, is the relation of our government to combined and centralized wealth—those powerful and indispensable agencies of industry created by the state—the corporations. It is well to understand in the beginning that this problem cannot be solved by denunciation. There is no possible room here for the demagogue. The whole business world is involved, the wages of millions of workmen, the savings of tens of thousands of people of ordinary means are involved. The far-reaching results for good to be obtained through wise action and the fearful results, the misery to follow from unwise action ought to sober all men into a determination to be just, to be tolerant, to be above all things courageous, courageous not only to do the right but courageous to prevent the wrong.

There seems to be a class of honest, well-meaning men who start all discussion upon this subject by denouncing property and attacking property

rights—by seeking to arive what they choose to call the rights of men against the rights of property. There is no such issue in this controversy. There have been no rights of men worthy of the name, no rights other than tormenting delusions where property

has been unprotected and property rights worthless. The gullible fellows in such succession the destruction of all this deeds. A government which does not furnish protection for the honest gathering of fragility and industry, which does not safeguard the accumulations of honest toil would be a specious delusion. There can be no rights under such a government save the rights which rest on superior physical strength, the rights of a savage. The weak would be the miserable playthings of the strong. There is no man in this land so humble but is interested in the stability of our property rights just the same as the man who directs the operations of a great railway system.

Remedy Is at Hand.

Equally misled are those who think that it is first of all necessary to change or ignore the fundamental principles of our government and of our institutions. We do not need a change nearly so much as we need the faithful and intelligent use of the powers we have. The old charter of government is to me a sacred instrument. I would only touch it for a change when necessity should absolutely command and when changed I would do it in the manner pointed out by the instrument itself. I would neither invoke unatural construction nor ignore its plain terms. The immortal Washington said:

"If in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use at any time can yield."

That is as sound a piece of political philosophy as ever came from human lips concerning free institutions. It is the gospel of orderly liberty, and willingly or unwittingly he is the people's foe who does not walk in its light.

I believe if we could administer this government in full faith, exercising the powers which are ours, doing all things with a reverent respect for the greatest governmental instrument ever conceived by the wit of man, we would be the happiest, the most prosperous, the best governed people on the face of the earth, and we would have the most stable and be the most powerful government known to man.

All discussions of these questions therefore should have a beginning in a profound respect for those rights of property upon which rests this civilization of ours; a profound reverence for the great charter under which we have grown to greatness; a profound reverence for those institutions created by the genius of the fathers and a profound conviction that only through legal and orderly methods can permanent good be accomplished or evils eradicated or wrongs righted.

Partners of the Public.

A corporation is the creature of the state—it should have no secrets as against its maker. Every public service corporation is in a sense also the partner of the public. In the language of the federal supreme court:

"When one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he in effect grants to the public an interest in that use and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good to the extent of the interest he has thus created." In other words, the corporation is entitled to no secret as against the interested public. Absolute publicity in corporate affairs is not only a necessity in order to protect the public welfare but as a matter of expediency it will be far better in the end for the corporations. The law abiding corporations should help to make publicity efficient. In the end it will help instead of hurt business. It will give confidence in corporate affairs and cause a greater tolerance and liberality upon the part of the public. But whether the corporations choose to accept it in good faith or not it can no longer be postponed. Every effort should be had to make the law efficient and complete. It will not injure those choosing to abide by the rules of honesty and clean business and it will do more, in my judgment, than all the criminal laws to protect the public from injustice, fraud and extortion.

No wiser suggestion has been made with reference to corporate affairs than that of holding the officers and directors individually amenable to the criminal law for the wrong doing of the corporation. As was well said by one noted for his sound views on these subjects, "Society cannot afford to have individuals wielding the power of thousands without personal responsibility." It is a violation of the first principles of justice to indiscriminately distribute the punishment for crime between the guilty and the innocent. That is what you do when you impose fines upon corporations, which fines must be borne by innocent stockholders or by people who do business with the corporations. Those who are responsible for wrong doing, those who initiate, those who violate the law

should alone suffer the penalty separated and selected for punishment as individuals. Put a few of those men who are responsible for the violations of law in jail and the effect will be far more beneficial than any amount of fines which you might impose upon corporations. Neither would it disturb business. That which disturbs business is the indiscriminate mingling of the innocent with the guilty. There is no more reason why the punishment of individuals in corporations should disturb business than that the punishment of individuals in societies should disturb society, and it seems that it is the only effective way by which to prevent wrong doing. Men will always take the chances of violating the law for money if they can have some one else pay the fine.

Should Provide Forfeiture.

But the rule of individual responsibility does not relieve us from the great necessity of putting into every corporate charter hereafter granted, either by state or nation, not only the right to amend or repeal the same but also an effective provision for the forfeiture of the charter of a corporation guilty of violation of law. It might not be necessary to proceed in this way often. But it would have a restraining and sobering effect to a remarkable degree upon those who would violate the law. On the other hand it would in no wise disturb those whose purpose was to abide by the law. The state endows the corporation with vast powers. Is there any reason in the world why these powers should continue to be exercised or why the state should not withdraw them if they are being abused or used for the oppression of citizens of the state. The penalty for the corporation is the forfeiture of its charter. We should make the most earnest effort in passing laws dealing with this subject to individualize and to distinguish, to select those who are guilty and protect those who are not. Thousands of corporations carrying on a perfectly legitimate business in honest and upright ways are not only entitled to individual protection but they are entitled to have such laws passed as will relieve them from the burden and the embarrassment which they must suffer by reason of indiscriminate attacks upon all corporations and by reason of the grouping of the guilty with the innocent. There should be no longer any prejudice against corporations as such but there should be the strictest and the most drastic enforcement of law against those which violate it. This is not only essential for the public generally but it is essential to the interests of the corporations who want to abide by the law.

Government Control.

It is a disputed question of constitutional law but I believe that the national government has the power to regulate and control the capitalization of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce. If it has this power it should exercise it. It is one of the astounding facts of history that we have not heretofore exercised it for the reckless capitalization in this country created the national debt at the close of the civil war. It would seem that the national government is the only sovereignty which can deal with this subject effectively. We cannot undo the things which have happened but we can control the matter for the future. It will be a great surprise to me if the court should hold that the national government has not the power to take out of the channels of interstate trade the fraud and deception caused by over capitalization. I believe that the power which can control interstate commerce can cleanse interstate commerce from fraud, oppression and injustice. It is quite true that the national government cannot enter into the state and provide over the organization of the corporation created by the state, but I believe it can say that no corporation shall engage in interstate commerce until it has met the test established by the national government and the government can fix the test to include a surveillance as to its capitalization.

Of course I cannot go into a constitutional argument here, but if this power exists we ought to proceed to exercise it without delay. The Republican party is committed to this principle of legislation and it should make good without hesitating its promise.

Law Enforcement the Great Need.

It seems impossible to go further into the discussion of the policy with reference to corporations although there are other matters worthy of attention. But in passing from this subject permit me to say that above all things we should dedicate our party to the enforcement of our laws. More than legislation do we need the enforcement of the laws we have. More than coveting greater power do we need the faithful exercise of the power which is unquestionably ours. I am bound to say that the national government in the last 20 years under the administration of both parties, Democrats and Republicans alike, has displayed a shameless disregard for the first principle of good government, that of the enforcement of its laws. Upon the statute books are to be found laws with reference to trusts and combinations which have been shamefully violated and impudently disregarded for 20 years. We are told of a new nationalism. Let us bid its coming God speed if it is to be a na-

tionism which enforces the law upon the statute books, a nationalism which exercises powers which are unquestionably ours and which, in my judgment, are also unquestionably essential to protect fully the public welfare. For more than 20 years powerful combinations have lived in open violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. Now and then a spasm of virtue seizes us, a step is taken, the courts uphold the law, a cry of alarm goes up from the business world, the government puts out the white flag and gives out that we are not going to do anything further at present. There is not a state in the Union, even a western state which is now exciting the beneficent commiseration of friends living far away, which has not far better enforced its laws, better protected the rights of its people and given them a more economic government than has the national government. Let's make it a part of our party faith, inviolate and uncompromising, that as long as a law is upon the statute books it shall be enforced; if not to be enforced that it shall be repealed. Let's put an end to the sham and demoralizing effect upon the whole body politic of having a statute like the Sherman law and having men constantly and yearly and daily defying it. I maintain that the law as finally interpreted by the courts is efficient and effective. I maintain that the powers of the national government have not been found faulty. I insist that there has been a lack of courage to enforce the law. And this lack of courage in the higher walks of life to enforce the law, this utter disregard for the most important laws upon the statute books is the breeder of anarchy and lawlessness throughout the whole body politic.

Conservation of Natural Resources.

The conservation of our natural resources is one of those far reaching and momentous questions calling for the highest class of statesmanship and the most patriotic effort upon the part of the citizen, its most pronounced and distinguished advocate, the man who gave life and scope and purpose to the cause, is that remarkable personality, the most imposing figure in the politics of this country since Lincoln—ex-President Roosevelt. That we should through the intelligent means at our command prevent waste and extravagant exploitation, that we should through all proper and available methods withhold from the control of monopolies and under a system of regulation and control dedicate these natural resources to the economic use of the people would seem to command the approval of all right thinking men. The Republican party is thoroughly committed to this task. President Taft during his administration has brought to this subject his best efforts and in a most practical and statesmanlike manner pointed out and secured most important legislation looking to a proper solution of this question. There has been a studied and persistent effort to misrepresent the west upon this subject. But the west is thoroughly in favor of protecting and conserving the vast wealth which makes of the west an empire within itself. We want to see these resources so used, so developed, so regulated and controlled as to render them indeed the wealth of the people. We are more directly interested than any other part of the country and we are just as intelligent, just as patriotic—we do not claim to be more so—as any other portion of this great people. We are too good natured and have too keen a sense of humor to be greatly disturbed over the self adulatory palms and self righteous cry which break out in various parts of this country.

West Accepts Roosevelt Assurance.

In a speech delivered in the city of Denver a few weeks ago Colonel Roosevelt said, "Conservation does not mean non-use or non-development. It does not mean the tying up of the natural resources of the states. It means the utilization of these resources under such regulation and control as will prevent waste and

extravagance and monopoly, and at the same time not merely permit but encourage such use and development as will serve the interests of the people generally." The west accepts without hesitation this policy thus announced by the most advanced leader upon this subject. We want a chance to develop, we want a chance to grow. We want to take care of our people, to have the property upon which we can place the burdens of taxation and build up great commonwealths. What sane man would deny us these chances? They are not in conflict but in harmony with the highest principles of conservation.

One of the most accomplished arts of the demagogue is to try to interest the people in an effort to do an impossible thing in order to escape the responsibility of doing a possible and a right thing. Instead of addressing themselves to the task of practical legislation, of eliminating the crudities of the present system and making it serviceable to the people, through a studied and persistent effort some are seeking to engender the belief that the western states under the somewhat discredited phrase of "states' rights" are asking that the national government withhold the exercise of its constitutional powers in this great work. They would have the people

believe that there is a great conflict on between the national government and the states, and that a few self elected warriors are destined to again become preservers of the Union. It is an expanding vision. The western states not only accept but they encourage the exercise of the constitutional and national powers to the end that our natural resources may be properly protected. The western states claim no rights, seek to exercise no powers other than those powers guaranteed by the plain terms of the charter, rights enjoyed by every state of the Union, rights established by a hundred years of precedents both in the courts and legislation. Does any man bid defiance to the whole framework of our government by denying us these rights? It is the plain duty of the people to get behind both sovereignties in this work. Let each sovereignty do the work plainly belonging to it under the constitution. Let me warn those who would deny to the states the rights given them by the constitution that they are fomenting a wholly unnecessary controversy and one which will in the end vastly injure the cause of conservation. Let the charter under which we live be our guide and let each sovereign in its constitutional powers have the full support of all who would help in this cause. Does any one think he can serve the cause of conservation by challenging the plain rights of the states or by slandering a whole people. Do these men expect to succeed by bidding defiance to the fundamental law of the land? I maintain without hesitancy that the mob in the streets of Columbus, Ohio, bidding defiance to all law and seeking to accomplish its cherished purpose in lawless ways is in no different position than those who would move on to their purpose in open contempt of the fundamental law under which we live?

Law and Order First.

Colonel Roosevelt speaking in Columbus said: "The first requisite to the establishment of justice is the establishment of law and order and woe to the man, public official or private citizen, who fails to realize this fact." No sounder or more statesmanlike announcement could fall in these days from human lips. But it covers all, the highest and the lowest. It must not be applied alone to the man hard pressed in the struggle for existence crowded to the limit by those who control his wage. It must cover the highest and most powerful. It must apply not only to the statutes passed for the punishment of the lowly but to those whose business it is to protect the whole framework of the government under which we live.

In his message to the governor's congress Colonel Roosevelt said: "In matters that relate only to the people within the state of course the state is to be sovereign and should have power to act. If the matter is such that the state itself cannot act then I wish on behalf of the state that the national government should act." No one can possibly find fault with this rule. We ask for its faithful application and there will be no possible controversy between the national government and the western states. We take as much pride in our national government and in the powers which it may and should exercise as do any other people in this country.

West Is Not Guilty.

It is said by those who have a sinister motive for misrepresentation that the western states are incapable of doing that part of the work which the constitution imposes upon them, that in order that we out in the west be shielded from monopoly we must be deprived of our rights as states, our self governing capacity as a people. "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shall thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." Which sovereignty has despoiled our natural resources? Which sovereignty has deeded away the people's heritage with shameless profligacy to the great corporations? Which sovereignty is it that has permitted and still permits great corporations to hold millions of acres which under their grant they long ago forfeited and which the people should now enjoy but for the powerful influence of corporations in Washington? What sovereignty is it whose bureaus are controlled by favoritism extended by those corporations? What monopoly has the national government put out of business? What anti-trust law has it enforced? What trust magnate is now in jail? Before the nationalists covet powers which do not belong to them, in the name of the people let them exercise in their behalf powers which they clearly possess. If there are any monopolies in this country ready to prey upon the western states, by whose connivance are they here? Why does not the national government destroy them? Will it destroy them when it has more power when it refuses to exercise the powers it has? We think the real safety against corporate control and monopoly in this country rests at last with the common people, the self governing citizens who express themselves through the local government.

Self Governing Capacity of People.
Mr. Chairman, the west believes in conservation but it believes that the great causes can be worked out with a due regard to the provisions of the constitution. It believes in the self

governing capacity of the people rather than in the governing capacity of bureaus. We believe in laws instead of rules and regulations made by no one and for whom no one is responsible under our theory of government. We believe that the people in their respective states are loyal, intelligent and patriotic and will do their share in this cause of those at Washington will do theirs. We expect the national government to use unhesitatingly and fully all the powers which belong to it and we expect the law abiding and patriotic men to assist the states in holding and exercising all the powers which belong to them.

Chief Justice Marshall, the man who did more than any other man to give strength and power to the national government said: "No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the states and of compounding the American people into one common mass." The old Federalist had little conception of the great capacity of some of our modern statesmen.

Lincoln, who gave his life in the cause of national unity said: "To maintain inviolate the rights of the states, to order and control under the constitution their own affairs by their own judgment exclusively is essential for the preservation of that balance of power on which our institutions rest."

Justice Harlan, the venerable jurist whose character is commensurate in dignity and worth with the august tribunal which he has greatly honored, said: "A national government for national affairs and state government for state affairs is the foundation rock upon which our institutions rest and any serious departure from that principle would bring disaster upon the American system of free government."

We take our position with those statesmen, jurists and patriots, and announce to the conservationists of this country that we are ready to begin work, ready for action, ready for legislation.

Wealth Must Bear Its Share.

The time has come when we must take up in all seriousness the distribution of the burdens of government between wealth and consumption.

It is no longer permissible to place all the expenses of government upon what we eat and what we wear, upon the backs and appetites of men and nothing upon the great incomes of this country. The plain rules of justice demand that the ever increasing burdens of government be distributed more equally between the humble and the moderately well to do and the very wealthy. I would not relieve any man of his proportionate share of the burdens of taxation, be he ever so humble. But I would insist upon such distribution as would equalize this burden, something in accordance with the principle that taxes should be levied in accordance with the ability to pay. I should like to see our party committed unreservedly to the enactment of a law providing for an income tax. An amendment to the constitution is now pending giving it power to levy an income tax. I did not think and I do not think such amendment was necessary. It is nevertheless our duty to adopt it as that course has been taken.

Mr. Chairman: Time forbids the discussion in detail of other matters. Labor and its rightful portion of the prosperity and comforts and opportunities of our great industrial development, labor as to its duty to itself, the divorcement of men in public service from the professional or employment relation to the business institutions concerning which they are called upon to legislate; the bringing of all matters of government as close to the people as efficiency and expediency will permit; these are all matters of great moment but must be discussed in detail at another time.

Some people profess to entertain a fear that many of the things proposed are radical and revolutionary, menacing to a safe and stable government. When it can be shown to me that a particular proposition is hurtful or hazardous to my government or will work a distinct and substantial change in our framework of government, I will forego its advocacy. My profound faith in our great framework of government is such that I would yield rather than place my views against the views of those who gave us our institutions.

Not Revolutionary or Menacing.

But my friends, these things are not revolutionary or menacing to our institutions—these things are revolutionary and menacing which must eventually transpire unless we act. All things may be done under the powers of government which we have distributed just as they are now distributed. If they cannot be done then the government is doomed anyway—then the fathers failed to provide for these conditions. After all, the conservatives, the friends of our institutions are those who would adjust the operations of government to new industrial conditions, that justice may continue to be administered and rights protected—the first foundation of government without which whatever it may be in name, whether monarchy or republic, will not long endure.

Mr. Chairman, the old order changeth. It is farthest from my

thoughts to seek to count the days of the past. I know and I believe I fully appreciate the wealth and inspiration of the marvelous record of the 55 years of Republicanism which has back of us. It is aside from my thoughts also to indulge in personal criticism of those veteran leaders of our party who cling with peculiar tenacity to things as they were. I have learned that it is often a dangerous thing and some times a cruel thing to challenge the motives of men. But it is a proper thing and sometimes a necessary thing to attack the measures of men. But the fact is we are dealing with new conditions. The old system does not and cannot meet the requirements of the hour.

Business and Politics.

The gigantic scale upon which business is now being carried on, the elimination from the field of industry of the law of competition has compelled the government to assume vastly greater and more extensive functions. This in return has aroused a gigantic effort upon the part of those whose business affairs are affected and inspired a determination to legislate. These forces have entered politics somewhat upon the immense scale they have entered business. We are now engaged in meeting these conditions, seeking to determine whether or not our government, our people are wise enough and courageous enough to give to all a fair chance in the industrial world and equal rights in matters of government. Certainly it must be apparent that the task is sufficient to engage the best efforts of a great people.

Hence this breaking loose and breaking up. This is why politics has left its haunts and sought the open. This is why men have broken from the stifling atmosphere of the caucus and are looking for direction and support in the forum of public discussion. They want a party roomy enough within which to breathe, they want the widest latitude for discussion, they want the utmost freedom of debate, they want that independence of thought and personal responsibility which characterizes earnest men. They want publicity in politics as well as in business. They want a party whose unity and harmony arises out of and flows from a common belief in and a common fight for accepted principles of government—the only kind of harmony we can ever hope to have again. They want the harmony which arises from conviction rather than that of machine dictation.

Senator Borah Making a Record For Himself and Idaho.

Very few states in the Union are as fortunate as Idaho in having such an able representative as Senator Borah. From the first day that the Senator took his seat in the Senate he has been attracting public attention and the press of the country has contained much favorable comment on the policies he has pursued. During the last session of Congress Senator Borah made a notable fight for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution giving the people the right to vote directly on the election of United States Senators. At that session the resolution was defeated but now Senator Borah is renewing the fight in the present Congress, and from present indications the resolution will in all probability be passed. The resolution passed the house a few days ago in the exact form in which it passed the Senate, a fact which is very complimentary to Senator Borah, as it is an honor that has come to few men to have part in the shaping of the language of our Constitution.

THE EVENING MAIL

Will the Borah - Cummins - Hadley Group Get What They Want Now, or in 1916, or in 1920?

Will the Republican national executive committee, in session in Washington to-day, respond to the memorial addressed to it by the Progressive Republicans who recently met in Chicago?

Will it grant their request to call at once a special Republican national convention to consider (1) changing the basis of delegate representation so that delegates shall proportionately represent Republican constituencies; (2) changing national convention rules so that the primary laws of each state, and not the national committee steam-roller, shall hereafter attest the election and eligibility of delegates; and (3) taking such further action as may give assurance to the country that the Republican party stands for progressive and constructive policies?

It would be of interest, and not without significance, should a national convention be called for the purposes specified, or for any purpose that indicated a serious desire and determination to put the Republican national organization in line with popular sentiment; to entitle it, because of a changed attitude and a changed leadership, to its old proud place as the first political party in the nation, rather than the third, which it now is, numerically.

The whole battle against reactionary Republicans at the national convention in Chicago last June centered around these reforms—still demanded and still denied. If the appeal then made to liberalize the party, to give it honest and patriotic leadership, to arouse it to its perilous position as the embodiment and advocate of interests opposed to the public interest, had been heeded, there would have been no National Progressive party to wrest from the Republican party last November a majority of its former voters, eliminating it almost entirely from an Electoral College it had dominated, with two exceptions, in every presidential contest since 1861.

No spasmodic, superficial or purely personal cause could have sunk so deep into the vitals of a political party to which two generations of voters had so persistently given their confidence.

The 4,300,000 men who supported the National Progressive ticket had a definite purpose, too serious to be thwarted by allegiance to former party ties, too firmly rooted and unchanging to be abandoned because the first battle was not a final victory.

It is impossible to say how many of the 4,300,000 voters came out of the Republican party and how many came from other parties; but whatever the number of Republicans may have been, it is certain that not one of them felt any joy of victory as he saw the party of his early faith go down in overwhelming defeat, like a waterlogged wreck that had buffeted adverse waves beyond its time.

As voters they had not been moved to their course by passion or by personality. They felt a stern realization that the Republican party emblem had been prostituted to sordid and unworthy purposes, and they had looked upon a spectacle in the national convention in Chicago never before witnessed in any organized assemblage, and, let us hope, never to be seen again while personal honor and fair dealing are the basic qualities of manliness and the code of honorable contest between opposing forces.

It is to be noted that the memorial drawn up at Chicago for submission to the Republican national executive committee to-day was prepared by Republicans who shared every purpose and policy of the progressive element at that time except the purpose to resent and resist

fraud. They flinched on that. They preferred submission in convention to defiance. At the cross-roads they refused to take the path along which their vision and convictions stretched, believing they could trudge through the mire of selfishly and corruptly controlled politics without sinking knee-deep into it themselves.

They now know differently.

Their present effort is to turn the Republican party back to the cross-roads that was met in the Chicago national convention and to have it plant itself on the road which they themselves refused last June—to have it free itself of a self-perpetuating national committee, to make its conventions accept without question all honestly elected delegates from the several states, whether they are for or against the so-called party bosses, and to make it impossible for a temporary chairman so to rule that delegates whose seats are contested on precisely identical grounds may vote for each other and thereby validate each other's title.

Will the Republican executive committee at its meeting to-day travel back with the Borah-Cummins-Hadley group and start the Republican party on a stern chase after the National Progressive party on the broad road to public favor which the latter marked out for itself last summer?

Or will the committee softly counsel them to wait until 1916, when all will be well—and when a Republican national convention, chosen under precisely the same rules, by the same methods and under the direction of the same men, as in 1912, will, PERHAPS, arrange for a national convention in 1920 that will be convened under conditions satisfactory to all the Borahs and Hadleys that may be in politics at the time?

We wait for developments.

SENATOR W. E. BORAH DELIVERS FINE ADDRESS

Hon. William E. Borah, Idaho's junior senator in congress, delivered a stirring address before a packed house in Eggen's hall Wednesday night. His was unquestionably the best worded, most eloquent, and logical forensic effort of the campaign as yet delivered in Moscow; and there were old gray headed men who shook the senator's hand after the close of the address who frankly admitted that it was the best they had ever heard in their lives.

Senator Borah was introduced by Chris Hagan of this city, and he took up at first a few issues which are confined to state politics. The fourth plank of the state democratic platform attacks the republicans upon the tariff question and the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. But the senator showed that under the peculiar circumstances that existed at the time, that this bill was the best one that could possibly be obtained, and that it was far superior to the one which it supplanted. He showed how the democrats in congress voted and worked diligently to keep congress from revising the tariff downwards upon certain articles. And now they turn around and accuse the republicans of being unfaithful to their pledges! The democrats voted consistently for a higher tariff than the bill provided for.

There is only one way, the senator claimed, in which the tariff may be dealt with intelligently. That is by the establishment of a tariff commission, whose duty it will be to gather all the necessary data regarding the cost of production abroad and at home, and to present these facts to congress. This idea is advanced by President Taft, and will be brought to perfection by the republican party.

The democrats have been claiming extravagance in the management of state affairs. Here he gave some vital statistics to refute such arguments. Under Governor Hunt, democratic, the state treasury department received an appropriation of \$5,575, and did not take in one cent. The Brady administration appropriated \$17,866 for the same department. But the department earned \$57,785 in return. Compare the two. The game warden under Hunt had \$3,500 appropriated, and nothing was taken in. The present department had \$69,000 appropriated, but they have earned \$80,000 to date in return. And so on down the list. The Hunt administration netted in excess of all appropriations only \$22,677.34. The Brady administration to date has earned, above all appropriations, the sum of \$31,299.99. Can anyone in the face of these facts charge extravagance!

He then discussed the liquor issue. He stated that the democrats, by their party platform, have pledged themselves not to submit a constitutional amendment to the people. The right of the people to vote upon a constitutional amendment is guaranteed by our fundamental law; yet we have an instance where the democrats are trying to withhold from the people the exercise of this constitutional right. He pointed out that the only hope of the advocates of state prohibition in the 7 wet counties is to be given an opportunity of joining hands with the big majority in the dry counties and securing a constitutional amendment. He also said: "I am not one of those who accept the proposition that the local option law cannot be enforced. It can be enforced if the officers so desire, and the word, 'strengthen' in our platform is put in for that purpose, and is not to be interpreted as meaning 'to weaken,' as our opposition are claiming."

The senator here left the state issues, and discussed affairs of national importance. We are now passing through a political movement that is of the most importance since the creation of the nation, with the possible exception of the time when the integrity of the nation was saved by war. What can the national government do to regulate and control the great combinations of wealth? Up to and even after the civil war, the laws of competition adjusted the prices of commodities and all things to a proper level. The people of the nation were protected by these laws of competition.

But in these later years, this has changed. In almost every field that can be named the laws of competition have been displaced by the great combinations, which now fix and control the prices of everything consumed, worn or used. Illustrations of this

fixing of prices in total disregard for all laws of competition are plentiful. The new tariff law reduced the duty from 40 per cent to 15 on iron ore, and the duty on all the steel products was cut practically in half. It was thought that the consumer would benefit. Has this resulted? No. Not a single reduction in price has resulted upon any article made of these products. The duty on lumber was lowered by the new bill from \$2 to \$1.25 with the idea that the home builder would profit. \$2,000,000 were thus taken out of the national treasury with the idea that the person building homes would be enabled to buy lumber cheaper. Yet lumber is still as high as ever. Hides were taken off of the duty list, and put on the free list. It was believed that shoes would be cheaper. Yet today the retail merchant of Moscow cannot buy shoes a cent cheaper than before.

The duty on 654 articles was reduced by the new tariff law, yet in not a single instance has a decrease in price

to the consumer resulted. And what does this show? Simply, that the source of human supply is controlled and dominated by these mighty combinations. Can the government deal with these questions and regulate them to the welfare of the people? The senator said he believed it can and will do so. He stated that the chief difficulty is to get the public to take hold of these propositions and show their interest. The government must take hold of these great combinations, and regulate and control them thus supplying the lack of the laws of competition which formerly existed. There seems to be today some great undiscovered power which controls the prices of things, and regulation must be the remedy. We will either be compelled to take hold of the question and solve it now in a legal and orderly manner, or the people within 50 years from now will take hold of it and settle it in an illegal and disorderly manner. But the senator said that he is not discouraged but because of the aroused attitude of the public, he believes that it will soon be demonstrated that the creature is not greater than the creator.

Leaving this great question of monopoly control, Senator Borah next dwelt upon another question, the solution of which he believes to be as important as the industrial one. It is that of a national income tax, and the rightful distribution of the burdens of taxation. Our expenses of maintaining the government have grown yearly, and continue to do so. Money must be raised for the conduct of the national affairs. How are these taxes to be distributed? One of the first revenue laws of the nation provided for import duties, an indirect tax upon the consumer, and also for an income tax. The supreme court was called upon to test the validity of such a law, and they held that the constitution allowed congress to provide for the enactment of a law establishing an income tax. In 1860 another income tax was passed and signed by Abraham Lincoln. Four different times this law was contested, but 21 federal judges held that the law was constitutional. In 1870 the law was re-pealed. In 1894 another income tax law was passed. This time, by a vote of 5 to 4, the supreme court decided that such a law was unconstitutional, thus repudiating the precedents of a hundred years, and putting at naught the work of our forefathers when they wrote the constitution providing for the just division of the burdens of taxation. By the work of this decision, Andrew Carnegie receiving the sum of \$12,000,000 each year as interest alone on his bonds does not pay one dollar of taxation on this immense wealth.

Senator Marshall in fighting the repeal of the income tax in 1870 said that such a step would lead to the establishment of a government of a "monied aristocracy," and his prediction seems to have resulted. The senator said that he rejected the proposition that it was in the minds of the makers of the constitution that these great incomes should not be taxed. He believes that they should, and that they can be done so constitutionally.

The progressives in congress, he stated, had been called radicals. They have been accused of seeking new and experimental theories. But this is wrong. The progressives merely want to re-write the constitution as it was given by the original framers; to have it interpreted as it should be, and to give it its proper place.

Seeking to provide more revenue for the nation, this element in the last congress set about for a means. They thought of the income tax, and provided for an amendment to the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill providing for this sort of a tax. All incomes over \$5,000 were to be taxed at the rate of 2 per cent. The opposition took little notice of it at first, believing that it would receive only nine or ten votes at the outside. However, when they saw that it was more popular than that, they used the powers they possessed, and finally provided that a constitutional amendment should be submitted to the states relating to the income tax. This opposition well knew that it takes only 12 states to defeat such an amendment, and they could count that many easily: Kentucky, Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee, and New York have already recorded their verdict, and when the 12 states have been secured, we will have a state of affairs in this nation that exists in no other civilized nation under God's sun—that of being unable to tax the incomes of the wealthy and those who should share in the burdens of taxation.

Deceit was employed in proposing that amendment. It would almost be an impossibility now to pass a law by congress providing for an income tax and submitting the same to the supreme court; for by the action of submitting the proposed amendment it has been practically admitted that the constitution, as it now stands, does not permit such taxation. And yet 21 judges have said that the constitution does allow such taxes to be collected, and only 5 judges have dared to say that such a law is constitutional. This is a condition that exists in no other civilized nation in the world—this plight of being unable to tax incomes.

But the senator believes that the problem must be and will be solved by the republican party in its forward march. It will be solved eventually in the way that it should be.

The senator then made an appeal as a citizen for every person to take an active interest in politics. The future welfare of the nation demands that each and every one of us shall inform ourselves of the needs of the country and that we should be so in-

formed with conditions that an intelligent vote can be cast on election day.

Senator Borah is not only recognized as probably the most brilliant orator of the state of Idaho, but he has attracted national fame and attention as a statesman, and those who did not hear him Wednesday night missed a rare opportunity.

SHOULD HELP BORAH.

Capital news

An important consideration for republicans in this state at the primaries is that they should select a candidate for congress who will work in harmony with the policies of Senator Borah, who more than any other man in his party represents the real sentiments of the republicans of Idaho.

Had Borah received the support in the national house of representatives that he should have received, the irrigation bond bill would have passed calling for \$30,000,000 instead of \$20,000,000. Through the efforts of Senator Borah who stood sponsor for the measure and who made it his direct aim to secure its passage, in which effort he was, of course, aided by Senator Heyburn, the bill passed the senate calling for \$30,000,000. It went down to defeat in the house, under the management of Hamer. It was only through a fortunate situation brought about by Senator Borah whereby he had the power to tie up another bill, an administration measure in which Speaker Cannon was personally interested in securing its passage, that the irrigation bonds were provided for even in the reduced amount. The story is a familiar one to Idaho readers and they know how completely Congressman Hamer failed in this most vital measure and how it was saved by the work of Senator Borah.

At the next session of congress Senator Borah proposes to ask congress for a larger issue of bonds with which to complete the great irrigation enterprises which can only be undertaken by the government. Whereas the last congress refused to allow \$30,000,000, it is proposed to ask the next one for \$50,000,000. Of this amount Idaho will receive by far the larger share. The project to take in nearly a million acres extending from Weiser on the west to Reverse beyond Mountain Home on the east and from Saake river on the south to Boise and beyond on the north, is one of mammoth proportions depending wholly for success upon the success of the Borah intention.

Senator Borah is known as a liberal and a progressive. The pending campaign in Idaho is watched with unusual interest in Washington circles to ascertain whether the result shall be a repudiation of Borah or an indorsement of his course.

Hamer's every vote in congress, all of his alliances and his sympathies have been antagonistic to Borah and the Borah policies. His re-election could not be construed otherwise than a censure of Borah's insurgent tendencies and would accordingly tend to lessen his influence in the senate and with the president.

It is well known that the man who stands strong with his people is the man who stands strong with the president and with all the powers of congress. The election of a congressman who is in hearty sympathy and who would give earnest support to Senator Borah, would greatly strengthen his hands in the accomplishment of any project which he might undertake in the congress; the re-election of the standpat Hamer would weaken him accordingly.

It is natural that Hamer would not accept this argument as good logic, but it is good nevertheless. So much is it true, that even the election of a democratic successor to Hamer if necessary, would be regarded as an indorsement of the stand taken by Borah, because of the rebuke to Cannon Hankeyism.

The people of Idaho—the republican people, we mean, may not approve of the liberal ideas of Borah. It is certain that the conclusion must be drawn that they do not if they deliberately select for congressman one holding views more in direct opposition to him and to his views, than would be those held by a liberal democrat. If this is true, of course the republicans will be expected to return Hamer to congress. If it is not true that they wish to disapprove of Borah's record and of his policies, they will select French or Sinclair, or pass the responsibility to a democrat.

BORAH THANKS IDAHO COUNTY

Says has Been treated More
Than Generously by the
People of Idaho.

The following letter received at the Globe office from Senator Borah shows so clearly his appreciation of the friendship entertained for him in Idaho county,

and the entire state, by the members of all parties and sets forth so fairly the high ideals of official duty which he entertains that we take the privilege of publishing the same:

United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Branscombe:

Your kind letter carrying copy of the resolutions adopted at your recent convention just received. I thank you and through you the members of the convention and also the people of your county for this cordial and exceptional commendation of my services here. I thank you also sincerely for the endorsement for my reelection. The people of our state almost regardless of

party have been more than generous in their commendation of what I have tried to do, and if I should be returned here the gratitude I now feel and shall always feel toward the people of Idaho will urge me to the limit of my powers in their service. If the fortunes of politics, however, should not be favorable and I should not return I shall nevertheless be forever indebted to the people of my state not only for me but also for the more than the great honor conferred upon generous support and encouragement which I have enjoyed at their hands while trying to serve them. I have learned to know that the people of Idaho are generous and tolerant to a fault toward those who seek to serve them in public place.

I am sure you will not expect me now to discuss policies—there will be ample time for that hereafter. I do want to say, however, in view of the inspiring resolutions as a whole which I have just received that the great fundamental principles of equity and justice do not change and that the whole science of practical politics consists in the application of those unchangeable principles to the changed economic and political conditions which follow from decade to decade and from age to age. No man ought to be distrustful of a principle of government because it is old—for the fathers wrought out principles which no free people will ever abandon, or if they do, they will come back to them in sackcloth and ashes. On the other hand men in such a fight, high minded, patriotic though they may be, are sometimes prone to leave the field of concrete and practical remedies for abstract discussions and thereby make lighter no burden, make less secure and safe no wrong.

Between these two extremes lies the great temperate zone of honest progressive legislation—a determined and aggressive dealing with practical and concrete questions which in their solution must administer to the happiness and prosperity of the human family. In this great field of active, constructive administration and legislation, this field where things are done and brought about, where results are obtained and effects realized is where we ought to work. This is where we can serve those who are entitled to be served without injuring or disturbing those who ought not to be injured or disturbed.

The splendid record which lies behind the great party of which you and I are members may be even exceeded in the coming decade if men with courage and intellect can be found to do the work and the people keep up that sustained interest and cordial support which are indispensable to final success.

No great question, no great problem has ever been solved in this country in the closet or alone by the chosen few. The great strength of our government lies in the fact that it is supposed to combine the talent and ability of those who devote their exclusive attention to such questions for a stated period of time, and the broad and comprehensive judgment of the whole people. Therefore problems in the past have been solved in the open, hammered into form and crystallized into law through the power of the intelligent, sustained pub-

THE REPUBLICANS OF CANYON COUNTY.

The Republican voters of Canyon county have an important duty to perform to their party, to the state and to the nation. A preferential primary has been called among the Republicans of that county and it will be their duty to say whether they prefer Taft or Roosevelt. We do not believe there is the slightest doubt as to what the verdict would be provided all the Republicans of the county go to the primaries and vote. They may not be fully satisfied with Roosevelt as hundreds of other Republicans are not, but as between Taft and Roosevelt, they

are overwhelmingly for the man who has stirred up the national conscience as against the man who has broken nearly every pledge he made in order the more firmly to entrench special interest in power.

But there is danger that too many Republicans may remain away from the polls because they are busy and because they feel that there is no doubt as to the sentiment in the county. There is no doubt as to the sentiment but how can that sentiment become known without the voters casting their votes to be counted?

All the special interests in this state, backed by all the horde of able workers who have for years gained practice in representing them in political campaigns, are leaving no stone unturned to commit Idaho to Taft. A state organization is maintained; there is plenty of money and many paid workers are devoting their time to building up a Taft sentiment in those counties which have not yet elected delegates. The opposition to Taft is without organization and it is without funds. The only dependence is upon the honest voter as an individual. If he should fail, then all will be lost.

Moreover, the real contest in this state is not a contest between Taft and Roosevelt. It is a contest between the people and the special interests, backed by those who realize that the only chance for success for those interests is through misleading enough of the people to give them a balance of power. In the effort to accomplish their design, they have also a desire to humiliate and discredit Senator Borah, who has shown himself too big a man to be controlled by the old special interest crowd. He has done nothing that will enable them to come out in the open and fight him, but he has shown an independence of them which has frightened them and consequently they fear him. They would defeat him for re-election to the United States senate, if they could, but they know they cannot except by the election of a Democratic legislature. They want now to discredit him at Lewiston by declaring for Taft, knowing that by so doing they would be acting contrary to the wishes of Senator Borah and also knowing that thereby they can prevent his being represented among the associate national leaders of the party at the Chicago convention.

Senator Borah is one of the biggest men in the Republican party of this nation. His place, therefore, is at the Chicago national convention. The Taft program, if carried out, will mean that he cannot and will not be there but will be left at home, discredited and dishonored by his own state.

Senator Borah does not ask for an instructed Roosevelt delegation. In that he has consideration for the views of those members of his party who do not agree with him. Under his program any man in the state could honorably accept election as a delegate. The Taft people demand a bound and tied delegation committed to Taft and no one else. Under their program Borah could not honorably act as a delegate. The difference between the two plans is that Borah proposes to promote harmony and peace in his party; the Taft people propose to enforce dissension and strife. Borah, of course, can and will support Taft, if the president is nominated by the national convention, but he can take no part in securing for him that nomination.

We believe the Republicans of Canyon county are loyal to Borah; we believe they are loyal to the Republican party and want to see harmony and good feeling prevail. If we are correct in this, we make no mistake in appealing to them to do all they can to get out the progressive vote of that county to defeat the Taft program, which can there be done only by casting a preferential vote in favor of Roosevelt.

BORAH MENTIONED FOR SECOND PLACE

Senator From Idaho Latest Logical Republican Candidate for Vice President, Fulfilling Many Party Requirements and Having Strong Following.

Senator William Edgar Borah of Idaho is the latest prominent figure to be mentioned for the Republican nomination for Vice President in 1912. The mention of Senator Borah's name comes from quarters close to the Administration. It is beyond question that if the political tides run to impose the nomination for second place on the sturdy shoulders of the Senator from Idaho there will be great satisfaction at the White House.

Just now there is a lot of figuring and calculating going on among the leaders of the movement to renominate and reelect President Taft over the question of who would be best for the ticket if given the nomination for second place. And the disposition is strong to reach out and get some progressive man recognized as a progressive in the country over, to make the race. Senator Borah works up as one of the best men that could possibly be had, from the Administration viewpoint.

While there has been a great deal of talk of a movement to renominate Vice President Sherman and even to try to nominate him for President in the hope of handing him for Vice President, there is a strong belief in high political circles that the Vice President will seek a renomination.

Victim of Saratoga.

His experience in this office has not been a happy one. He has made a businesslike presiding officer for the Senate, but he had an unfortunate experience when the Old Guard of New York State put him forward as candidate for chairman of the Republican state convention at Saratoga last fall. He ran into the Roosevelt strength, and had a collision with it in which he came off more or less bruised and battered. And the next thing that happened was that his own Congressional district was turned over to the Democrats, after it had shown many signs of revolting against the rule of the Sherman machine, which had long dominated it. It is true that William Borah, Jr., who is a warm friend of the Vice President, is now Republican state chairman of New York, and the Old Guard is pretty thoroughly back in the saddle. But there is no man to induce Mr. Sherman to make the race for Vice President again, and, more than this, he could only get the renomination after a bitter fight. The antagonism to his nomination in 1908 was intense. He was regarded as a reactionary, and he would be even more bitterly attacked were he to allow his name to be used in 1912.

Not Much Wanted.

Furthermore, there is no sign that the Taft leaders are lying awake nights

trying to figure out a way to put "Sammy Jim" on the ticket with the President.

They would be relieved if they knew some progressive possession of some name and standing would get the place.

Under the circumstances, it seems entirely likely the nomination for Vice President will go to some other man than Sherman, and probably to a Western man who bears the progressive label, though Secretary of War Minner is mentioned.

It is the feeling in many of a Western progressive among Administration leaders that has given rise to the suggestion of Borah.

It has also led to the suggestion of Senator Cummings. That Senator Cummings would not step out of the Senate to run for Vice President is well understood.

Senator Cummings is not seeking the Presidency, though he would, of course, take the nomination if it came his way in the 1912 convention.

Question of Acceptance.

It is much to be doubted, too, whether Borah, who occupies an influential place in the Senate, could be prevailed on to take the nomination for second place, though he might do it under pressure and on the ground that it was his duty as a Republican to make the race.

Senator Borah is recognized as a strong campaigner and one of the strong men of the Senate. He is only forty-six years old, and could easily stand the hardships of a campaign. He is not a Taft man. In fact, he has had some decided differences with the White House. But his ability is not underestimated in that quarter. Borah is likely to support La Follette for the nomination for President, though he is certainly to turn in and support the nominee whoever he may be.

Strange Things Happen.

Strange things have happened that Borah himself may be nominated for President himself one of these days. It is not at all unlikely that you will see him prominently considered for this honor.

Governor Osborn, of Michigan, is another man who may find himself drafted for second place.

He is accounted a progressive, though he is careful to keep his progressivism under the cloak of regularity.

He was in Washington recently and spoke out for the renomination of President Taft.

He has been freely mentioned since then for a Cabinet place should one of the Cabinet drop out in the near future, as there is good cause to suppose Secretary McVeigh and Secretary Knox both are mentioned as not likely to remain in the Cabinet very long.

IDAHO'S DUTY TO RE-ELECT SENATOR BORAH.

Idaho's greatest duty at the present hour is to see to it that Senator Borah is re-elected to the United States senate. He is a national figure. In the Chicago convention he was one of the few men who stood out from the other prominent figures, who kept his head, who opposed theft upon the one side and who failed to respond to the populist "bolt" of Colonel Roosevelt on the other. He stood with Governor Hadley of Missouri in making a gallant fight for Colonel Roosevelt but failed to respond to the challenge of Henry Johnson and others to leave the republican party. He saw the progressive fight in the republican party all but won and the wreck that ensued, and in that wreck he was ready to take up the burden within the party and go forward with it. He does not believe in the third party movement. He has faith in the republican party and that with the proper machinery of election within the party the republican party will be true to its allegiance to the people. With thousands of others in the republican party he believes that no man within it is greater than the party itself and that it has the power from within to remedy its own evils. The essential of time will work its own wonders and bring the great party back to a recognition of those duties which he sees it must and will take up.

Senator Borah was a much bigger man in Chicago than the dispatches would indicate. He was Colonel Roosevelt's best adviser, and had the Colonel taken his advice from start to finish of his fight there would have been a different story to tell of that historical convention. Senator Borah's name was upon many lips. He and Governor Hadley were considered the real strong men of the Roosevelt camp, making a clean and gallant fight in their cause but refusing to contemplate the wrecking of a great party upon the ambitions of either President Taft or ex-President Roosevelt. Their stand kept many others from following Roosevelt outside of the convention, believing with Borah and Hadley that the fight for progressive ideas could better be carried on within the party than by organizing a third party.

It is unnecessary to dilate upon the constructive legislation which has been accomplished by Senator Borah during his one term as senator. No man ever got further in his one term in the senate than has Borah; no man today has higher respect of that body.

It was evident at Chicago that had the "break" ever come in that convention Borah or Hadley would have the choice of that assemblage for the highest office in the land. A man who stands that high in the councils of this nation should be kept where his attainments will continue to make him a national figure. Idaho owes it to itself to keep Senator Borah in Washington.

Thursday, July 4, 1912.

DEMOCRATIC EDITOR FOR SENATOR BORAH.

The following editorial from the Caldwell News, one of the cleanest democratic papers in the state, in which it urges the election of legislators who will vote for the return to the United States senate of W. E. Borah, should put to shame some of the republicans who have been stealthily trying to undermine the popularity of the junior senator because of the fact that he has stood for what he believed to be right and for the best interests of the people of Idaho and the nation at large. The News says:

"Under the system of political activities in the country during the past many years it is not surprising that such a large number of people are so engrossed in party fealty that they stick to the party regardless of consequences. Particularly is this true with respect to all partisans who have any possible chance for a nibble at the public crib. Any candidate for office or anyone who hopes to profit by the election of candidates for office is always a strict partisan and he is so because of the remuneration that will accrue to him. The prime object in almost every partisan view is remuneration. The love of good government has been lost to view so much that it is impossible to see any good in any man or candidate whose party affiliations are not in accord with the voter. The prime object with too many voters is party prestige and party fealty.

"In the matter of the election of a United States senator, for instance, the coming legislature will elect a successor to Wm. E. Borah. On account of this it is probable that a number of partisan voters will be in line to vote for legislators in order to elect a legislature for or against Mr. Borah. His election will go out of the jurisdiction of the voters of the state when the legislature shall have been elected.

"Were it possible to vote direct for a United States senator there is no question whatever as to what the result would be in this state relative to Mr. Borah. He would poll what would be practically a unanimous vote. But when his election gets into political juggleby things are not so certain. The claim is freely made that this year promises a democratic slide, democrats, particularly the strong partisans look forward with enthusiasm and confidence. Were such a slide to prevail it is possible, or probable, that a democratic legislature could be elected that would defeat Senator Borah for re-election. Such a result is hardly probable but it is possible. Those who care most for good government and less for party will stand for legislators who will support Senator Borah and on account of this sort of spirit predominating the voters at this stage of civil affairs Mr. Borah will no doubt be returned. Two years hence when Senator Heyburn's term expires a reversal of the political trend for United States senator will be highly probable.

Recorder
Richfield, Ida.
JAN 8 1914

BORAH FOR PRESIDENT.

Eastern papers and politicians continually bring up the name of Borah as the most promising candidate for the republican nomination for president in 1916. This is not a gracious charity offered to the West, but a sincere, not to say frantic, search for the strongest man; one who has a chance to win against Wilson. No other republican stands so well in all sections of the country; and he may break up forever the old tradition that no president can be elected from west of the Mississippi.

Senator Borah made the great hit of his life, when, protesting against a new, appointive convention to reform the national convention rules, he said that if the rules were remodeled by appointees of the present organization, they would inherit the same mental and moral defects as those that won the Chicago convention--and lost the nation. He said in effect that it was not Southern over-representation, but honesty and capability and the confidence of the people that was at stake; and that the "point of view" in harmony with the America of today was the only thing that could restore the republican party to power.

That the Borah boom continues, and grows even after his arraignment of the sordid, incompetent leadership and aims of the controlling few, indicates a great hope for the party. But neither Borah nor any other man could win with such a handicap as the Taft "revise the tariff--upward" program.

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PEND D'OREILLE REVIEW

GEORGE R. BARKER, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR

WHY NOT SENATOR BORAH?

The Lynn, Mass., News in a story printed under a large headline, states that Lewis H. Bartlett, one of the most prominent republicans of the state, announces that Senator William E. Borah of Idaho is the logical candidate for the republican party to nominate under the present conditions. Senator Borah, in Mr. Bartlett's opinion, would be the best compromise candidate since he could unite both factions and win the election. The News says: "Mr. Bartlett's choice as the republican standard bearer in the presidential fight is one of the most powerful men in the republican party. He is one of the most prominent men in the United States senate, stands strong with the party leaders, and is an astute statesman and politician. Senator Borah will be remembered as the principal speaker at the Lincoln day banquet at Casino hall in 1909. He impressed the republicans who heard him then as being a very able man, well fitted to hold any office within the gift of the nation."

In this connection the Review can offer no stronger argument than is put forth in the Weiser Signal of last week when it says:

"The Signal has supported the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt for the reason that we believed him to be the most available man in the race and the one most likely to lead the republican hosts to victory. We are still of the opinion that he can poll more votes on election day than either Taft or LaFollette, but we do not believe he could come as near getting the entire party vote as William E. Borah, Idaho's favorite son, and we would certainly welcome an opportunity to support the brilliant and courageous leader of the party in this state. There is not a greater man in public life in this country today than Senator Borah. This is not said because he is from Idaho, or in the way of fulsome flattery, but because it is literally true. He is the Webster, the Clay, the Stevens, the Blaine and the Ingalls of the early twentieth century. Not since the passing of the last of these great leaders has any man commanded so exalted a position in the senate, and attracted the attention of the entire nation. When Borah speaks ninety millions of people listen. The intrenched rich respect him as a foe worthy their best efforts, and the poor worship him as the greatest champion of their cause. His worst enemies do not accuse him of being a demagogue and his friends point with pride at his superior statesmanship and brilliancy. He is the embodiment of progressiveness without being dangerous. He effectively preaches the gospel of reform without alarming those engaged in legitimate pursuits. He is the relentless foe of the industrial crook and the best champion of the square deal. His name has become the synonym of legislative honor and political decency, and the republican party can go before the nation with uplifted head with him as our standard bearer."

That William H. Taft is an impossibility has become apparent to his warmest supporters. The wily Barnes was the first to indicate faint-heartedness and others are preparing to follow the example of New York and look for a compromise candidate. They have abandoned the president, but will fight to the last ditch to encompass the defeat of Roosevelt. They may bolt if he is nominated, especially if some conservative heads the democratic ticket, and while he may be elected without their support it means a bitter fight and an element of uncertainty from the opening of the campaign. With Borah it is different. They may not like his progressiveness any more than Roosevelt's, but they have no excuse to oppose him. The personal element would not enter into the campaign with him at the head of the ticket, and republicans would enter the contest with old-time enthusiasm, and sweep on to a triumphant victory in November.

"The Signal is for Roosevelt before it is for Taft, but it will swap him for William E. Borah at any time."

WHY NOT A COMPROMISE CANDIDATE?

The Review believes that Roosevelt can get more votes for president than Taft and from the nature of the president's following at the present time it stands committed to the colonel rather than to the president. But the past week has indicated that the acrimony existing between the two should place both out of the running and that the republican party should look for a man outside of either the president or the ex-president for the nomination.

One community is very much like another the country over, and what is a general expression here in Bonner county will be found to be a general impression in the public mind at large. We have talked with strong Taft adherents and with equally strong Roosevelt adherents during the past week and their view of the situation is that it is time that both Roosevelt and Taft were dropped and that a third man should be agreed upon for the presidential nomination. If Roosevelt is nominated he would be a strong candidate, it is true. The primaries, where they have been real primaries, have demonstrated his hold upon the common people. He would sweep the middle west, in our opinion. But what about the pivotal states? Could he carry New York, Ohio and Indiana? Could he carry states the electoral vote of which it is generally conceded a presidential candidate must carry to be elected? The fight between him and Taft has become so aggravated it is fair to presume that Taft's friends in Ohio would fight him. New York rebuked him in a state election when Stimson was defeated for governor. Beveridge, his right hand man in Indiana, brilliant as he is and leader that he is, failed of re-election to the senate.

On the other hand Taft would be a weak candidate in the middle west where his reciprocity measure has not been forgiven. His own state of Ohio has twice elected Harmon governor. The fact that the interests are backing him would make him a weak candidate with the progressive element of the party growing stronger each day.

Hughes seems to be the man who would be best able to cope with the present situation. He was twice elected governor of New York. His position in recent years upon the United States supreme court has taken him out of any recent turmoil in politics. He is a clean man and has the respect and admiration of the country at large for his fearless administration of affairs as governor of New York. The Empire state never had a better governor.

Our own Senator Borah, had he back of him a state with a large electoral vote, would be the ideal candidate and stranger things than his nomination with the situation as it is have been accomplished. Even little New Hampshire once produced a president in Franklin Pierce. Senator Borah's strength in the east has been established by his course in the senate and the frequent opportunities he has had to address New York and New England audiences. They consider him presidential size down there.

Either Borah or Hughes would make an ideal candidate.

PEND D'OREILLE REVIEW

GEORGE R. BARKER, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR

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WHY BORAH COULD BE NOMINATED.

Senator Brady, during his brief stay in the state upon the occasion of his presence within it for a period of two weeks looking after his political fences and some private business, has made it known that the Borah candidacy for the republican nomination for the presidency is not so all-fired farfetched as it might appear to those westerners who do not believe that Borah could be nominated because he hails from so far a western state. "The east won't allow it," is often an expression heard when the possibility of Borah's nomination is mentioned.

There are several reasons why the political lightning may strike Idaho's senior senator. The republican party leaders, even of that "conservative" type of which we hear so much and who are the naughty boys who stole the jam if we are to consider certain vociferous expostulations, are well aware that a man who can hold the progressive strength and at the same time did not follow Roosevelt into a new party, is going to be the man to nominate in 1916. No hidebound standpatter will win within the republican ranks any more than a hidebound standpatter can win with the democrats or even come close to a nomination.

The day is past in both old parties when the old-fashioned politician who made spread-eagle speeches and paid his campaign funds out of jackpots raised for him by special privilege can get over the line. Under the new dispensation in politics officeholders are more and more to be looked upon as servants of the people who elect them and less as superior personages whose ways are not to be too deeply scrutinized and whose individual morals are not to be too severely criticized. To nominate other than a recognized progressive and one thus recognized before the exigencies of politics made all the politicians progressive, is to invite defeat in either of the ascendant parties and to argue otherwise would be arguing against a stone wall of public opinion.

Of those men who have been progressive right along and even before there was a name for that class of politicians who led the van to the new awakening Senator Borah has always occupied a place of distinction. The direct election of senators, the income tax amendment, and other constructive legislation demanded by the country have had his championship and his best efforts in an arena where he was pitted against the best the old school of reaction could marshal against him. He has won his spurs as an interpreter of the constitution and in forensic debate. He has come to be respected for his ability and scholarship, as well as for a direct speech and oratorical powers. He stands high not only with those who have followed him in his fight for new political progress but at the same time he has kept the good will and respect of those who from time to time have been his opponents in that national arena where he has been victorious and where still other victories await him.

As a compromise candidate between those who place the rejuvenation of the republican party before their own personal ambitions and desires and those who have followed Roosevelt from Orchestra Hall to Argonne, he is the most promising. La Follette, through pique or bad judgment, voted for the democratic tariff bill, the only republican senator who found it an occasion to join the democracy, a bill which by its simple passage, has done more than any other agency to date to revive the fortunes of the republican party. Nor could La Follette command anything like even silent consent to his candidacy from Roosevelt and thus from thousands who still are awaiting Roosevelt's final word in regard to a situation to which he alone holds the key. Cummins was a more or less active candidate against Roosevelt in Chicago, nor has he sufficient personality to attract. Governor Hadley reached his high-water mark in the republican convention of last year with the demonstration that was accorded him. He has no means at present to keep himself before the public and it will be hard for him to sustain himself in the public eye until 1916 sufficiently to have a following which will be more than personal and confined by the geographical limitations of his state.

By the logic of elimination Borah stands nearer the top of likely candidates today than any one who can be named. At least Colonel Harvey and Colonel Watterson have said so, and they are some prognosticators.

IDAHO'S CANDIDATE

Walter Miller

The proposed candidacy of United States Senator Borah for the republican nomination for president will be received with more than passing interest. The geographical location is the only handicap which the distinguished statesman from Idaho will have to suffer. His ability is beyond question, and he stands high with the administration and those opposed. His course in the senate has been watched with interest not only by the constituents of his own state but by the people of the country at large.

Favorable comment has been attracted to Idaho by the conservative action and stand taken by this junior

representative in the United States senate. A "Conservative Progressive," as Borah has been called and is known, is a title which in this year of turmoil and misunderstanding within the party ranks, should be a title which would have the effect of the drawing together in a common cause of the two factions in the party, which, if permitted to continue, may have the disastrous effect of resulting in party defeat in November. There is every reason to believe that a compromise candidate may be necessary, that being a possibility, it is just as well for friends and admirers of the Idaho senator to be in line and not be too badly tied up with other candidates.—Idaho Falls Register.

A BORAH BOOM FOR PRESIDENT.

The suggestion of the New York Post that Senator Borah be selected as the Republican standard bearer in the coming campaign, shows that the suggestion recently made by the Capital News was not without merit and that it was made upon an understanding of the conditions of the party and without prejudice.

The belief in the east is very strong that the nomination of either Taft or Roosevelt means the inevitable defeat of the Republicans at the polls. In casting about for a compromise candidate there are tremendous obstacles encountered. The Capital News realized that and headed its list of possible "dark horses" with the name of Senator Borah.

The same idea, independently, of course, of any suggestion by this paper, has been advanced by the New York Evening Post, which gives its reasons for believing that Senator Borah is the most likely candidate for the party.

While this movement is going on nationally, however, the Republicans of this state are busy creating dissensions, engaged in showing the power of the political machine and in carrying on a death struggle for the sole and only purpose of aiding one man to carry out a private agreement that he made with the president to deliver to Taft the Idaho delegation, bound hand and foot, gagged and muzzled, for his re-nomination.

Would it not be far better for the Republicans of this state to pronounce a plague upon all their houses, take the reins of party government in their own hands, select a delegation that would first of all be favorable to Borah should the quite likely situation arise which would make it possible for him to receive the nomination, and which in any event would be prepared to do its duty to the party and the nation in preference to aiding in carrying out the bigoted promises of a self-imposed dictator of the party in the state?

SENATOR BORAH IS BOOMED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

Republican Voters of Oregon Look With Favor on the Idaho Statesman.

While the real friends of Senator W. K. Borah in Idaho are determined to keep him where he is doing such exceptionally good work—in the United States senate, and while some of his ill-advised friends here persist in running him for the presidency, over in Oregon they seem determined to nominate him for vice president. The Portland Oregonian has the following complimentary reference to the Idaho senator in telling what the voters of that state propose to do at the coming primary:

Admirers of United States Senator Borah of Idaho, among the Republican voters of this state, have started a movement to write his name on their ballots as the party's nominee for vice president. Friends of Thomas McCusker, who is managing Senator La Follette's campaign in this state, have launched a similar movement in his behalf, and will strive to secure for him the popular endorsement as the candidate for vice presidential honors on the Republican ticket.

Senator Borah is recognized as one of the foremost men in the United States senate, and his record at Washington shows that he has supported all legislation in the interest of the entire Pacific northwest. Mrs. Borah is a daughter of W. J. McConnell, formerly state senator from Tammill county and president of the Oregon state senate in 1885. He afterward moved to Idaho, where by election he served as United States senator for a portion of a term. Subsequently he served two terms as governor.

Senator Borah is a progressive Republican, and is known as a fearless and brilliant official. Although he is not an active candidate for vice president, his name has frequently been

WHO SHALL IT BE?

If the Republicans are to branch out into the domain of progressivism, it may be well to take stock to ascertain who the party has that will make an acceptable candidate.

It is taken for granted by all those who have faith in the coming regeneration of the party that the next candidate will be a progressive—a progressive with a record of progressive advocacy. This much is recognized as a necessary concession to those whose support and votes the party is most desirous of catching. That, of course, eliminates a very large proportion of those who have been leaders of the party in the past. It provides no encouragement for Cannon of Illinois, Root of New York, Fairbanks of Indiana, or any other of the great list of names of men who have given fame and power to the Republican party in the recent past even if they have dimmed its luster.

Under a program of surrender and conciliation on the part of the standpatters to the progressive sentiment of the country, La Follette would seem to fill all the requirements and demands of the party, but if the Republican party can ever "come back" at all, it must come back in reality on a protective tariff issue. In fact, it is because of their devotion to the protective tariff that the standpatters are willing to concede everything else to the progressives, if they will but come back and return the g. o. p. to tariff power again. This is not said disparagingly, but merely as a statement of fact that we do not anticipate any one will seriously controvert. La Follette, by his vote for the Democratic measure in this congress, has eliminated himself as a candidate upon a tariff issue. How could the Republicans condemn the Democratic tariff measure with a candidate for president who voted for that measure? Such a thing is clearly out of the question.

Hadley of Missouri in the last campaign lost the confidence of both the progressives and the "regulars" by his course. Moreover, Hadley has not the support of either the "regular" Republicans or the Progressives in his own state. Cummins of Iowa is in nearly as bad a fix as is Hadley. By openly announcing that he would vote for Roosevelt as against Taft, he alienated the "regulars," while by refusing to come out boldly for the new party, he lost much of the confidence of the Progressives. Besides, Cummins has demonstrated so clearly that he is playing for the presidential nomination that it is doubtful if that fact alone would not preclude his ever getting it. Moreover, it is more than likely that Cummins will be defeated for re-election in his own state, which would, of course, eliminate him as a presidential possibility.

Senator Borah of our own state is a likely candidate who fills practically all the requirements, save that of his place of residence. If Borah lived in New York, or Ohio, or Indiana, or Illinois, or in fact, if he even lived just across the Missouri river instead of west of it, there would be nothing to it. He would be nominated without a struggle. As it is he will, of course, receive the hearty support of his own state whose residents will do everything in their power to land for him—and for the state—this great honor. But it is a question whether the east will be willing to give up its claim to the big offices, and it is a still greater question whether or not if one party should nominate such a far westerner and the other an easterner, if the big vote of the country, which is in the east, would not discriminate against the western candidate.

The Republicans have but few governors and it is hardly to be expected that any great presidential timber of a progressive character will arise from that source and there is none that is promising in the senate or house of representatives, except those herein mentioned.

It is our candid opinion that if the Republican party shall continue its present apparent determination to repudiate itself, surrender to the progressive element and acknowledge the superior wisdom and patriotism of those who refused to accept the nomination of Taft or to stand upon his platform last year, there is but one man who has a better chance to get the nomination of the regenerated party than has Senator Borah of this state, and that man is Colonel Roosevelt.

But that is a subject big enough for a separate editorial discussion and too big to be considered here.

HOW BORAH GETS HIS CHANCE.

Senator Borah of course is not a candidate for president. No intelligent friend of his would even ask him if he were. He is in no position to go out over the nation and ask for delegates to the national convention in competition with Roosevelt and Taft and all of his friends—those who do not wish to embarrass him and who are not willing to sacrifice him for the purpose of keeping a machine promise that Idaho should be delivered to Taft, know that he cannot do this.

It has been made perfectly clear that Senator Borah's chance to secure the presidential nomination is through the intensity of the fight between Roosevelt and Taft, with La Follette and Cummins holding the balance of power between them.

In 1880 when Garfield was nominated at Chicago, he never received but one vote up to the thirty-fourth ballot when Wisconsin, tired of the strife between Grant and the opposition represented by Sherman, Blaine, Edmunds and Washburne threw its 36 votes to Garfield and on the thirty-sixth ballot he was nominated.

In 1888 Harrison went to the Minneapolis convention with the delegation of Indiana as the only support he had. The contest between the leading candidates was so close and so bitter that after a long struggle the convention finally gave the nomination to the Indiana man because, although he had but little support in the convention to begin with, he was a man who, personally, was acceptable to a majority of the delegates and when it became manifest that their favorite for the nomination could not win, they threw their strength to Harrison.

Numerous instances of a like character could be named in our political history. In fact, we are inclined to believe that taking both parties together, more men have been nominated for the presidency through compromise action of this kind than through open and avowed candidacy. It was in this manner that William J. Bryan was nominated in 1896. It was in the same manner that Roosevelt was made vice president, from whence he went to the presidency.

It is Senator Borah's friends, and not Senator Borah himself, who are asking that Idaho be prepared for the splendid opportunity that appears so evident in the crisis that confronts the Republican party of the nation. Senator Borah himself, undoubtedly does realize that the worst thing that could happen to him politically is for Taft to be nominated by means of the connivance of the political machine and boss domination of Idaho, whose people do not want Taft.

Those who prate about harming Senator Borah on the part of those who would advance his interests in the best way possible, might consult him a little as to whether or not he desires Idaho's vote in the national convention to go to Taft. **THAT WOULD BE A TEST FOR THEM TO SUBMIT TO THAT WOULD BE WORTH THEIR TAKING, IF THEY WILL DARE TO ACCEPT IT.**

Inasmuch as no more than about 150 delegates all told out of a possible 1078 in the convention have been selected up to date, it is impossible for any one to give more than the merest conjecture of what the ultimate alignment may be. We do not wish to deceive any one relative to this matter. There are, however, well known and well understood elements at work throughout the nation which, if carefully studied, give an indication of what may be expected to result when the primaries and conventions are held.

After careful study of the situation as outlined in a large number of eastern papers by able and experienced writers and after considering the claims of both Roosevelt and Taft, of La Follette and of Cummins, we have prepared a table which we believe will show approximately how the next Republican national convention will vote. At any rate, it will serve to show what may result and to indicate how the friends of Senator Borah in Ada county are justified in making preparations to have a delegation in that convention friendly to him and not tied hand and foot, bound and gagged with instructions directly against him as the Taft people propose to do in this state.

For convenience, the table below divides the votes simply as to "Taft" and "anti-Taft." The anti-Taft votes will be found further divided in the paragraph below the

table. Our idea of how the strength between Taft and the opposition will lie is as follows:

	Taft	Anti-Taft		Taft	Anti-Taft
Alabama	14	8	New Jersey	14	14
Arizona	6	6	New Mexico	2	2
Arkansas	9	9	New York	70	20
California	20	20	North Carolina	12	12
Colorado	4	8	Nevada	6	6
Connecticut	12	2	Ohio	24	24
Delaware	6	2	Oklahoma	20	20
Florida	12	2	Oregon	10	10
Georgia	14	14	Pennsylvania	38	38
Idaho	8	8	Rhode Island	10	10
Illinois	29	29	South Carolina	10	10
Indiana	15	15	South Dakota	4	4
Iowa	2	24	Tennessee	12	12
Kansas	4	16	Texas	40	40
Kentucky	12	12	Utah	8	8
Louisiana	10	10	Vermont	4	4
Maine	6	6	Virginia	20	4
Maryland	9	7	Washington	14	14
Massachusetts	20	10	West Virginia	10	10
Michigan	15	10	Wisconsin	24	24
Minnesota	8	10	Wyoming	6	6
Mississippi	16	4	Alaska	2	2
Missouri	10	4	District of Columbia	2	2
Montana	10	26	Hawaii	6	6
Nebraska	10	8	Porto Rico	2	2
North Dakota	10	10	Philippines	2	2
New Hampshire	8	10	Totals	493	595

The total delegates here indicated is 1078 instead of 1076 for the reason that New Mexico, supposing it would be given eight votes, elected eight delegates instead of six, and we assume that the convention will seat the two extra ones. This would make 540 votes necessary to nominate.

Now out of the 595 "anti-Taft" votes, as nearly as we can estimate, La Follette will have 26 from Wisconsin, 6 from Minnesota, 10 from North Dakota and 4 from South Dakota, giving him a total of 46. Cummins will have 24 from Iowa. This makes a total of 70 "anti-Roosevelt" votes out of the 595 "anti-Taft" votes, leaving Roosevelt 525 votes, or just a little short of the necessary number to nominate.

In the Roosevelt vote we have left the Idaho votes. If these should be deducted and given to Borah, it would lessen the vote of Roosevelt just so much.

Now the only thing we fear in all this is that we have estimated the Taft vote too high, and that some of the votes allotted to him he may not get but that Roosevelt will get it, thus giving him the nomination on the first ballot. As we view the situation there is absolutely no chance for the nomination of Taft. The only thing to fear is that he may not pull enough strength away from Roosevelt in the big eastern states to prevent the nomination of the former president.

If Roosevelt should not be nominated on the first ballot, then the chances for Borah are better than either the chances of Taft, Roosevelt, La Follette or Cummins. Some "dark horse" will be nominated, in that event, sure as fate, and what man is there in the nation so acceptable to the Republican party as Borah?

Now, in view of this possibility, which may be regarded as being ever so remote, what friend of Senator Borah can still sign a Taft club attaching his name to a pledge to work for AN INSTRUCTED delegation for Taft, which is the pledge that Boise people are asked to take when they join the Taft club?

To the Taft people there is no compromise. To them there shall be no giving of a chance to Senator Borah or to any one else. What the "Boss" has promised is a bound and gagged delegation, and what they propose to send to Chicago if they can get control, is a delegation so pledged that it could not accept in Borah's behalf an opportunity for him to receive the nomination, if the opportunity came.

FOUR SENATORS CONDUCTING CAMPAIGNS

Desert the Senate In Order to
Boost Candidates for
Presidency.

SEN. BORAH'S STRENGTH

Complete Independence Has
Won for Him Respect of
All Colleagues.

(Statesman Bureau.)

WASHINGTON, March 23.—Four presidential campaigns are being directed by United States senators, something that never happened before in the history of American politics. Senator LaFollette is managing his own campaign and has deserted Washington to occupy the stump up to the day of the convening of the national convention. Senator Dixon of Indiana has deserted the senate to manage the campaign of Theodore Roosevelt. The Harmon campaign is under the personal direction of Senator Pomeroy of Ohio, while Senator Bankhead of Alabama is managing the Underwood campaign. A fifth campaign, that of Champ Clark, is under the management of a former senator, Fred T. Dubois of Idaho. It is to be inferred from this situation that the senate is a good school for politicians, or that men who attain seats in that body, as a rule know the game. It is a heavy tax upon the senate to have four of its members drawn out in the midst of a session of congress to take charge of political campaigns, but the senate is plugging along just as though nothing unusual had happened, and it so develops that of the senator-managers, two are Republicans and two are Democrats, so that they virtually offset one another. Only one campaign, that of President Taft, is being directed by a member of the house, Representative McKinley. The Taft manager, being a member of the minority, is not missed. Even at that, Mr. McKinley makes it a rule to spend a part of each day at the capitol and has not completely overlooked his duties as a member of the house.

Borah as a Compromise Candidate.

The suggestion has been made by a prominent eastern newspaper, that Senator Borah of Idaho is a proper man to be brought forward as a compromise candidate for the presidential nomination in the event a deadlock develops. This suggestion was advanced on the initiative of this paper which has a great admiration for Senator Borah, and deems him one of the ablest men in congress. There is a possibility that the Chicago convention may for a time be deadlocked, but this is not likely to happen. In the event of a deadlock, Senator Borah would be the kind of man the convention could agree upon, but there is no great likelihood that they will select him, because he comes from a state having only eight delegates in the convention and only four votes in the electoral college. Presidents are always nominated from states which have a large vote. It has always been deemed good politics to nominate presidents from big states, and the fact that Senator Borah comes from a new state in the west with only a handful of delegates will preclude his nomination, unless the next convention throws precedent to the wind and looks for the best available man in the event the Taft and Roosevelt forces become overmasteringly clinched in a deadlock. It is only fair to Senator Borah to say that he is not a candidate for the presidential nomination, is not giving the suggestion serious consideration, and does not believe that any one else is seriously considering him in that connection.

Why Borah Is Strong.

The mere fact that a prominent newspaper has seriously suggested the name of Senator Borah as a compromise candidate for the nomination, serves to call attention to the qualifications of this western senator for the highest office in the gift of the Am-

erican people. It is admitted that Senator Borah is as good a lawyer as any man in congress, not even excepting Senator Root of New York, or Senator Bailey of Texas. He is a deep student of all public questions, and is always fearless in championing that legislation which he deems fair and just. While Senator Borah is progressive, he is reasonably progressive and not carried away by radical theories that are advanced from time to time by reformers who know not where their reforms would lead, or what consequences would follow the adoption of their latest concocted idea. Senator Borah, for instance, does not believe in the reform of judges or of judicial decisions, and takes very decided issue with Colonel Roosevelt on these two questions. Yet there is much that Roosevelt advocates that Borah approves, and much that Taft advocates that he indorses. While progressive, Senator Borah has never been identified with either faction in the Republican party since he came to the senate, but has pursued an independent course. At times he has voted with the insurgents, and as often he has voted with the other faction. He never votes for any measure simply because it is endorsed by the insurgent leaders; in fact he has voted against quite a few measures they have advocated. Always he votes as he personally thinks right. Having pursued this independent course (Senator Borah is the most independent man in the senate today), Senator Borah has the confidence and respect of all senators, and each faction recognizes that he will be with them when he thinks they are right, and against them when he thinks they are wrong. It is true of every other Republican member of the senate that he is either a regular or an insurgent. Senator Borah is neither, or maybe he is both, but by reason of his independence he occupies a position which makes his fel-

low senators envious. And that is why Borah is strong.

BORAH'S PRESIDENTIAL BOOM.

Wesley Signal
There is not another newspaper in the United States that would get into the fight quicker for senator Borah for president than the Signal, but we hope the senator will not allow himself to be coaxed into making the race unless there is a certainty of a white party and an opportunity to win. Senator Borah is too valuable to the people of Idaho and the nation as a senator to take any chance on losing him unless he is promoted to a sphere of greater usefulness, and the Signal would greatly regret to see him surrender his present togs for an empty honor.

While the senatorial fight was on last winter the Signal was informed by one of the managers for a certain candidate that it was his intention to sidetrack Borah into either the presidential or the presidential race, to use their own words successful in being elected from the southern part of the state, and then elect a northern man to succeed Borah. The question of the possibility of the election of Mr. Borah as either president or vice-president did not seem to enter into the matter. It might be well for the Senator's friends to watch for the source of boomerangs at this time as they may be in furtherance of the plan outlined in this paper.

BORAH HELD LOGICAL MAN

Senator Brady Gets Behind Colleague's Presidential Boom.

BOISE, Idaho, Sept. 23.—(Special).—United States Senator Brady, of Idaho, furthered the boom for his colleague, Senator Borah, of Idaho, as a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1914 at a luncheon given here by the Commercial Club of this city in his honor.

"I do not want to leave the impression that Senator Borah is a candidate for this high office," said Senator Brady. "That he is, however, being seriously spoken of at Washington as the logical candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency in 1914 will not be denied. Idaho can take no more progressive step now than to stand solidly behind this favorite son for the high honor."

BORAH'S PRESIDENTIAL BEE

Figuratively speaking, they are keeping an eye on Senator William E. Borah of Idaho about the senate, as well as in Washington generally. Regardless of the fact that Senator Borah has recently written a letter to a Kansas



Photo © by American Press Association.
Senator William E. Borah, Mentioned For Republican Nomination in 1916.

politician to the effect that he has not yet the presidential bee and intends to keep that pernicious insect pretty completely shooed away from him, a good many Republicans, not to mention Democrats and bull moose backers, regard Borah as a good deal more than a possibility for the Republican presidential nomination in 1916.

Senator Borah indicated in his recent letter that he did not want any notions relative to the presidency coming between himself and the work he is trying to do in the senate. In this he is doubtless sincere. He has seen enough of the ravages of the microbe as it has affected many public men, so that he is under no illusions about the desirability of it. Still, there is such a thing as a man being drafted by his friends, and there is no doubt that at this time numerous Republicans in congress look on Borah as extremely available for the 1916 nomination.

Brady Not the "Original" Borah Man.

(Gaugoville Globe.)

Senator James H. Brady has completed a tour of the state, passing out through the north the first of the week. Mr. Brady seems to be decidedly of the opinion that Senator Borah is big enough for the White House and says the indications at Washington are that Mr. Borah, or some such a man, "who has gained signal recognition for honesty, uprighteousness and capability," will be the next nominee of the republican party, the inference being that Senator Borah is the exact man. It is all right for Mr. Brady to show his good will in the matter by coming out openly at this time in favor of his colleague for the presidency, but that a dozen or more of the substantial republican sheets of the state, of the variety commonly known as "country papers," in contradistinction to such metropolitan publications as the Boise Statesman and Capital News (and may God preserve the distinction to the end), have long since come out and committed themselves to the same cause, and have written numerous editorials to that end and with the object of showing their readiness to acquiesce in such action on the part of this glorious nation, and a willingness to help create the sentiment, it needs be and then assist in locating it along toward the national capital.

The Globe, however, does not set as much store by this matter of "the original announcer of something" as some seem to, and so far as it is concerned Senator Brady can "get in on the ground floor" and help boost without getting his corns tramped on. So, come in, senator the swimming is fine.

ADA COUNTY REPUBLICAN TICKET.

For Compromise Candidate for President—WILLIAM EDGAR BORAH OF IDAHO.

Second Choice Candidate for President—THEODORE ROOSEVELT OF NEW YORK.

UNANIMOUS DEMAND FOR IDAHO FOR BORAH.

In view of the pledge which every Taft worker in Ada county who could be brought under the influence of the Taft club of this city has taken to work for a pledged delegation both to Lewiston and from Lewiston to Chicago,—a delegation which would be bound and gagged so that it could not be free to give Senator Borah the chance that all save the Taft people of Ada county acknowledge exists, it may be interesting to the readers of the Capital News to know how newspapers all over the state have accepted the situation.

The Ada county Taft people stand unique as being the only people in the state who will not recognize that Senator Borah has a chance for the presidential nomination. "There is no more chance of him being nominated for that office than there is for him to fly to Mars," says the official organ of the Taft propaganda in Idaho. And this statement was made the day following a special dispatch in that very same paper from Washington telling the readers of that paper that he has a chance!

"The senator is not a candidate for president," means the same organ working for the same candidate for president who thought he would punish Borah for not obeying his commands, which punishment consisted in ignoring the senator during a speech-making tour of this state. Of course, the senator is not a candidate for president, and of course is a candidate for re-election as United States senator. If he is not nominated president, he will be elected senator without Republican opposition, too, for there is not a Taft man in Idaho who will dare announce his candidacy against him. The Capital News challenged the Taft organ a long while ago to name such an opposing candidate and at that time the Taft organ was forced to draw in its horns and come out for Borah. But Garfield was not a candidate when he was nominated for president, either, but his chance came and he received the honors.

As the quotations below along with numerous other quotations heretofore re-printed in these columns show, there is an almost unanimous demand among the papers of Idaho that a delegation favorable to Borah and free to act for him be elected at Lewiston and sent to Chicago.

This cannot be done by the election of Taft delegates from his home county for the simple reason that nearly every Taft man in Ada county stands pledged and helpless to vote only for Taft. This is the pledge of every member of the Taft club:

We, the undersigned electors of Ada county, do hereby promise to use all honorable means to further the nomination of William H. Taft for president, and TO VOTE AT THE PRIMARIES MARCH 23, 1912, FOR DELEGATES TO THE REPUBLICAN COUNTY CONVENTION OF ADA COUNTY WHO ARE PLEDGED TO HIS SUPPORT, and do hereby enroll ourselves as members of the Idaho Taft club of Ada county.

It is because of this pledge which is almost oath-bound in its demands upon its signers, that so many Ada county Republicans friendly to Taft have felt compelled to withdraw from membership, so that they might honorably work for a delegation which would first look out for the interests of Senator Borah. For the same reason dozens more of the friends of Senator Borah before the primaries on Thursday will ask for release from the club membership which, owing to conditions unknown to the rank and file, but perfectly known to the Taft leaders, has made membership in the Taft club inimical to the interests of Borah.

They will do this because they cannot allow the rest of the people of Idaho to show greater loyalty to Borah than his home people. How the rest of the people look at it is shown by the following editorials:

New Meadows Tribune—We second the nomination of William H. Borah of Idaho for president, and move you that nominations now close. It's alright, alright, "Borah" Borah for president, but no "vice" goes. He's too big a man for second place to any man in the nation. No, sir! No vice presidential nominations for Idaho's proud son.

American Falls Press—Senator Borah's name is receiving consideration as a possible dark horse candidate for the presidency. The New York Post was the first of the eastern papers to suggest him and the

Portland Oregonian advises that Idaho should keep him in view. It is no more impossible that he should be chosen than that Hayes should have been selected as a compromise candidate between Blaine and Cushman, or Garfield four years later, when the Sherman and Blaine forces were deadlocked. Borah may be no more than a possibility, but he is big enough for the job and the mere mention of one from the far west in connection with the presidency is a distinct credit.

The Idaho delegation to the national convention should be in position to make the most of the situation should it develop that neither of the avowed candidates can be chosen.

Southern Idaho Review, (Hayburn)—By reference to the article in another column, copied from the Boise Capital News, it will be seen that W. E. Borah, our senator, is looming up largely as a presidential possibility to be reckoned with, and not through the interested mouthings of packed or "instructed" conventions, either. No man in this country who can possibly be nominated deserves a more loyal support from the entire west than does our brilliant Idaho senator. That he should win the nomination and election is not impossible, and every settler on this project would work night and day, if by so doing such a desired consummation would result.

Whatever the caucus held in Heyburn Saturday may be accused of, it certainly voiced the dominant sentiment of the majority of the settlers on this project when it instructed for Senator Borah, and 30-year payments. We in this corner of Lincoln county may not cut a very wide swath in the state's political framework, but our intentions are honorable.

Owyhee Nugget—The mixup in the Republican ranks caused by the hat-juggling stunts of Theodore Roosevelt has brought the name of Idaho's favorite son prominently before the people, as a presidential possibility.

While the strong Democratic tendencies of the present Nugget management are well known, and while it goes without saying that the nomination of William E. Borah for the presidential race would mean the unquestionable defeat of that party in the state of Idaho, we cannot help expressing the belief that herein lies the delivery of the Republican party from the snarl it has gotten into by the candidacy of impetuous Teddy.

Borah is, we believe, the only presidential possibility mentioned on either side that possesses an absolute certainty of carrying his own state. In addition to that we fear little contradiction in making the assertion that he is the strongest possibility of them all in the whole northwest.

It's gone of our business whether Taft or Roosevelt receives the nomination of the Republican convention and to say the truth we don't care a continental. The Democrats can lick either one, but if Borah is nominated here's one Democratic vote he will get.

Payette Independent—From the Capital News it appears that there are a number of Republicans in Boise who are organizing a "Roosevelt-Borah club," endorsing Roosevelt first and Borah second as a candidate for the presidency. It certainly doesn't come with very good grace that there are Republicans of Idaho who would couple up the senator's name in this manner.

Why organize a Roosevelt-Borah club and give to our popular and efficient senator a left-handed endorsement? Why not make it a Borah club? Senator Borah is too large a statesman to be made the vermin-form appendix of anybody and too good a man to be used as a stalking horse.

Idaho Republicans who favor Roosevelt should say so and those who favor Borah should say so. Don't take advantage of the popularity of our senator to being the situation.

Senator Borah is a personal friend of Roosevelt and an admirer of many qualities of the ex-president, but Senator Borah is as strongly against the recall as is President Taft and has expressed himself as strongly.

The nomination of William E. Borah by the Republican party for its standard bearer would be the ideal way out of the dilemma into which the party finds itself at present.

BORAH FOR PRESIDENT.

Capital News

The few big eastern papers that reach Boise show how general is the talk of Borah as a compromise candidate for president. The article reprinted in this paper yesterday from the Cleveland Plain Dealer shows that the leaders of the party are seriously considering the nomination of some compromise man. We have all along maintained that when the time comes this will be the attitude of the big men who have always regarded the welfare of the party as paramount to the welfare or aggrandizement of any citizen.

Senator Borah's name is the only one which has been publicly mentioned in this connection and it has been favorably considered by the big men of the party at Washington and by many of the big papers of the country.

It is clearly the duty of the Republican convention of this county which meets tomorrow, as it should be its great pleasure, to draft and adopt some resolution which will make known to the people of the state the desire to have the Idaho delegation so elected that it shall be in a receptive mood ready and willing to throw its influence at all times toward such a compromise movement for the

benefit of Senator Borah, the state of Idaho and the Republican party of the nation.

This can be done without antagonism to Roosevelt. As matter of fact, it has all along been the intention of the Roosevelt-Borah people to accomplish this, and it should not by any means be overlooked.

THE REPUBLICAN OPPORTUNITY IN IDAHO.

Capital News March 19/12

The nomination of Senator Borah as presidential candidate of the Republican party is, of course, not a certainty, but it is a very likely possibility.

The Republicans of Idaho are presented with the opportunity of a life time, and there is not much wonder that so many of them saw it following the mention of the subject in Saturday's Capital News which immediately became the sole topic of conversation wherever men in the city were assembled.

It depends upon the Republicans of Ada county to show their loyalty to Senator Borah, their devotion to their party and their patriotism for the state of Idaho to take action immediately toward taking advantage of the opportunity that is presented.

No unprejudiced student of the political situation can fail to see the wonderful possibility there is for Idaho to assume a commanding position in the nation and possibly to furnish its chief executive for the next four years.

The opportunity is too inviting to be deliberately thrown away especially in an effort that is bound to end in disruption of the party in the state and possibly in the nation. The Republicans of Idaho may have the chance to maintain the integrity and supremacy of their party, while furnishing a son upon whom the nation's greatest honors may rest.

In this work the Republicans of Ada county should lead, and they should allow but few more hours to pass away before organizing for the work that lies before them.

The Capital News would suggest, merely as a suggestion, that a Borah Progressive Republican league be formed in this city and that from it similar leagues be organized all over the state until each county shall have its complete organization. It should be the purpose of this league to advance the interests of Senator Borah so long as there remains opportunity for his selection as a compromise candidate in the Chicago convention and to advance the interests of the people of Idaho along progressive lines which are in harmony with the well known views of the senator in this regard.

PRESIDENT BORAH IN 1916.

The Argonaut, of San Francisco, one of the most scholarly political journals in the United States, picks Senator Borah as one of the best presidential possibilities in 1916. Its logic is flawless; its statement of facts and conclusions is as truthful and as clear as a book of proverbs.

It is a question whether Borah might not now be president if things had gone a little differently in Idaho last year. The Roosevelt forces won the state convention, and named the delegates to the national convention. It was, or is, no secret that Borah was a close friend of Roosevelt; and the convention majority wanted to send him to Chicago. But to send him meant to either extend the same favor to Senator Heyburn, or to slaughter him. The convention, respecting Heyburn's sterling ability and integrity but knowing him to be anti-Roosevelt, was not willing to either slight or send him to Chicago. Borah, also, had generously refused to sanction his own preferment above his friends and to the humiliation of Heyburn. So Borah was left off.

Yet if he had been a delegate, instead of a mere adviser in that memorable convention, only his fealty to his own state's intentionally rather loose instruction for Roosevelt could have kept him out of the race. The Idaho convention had already wanted to demand Borah's nomination! As a delegate, he would have received, and filled, the place given to Hadley; in which Hadley fell down! The Taft men never really wanted Taft—they knew he was a dead duck;

much of the Roosevelt support was for a cause, not for even Roosevelt the individual—and five minutes of acquaintance with Borah in action would have proven him to be the very apotheosis of that Cause! The convention, wild-eyed, was ready to stampede to the right man. Borah was the man—but his magnificent voice, his genius, his personality was not a part of the convention! So the Taft-Roosevelt feud went on to a national disaster because one man was not given a place he gave away in honor in the Idaho delegation.

But since it was merit, and not mere chance, that ever made him a possible candidate, he still has his golden opportunity in 1916—or 1920—or any year for a quarter of a century to come.

BORAH AND THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY.

Capital News

The Philadelphia Press severely condemns Senator Borah of this state for his advocacy before the Republican national committee of the resolution authorizing the selection of delegates to nominate a presidential candidate by means of a direct primary vote. The Philadelphia paper declares that the Republican party is not a party that accepts such doubtful expediences and radically progressive ideas as the direct primary. It undertakes to say that the delegates elected to the national convention will reflect the popular sentiment in favor of the candidate preferred from the various states, but its entire intimation is of course, that such preference must be judged in accordance with the demands of Big Business and Big Banks.

There is no earthly doubt but the original intention was to force the nomination of Taft whether the rank and file wanted him or not and whether they were willing or not. It is reported that upon the recent visit of the president to Idaho he secured the pledge of a single individual to deliver to him the convention vote of Idaho. The same pledge included the delivery to the president of the support of Senator Borah regardless of the well known fact that Taft is not Senator Borah's first choice for the presidential nomination.

In other words, the pledge was given to deliver Idaho's Republican voters, like so many sheep, to the president and for that purpose the voters were not to be consulted. Immediately there began a campaign in the interests of Taft and against the direct primary method of selecting delegates in this state. All who keep posted in such matters know the source from which this campaign came. It was from the same source that the pledge was given the president to deliver the Republican voters of the state to him.

Senator Borah, however, has not proposed to be gagged and delivered, unless he shall ascertain that the majority of his party shall in reality desire the re-nomination of Taft, in which event, it is natural to suppose that he will bow to the will of that majority.

It is noteworthy that the lead in the national convention against Senator Borah's primary preferential came from the discredited and unseated Senator Scott of West Virginia, under whose leadership that state had gained a reputation second to none in rotten politics. Following his leadership the majority of the committee laughed down the Borah proposition, whereupon Senator Borah is quoted as saying to the committee:

"You may laugh at this proposition now, but you will not laugh next year when the Republican party looks to the voters for its continuance in power."

There are those, unfortunately, who care much less for their party's welfare or their country's good, than they do for their personal aggrandizement, and who, if they can but keep a pledge to the president to "deliver" the opinions of a few thousand people, would be happier far than if they had done some great public service instead.

Senator Borah is by right of popular esteem among Republicans, the leader of that party in this state. His right to leadership at this especial time is doubly strong because he will without question be the party's candidate for United States senator to succeed himself. It would seem that his views in this matter, more especially as they are along the line of appeal to the popular will, should be given greater heed than should the ambitious desires of some self-constituted agent who shall undertake to deliver the Republicans of Idaho to Taft or to any one else.

BORAH AND THE PRESIDENCY

Practically every citizen in Idaho is in sympathy with Senator W. E. Borah in the great work he is attempting to do and is doing for this state, and is proud of the record he is making in the senate, and still prouder to have his name favorably mentioned by leading eastern newspapers as a possible compromise candidate for the presidency on the Republican ticket. However, all recognize the fact that it is extremely improbable that Senator Borah will become a presidential candidate, while it is generally understood that his present ambition is to succeed himself as senator from Idaho.

Mr. Borah and the Presidential Bee.

It is common report at Washington that Senator William E. Borah is more or less actively employed these days in swatting a presidential bee which persistently buzzes about his ample ears. And this gossip is credible in view of the conditions and circumstances in which Mr. Borah finds himself. Mr. Borah is young as public men go. Mr. Borah is able far above the average. Mr. Borah is sane in the sense that few men in sight of the presidency are. Mr. Borah has a record on the intellectual side practically unparalleled by that of any other man similarly related to public life. Mr. Borah is available as are few men who stand conspicuously above the line of intellectual and moral mediocrity.

For a year or more the *Argonaut* has believed Mr. Borah to be the probable nominee of the reunited Republican party in the year of 1916. Only two other men are in sight, neither of them within hailing distance, regarded intellectually and by the even higher and truer test of moral independence. One of these two men is Senator Cummins of Iowa and the other is Governor Hadley of Missouri, but neither in his best mood anywhere approaches the combination of qualities which marks Mr. Borah, if not exactly as a man of destiny, as a man in whom he large possibilities.

If Mr. Borah were to call upon the *Argonaut* for counsel we should say to him: "Good friend, do not waste time or energy swatting that bee. Let it keep on buzzing, but nerve yourself to indifference to it. Do nothing to frighten it away; do nothing to encourage its attentions. Just go ahead minding your business in the way you have done it for the past six or seven years. Don't dodge anything; don't compromise anywhere. Don't give the presidency a thought; above all, don't vary one jot or tittle from the lines of principle and of senatorial duty. You stand available for the presidency today because you have exhibited the qualities of courage and independence in a sphere where courage and independence are usually minus quantities. Keep right on being courageous and independent. Be vigilant, be straight, be firm in support of fixed principles and for the constitution. Do not try to conciliate anybody or to cajole anybody. Don't try to get yourself in tune with the reform vote, the labor vote, or any other kind of vote. Just carry yourself as a free man under large responsibilities and under high inspirations without respect to the presidency or to anything else. There is only one man now whom you need to be afraid of, and that man is William E. Borah. If he should lose the qualities which have won him approval and admiration alike from political friends and political foes, if he should begin to scheme for the presidency, he would cease to deserve the presidency or anything else. And even if by such tactics he should make himself 'available,' the result would be nothing to his satisfaction or to that of his admirers. It is infinitely better to be a self-sustained, self-respecting man out of the presidency than to be a cringing, calculating, scheming politician in the presidency."

The presidency or any other high public responsibility is a thing which no man should scheme for. If it comes to a man at all it should come to him right. It has now and again come to a man as a consequence of personal calculation and diplomatic intrigue, but it has in every instance found the man morally deteriorated, unfit for high responsibilities, and has left him less worthy, less respected, less self-respecting than before. All of which Mr. Borah has brains enough and character enough to see and to comprehend—to comprehend even as pointing out to himself the road which those who respect and honor him would like to see him travel.

BORAH AND ROOSEVELT.

Borah for president!

It may not be probable; but it is not fantastic or impossible.

Some careful figuring, based on far sounder reason than the foolish if not subsidized prophecies of the administration campaign boosters, indicates that Taft and Roosevelt will have very close to the same amount of convention support. To balance the wild enthusiasm of the Taft spokesmen, there are others who are as sanguine for Roosevelt; it is almost certain that they will be close. But LaFollette will come in with a warlike, if not a large following. It is an element that must be recognized—for it may choose the president. If neither Taft nor Roosevelt got a majority on the first ballot, neither is likely to be the party nominee. Between them, there is no second choice. Those who support the one, will not support the other in any event. A deadlock for a single ballot, would show the necessity for a new candidate. There is no man in the whole United States better able to serve as a compromise candidate. It is true that Idaho is normally for Roosevelt as the choice of announced candidates; but still, if Borah were a possibility, in the event of a deadlock, you'd hear such a howl of delight as was never before heard this side of the Rocky Mountains.

The hypocritical friends of Senator Borah, some of whom are plotting to knife him as soon as they dare for his strong hold on the uncontrollable common people, needn't fear that this talk of orah is going to injure him for the senate, even if he does not land in the White House. The fact is, that the mention of Borah comes from the progressive element, the men who would support Roosevelt. Likewise, it would be the Roosevelt, and not the Taft, support that would recognize him first as the best compromise candidate. It wouldn't hurt Borah, when he is before the people this fall and the legislature next winter, to have it said of him that the people almost made him president without his being a formal candidate. The real objection of the malcontents is, that the Borah and the Roosevelt strength are so nearly alike—with the unterrified, uncontrolled rural voters of the state; and they'd hate to see a progressive delegation go from Idaho after they had already planned how to dispose of it.

To mention Borah for the presidency, is to ask for the things that a popular demand made Roosevelt come, unwillingly, into the presidential race to support. It will strengthen the faith of the people in progression. It will strengthen Roosevelt, up to the point that a deadlock ensues; Idaho could not break that deadlock in Roosevelt's favor, but Roosevelt could, and would break it for Borah. Idaho has these two alternatives to face: To alienate a very large and very determined vote by pledging to Taft, or to hold that vote and vastly strengthen the party by pledging for progression by standing for Roosevelt and Borah. Out of this latter course may come a presidency to Idaho. To throw away the state, to give away a chance for the presidency, to probably lose even the legislature to Senator Borah in a blind zeal to deliver the state to Taft—and to try to do it this under the guise of "saving" Borah for the senate, is a kind of politics that will bear watching.

Southern Idaho Review

T. J. MURPHY

MRS. L. MURPHY, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Borah's Candidacy For The Presidency.

The possibility of our own senator, W. E. Borah, gaining the nomination at the hands of the republican party for the presidency of the United States grows brighter day by day. The papers in different parts of the country are at backward in seeing the advantage of that possibility, and very many of them are already speaking of it as a desired fact.

In our own state the loyalty to and appreciation of our senator grows daily, and the names of Taft and Roosevelt are practically overshadowed by the name of our hard working and honored senator. In eastern political circles it is gradually becoming a realization that it were better to trust the fortunes of the republican party in the hands of a statesman who has absolutely nothing against him

except the fact of his being a western man than to a dark horse who may have nothing to his credit except the very fact of his color, and it is becoming patent to all that the dark horse must make the running if the party would be saved from disruption and defeat at the November elections.

No man can tell what a day may bring forth, and it may be a fact that some amicable arrangement may be made between Taft and Roosevelt, though it seems impossible that any could be made other than that one should gracefully give way to the other, which would carry weight at the polls, in which case it would seem that our senator's duty to his party would demand that he eliminate himself from the race, but barring such arrangement Idaho will always feel that the country has been grossly cheated unless W. E. Borah receive the nomination at the republican national convention at Chicago, and is elected as the next president of the United States.

PUTS BORAH IN IN RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT

Senator Brady at Club Luncheon Launches Boom for His Colleague.

WELL RECEIVED BY CROWD

Also Favors System of Locks to Make Snake River Navigable Through Idaho.

Senator Borah of Idaho was brought out as a candidate for the presidency Tuesday by his colleague, Senator Brady, at a luncheon given in Senator Brady's honor by the Boise Commercial club. The mere mention of Senator Borah as a presidential candidate brought forth a storm of applause. Senator Brady hastened to assure his audience that it was not a "sensational conclusion he had reached about Senator Borah's chances, but a conclusion founded on what he had learned of his colleague's standing at Washington.

"I am convinced from what I have seen and heard at Washington," said Senator Brady, "that the Republican party will nominate as its candidate for the presidency a man who has gained signal recognition for honesty, uprightness and capability.

Get Behind Borah and Boost.

"I hear the leading men in the political life of the nation competing against Borah with LaFollette, Cummings and Wilson. I am not saying that Senator Borah will be our next president, but I do say that if we will all get behind him and boost, as we say here in the west, that he stands the best chance of any man in public life today of being the next President of the United States."

Almost a hundred business and professional men were present at the luncheon, but at this statement from Senator Brady the company broke out in a round of cheering and applause that would have been a noble effort coming from a thousand.

The launching of the Borah boom came as the peroration to a short but pointed address made by the senator. In the course of his talk he outlined some of the things he hopes to gain for the west.

BORAH'S BOOMLET

Pocahontas Tribune

The suggestion has been made by a prominent eastern newspaper that Senator Borah of Idaho is a proper man to be brought forward as a compromise candidate for the presidential nomination in the event a deadlock develops. There is a possibility the Chicago convention may for a time be deadlocked—but this is not likely to happen. In the event of a deadlock, Senator Borah who is eminently fitted for the position would be the kind of man the convention could agree upon, but there is not great likelihood that they will select him, because he comes from a state having only eight delegates in the convention and only four votes in the electoral college. Presidents are always nominated from states which have a large vote. It has always been deemed good politics to nominate presidents from big states, and the fact that Senator Borah comes from a new state in the West, with only a handful of delegates, will preclude his nomination, unless the next convention throws precedent to the winds and looks for the best available man in the highly improbable event the Taft and Roosevelt forces become everlastingly clinched in a deadlock. It is only fair to Senator Borah to say that he is not a candidate for the presidential nomination—is not giving the suggestion serious consideration. The likelihood increases daily that Taft will be nominated overwhelmingly on the first ballot.

Leader, COODING, IDA.

Idaho has inaugurated a movement to place the name of United States Senator William E. Borah before the national nominating convention at Chicago in June, provided the possibility arises where a compromise candidate is found necessary.

Steps have been taken by party leaders at Boise with that end in view and efforts will be made to secure the State delegation for Borah.

The fact that the name of Senator Borah has been given favorable consideration in many other States, especially in the East, has led Republican party leaders to believe that he has a chance to make a showing at the national convention, providing neither Taft or Roosevelt have enough votes to secure the nomination. So far as can be ascertained the Borah boom was started without the knowledge of Senator Borah.

It is pointed out by party leaders here that the solid south has been broken into by Roosevelt, for he secured the Oklahoma delegation, and has part of that of Missouri, indicating that he will divide delegations with President Taft. LaFollette has Wisconsin, and may acquire the delegates from other central Western States, while Cummins will have Iowa.

Senator Borah is recognized as one of the leaders of the Senate. He is neither conservative or radically progressive, but instead is looked upon here by party leaders as a conservative progressive, and therefore would so be accepted by both factions in the party as a compromise candidate in the event a deadlock should be the result in the Chicago convention.

From the Capital News it appears that there are a number of Republicans in Boise who are organizing a "Roosevelt-Borah Club", endorsing Roosevelt first and Borah second as a candidate for the presidency. It certainly doesn't come with very good grace that there are Republicans of Idaho who would couple up the Senator's name in this manner.

Why organize a Roosevelt-Borah club and give to our popular and efficient Senator a left handed endorsement? Why not make it a Borah club? Senator Borah is too large a statesman to be made the vermouth appendix of anybody and too good a man to be used as a stalking horse.

Idaho Republicans who favor Roosevelt should say so and those who favor Borahs should say so. Don't take advantage of the popularity of our Senator to befog the situation.

Senator Borah is a personal friend of Roosevelt and an admirer of many qualities of the ex-president, but Senator Borah is as strongly against the recall as is President Taft and has expressed himself as strongly.

The nomination of Wm. E. Borah by the Republican party for its standard bearer would be the ideal way out of the dilemma into which the party finds itself at present.

CANDIDATE FOR SENATE.

Of course Senator Borah never was a candidate for president, but an effort was made to put him in the running in order to draw away natural Taft strength. It was not made by a friend of the senator nor by a friend of the Republican party. However, if anything was needed to dispose of the matter it was supplied Saturday when the Roosevelt majority to the Republican county convention refused to substitute Senator Borah's name for Roosevelt or to connect Senator Borah with Taft as a compromise candidate. Neither a candidate now, or a compromise candidate, according to the dictum of the Republican convention of his home county, Senator Borah will continue, as he was before, a candidate only for reelection to the United States senate. The Statesmen and all his other real friends are for that. And all of the senator's friends who favor Taft can vote that way in primaries and in conventions without the slightest disloyalty to Senator Borah's candidacy for re-election to the senate.

St. Louis Democrat Bees

Once more we observe signs that a boom is a-bornin' for William E. Borah, of Idaho, for Republican candidate for President. He is being urged as one who might fuse Republicans and Progressives. But could he do that better than, or even so well as, Herbert S. Hadley, of Missouri, who came near to fusing them at Chicago last summer? Borah is a broad, liberal, genial man. So is Hadley. And Missouri is for Hadley. And that ought to settle it. Latterly, as goes Missouri, so goes the Union.

Bullwinkle
May Yet Be A G. O. P. Moses
Bullwinkle
 Though Under Heavy Geographical Handicap, Senator Borah, of Idaho, Grows In Stature as Republican Leader—Takes His Politics Straight.

Washington, Jan. 11.—For months the rank and file of the Republican party have been looking their leadership over in the hope of finding a Moses. Realizing the depth of the wilderness into which they have drifted, the loyal followers of the old organization are wondering if some prophet will not rise up and lead them once more into sight of the promised land.

And in this process of weighing leadership, man after man is being quietly examined and labeled. Roosevelt, Cummins, La Follette, Root and Hughes are being measured. Their ability and their availability for the next Presidential nomination are being carefully considered.

There is still another leader, however, who is a factor in this uncertain situation and who promises to be more of a figure as the time draws nearer for a final decision. Senator William F. Borah, of Idaho, must be given rank with the five possibilities just named.

No Republican in either branch of Congress has made for himself a more enviable position than has Borah. He is an able lawyer and an effective debater. He is broad-gauged and a tireless worker. He is bound to no faction and tied to no man's political charter.

BELONGS TO PROGRESSIVE WING.

Senator Borah's politics is on absolutely straight lines. He is a progressive Republican. He was that kind of a Republican when he was fighting in Idaho politics years ago. He remained progressive when he came to the Senate. In the last campaign for the Republican nomination at Chicago Senator Borah supported Theodore Roosevelt just as long as the former President remained a Republican. The hour, however, that Roosevelt deserted Republicanism, that hour Borah deserted Roosevelt.

In the battle before the Republican National Committee at Chicago to seat Roosevelt against Borah, acting under a proxy, led the Roosevelt committeemen. Oswald Stalling had been commissioned to prepare the case of the contestants, but as everybody now knows he failed miserably and Borah had only imperfect basis with which to combat the compact, airtight, overpowering Taft organization.

Later on, when it became evident to all hands that unless some compromise candidate were selected the Republican party was doomed to a crushing defeat, half a dozen leaders were proposed. Hadley, Cummins, La Follette and Borah were



suggested as possible carriers of a desperate situation. But neither Taft nor Roosevelt would retire, and this last stand expedition failed.

UNDER GEOGRAPHICAL HANDICAP.

At this time, as well as at that time, but on serious objection was made to Borah. He comes from Idaho. He is, therefore, geographically handicapped. To nominate him would bring on sectional strength to the Republican ticket. Even though the whole Rocky Mountain group of States were to back to Borah, their aggregate vote in the Electoral College would be negligible.

It is often remarked that if Borah were from Ohio, or Indiana, or Illinois, or from New York, he would be a commanding figure in his party. Not being from Idaho his friends and admirers will have to combat the prejudice that exists against the nomination of any candidate for the Presidency who has no important regional support.

And it of course remains to be seen whether or not this prejudice is strong enough to prevail against all other considerations. In the meantime Borah continues to grow in the esteem of his party associates and to assume a larger share of his party's burdens in the Senate.

BORAH LOOMS UP QUITE LARGE

WASHINGTON PAPERS SAY HIS NAME IS THE ONE MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED AT MEETING.

HAD HIS WAY IN DELIBERATIONS

Could Not Stand for Barnes' Convention Plan Until Conditions Were Changed So People Could Rule.

The Washington Times says: Presidential booms and boomlets loomed up, although "sub rosa," when the Republican national committee met today for its final session until the presidential campaign of 1916.

Adoption of a drastic plan to reapportion delegates to the 1916 national convention, materially reducing representation of states in which the Republican vote is light or negligible, and adjournment until ten days before the 1916 battle was the committee's plan.

Play Big Politics.

Under the surface of the committee's deliberations ran the "big politics" of presidential "boosting," and Senator Borah's name was most frequently mentioned. Senator Cummins and former Senator Hadley had supporters, but the name of "Roosevelt" was taboo.

While many party leaders admitted Roosevelt's nomination was "possible" sentiment appeared to be swung toward Borah.

He was given the sole credit for rejection by the committee of the plan to hold a special convention next spring. Defeat of Cummins and Hadley, who espoused the convention idea, was a straw indicating the comparative strength of the trio of potential candidates. Elimination by himself of Senator Root cleared the atmosphere.

Strong Progressive.

"Standpat," conservative, and even Bull Moose committeemen had Borah's name on their lips today. He is regarded as a strong "progressive" and still favored by the less radical leaders.

Borah's Position in Committee.

The Washington Post said of the meeting:

Debate during the day practically was limited to a discussion of the need of a special national convention. Senator Borah loomed out as the dominant figure among the committeemen who opposed the special convention, while former Gov. Hadley, of Missouri, and William Barnes, Jr., of New York, led the forces allied in its support. If there was an inclination toward bitterness at times, and if pictures were drawn of why things happened to the party in 1912, they were not dwelt upon at length, and it was plain from the beginning of the meeting that the committeemen realized that the pressing question up for their decision was not the method of change but the change itself.

In closing the discussion for opponents of the special convention plan, Senator Borah expressed regret to find himself not in harmony with such of his intimate friends as former Governor Hadley, Senators Cummins, of Iowa, and Jones of Washington, and others whom he held in high regard.

Borah Advises Caution.

"I would not be candid with myself," said the senator, "if I did not express my judgment in the situation that confronts us. The great contest which will determine whether the Republican party is to resume supremacy or pass into history will be settled in 1916. All other skirmishes, no matter how much they may be emphasized, will be preliminary. We can afford to be cautious and patient in perparing for that great conflict.

"If the Republican party adopts a reactionary platform in 1916 it will become nothing but the voice of the aristocracy. I believe it is progressive and I want to gather up that progressive sentiment and crystallize it in 1916. If we call a convention in 1914, what position will we be in? There are states with primary laws not adapted for a national convention except for the selection of a national

ticket. Such a convention would inevitably result in the selection of hand-picked delegates in two-thirds of the states, and any platform promulgated would not be a true expression of the rank and file of the people."

Would Be "Fulmination."

The senator further asserted that a convention in 1914 would merely result in "fulmination in the air," and that the progressive element in the party would not join in it. Turning toward Mr. Barnes, of New York, with whom he had a brush at the Hilles dinner Monday night, Senator Borah continued:

"There is no more astute political leader in the country, representing the views he does, than Mr. Barnes, of New York, and unless some change is made he will just as surely be as potent in the convention of 1916 as he was in 1912."

"Are you afraid to make an issue of that?" interrupted Mr. Hadley.

"I do not want to do it with my hands tied and my feet hobbled," Senator Borah replied.

Blackfoot Optimist

BUFFALO COURIER INDORSES BORAH

The Buffalo, N. Y. Courier, published by William J. Cappers, one of the most influential politicians in the entire country, and the paper itself one of the most powerful in New York state, not excepting New York City's great newspapers, has come out for Senator Borah as compromise candidate for Republican nomination for president. The Courier says editorially:

"The announcement from Boise that Idaho Republicans will submit to the Republican national convention the name of United States Senator William F. Borah for the nomination for president is of more than ordinary interest.

"Though Senator Borah has been in the senate only since March 4, 1907, he has attained a place in the foremost rank. If he should remain in the senate another term, there is every probability of his becoming the recognized parliamentary and intellectual leader of his party in that body of which he is today one of the most powerful and formidable debaters.

"If the pending struggle between the Roosevelt forces and the Taft forces should become so bitter and so acrimonious as to convince a majority of the delegates that the nomination of either Taft or Roosevelt would lead to inevitable defeat, Senator Borah might easily be looked upon as strong, attractive material for a compromise nominee."

From HERALD

Address: Washington, D. C.

DEC 26

Date Will a Leader Develop?

It is predicted in some quarters that the year 1914 will develop a Republican leader independent of Roosevelt. These prophets have their eye on New York.

The name of Elihu Root, of course, comes instantly into mind. It will not be Elihu Root. He will renounce active political life at the end of his Senatorial term. A survey of the State does not reveal any one else who is to be compared with him in all the elements of leadership. It is expected, however, that with a Senator and a governor to nominate, the Republicans will find some one large enough to impress himself nationally upon the country. It must be admitted that this figure is not yet upon the horizon. It can hardly be Job Hedges, who is again to seek the gubernatorial nomination; or Representative Calder, of Brooklyn, who wants to enlarge the sphere of his political activities; or

District Attorney Whitman, who has a large following in New York City, even though he may not be prominent in up-State politics. There was a time when New York could offer a dozen good men for the highest candidacies in either party. That happy period seems to have passed.

If the much-desired Republican leader is to appear during 1914 it looks as if he would have to come out of the West. It will not be Senator La Follette. He eliminated himself when he voted for the Democratic tariff bill. Senator Cummins, of Iowa, must show that he can carry his State in the approaching Senatorial election. Ex-Gov. Hadley is a possibility, but unless he runs as a Senatorial candidate against Senator Stone he will have no opportunity to catch the public eye. Of all the Western men Senator Borah, of Idaho, seems most likely to occupy the largest share of attention during the coming year. There is no doubt that he made a deep impression upon Republican leaders during the meeting of the National Committee, and there will be much discussion of his name during the months to come.

The Democrats do not have to trouble themselves about their leader or their candidate. Events placed Woodrow Wilson at the head of their party and he has demonstrated that he is fully equal to the responsibilities of his high position. It is almost the first time in history that the Democratic party has been able to enact important legislation with anything like unity, a result due in very large measure to the masterly manner in which President Wilson has dominated the action of his party.

Senator Borah of Idaho as a possible presidential candidate on the republican ticket in 1916 is far from an idle dream. Geographically it would appear that Senator Borah were impossible. It has always been taken for granted by the politicians that a successful candidate for president could not come from the south or from the west. But in this last campaign these old notions were largely shattered. In the democratic convention were strong men like Underwood from the south, while Governor Johnson of California was the progressive candidate for vice president.

The republicans alone cling to the old myth that the eastern states must furnish the party candidates and see what happened to the republican ticket. It ran third.

Senator Borah's friends in Idaho, who at first looked upon the presidential talk as a nice compliment to the Idaho statesman, are beginning to take the thing seriously. But this is not alone true of Idaho. According to eastern papers Borah is more talked of in the east as the next republican presidential candidate than any other man and this does not exclude Cummins, La Follette, Hadley, Kenyon or Norris.

An Eastern View.

The Washington (D. C.) Times in a recent issue takes up Senator Borah's case as follows:

"Politically speaking they are keeping an eye on Senator William E. Borah of Idaho about the senate, as well as in Washington generally. Regardless of the fact that Senator Borah has recently written a letter to a Kansas politician to the effect that he has not got the presidential bee and intends to keep that pernicious insect pretty completely shooed away from him a good many republicans, not to mention democrats and bull moose backers, regard Borah as a good deal more than a possibility for the republican presidential nomination in 1916.

"Senator Borah indicated in his recent letter that he did not want any notations relative to the presidency coming between himself and the work he is trying to do in the senate. In this he is doubtless sincere. He has seen enough of the ravages of the mirebe as it has affected many public men, so that he is under no illusions about the desirability of it. Still there is such a thing as a man being drafted by his friends, and there is no doubt that at this time numerous republicans in congress look on Borah as extremely available for the 1916 nomination."

The Labor Vote.

Then after devoting some comment to the situation in the republican party the Times continues:

"Senator Borah would command a large labor vote. The part he took in the last congress as chairman of the education and labor committee in working for the department of labor bill, the prominence he has had in the West Virginia investigation, and his generally friendly attitude toward organized labor would insure this. He has not been as progressive on tariff as other progressive republicans largely because he has been embarrassed by the fact that the demand for high protection from Idaho is unusually strong. But on the question of regulation of railroads and of corporations he has taken advanced ground. In general he is found voting for progressive measures in the senate. He has achieved a reputation to be coveted as a constitutional lawyer, and has one of the finest legal minds in congress. One objection that would probably be found to him would be that as a man from the Rocky Mountain country he was not as friendly to the Pinchot conservation policies as the conservationists would like."

BORAH

They who at the times all point toward a rejuvenation of the republican party. Lucky is in the air. The two wings of the party that has split progress in this country ever since the days of the civil war are getting in step and are going forward together. The man of the hour in all these family negotiations is William E. Borah, United States senator from Idaho. A man in the prime of life, brilliant with him all the swiftness, independence, confidence, and open honesty of the west. He has breathed a new life into official Washington. He personifies the spirit of the new west. His rugged stability is said to be equalled by his wonderful native energy and personal magnetism. When the time comes for casting about for a man to lead the people of this nation back to a progressive and forward government, we will hear more of William E. Borah of Idaho.

Special to the Spokesman-Review
Friday, January 3, 1914.

"UNITED WE STAND"

Republicans of Idaho Can Rally to the Standard of Senator William E. Borah.

If the republican party of Idaho, the ascendant party of the state, now possesses a fair amount of party harmony and unity, with the strength necessary to the election of the party ticket, would it not be for the best good of the party to concentrate the strength of party workers upon state politics, strictly, leaving to the individual voter the naming of late national events within the republican ranks?

Undoubtedly, to the Taft republican the present Associated Press dispatches read "party split," a matter at all times fraught with deep emotion and indignation. To the Roosevelt enthusiast it is the significant, solemn period of the new birth. Proof from either faction cannot be forthcoming within the time allotted the state ticket. What better to do, then, than to bear patiently with the national preference of brother republican, that all and every one may, undivided, united, rally to the standard of Senator Borah.

The unanimity of party sentiment in favor of Senator Borah as an acceptable head for the party ticket in Idaho may, with due caution and consideration for the wishes of the majority of the voters of the state, be carried through the state republican ticket. Party harmony within the state is not only possible, it is so near an actuality as to make inexcusable on the part of the party managers any precipitation of a party split. Every indication of a successful party ticket is now encouraging the republicans of the state. From the position of governor to the county officers, men of known ability, specialized training and good character, have signified their willingness to care for the work of the state. Of known popularity with the voters of the state, these candidates are sufficient in number to convince the people of Idaho that the dominant party of the state has within its ranks a majority of the best men suitably trained for public office.

That the proud position held by the republican state party may not be jeopardized, touch lightly upon a national party situation, puzzling even to the experts.

1914
The Republican
Palouse, Wash.
JAN 23 1914

BORAH SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED.

A leading Baltimore daily, under the heading, "Looking for a Leader," publishes a lengthy editorial, in which Senator W. E. Borah of Idaho is held up as one of the few men who might be able to lead the republican party to victory, notwithstanding the handicap of unfavorable geographical location. The article says, in part:

"For months the rank and file of the republican party have been looking their leadership over in the hope of finding a Moses. Realizing the depth of the wilderness into which they have drifted, the loyal followers of the old organization are wondering if some prophet will not rise up and lead them once more into sight of the promised land.

"And in this process of weighing leadership, man after man is being quietly examined and labeled, Roosevelt, Cummins, LaFollette, Root and Hughes are being measured. Their ability and their availability for the next presidential nomination are being carefully considered.

There is still another leader, however, who is a factor in this uncertain situation and who promises to be more of a figure as the time draws

nearer for a final decision. Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, must be given rank with the five possibilities just named.

"No republican in either branch of Congress has made for himself a more enviable position than has Borah. He is an able lawyer and an effective debater. He is broad-gauged and a tireless worker. He is bound to no faction and tied to no man's political chariot.

COURANT
HARTFORD, CONN.

JAN 31 1914

in his speech to the Baltimore merchants and manufacturers Thursday evening. Speaker Champ Clark did not "smell" Dr. Wilson; he says he didn't. But he did say facetiously that, if all the nice things the toastmaster had said about him were true, he ought to be in the White House. He also suggested that, if there had been a Presidential primary in 1912, he would have been there. "That primary law originated in my district in Missouri," he said; "in fact I originated it myself." This may have been facetious, too. "When I am President," he said to the smiling merchants and manufacturers, "I want you to ask me to come over here to your banquet." Another joke, evidently. But Champ Clark isn't joking when he predicts that William E. Borah will be the republican candidate in 1916. "I firmly believe it," says Champ Clark.

PEND D'OREILLE REVIEW

GEORGE R. BARKER, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR

BORAH'S "GEOGRAPHICAL HANDICAP"

The Baltimore Sun of recent date states that it is often remarked in Washington that if Senator Borah were from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois or New York he would be the commanding figure in his party and that his friends and admirers "have to combat the prejudice that exists against the nomination of any candidate for the presidency who has no important regional support."

There is no good reason why the republican party should forever adhere to the policy of nominating its presidential candidate from one of three or four states. Lincoln, who more than any man founded the republican party, was taken from a state which was further west in the days of the ox-cart than Idaho is today in the era of steam and electricity. Boise is not so far west today as Springfield was in 1860. The recognition of superiority or of availability even is not confined by geographical barriers. Lincoln was from Illinois, Seward was from Massachusetts; yet, looking back upon that memorable campaign which elected Lincoln, who would say that if Seward instead of Lincoln had received the nomination, the Massachusetts man would have received the election.

There is a certain analogy to be found in the time of then and the present situation. The western states are progressive in sentiment, as in Lincoln's day western states were the theater of the anti-slavery movement. All republican states west of the Mississippi would hail Borah's nomination as eminently satisfactory and a recognition of that part of the country which first raised the progressive issue and forced the rest of the union to acknowledge the force of its declarations and tendencies. Borah has the ability as Lincoln had, to interest the east not in his state or his geographical location but by what he will have to say. The east already admires his abilities and capabilities. His part in the Chicago convention leaves no apologies due to friend or foe. He demonstrated in his own state that he was big enough to make his own issue and win upon it, indicating his displeasure with what was done at Chicago but refusing to be drawn into a compromising position against his party, believing as all sensible men believed that the republican party was too great an organization and had too many traditions and achievements to be deserted for the personalities of any two men.

It is upon such a man that the leadership of the republican party must fall. It is not a question of geography. Napoleon was from the Isle of Corsica. When he came they did not ask if he hailed from Paris or Marseilles. If our William can "deliver the goods," the east will support him regardless of whether he comes from Ohio, Illinois or New York. A president is a president of all the people and not of a state or a locality. The geographical line does not belong in the equation. Those who seek it are still playing an old and antedated game of politics. The men of today are looking for the man not for the center of the country's population.

from GLOBE DEMOCRAT

address: St. Louis, Mo.

ate

JAN 3 1914

Picks Both Candidates.

Whether the presidential candidates are chosen by federal primary, state primaries or conventions, it will be merely a matter of ratification. Speaker Clark has already kindly named the principal candidates. He says that Senator Borah of Idaho will be the Republican nominee. The fact that Senator Borah was present at the meeting where the horoscope was cast had no influence. While Mr. Clark is always gracious, except where the secretary of state is concerned, he was speaking prophetically and in all seriousness. Nominations may be given in pleasantness or in courtesy by some people, but not by Mr. Clark. It is no subject for jest with him since the tragedy at Baltimore. Had the speaker merely intended a compliment to Senator Borah he would not have indicated the result of the campaign. There was little generosity in giving Senator Borah the Republican nomination, taking the Democratic nomination himself and then electing himself. Nor can we suspect Mr. Clark of boasting of his own qualifications. The spirit of prophecy sat upon him and he was merely declaring manifest destiny.

Mr. Clark spoke as historian as well as prophet. He told his hearers bluntly that he ought to be president now. Regardless of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with President Wilson, every dispassionate student of the Baltimore convention must accept this conclusion. By all the rules of the political game Mr. Clark was entitled to the nomination at Baltimore, and he would have received it but for Mr. Bryan's violation of the mandate given him by the Democratic voters of Nebraska. Whether personal pique, a secret hope that a deadlocked convention might turn to him in utter weariness or an actual suspicion that his old friend had become allied with predatory interests was responsible for Mr. Bryan's conduct may never be unquestionably determined.

But Mr. Clark's friends, inside and outside his party, wish that he would quit indulging in gloomy reminiscences. They serve but to embitter him, and, if persisted in, may bring unjustifiable sympathy to his arch-enemy. Nobody expects him to forgive Mr. Bryan; it would be against human nature. But by dwelling on the treachery at Baltimore Mr. Clark is merely punishing himself without in any manner hurting Mr. Bryan. And when he recites his troubles to the public he weakens himself. He should recall the case of Peary and Cook. The glib good nature of the latter made him millions of friends, while the bitterness of Peary drove millions from him. The world loves a good loser and the sound philosophy of the proverb, "Gild and bear it," has led thousands to believe it to be one of the injunctions of Holy Writ.

TRAVELLER & EVO. HERALD

35; Boston, Mass.

CHAMP'S PROPHECY

CHAMP CLARK should keep away from Baltimore. He went there when the last Democratic national convention was in session at the behest of George Fred Williams and others of his advisers, but that did not prevent the nomination of President going astray. At least the speaker of the national House then felt and, apparently still feels that the nomination did go astray. On his most recent trip to Baltimore he appears to have told the members of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association some of his innermost thoughts. Perhaps it would have been more discreet for him not to have "forecasted in thinly veiled words" that he would be the next President of the United States. Such an outspoken ambition at this stage of the game is not likely to contribute toward Democratic harmony at the capital. But the Missourian cannot forget that the nomination at Baltimore was not distinctly a tribute to the direct primary idea.

Speaker Clark is fortunate. He is able to pick out his opponent as well as nominate himself. He does not put faith in the fancy that Col. Roosevelt will elope next time with the Republican nomination, but gives that prize to Senator Borah. The progressive (small p) senator from Idaho may well blush. He will himself admit that the Republicans could do worse.

Friday, February 3, 1914
Spokane, Wash. Spokesman Review

Champ Clark Predicts Borah's Nomination in 1916.

We have not had a president from west of the Mississippi river. But until Wilson came to the White House we had never had a college professor there. Precedents count for less than formerly.

This is apropos of Speaker Clark's prophecy at the Baltimore banquet last week that Senator William E. Borah of Idaho would be the republican candidate for president in 1916.

"I am not accepting after dinner nominations for the presidency today," laughingly remarked Senator Borah when asked about the Clark prediction. But other republican leaders in Washington, unembarrassed by the personal equation, took the matter gravely and said they looked upon the Idaho man as presidential timber.

"You don't know what that gnawing is till you've had it," Lincoln once remarked humorously in good-natured toleration of Salmon P. Chase's effort to beat him out of the nomination in 1861. If the young statesman from Idaho (and Borah is not offensively young, for he has passed his 45th birthday) is still immune from "that gnawing" after repeated mention of his name, and this more recent banquet handed him by Speaker Clark, he would have to be regarded as super-human. And no man is that.

That William E. Borah, United States senator from Idaho, will be the man who is to lead the Republican party out of the wilderness, is the prediction of many of the political prognosticators of the day. Borah is described as one of the progressive Republicans who does not regard the third party movement as a static organization, feeling, it is said, that as soon as Theodore Roosevelt says the word the party will crumble. Moreover, he believes that Roosevelt will say the word, holding the opinion that the former president is of a turn of mind too practical to continue a situation which assumes uninterrupted Democratic success indefinitely.

St. Joseph, Mo.
FEB 6 - 1914

Why Borah Opposed Convention

IDAHO SENATOR DISAGREES WITH HIS PROGRESSIVE FRIEND CUMMINGS OF IOWA—WOULD DO NO GOOD—MIGHT DO HARM—NEW YORK AND MASSACHUSETTS FAVORED

1914 MEETING

Cheyenne Tribune

It will interest Tribune readers to know how the various states represented in the national committee lined up on the question of holding an extra convention in 1914. Of the forty-nine committeemen who voted on the one roll call taken, fourteen favored the calling of a special convention to bring about these changes, and thirty-five declared themselves opposed.

This roll call by states resulted as follows:

Nays—Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming—25.

Ays—Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Washington, West Virginia—14.

Very Much Mixed

It will be seen that some of the most progressive Western states like Idaho and Iowa voted against a convention, while conservative Eastern states like New York and Massachusetts, favored such a meeting.

Senator Borah of Idaho, one of the most progressive Republicans in the country, helped defeat the convention proposition. While the Tribune does not agree with his opinions, he made a strong showing for his side.

In closing the discussion for opponents of the special convention plan, Senator Borah expressed regret to find himself not in harmony with such of his intimate friends as former Governor Hadley, Senators Cummins of Iowa and Jones of Washington, and others whom he held in high regard.

"I would not be candid with myself," said the senator, "if I did not express my judgment in the situation that confronts us. The great contest which will determine whether the Republican party is to resume supremacy or pass into history will be settled in 1916. All other skirmishes, no matter how much they may be em-

phasized, will be preliminary. We can afford to be cautious and patient in preparing for that great conflict.

"If I did not believe that the Republican party was progressive and that 95 per cent of the members of the party are also progressive I would not be here.

"If the Republican party adopts a reactionary platform in 1916 it will become nothing but the voice of the aristocracy. I believe it is progressive, and I want to gather up that progressive sentiment and crystallize it in 1916.

"If we call a convention in 1914, what position will we be in? There are states with primary laws not adapted for a national convention except for the election of a national ticket.

Feared Hand-Picked Delegates.

"Such a convention would inevitably result in the selection of hand-picked delegates in two-thirds of the states, and any platform promulgated would not be a true expression of the rank and file of the people, and would not be one upon which the party would be able to go to the country with in the next congressional election."

The senator further asserted that a convention in 1914 would merely result in fulmination in the air and that the progressive element in the party would not join in it.

Turning toward Mr. Barnes of New York, with whom he had a brush at the *Times* dinner Tuesday night, Senator Borah continued:

"There is not a more astute political leader in the country, representing the views he does, than Mr. Barnes of New York, and unless some change is made, he will just as surely be as potent in the convention of 1916 as he was in 1912."

"Are you afraid to make an issue on that?" interrupted Mr. Hadley.

"I don't want to do it with my hands tied and my feet hobbled," Senator Borah replied.

The Senator Serves Notice.

"This may and may not be a parting of the ways, but I would not be candid if I did not say that the Republican party must be progressive, that it must adopt a progressive platform and nominate a progressive candidate for president in 1916."



Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, is planning to enter the political arena in New Jersey to assist ex-Governor Stokes in his fight for Governor.

SENATOR BORAH TO AID STOKES

Idahoan Will Assist Old Friend in Fight for Governor of New Jersey.

Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, is planning to enter the political arena in New Jersey in the interests of ex-Governor Stokes' candidacy for Governor. The Senator is expected to begin making speeches the latter part of this month.

Senator Borah and Mr. Stokes are old friends. But Senator Borah's espousal of the Republican candidate's principles in the New Jersey fight is not the result of friendship alone, but is based upon a conviction that the vote given Mr. Stokes at the primary election indicates clearly a desire for the union of the Progressive and Republican forces under the Republican banner.

Senator Borah will visit the centers of population. He probably will devote considerable attention to the northern parts of the State, because of ex-State Senator Cobey's supposed strength in the upper counties.

While Senator Borah no doubt will spend most of his time in an automobile, he will still be the guest of his old college friend, Mr. J. E. Curry, of Cranbury, Middlesex County.

Gales Not All Borah's

How they may do something that will pull the wool over the eyes of the people and still leave the bosses and leaders in control of the Republican party is causing some members of the National committee, which is meeting at Washington this week to rehabilitate the party, much worry. The majority of the committee appears to favor a compromise with those leaders whom they should vote out of the party if they expect to make the "Grand Old Party" the people's party as it once was. Senator Borah of Idaho, who should be with the Progressive party rather than the Republican party, gave the committee some sound advice that it should follow if it expects the Republican party to be anything else than the party of aristocracy.

He said: "The great contest which will determine whether the Republican party is to resume supremacy or pass into history will be settled in 1916. If the Republicans adopt a reactionary platform then it will become nothing but the voice of aristocracy."

Mr. Borah said that the party must be progressive if it expects to win.

That Boss William Barnes, Jr. and his kind are just as dangerous to the progress of the Republican party now as they were when they wrecked the party in 1912, is Mr. Borah's opinion.

Paying his respects to Mr. Barnes, Senator Borah said: "There is not a more astute political leader in the country, representing the views that he does, than Mr. Barnes of New York, and unless some change is made, he will just as surely be as potent in the convention of 1916 as he was in 1912."

There you have it in a nutshell. The Mail has contended ever since the first mention of amalgamation of the Progressives and the Republicans that such amalgamation cannot take place to the advantage of the former and of the people until the Barnes and the Penroses have been eliminated and progressive principles for which the Progressive party stands are made the party's platform.

Borah, though he still retains his membership in the Republican party, recognizes this, but the Republican national committee is a long way from being made up of Borahs.

Progressive Republicans

Billings, Mont. Gazette

The Gazette called attention recently to the fact that Senator Norris of Nebraska, during the campaign last fall and until lately one of the "Big Moose" pillars, was in Massachusetts stumping in the interest of the Republican candidate for governor. This in the face of the candidacy of a "Bull

Moose" for the same office.

Senator Borah of Idaho, who for many years before he was honored by political office, was a progressive Republican in spirit, was elected senator by the Idaho assembly with the full knowledge of his progressive ideas and still rates himself as a progressive Republican, has also been over in Jersey in the hope of redeeming the state, bringing it back into the good old Republican column.

It will be remembered he was on the Progressive side in Chicago, but refused to go with the third party movement. He was re-elected last winter as a Republican. This, coupled with the fact that his name has repeatedly been mentioned as a possibility for the Republican nomination in 1916 for the presidency, gives his words particular interest.

This is what he said in New Jersey regarding Progressivism and the Republican party:

"There were a number of people who were singularly interested in the Progressive cause who did not join the third party movement. They believed then, and they believe now, that the vast majority of the Republican voters are progressive; and that in order to make a progressive party it is only necessary to organize the voters of that party. Whatever the mistakes were at Chicago, they did not change the personnel or the character of the rank and file of the party; they did not change their views upon citizenship, upon the tariff, upon currency, upon corporation control, upon social justice or any other question."

The Washington (D. C.) Evening Star has the following to offer in commenting upon Senator Borah's position:

"The whole record made at Chicago last year, and in a number of states since, supports the Idaho senator's assertions. The rank and file of the Republican party and of the Progressive party have never been very far apart. They agree today as to the tariff, the currency, the trusts, the army, the navy, the Philippines—all the big, practical questions before the country. Protection, sound money and a safe currency, firm control of the menacing trusts; an adequate army, an adequate navy, and continued American control of the Philippines until independence can be safely granted the natives, are Progressive as well as Republican shibboleths.

"With these things true—and they are incontrovertible—what is keeping the Progressive and the Republicans longer apart? The initiative and referendum is an issue for local decision, and the recall of judicial decisions, however much importance a few Progressive leaders may attach to it, cannot be made to balance the great national issues upon which both Progressives and Republicans are agreed."

□ □ □ □

Joliet N.G. O. P. TAKING HINTS. News

The Republican National Committee is in session at Washington today. Yesterday the progressive element had an inning, and the committee by a vote of 35 to 14 agreed to change their convention rules, recognize state laws, accept the primary method and re-adjust the plan of representation, particularly as it applies to non-Republican states southward.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, referring to the Barnes domination, said to the conference:

"I don't want to do it with my hands tied and my feet hobbled. If I can be permitted to go into the fields and the byways and tell men that they can go to a convention of their party and assure them that they can be seated after they get there, I will take a chance on a fight with the friends of the old system of doing things.

"This may and may not be a parting of the ways, but I would not be candid if I did not say that the Republican party must be progressive, that it must adopt a progressive platform, and nominate a progressive candidate for president in 1916."

Senator Jones added:

"We cannot afford to wait for something to turn up as a consequence of Democratic legislation. I believe we must show that we are a progressive and militant party. The result in 1916 is not less important than we have a Republican house and senate in 1914 that we may be able to block further legislation which will work further injury to the country:

The heaven is working well so far. The test will come in selecting those who shall stand for these things. Barnes, Crane, Cannon apparently have complexions unsuitable for progressive patterns, arrayed as committeemen or candidates, and their appearance on the political streets would jar the multitude.

Senator Borah in New Jersey.

Senator Borah spoke in Elizabeth the other night in behalf of the republican candidate for Governor of New Jersey. His speech was of particular interest because of the fact that at the Chicago republican convention last year he supported what was called the progressive cause. When defeated, however, he did not leave the republican party, and was re-elected to the Senate as a republican. He considers himself a progressive republican, and as such appeared on the Jersey stump.

This is taken from Mr. Borah's Elizabeth speech:

"There were a number of people who were singularly interested in the progressive cause who did not join the third party movement. They believed then, and they believe now, that the vast majority of the republican voters are progressive; and that in order to make a progressive party it is only necessary to organize the voters of that party. Whatever the mistakes were at Chicago, they did not change the personnel or the character of the rank and file of the party; they did not change their views upon citizenship, upon the tariff, upon currency, upon corporation control, upon social justice or any other question."

The whole record, made at Chicago last year, and in a number of states since, supports the Idaho senator's assertions. The rank and file of the republican party and of the progressive party have never been very far apart. They agree today as to the tariff, the currency, the trusts, the army, the navy, the Philippines—all the big, practical questions before the country. Protection, sound money and a safe currency, firm control of all menacing trusts; an adequate army, an adequate navy, and continued American control of the Philippines until independence can be safely granted the natives, are progressive as well as republican shibboleths.

With these things true—and they are incontrovertible—what is keeping the progressives and the republicans longer apart? The initiative and referendum is an issue for local decision, and the recall of judicial decisions, however much importance a few progressive leaders may attach to it, cannot be made to balance the great national issues upon which both progressives and republicans are agreed.

Gov. Fielder, the democratic candidate for Governor, has no hope of election except through a large vote for the progressive candidate. Not even the support of the national administration can secure him a majority over all. If elected he will be a minority governor, just as Mr. Wilson, through the division of the progressives and the republicans on a national scale last year, is a minority President.

A substantial response to Mr. Borah's appeal is generally anticipated. The republicans are certain to poll a very much larger vote than the progressives. Many Jersey progressives who voted against Mr. Taft last year will vote for Gov. Stokes, the republican candidate, next Tuesday. They can see no gain to themselves or to the policies for which they stand by helping to bring in the democratic candidate, standing as he does for state and national policies to which they are opposed.

THE EVENING STAR,
With Sunday Morning Edition.

WASHINGTON.

SA TURDAY, November 3, 1913

PLEA BY BORAH TO REORGANIZE REPUBLICANISM

Wants It to Come From Within
the Party and Along Pro-
gressive Lines.

TALKS OF CONVENTION

Senator Says However It May
Crystallize There Must Be
New Lines of Procedure.

Statesman

CAMDEN, N. J.—Senator Borah of Idaho, addressing a Republic mass meeting in this city Wednesday night, made a strong plea for the reorganization of the Republican party along progressive lines. The Idaho senator, undeniably of progressive ideas, is firmly convinced that the Republican party is to be rehabilitated, not to be restored to its former usefulness, and will go forward lacking those embarrassments which brought its downfall last year. And the work of rehabilitation, he believes, will take place within the party; will proceed from the ground up, and not begin with the leaders, and eventually permeate the rank and file. In his speech Senator Borah said:

While leaders are talking about getting together or while they are objecting to one another's company, I want to address a few words to those and those only who made the Republican party great in the past and those and those only who can make it what it ought to be in the future. No one can be indifferent to or deny the low tone of American politics. No one can feel other than humiliation over the fact that while so many questions of vital concern to the American people and to the government are pressing for attention our politics has sunk to a level of personal eulogy or abuse.

The Republican party was founded by one the cardinal tenets of whose political faith was upon an important occasion in his life expressed in these words, "Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." Upon that principle he built his party. That would now be regarded by the advocates of "practical politics" as ineffective sentiment. But it was practical politics then when issues overshadowed men and it will be practical politics at all times when principles have a hearing.

Winning and Losing.

The Republican party has never lost when acting upon that theory and it has never won without it. In an open, aggressive campaign for a great cause it has invariably met with success. In the hour of compromise, of dependence upon machine methods, it has gone down in defeat. The influence of those first leaders, of the honest, homely precepts of the most remarkable figure in all politics the combination of the sage and the statesman, seems to have baptized a generation of heroes with that earnestness and candor which has been transmitted from father to son—a permanent heritage entering into the thoughts and purposes of the great body of the party. No party was ever organized for a higher purpose and no party of voters was ever trained in a more exacting and exalted school. The whole membership took on something of that spirit of service and sacrifice which have at times lifted an entire people into the admiration and affection of all right thinking men.

Those who undervalue the effect of those years of training, of those early lessons, who underestimate the durability and strength of that moral fibre will always have time to reflect upon their ignorance and their folly after the votes are counted. It is not within the power of any man or class of men to turn the rank and file of this party over to mere machine politics. Sooner or later they will rebel and the puny minions of temporary authority will find themselves possibly with an organization but without a party. Our present situation is due to a betrayal of the high purposes and principles upon and for the advocacy of which the party was organized and to which

service it was dedicated by the genius and consecrated by the blood of Abraham Lincoln.

Bad System of all Parties.

The common belief seems to be that our troubles all date from the meeting at Chicago last June a year, but that was not the beginning. That was the end of a system in which all parties had been committed and which like the tragedy of Hamlet ended in a saturnalia of misdeeds which involved all in its ruin. It was in fact the breakdown of a system originally efficient but which had been warped from its original purpose and workings, demoralized and debauched. It was the passing of the system—it had been pushed too far in its workings and its defects became glaring enough for all men to see them. The machine politician has thus far been able to invent any kind of a meter which will indicate the boiling point in public virtue. The reckless and the selfish seem utterly incapable of foretelling or estimating the amount of patience which a patient people will exercise before they turn upon those who trifle with their rights. Hence it is that they overplay the game and push matters to the point of their own destruction. The law of com-

penation is as universal as the law of gravitation.

National Convention.

Now, my friends, there is a great deal being said about the meeting of the national convention. Those who hope for the worst and those who fear the best are saying that nothing will come of this effort to reorganize and build up the Republican party—that this committee will not do anything and you who are disposed to give the Republican party your support again are warned that it will all result in failure.

It is immaterial to me whether the national committee meets or whether it calls an extra convention. It may be a proper and seemly thing to formally meet and make formal arrangements for the federal, but the system which has heretofore prevailed in all national conventions of all the parties is dead. It committed suicide while on its last debauch at Chicago and Baltimore. No national committee can reanimate it and it will have to hasten in order to give it a decent burial. The delegates to the next national Republican convention will represent a new era, a new view of politics as to political organization as well as to other matters. There will not be 100 delegates out of the 200 who will defend the old system and there will not be five members of the national committee who will attempt to perpetuate such a system. It is already a relic.

I rely upon the only power that is really sovereign in public affairs—public opinion. I know that the voters of the Republican party are practically unanimous upon this question and while men will disregard agreements and understandings they will not disregard public opinion. Even statutes and decrees and laws and constitutions which make rules and practices of parties cannot stand against an aroused public opinion. Everything yields to its imperious sway. And here permit me to say in all kindness to those who say that this cannot be done and who seem to take pleasure in announcing that fact, if your hearts were in the right place, if you were more patriotic and less partisan you would wish us well in our fight.

I can understand perfectly how a man can be a Democrat and believe in the principles and policies of that great party. I can understand how a man can be a third party man and conscientiously believe that along that line he can best serve his country. But I cannot understand how any man, except he be a political Pharisee, outwardly professing all good things and inwardly in sympathy with corruption could have anything other than words of encouragement and support in a fight for clean and representative politics in any party. I may differ with you in policies and principles and be just as honest and sincere as you are, but no two men can differ as to the necessity of all party organizations being clean and subservient to the views of the voters except one of them be at a corruptionist and a spoilsman.

We must remember, my friends, regardless of party and as countrymen that under our system of free government, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner.

We cannot govern without parties nor can we govern with them when they cease to be less or anything different than the faithful instruments by which to record the deliberate judgment and high purposes of the people upon questions of public concern—the obedient instruments by which to record and write into our laws those who feel as citizens the dominating worth of a common faith.

How extremely important, therefore, that our party systems be commensurate with the high purpose they serve. This every right thinking man will wish to see in every party, and let me say once and for all to those who have in sincerity joined the third party we quarrel not with you. We bid you Godspeed if you think

that is the best way to help solve the questions upon which turn the welfare and happiness of countless millions. The task is too

big for us to quarrel with those who are sincere about its performance. But those of us who view the matter differently are going to make the old Republican party worthy of its best days. We are going to bring its intellect in unison and its heart in sympathy with those policies which are stirring the world. This we are going to do and neither the spoilsman within nor his ally without can prevent it and I warn you that those in your party who seek to belittle or discourage the right are wolves in sheep's clothing.

I have said this much, my friends, because I regard this as vital to any successful rebuilding of the party. I have felt from the beginning that it was far easier to remove from our party machinery its defects and give a chance for the free movement of popular opinion in the party than to undertake the building of a new party. Subsequent events have fully justified my view. It is clear now to everyone that it is within our power and those who believe charges ought to be made should act together. Yet it was never my intention and it is not my intention now to condone or defend any wrongdoing by the party or seek to excuse or justify mistakes. I believe a man ought to be more

particular with his own party than with any other party. My party right or wrong is the creed of those who regard their party as above their country. But my party right and to be kept right is the creed of those who recognize party as nothing other than an instrument for clean government. And there can be no such thing in this government as clean government and unclean political parties. There can be no such thing as efficient public service with inefficient and unserviceable political organizations. There can therefore be no compromise on these questions, nothing less than an absolute, open convention purged of disproportionate representation and a recognition of primary elected delegates can insure victory for the future. The only practicable thing to do is the right thing. With a platform expressing the conviction of the great body of the Republican voters, with a candidate who is the choice of those loyal men and women who have been the fighting strength of the party the old banner will again rise the air in triumph from Maine to California. The fighting qualities of pure will return, the wont for victory will assert itself again and ready and restless for the conflict the result need never be in doubt.

Re's Not Quarrelsome.

In saying these things I do not

seek unnecessarily, I hope, to recall old differences or reflect upon individuals. I certainly have no personal quarrel with any living man. I speak not in a personal way, therefore, when I say that a few leaders may by tricky and dishonorable influence seek to use the party for dishonest or selfish ends, but 7,000,000 of voters are honest. The people as a whole do what they think is right and it is to that power in politics that we must appeal. And it is that power which shall again in this old party record its views on all matters of public concern. Their views and their conceptions of government have always been in harmony with big things and commensurate with great problems. Their life training throughout these years lead them to believe in and support policies framed on broad lines and in harmony with national growth and progress. They have been invincible when aroused by those issues upon which hang the fate of a nation or the freedom of a race or the economic deliverance of a people and so less are the issues of the future. Give their judgment free sway. Take a faithful record of their views and their convictions, a faithful measure of their patriotism, put it in a platform, follow it up and fight for it—that is my plan of reorganization and the rebuilding of the Republican party.

BORAH LOOMS AS PARTY'S BIG MAN

National Committee Bows to Ideas of Idaho Senator in Preference to Iowan.

BARNES IS DENOUNCED

Republicans Must Drop Old Bosses and Old Customs if They Hope to Win in 1916, Is Message of Gent State Leader.

OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, Washington, Dec. 11.—Senator Borah, of Idaho, was easily the dominating figure in the Republican National Committee at its recent hasty meeting at Washington, and it was his influence, more than that of any other man, that brought the committee to an agreement on a policy which meant immediate declaration of principles, rather than postponement until next year. This was true, notwithstanding the fact that Senator Borah was not a member of the committee, but sat in its meetings with the proxy of National Committeeman Hart, of Idaho, who could not attend.

The recognition of Senator Borah's leadership by the National Committee and the endorsement of his programme has had the effect of boosting materially the Presidential prospects of the Idaho Senator, and notwithstanding his geographical handicap, he is seriously mentioned by many of prominence in the world of politics as the probable Republican nominee in 1916.

Borah Grows in Senate.

Since he entered the Senate, Senator Borah has grown steadily and rapidly in power and influence within his party, and as he has attained greater distinction in the Senate, he has grown correspondingly before the country.

Colonel George Harvey, formerly of Harper's Weekly, who first predicted the nomination of Senator Borah by the Republican party in 1914, has been to Washington on several occasions since his prediction was published last Winter, and he reiterates on each occasion his confidence in his forecast. He says developments only tend to confirm his personal judgment. Speaker Clark, Democrat though he be, is as firmly convinced as is Colonel Harvey that Senator Borah will lead the reorganized Republican party in the next Presidential campaign, and the Speaker overtook no opportunity to express his opinion. Many others venture the same prediction.

It can be said truthfully that the buzzing of the Presidential bee does not interfere with the stumbers of Senator Borah, and whenever approached on the subject, shifts the conversation to other topics.

Political leaders at the National Capital, whether they look with favor on Senator Borah or whether they disapprove, concede that he will be a mighty factor to be dealt with in 1916, and if he is not to be the party nominee, he is to be one of the foremost leaders of the reorganized party, and will have much to say as to its policies and its declaration of principles.

At the sessions of the National Committee, Senator Borah sought out opportunities to express his disapproval of the leadership of William Barnes in New York State, and repeatedly he let it be known, in the presence of Mr. Barnes, that the Republican party must rid itself of his leadership and of the leadership of politicians of his type if it hopes to regain power in American politics. He did not hesitate to predict, while looking at Boss Barnes, that the Republican party under the leadership of the old bosses would go to utter ruin in 1916.

Cummins' Fight With Barnes.

Boss Barnes was one of the foremost advocates of a special National convention in 1914 to revise the basis of representation in Republican conventions, and to consider other changes of policy. This, also, was the stand taken by Senator Cummins, of Iowa, who was the first to put forth the demand for a National convention next year. Barnes and Cummins, of course, were actuated by different motives, but at the session of the National Convention they fought shoulder to shoulder.

When the National Committee met settlement appeared to be evenly divided between those, on the one hand, who favored a convention in 1914, and those who, on the other hand, demanded that the National Committee, as representing the party leadership, should itself assume responsibility now for committing the party to reforms for which there has been nation-wide demand, and without which the Republican party could not hope for successful reorganization.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau to the West

From **JOURNAL** *Elizabeth, N. J.*
Address _____
Date **DEC 16 1915**

A GOOD BEGINNING.

It augurs well for the future when leaders of both the progressive and reactionary forces in the Republican party agree. It is much more significant that they agree unanimously upon reforms needed to prevent a recurrence of the conditions that rent in twain the Chicago convention. The demands of the progressives have been fully met and granted by the National Committee in its conference at Washington.

It was agreed that it is not necessary to hold a special convention of the party prior to the convention of 1916 to determine a new basis of representation that shall minimize the influence of the Southern States. A resolution was unanimously adopted calling upon the committee to proceed to determine upon a basis of representation to future conventions, subject to ratification of the party in the various States. It recognizes, also, the primary laws of the different States and concedes that each State has a right to choose delegates as it may elect. It also deprives the National Committee of power to make up the temporary roll calls of conventions, which has been a source of contention in the past. In brief, practically all the demands of the Roosevelt followers in the Chicago fight have been granted.

The representation in the meeting of the National Committee was fairly divided between the conservative and progressive forces. There were William Barnes, of New York; ex-Senator Murray Crane, of Massachusetts, and Jim Watson, of Indiana, to represent the stand-patters; and such outspoken progressives as ex-Governor Hahey, of Missouri; Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Senator A. B. Cummins, of Iowa. Their meeting was cordial and harmonious and each went into the deliberations of the conference evidently fully impressed by the importance and seriousness of the task before him.

Senator Borah struck the keynote in his address before the conference, when he said:

The great contest which will determine whether the Republican party is to resume supremacy or pass into history will be settled in 1916. All other skirmishes, no matter how much they may be emphasized, will be preliminary. We can afford to be cautious and patient in preparing for that great conflict. If I did not believe that the Republican party was progressive, and that 95 per cent. of the members of that party have a heart interest in the great problems confronting the Nation, I would not remain a member of the party.

If the Republican party adopts a reactionary platform in 1916, it will become nothing but the voice of the aristocracy. I believe it is progressive and I want to gather up that progressive sentiment and crystallize it in 1916. If we should call a convention in 1914 that convention would inevitably result in the selection of hand-picked delegates in two-thirds of the States, and any platform promulgated would not be a true expression of the rank and file of the people, and would not be one upon which the party would be able to go to the country in the next Congressional election. By 1916 every State will have adopted a primary law, whereas there is no general provision possible next year.

This sentiment finds ready response in the hearts of the great majority of Republicans. The results of the conference are encouraging to those who hope for the reunion and reorganization of the party.

Republicans, both progressive and otherwise, will meet in Boise February 12th, and do honor to the memory of Abraham Lincoln the one man above all others, whom the nation reveres and honors. Invitations have been sent out by the State Lincoln Banquet Association, with headquarters in Boise and the invitations sent to progressives and stand-patters alike, with the avowed object of getting the factions together, with the hopes of a permanent union. There is more hope along this line in Idaho perhaps, than any other state in the union. This is the result of the attitude of Senator Borah, the leading progressive figure of the United States, toward the union of the party factions. Idaho republicans, progressive and stand-patters, have great faith in the wisdom and patriotism of Senator Borah and his attitude will no doubt take back the great majority of the progressives into the republican ranks, and the Lincoln Day Banquet will in all probability mark the beginning of the end of the progressive party, under that party name, in the state of Idaho.

HERALD
ess: Washington, D. C.

DEC 21 1915

Accepted by the South.

There was, of course, some protest from the national committeemen from Southern States. They could not be expected to agree to a reduction of almost one-half the numerical strength of their delegations without objection.

At the same time, the antagonists was neither serious nor prolonged. In the very nature of things, it could not be effective. The Southern Republicans realized that the events which occurred at Chicago last year had everything to do with the revolt against President Taft and the consequent Democratic victory. They also knew that until conditions were changed there was no chance of a return of the Republican party to power. Under these circumstances, they were willing to be sacrificed for the practical reason that it is better to have offices than delegates. They have made some sacrifice, it is true, but it is not as much as some of the more radical members of the committee would have desired. There were radical propositions under consideration, but they were compromised upon a basis which, in the end, recognizes the Congressional district, even though that district may be eternally Democratic.

The fact that the convention idea was abandoned and that the South was not entirely ignored is a tribute to the leadership of Senator Borah, of Idaho, Senator Cummins, of Iowa, notwithstanding an earnest and eloquent argument, failed to impress his advocacy of a convention upon the committee. If, in the future, Senator Borah should appear as a Presidential aspirant it will be found that he immeasurably strengthened himself among the party leaders by his dominant influence in the proceedings of the gathering here last week.

THE COMMITTEE BLUNDERS.

Discussion in Republican newspapers of the Republican National Committee's decision not to call a special National convention next year and of its action on reform of the basis of representation evidences a distinct feeling of disappointment. Notwithstanding the facts that Senator Borah, the foremost spokesman of progress, opposed a convention, and that William Barnes, a representative of conservatism, favored it, the impression prevails that the vote not to call a convention was a reactionary victory. Dissatisfaction with the committee's action in this regard is increased by the plan of reapportioning delegates which it adopted. This plan is held by several newspapers not to provide an adequate remedy for excessive Southern representation.

The most outspoken critic of the committee is the New York Tribune.

What the Republicans wanted was a change through the instrumentality of a new convention to change the basis of representation on a basis which their own ideas of justice and equality. But the committee, with a view to preventing the free action of the party and thus avoiding undue interference with its own authority, preferred to initiate a personally conducted lawless business, leaving the voters only the narrow latitude of accepting or rejecting whatever reorganization of wisdom might be offered them.

The plan of representation adopted is a violation of the demand for a fairer distribution of delegate power in National elections, but it is only a step. The indignities, but not almost as glaring as those existing under the present system. The committee ventured to hog off a part of the country a repressive representation of the Southern States, but failed to deal honestly or courageously with the abuse of "rotten boroughs."

The Hartford Times, a Democratic newspaper, tries to stir up dissatisfaction in Connecticut with the committee's action by saying:

It is, perhaps, significant that even under the proposed reform Alabama, with 13 delegates, and Georgia, with 18, will still outrank Connecticut, which is to continue with 11.

The Boston Advertiser, another Democratic paper, says the committee's decision "is being repudiated by party sentiment all over the country," and continues:

The plain truth of the matter is evidently lost in this selfish committee measure and not personal party sentiment. For at this time the welfare of the country which I usually regard as Republican, the state that are sincerely Republican by word, is sacrificed. It is plain that there is a deep disappointment over the committee's report to hold any party conference during the coming year.

The Washington Star explains the committee's action by saying it "rested largely on the risk that might be taken," and continues:

A programme could not be imposed upon such a meeting as National convention, and with all subjects open for discussion and action, and interest high, further discussion, rather than harmony and reunion, might be the result.

The Boston Transcript says the committee "has dealt wisely with a difficult problem," and praises Senator Borah for his services in promoting harmony.

The New York World, however,

More powerful than anything else in starting the parties of the National Republican committee was the confidence of its members that hard times are at hand.

Republicans of the old guard are accused by the World of hoping fervently for hard times, and utterances of Representative Mann, ex-Speaker Cannon and Representative Humphrey are quoted in substantiation of the charge. Sherman Granger, of Ohio, is said to have "epitomized the gospel of industry and staidness in the words: 'Democratic legislation and the conditions we now have in the country—these are your platform.'" Republican leaders are accused of misrepresenting the facts by the World when it says: "There is not a Republican leader who does not know that financial disquiet is universal." It expresses the belief that President Wilson's public service "may be improved by antagonism that is based in conscience, principle and patriotism, but not by antagonism having its roots in greed and revenge," and it decries the leadership of the Republican party at fault.

The Chicago Evening Post thus expresses the Progressive party sentiment:

Had the committee yielded to the plea of Messrs. Cushman and Hatley for the holding of a "reorganizing" convention we believe that the country would certainly have gained the impression that there was an opportunity and a reasonable desire to right the wrongs committed in Chicago last year. There is some reason to believe, too, that a convention would have not only a "clarification of principles" that would have thrown an even more deceptive veil of progressivism over the reactionary machines.

In this way the disruption of the progressive movement in its present embodiment in the Progressive party, might have been prevented. As it is now, the reaction is a reversion to a once splendid party machine.

The Republican National Committee has blundered. The Oregonian was ready to accept its judgment as to the basis of reorganization and to waive its desire for a restatement of Republican principles, but evidently the Republican party expected something more and better, and opponents of the party see in the action of the committee an opportunity to score against it. They score. The National committee has not realized how broad and deep was the breach made in the party in 1912. It seems to have hoped to set a broken bone by applying a poultice.

Republican voters, both those who stayed with it and those who left the party, desire that their representatives meet in open council, state anew Republican principles as applied to the conditions of 1913 and themselves adopt a new plan of representation in convention. Whether the National committee had authority to adopt such a plan or not, it was unwise to exercise that authority. When a party is split into two nearly equal parts, as was the Republican party in 1912, no power short of the highest can find a basis of reunion. The emergency called for a National convention which

should revise the system of representation and should state Republican principles so plainly that no man or woman who holds them will have any excuse to adhere to any other party.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1913.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1913.

THE PROSPECT OF REPUBLICANS UNITING.

The meeting of the national committee of the Republican party which was participated in by Progressive members, held at Washington this week, resulted in a decision by a vote of thirty-five to fourteen not to call a national convention next year to devise plans for party reorganization.

Progressives and stand-patters united in opposition to the plan chiefly because there is no party or legal machinery in existence which provides a manner of electing delegates to such a convention, and each feared a house packed by the other.

The spirit of the meeting is best seen in the contrasted statements of Barnes, extreme stand-patter of New York, in favor of the convention and by Senator Borah, of Idaho against it. Barnes favored the convention he said because "I believe that it will be controlled overwhelmingly by the sane, conservative element of the party," and Borah retorted "That's exactly why I oppose the convention." "Take my word for it," he said, "if the Republican party is to be the party of plutocracy then it might as well be on the scrap heap. I do not intend to face such a contest with my hands tied and feet hobbled."

The committee decided to change the basis of representation from Southern States in the next national convention, but as the change must be made by the men who controlled the Taft convention the Progressives are not hopeful of satisfactory results.

The one thing most clearly shown by the meeting is the tendency throughout the country toward an entire new alignment of political parties. Ultimately we shall have a liberal party, probably called Democratic, in which the liberal and progressive men of all parties will be united and a conservative party in which all men opposed to them will act together.

Senator Borah in New Jersey.

Senator Borah spoke in Elizabeth this afternoon in behalf of the republican candidate for Governor of New Jersey. His speech was of particular interest because of the fact that at the Chicago Republican convention last year he supported what was called the progressive cause. When defeated, however, he did not leave the republican party, and was re-elected to the Senate as a republican. He considers himself a progressive republican, and so took part in the Jersey campaign.

This is taken from Mr. Borah's Elizabeth speech:

"There were a number of people who were singularly interested in the progressive cause who did not join the third party movement. They believed then, and they believe now, that the vast majority of the republican voters are progressive, and that in order to make a progressive party it is only necessary to organize the voters of that party. Whatever the substance were at Chicago, they did not change the personal or the character of the rank and file of the party; they did not change their views upon efficiency, upon the tariff, upon currency, upon corporation control, upon social justice or any other question.

The whole record, made at Chicago last year, and in a number of states since, supports the Idaho senator's assertions. The rank and file of the republican party and of the progressive party have never been very far apart. They agree today as to the tariff, the currency, the trusts, the army, the navy, the Philippines—all the big, practical questions before the country. Protection, sound money and a safe currency, firm control of all menacing trusts, an adequate army, an adequate navy, and continued American control of the Philippines until independence can be safely granted the natives, are progressive as well as republican objectives.

With these things true—and they are incontrovertible—what is keeping the progressives and the republicans longer apart? The initiative and referendum is an issue for local decision, and the recall of judicial decisions, however much importance a few progressive leaders may attach to it, cannot be made to balance the great national issues upon which both progressives and republicans are agreed.

Gov. Fielder, the democratic candidate for governor, has no hope of election except through a large vote for the progressive candidate. Not even the support of the national administration can secure him a majority over all. If elected he will be a minority governor, just as Mr. Wilson, through the division of the progressives and the republicans on a national scale last year, is a minority President.

A substantial response to Mr. Borah's appeal is generally anticipated. The republicans are certain to poll a very much larger vote than the progressives. Many Jersey progressives who voted against Mr. Taft last year will vote for Gov. Stokes, the republican candidate, next Tuesday. They can see no gain to themselves or to the policies for which they stand by helping to bring in the democratic candidate, standing as he does for state and national policies to which they are opposed.

From ENQUIRER

Address: Philadelphia, Pa.

Date

COMING BACK TO THE PARTY

Senator Borah, of Idaho, who has been on the stump for Governor Stokes in New Jersey, says there is no doubt that tens of thousands of Republicans who left their party in order to ally with the wiles of Progressivism in the last campaign are coming back to the Republican fold. The best part of this testimony is that Senator Borah knows what he is talking about. He says that the vast majority of those who voted with the third party last year have concluded to realign themselves with the Republican Party because they are convinced that it is the only effective way to get results.

The Senator gives some figures which are more impressive than mere words. More than 60 per cent. of the Progressives have gone back to Republicanism in Michigan; less than 10 per cent. remained in the third party in the test in Maine, and just about 10 per cent. remained out of the Republican Party in West Virginia. The vote on a Judgeship in Illinois a few days ago proved that although the Progressives had 24,000 in that district last November they had only 6,000 in this year's vote.

It is inconceivable that Pennsylvania and New Jersey will be behind these other localities when it comes to a return to the faith, and for this reason the returns will be scrutinized with interest on next Tuesday night.

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KODG
BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
DEC 17 1916

NO CONVENTION, BUT REFORM.

The Republican National Committee at Washington yesterday did an important day's work and the net results show that the conservative activity because of a change in business conditions throughout the Country has not appealed altogether to some of the men who might be expected to do the bidding of the "stand patters."

It was so far successful that the Committee after a general discussion in public, the progressive members forcing open sessions, was against a special National Convention next year, but was strongly in favor of making many of those changes which the advanced element in the party has demanded. The difference in method is that the Committee will make the changes instead of calling a Convention to do it.

Whether or not this is a wiser procedure than through a Convention, only the outcome of the Committee's work will decide. A Sub-committee has been named to bring in plans, and as the majority of that committee, six out of ten members, are from the Western States, there is reason to believe that a radical change in Convention methods will be arranged.

Two of the brainiest progressive leaders, Hadley of Missouri and Borah of Idaho, are on the Committee and their influence should count.

The proposed alterations which the Sub-committee has under consideration, include a change in the system of representation, which will give greater power to the States polling the bulk of the Republican vote, while it somewhat reduces the vote in the Southern States. It is also proposed to recognize State action in choosing delegates and no change in the temporary roll is to be made when any State elects delegates directly. The powers of the National Committee in the matter of delegates will be somewhat curtailed if all the plans proposed are adopted, which seems likely.

That the dissatisfaction now so apparent all over the Country had a marked effect upon the Committee's actions, as intimated in this column yesterday, was apparent from the report of the discussions which appear in the papers this morning. Thus it was that the National Convention for next year failed to win support. Such progressive leaders as Borah and Jones said that the Republican party did not need a new declaration of principles at this day because the "closed mill" would be sufficient. It would be time to consider this question in 1916.

All of this may be good politics. The future will decide. To political observers the more open course seems the most inviting, and its sup-

port by such men as Hadley of Missouri, and even Murray Crane of Massachusetts, would indicate that it deserved a trial. But the other plan appears at this time to be so alluring that the majority favored it, for better or for worse. History will tell which was the wiser course.

From

NORF
JOLIET, ILL.

G. O. P. TAKING HINTS.

The Republican National Committee is in session at Washington today. Yesterday the progressive element had an inning, and the committee by a vote of 35 to 14 agreed to change their convention rules, recognize state laws, accept the primary method and re-adjust the plan of representation, particularly as it applies to non-Republican states southward.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, referring to the Barnes domination, said to the conference:

"I don't want to do it with my hands tied and my feet hobbled. If I can be permitted to go into the fields and the byways and tell men that they can go to a convention of their party and assure them that they can be seated after they get there, I will take a chance on a fight with the friends of the old system of doing things.

"This may and may not be a parting of the ways, but I would not be candid if I did not say that the Republican party must be progressive, that it must adopt a progressive platform, and nominate a progressive candidate for president in 1916."

Senator Jones added:

"We cannot afford to wait for something to turn up as a consequence of Democratic legislation. I believe we must show that we are a progressive and militant party. The result in 1916 is not less important than we have a Republican house and senate in 1914 that we may be able to block further legislation which will work further injury to the country.

The heaven is working well so far. The test will come in selecting those who shall stand for these things. Barnes, Crane, Cannon apparently have complexions unsuitable for progressive patterns, arrayed as committeemen or candidates, and their appearance on the political streets would jar the multitude.

REPUBLICAN REHABILITATION.

New York News

Senator Root's declaration yesterday that he could not and would not be a candidate for the presidency was almost as important in the interests of Republican national reorganization as the progressive declarations made by the national committee at the Washington conference.

Despite his immeasurably greater fitness for the office, and his long, honorable and brilliant public service, the serious consideration of Senator Root as the nominee of the party in 1916 would be as disastrous to the rehabilitation of the party in the nation as would the consideration of the Hon. William Barnes of Albany for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in this state next year. Right or wrong, no one concerned, as were these two men, in the events that led up to the Roosevelt revolt could possibly be considered for public office at this time.

We believe that no one better realizes this to be the fact than Senator Root himself, although he gave as his reason that he would be seventy-two years of age before the next president is inaugurated.

About the time that the senator made his announcement, several presidential booms were given an airing at the Republican conference. They included those of Senators Borah and Cummins and Governor Hadley. All three men are of presidential caliber, and any one of them may hopefully aspire to the presidency in view of the resolution adopted yesterday.

This resolution pledges the party to adopt a unit of representation in national conventions that will minimize the influence of the southern states. It recognizes the primary laws of the various states and concedes to every state the right to choose delegates as it may elect.

It deprives the national committee of the power of making up the temporary rolls of conventions. This change, however, affects only such delegates as may be named in primaries.

With these reforms assured, the prospect brightens. Only one gigantic Personal Ambition casts a shadow across the path that should lead to Republican victory in 1916.

Warren Signal

NOV 10 1916

Looking on the Progressive.

Two things give especial note to Senator Borah's prediction made in a speech for ex-Governor Stokes in New Jersey, that the return of the Progressive party to a renovated and progressive Republicanism is now inevitable, says the New York Evening Post. In the first place, as a follower of Roosevelt who still stuck by the old party, he can interpret the psychology of that great body of voters who "believed last year and believe now," in his words, "that the vast majority of Republican voters are progressive and that in order to make a progressive party it is necessary only to organize them" under the old name. This new spark within the party he holds vindicated by the paying sense of the abuse which resulted in the Chicago split. In the second place, he draws common sense inductions from the homeward drift of the Progressives. "More than 60 per cent of them have gone back in Michigan; less than 10 per cent remained in the third party in the test in Maine; and just about 10 per cent in the test in West Virginia. The vote on an Illinois Judgeship a few days ago disclosed the fact that, although they had 16,000 votes last November, they had only 9,000 last Tuesday." Everything, he believes, points to the determination of progressive-minded men to take possession of the Republican party and reorganize it. There is sense in all this, and sense that is bound to appeal to the New Jersey voters who are having difficulty in distinguishing between Mr. Colby and Mr. Stokes.

DES MOINES, IOWA
DEC 18 1913

REPUBLICAN REORGANIZATION

All things considered, the Republican National Committee, at its special meeting in Washington, has dealt wisely with a difficult problem. Instead of calling a special convention next year the changes in party procedure upon which the committee, with unobscured unanimity, agreed, are to be embodied in a referendum to the Republicans of the several States. If approved by a two-thirds vote the delegates to the next regular national convention will be elected under the revised rules.

The amendments to be voted upon cover the points in dispute at the last national convention which precipitated the split in the party. The basis of representation will be changed from population to the Republican vote cast, and where a State law providing for the election of delegates to national conventions conflicts with party procedure the delegates shall be elected in conformity with the statute, and delegates so elected shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the convention upon the presentation of a certificate from the State authorities.

In recommending to the rank and file of their party these new rules of procedure the national committee makes no confession of wrongdoing at Chicago last year. Indeed its orderly process is in contrast with the disorderly attempt of the majority in that gathering to turn itself into a majority by overthrowing the regular procedure in utter disregard of all parliamentary law. The difference between what the national committee proposes to do and what the majority in the Chicago convention attempted to do is merely the difference between making a rule and breaking a rule. Under the rules which governed the last national convention a State was required to elect its delegates in conformity with the call of the national committee issued the preceding year. The Republican organization in California ignored that historic party rule and elected its delegates in accord with a law passed at a special session of the Legislature, which was designed to give to one faction the control of the delegation. The national committee, sustained by a majority of the convention, stood by the existing rule of the party and refused to seat certain California delegates. In the Southern States the national committee passed upon the credentials of the delegates presenting themselves and placed upon the temporary roll those delegations whom it believed entitled to seats. To break this parliamentary rule and party procedure would prevent the placing of these delegates on the temporary roll. To that end the minority addressed themselves, for it offered the only way to turn themselves into a majority.

At the next national convention neither one of these issues can come up if the changes recommended by the national committee are ratified by the rank and file of the party. The increasing number of States which have enacted laws providing for the regulation of party procedure makes desirable a recognition of the State law for those delegates whom it affects.

Senator Cummins is deserving of the warmest congratulations and appreciation for the service rendered by him at the committee meeting in reconciling conflicting views, eliminating personalities, and pointing the way to that reorganization which must precede any hope of Republican restoration and, if long delayed, would threaten the life of the party, even in the useful role of sincere opposition.

Another significant development of the week is the news from Illinois, the birthplace of the third party, that the recall of judicial decisions has apparently been dropped from the public creed of that organization. We take it this omission is a forerunner of its elimination from the party's platform. The Illinois Progressives are following the example of their brethren in Massachusetts, who put the soft pedal on this iniquitous doctrine throughout their last State campaign. The original protest which the third party was formed to perpetuate was directed against those rules of party procedure whose amendment has now been recommended in orderly manner by the Republican National Committee. The one fundamental objection of all Republicans to the party's preposterous offering has been the iniquitous proposal of the recall of judges and the recall of judicial decisions, the advocacy of which has now been shrewdly suspended by the third party in Massachusetts and Illinois. What could be more significant of the inevitable merger, whether it come next year or in 1916, than the removal of these two obstacles to such reunion?

NO CONVENTION.

Whether Senator Borah could draw sufficient warrant for his fight against a special convention to reorganize the party from the suspected composition of such a convention, he was wholly right when he assured his brother members of the committee that the convention would be made up of "hand-picked" delegates.

It was only necessary to consider the situation as it would arise in Iowa. A call for a special national convention would at once be followed by a call for a state convention and in connection with the state convention for district caucuses to select delegates in the old way. The primary machinery of the state would not be available for the purpose of selecting county delegates to district and state conventions, and the old-fashioned caucus would necessarily be resorted to.

It is entirely possible, with the bull mooseers remaining away from the caucuses, that Iowa would send a solid delegation of stalwarts. In any event, it is sure that a large preponderance of the members of the delegation from Iowa would be out of sympathy with the spirit of the

call, if not wholly antagonistic to its purpose.

That a convention so composed would do much to improve the machinery of party procedure and would go on record with an indorsement of many progressive reforms, if nothing should happen between now and the time of its meeting to discredit the new administration and to hold out inducements of a reaction to the old leadership, is assumed by everybody. But that enough would be accomplished to justify those of the progressive faith in pinning all their fortunes to a convention so composed is not so plain, and for that reason, doubtless, Senator Borah refused to acquiesce.

The upshot of the whole matter is that reorganization is postponed to some future time, not that it has been abandoned. For the immediate effect of the decision of the national committee will be to greatly stimulate the bull moose movement, which is likely to prove formidable enough in many pivotal states in the coming election to force a situation. The republican leaders do not propose to lead a forlorn hope in 1916, and that is what they will lead if sufficient concessions are not made to bring back those who have followed the Roosevelt leadership.

In so far as Senator Cummins is concerned, he has evidently lost nothing in taking leadership in the movement for a convention. It has given him standing with many who have never before looked upon him as a republican, and has lost him nothing with his progressive following. Here in Iowa his personal record has been his reliance, and inevitably will be in the senatorial contest that is ahead. What he might have done as a party reorganizer would have cut little figure in the purely personal canvass which the senatorial campaign will develop into the moment an opposing candidate is named or opposing candidates as the case may be.

ACTION OF THE REPUBLICANS

Yesterday the Republican national committee adopted all the proposals made by the progressive element in the party, except that to hold a special national convention next spring. As Senator Borah opposed the convention plan, and Messrs. Cane and Mr. Barnes, of New York, favored it, it can not be said that the issue between progressivism and staidness was well defined. Many felt that to have held a convention under the old rules, composed of delegates elected by the old methods, might have defeated the objects sought.

The committee decided to change the basis of representation, to recognize the rights of states to provide such machinery as they chose for the election of delegates, even by a state-wide primary. These reforms are to be submitted to the states, and when ratified by two-thirds of them will become effective. It is, therefore, for the party to say whether it will reform itself. The issue will be fairly presented, and there is no reason why there should not be a fair vote on it.

All that can be said of the action yesterday is that it is a step in the right direction, and proof that even the party organization is somewhat responsive to public opinion. The supporters of the convention plan are naturally discouraged. But they can, if they will go to work, make certain the adoption of the changes in party law. With these changes, the party will be more nearly its own master than it has been for years. We shall then see what it will do with its new-found freedom. This broader question is discussed in another column. It is only necessary to say here that the party must move forward or go into liquidation. As even the reactionaries are not enamored of defeat, it is likely that some of them may be brought to see that progressive policies are at least "good politics." There will have to be an adjustment to new conditions, a fact that was recognized yesterday by the national committee.

If the rank and file, rather than the "practical" leaders, control, there need be no fear that the party will not be influenced by the new spirit now working in politics. For that spirit is felt by men of all parties. The immediate task, therefore, is to put the party machinery where it belongs—that is in a subordinate position.

St. Paul, Minn., Dispatch
WEDNESDAY, DEC. 17, 1913.

WHAT REFORM IS THIS?

It has not been made certain that the chief purpose of the assembling of the Republican committeemen has been accomplished. We have heard the cry of "mens culpa" from sundry members, when the course of the organization at Chicago was referred to, but it did not ring very true. There is some reason for believing most of these members, unchastened by events, would take the same course again in the same circumstances.

Senator Borah expressed the crucial idea when he said: "We want to be able to tell the men of the party when they go to convention as delegates they may be accused they will be seated." And yet, after the meeting Borah turned to Boss Barnes of New York, paid a compliment to his political astuteness and said of him: "Unless some change is made he will just as surely be as potent in the convention of 1916 as he was in 1912."

If conditions are to be permitted to remain that will make Barnes and Barnes' methods potent in the next national convention of the Republican party the meeting in Washington came to naught. Barnes was the high priest of that cult of arrogant disregard of the people and their desires which wrecked the party. The political leopard of New York has not changed his spots and never will. Unless the new party theories and regulations put out of business the Barnes, the Patroses, the Watsons and all others of that ilk, the real humans in the party might as well cry "Behold!" and continue to mourn over the glory which has deserted Borah to return.

Chicago, Ill., Inter Ocean
Thursday, December 18, 1914

The Republican National Committee.

There will be no special national convention of the Republican party next spring.

Southern representation will be restricted in the regular national convention of 1916, subject to ratification by two-thirds of the states which elected Taft electors in 1908.

The steam roller has been put on the scrap heap, inasmuch as all state primary laws will be recognized and all delegates who hold certificates from state nominating boards will be put upon the temporary roll of the 1916 convention.

Such are the main results—at this writing—of the meeting of the Republican national committee in Washington.

There was no set and dried program Tuesday. Everything was thrashed out, beginning with the question of the power of the national committee to make the proposed changes as against the proposition to call a special convention. The convention plan lost by a vote of thirty-five states to fourteen, and then the resolution to make the change by action of the committee was carried by a visa voce vote that was practically unanimous.

As an example of the thoroughness of the thrashing-out process it may be mentioned that Senator BORAH of Idaho fought the convention plan and former Governor HALEY of Missouri argued in its favor. Both are considered in some quarters to be presidential possibilities. Senator CUMMINS of Iowa, also a presidential hopeful, was admitted to the conference and spoke for the convention. Representative Woods of Iowa, chairman of the Republican congressional committee, was also invited to take part in the national committee's meeting.

Said Senator BORAH in closing the debate for those against the special convention:

I believe the Republican party is progressive and I want to gather up that progressive sentiment and crystallize it in 1916. If we call a convention in 1914 what position will we be in? There are states with primary laws not adapted for a national convention except for the selection of a national ticket. Such a convention would inevitably result in the selection of hand-picked delegates in two-thirds of the states, and any platform promulgated would not be a true expression of the rank and file of the people and would not be one upon which the party would be able to go in the country with in the next congressional election.

Between the lines of this can be read the conviction that the DEMOCRATIC platform is now being made by a Democratic administration which has already lost public confidence, which has already depressed business and which has already furnished proof of the infinite capacity of the Democratic party for making mistakes. Senator Snoot of Utah groined applause when he said that when the question was asked as to what was the matter with smokeless chimneys on every hand the answer should be placarded on the closed factory doors:

"Wilson—that's all."

Anyway, be these things as they may, the National Republican committee is evidently able to work in harmony and has apparently decided important questions without ructions of any kind. This is certainly a significant condition of affairs and would seem largely to justify the optimistic prophecies of reunited ranks and victories in 1914 and 1916 by the leaders in attendance.

From **LOS ANGELES, CAL.**
Address **DEC 20 1914**

SHATTERING OF OLD IDOLS URGED

FLUDDUB declarations to the effect that "principles are eternal, that the grand old party is loyal to the flag, to the Constitution, and to the Republic; that it will never cease to be the champion of the people," etc., etc., with similar expressions of spread-eagleness have long since failed to make converts or convince anybody. The people are astute enough to know that a party which favors a few at the expense of the many is not much of a champion for them. It is fine to be loyal to the flag, to have principles that are eternal, but what if the principles are a trifle awry? Senator Borah stated Tuesday at the meeting of the Republican national committee what we have previously emphasized in these columns, that if the Republican party adopts a reactionary platform in 1916, it will become nothing but the voice of the aristocracy. Said he:

If I did not believe that the Republican party was progressive and that 85 per cent of the members of the party have a heart interest in the great problems confronting the nation, I would not remain a member of the party. But my observations and investigations convince me that the rank and file of this party organization are just as much alive to the problems of the hour as were the men in the forefront of the party from 1856 to 1884.

We commend this utterance to those reactionary sheets now engaged in urging a standpat program on the party and denouncing all progressive principles sought to be injected into the organization. Yet here is Senator Borah, one of the big guns of the party, found preaching a doctrine wholly dissimilar and predicting certain defeat in 1916 unless the reactionary program is abandoned and cognizance is taken of the modern trend of thought as exemplified in lowered tariffs, the direct primary laws, reapportionment of delegates to the national conventions and the recognition of kindred progressive demands. As Senator Borah told his associates, "I would not be candid if I did not say that the Republican party must be progressive, and it must adopt a progressive platform and nominate a progressive candidate for President in 1916."

His conclusion agrees with that of every unprejudiced observer at all versed in the politics of the country. It was reached by a few of the more discerning when President Taft ignored his pre-election pledges and after signing the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill foolishly lauded that unregenerate measure. His acts cost the party its majority in congress and the banal work of the Republican convention at Chicago in clinging to its idols and re-nominating the likable but fatuous William Howard Taft completed its suicidal

course. Yet there are those who assume to say that "the main thing is to perpetuate the principles of the party . . . to refuse to surrender to disgruntled and disappointed factions," which is to be interpreted that Senator Borah is all wrong and that the reactionaries are all right.

However, the Republican national committee has heeded Senator Borah's warning to the extent of deciding on a change in the basis of representation in national conventions which will effectually block the solid south, with its sparse votes, from dictating to the Republican north as in the past, to the demoralization of the party. Other reforms are promised. That the views of Senator Borah rather than those of Mr. Barnes of New York will prevail the progressive action of the committee foreshadows. If the Republicans would win control of the lower house of congress in 1914 it is imperative to show tendencies of conforming to the manifest desires of the rank-and-file majority. We have no idea that a political revolution of that nature will ensue, with Mr. Wilson so earnest in his performances, but, at least, the Republicans have a fighting chance in pursuing the course earnestly advocated by the progressive Mr. Borah.

PREROGATIVE IN CHOOSING PARTY AFFILIATIONS

Senator Borah is among those who are being severely criticized for affiliation with the old republican party when his sympathies and convictions, it is declared, are all with the progressive party, the desire to hold office being given as the reason for his alleged sacrifice of intellectual integrity. The Tribune does not believe the indictment will hold good and therefore ought not to go unchallenged, because, if so, the public is then running off upon imaginary grievances instead of real ones. There are, or will be, doubtless, valid grounds for criticizing and antagonizing Senator Borah and these should be given a clear field instead of obscuring and weakening them by fallacious or untenable accusations. A good way to get the right line on many circumstances is to apply the same rule to one's own associations. In the democratic party, for example, we are prone to admire those who subordinate their own special views to the larger interest of the general policy. At present in congress, both house and senate, there are all sorts of democrats, progressive and reactionary, insurgent and regular, who conceive that their individual differences and degrees should be subordinated to a particular legislative program, which does not altogether meet the identical views of any of them, or of but few of them. Instead of reproaching, we applaud, and the country applauds, the fidelity of democrats to their party's platform and to its prior claim on their allegiance.

Senator Borah is entitled to equal consideration in his desire and in his right to remain in the republican party, even while lacking sympathy with some of its policies and plans. Private citizens assert the same privilege of criticizing and opposing some of their party's professions and performances, and then of supporting the ticket. Much more should a man in public life have the right to retain his membership and his place in the party ranks, even while out of agreement with some of its tendencies. Mr. Borah is a lifelong republican, with one brief intermission which naturally acts as a deterrent from future lapses, and all of his usefulness is to be found in the associations there formed. He would have little prestige or opportunity in any other party organization. The same can be said of any democrat who should leave his party over temporary differences and seek to re-enter public life as something else.

Meantime Senator Borah is taking his own chances in remaining with the republican party and can no longer hope to retain his seat merely because of the past predominance of that party. The republican party is now the minority party, and may remain so indefinitely. Its nomination is no longer equivalent to election. It may be political suicide to give adherence to that party, as things now stand and are shaping themselves. That remains to be seen. It is enough for large public purposes that the former inordinate power of that party is now broken, in the doing of which Senator Borah performed a full part, and that henceforth it must stand on own merits and not through sheer physical might. It is also fair for republicans to try to make their party a worthy and fit instrumentality in government, whether in an opposition or in a responsible capacity, and Senator Borah can be quite as useful there as he can be elsewhere in the partisan grouping. It is not the party or the church or the lodge a man belongs to that counts, but the way in which he conducts himself in that relationship, and Senator Borah has managed to so conduct himself as to win a high place in the national councils for himself, while at the same time bringing just honor and power to his state and his constituency.

The specific public acts and policies of the senator, and of other public officers, are not only fair targets for examination and for comment but it is highly important that they should be held up to rigid judgment. To that end The Tribune has contributed something, as to Senator Borah as well as to others, and unless all signs fall it will have occasion to contribute a good deal more. But as to what particular party Senator Borah, or others, may deem it their duty, or their interest to adhere to, we think is very much of a private right, not to say sacred right, concerning which few first-rate men, in office or out of office, will permit to be questioned, and which equally few men will seek to question.

THE REASON OF IT.

Why did Barnes, of New York, support the proposal to hold an ad interim Republican convention next year, and why did Borah oppose it? This question has been raised by many persons who have regarded the proposed convention as a progressive response and who know Barnes as a piece of reactionaries. It is answered, in a measure, by the following comment of Ben F. Allen, the Washington correspondent of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

On the question of holding an extraordinary convention next year the division was not as progressive and conservative lines as had been expected. It had been expected that the progressive wing of the party would insist without surrender, for a national convention and that the conservatives would oppose.

Indeed there were unexpected changes in this lineup. Senator Borah, of Idaho, a conservative liberal, earnestly opposed the holding of a special convention, while on the other hand the votes of "Boss" Barnes, Republican state chairman of New York, and W. Murray Crane, of Massachusetts, ultra-conservatives, were cast for a convention.

The motives actuating the opinions of these leaders of opposing thought within the party were made perfectly clear at the committee session and indicated that the elements within the party have a long road yet to travel before there can be hope of harmony.

Explaining his vote, Senator Borah said the question of conservative or liberal control of the Republican party was yet to be settled and that he was not willing to face it until the primary system of selecting delegates had been extended to cover all the states.

"Our in my state we cannot select delegates to an extraordinary convention by primary," he said. "The Republican party is face to face with a contest that cannot be avoided, the question of whether it is to be the party of progress or reaction."

"We are ready for the issue," interjected Barnes. "We are ready for a convention because we believe that it will be controlled overwhelmingly by the sane, conservative element."

Wheeling to face Barnes, Senator Borah retorted:

"That is exactly why I oppose a special session of the convention. Take my word for it, the primary system of selecting delegates will be in operation in a great majority of the states by 1916. Then we can have a fair test of this question. If the Republican party is to be the party of plutocracy then it might as well be on the scrap heap. I do not intend to face such a contest with my hands tied and feet hobbled."

This clash between the two types of party men emphasized a tendency commented upon by all observers of the national committee session, toward a division of sentiment along economic rather than party lines. The belief that there must come a division of the political thought of the country into two groups, irrespective of party, one representing the liberal and the other the conservative opinion of the country, frequently was expressed.

This idea was strengthened by the week's action of the members of the Bull Moose party in congress, who met and by resolution denounced the session of the national committee as "hypocritical" and declared against any amalgamation of the Republican and Progressive parties. The action of the Republican national committee, the Progressive party leaders declared, will not stop the movement now under full way in this country for the assembling of all radicals and progressives in one party and the conservatives and reactionaries in another.

STANDARD

OGDEN, UTAH

DEC 17 1913

REFORMING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Standard had hoped to see the Republican national committee call a special convention to consider the advisability of reorganizing and purifying the party, but Senator William Borah's objection to the calling together of hand-picked delegates has led us to accept his views and to look with more favor on the action that was taken by the committee in Washington yesterday.

Borah points out that a special national convention, made up of hand-picked delegates of the reactionaries now in power could accomplish no good and might further commit the party to a non-progressive policy. Until the states have generally adopted popular primary laws which will allow the people to make their own selections of national delegates, no serious attempt at correcting the defects within the Republican party can be expected.

As Senator Borah says, the great test will come in 1916. By that time our primary laws will be quite generally in force and the convention of the party that assembles that year will be representative of the great mass of Republican voters and should be thoroughly progressive.

In the course of his speech, Senator Borah, turning to William Barnes of New York, said:

"There is not a more astute political leader in the country representing the views he does, than Mr. Barnes of New York, and unless some change is made, he will just as surely be as potent in the convention of 1916 as he was in 1912."

"Are you afraid to make an issue on that?" interrupted Mr. Hadley.

"I don't want to do it with my hands tied and my feet hobbled," Senator Borah replied. "If I can be permitted to go into the fields and byways and tell men that they can go to a convention of their party and assure them that they can be seated after they get there, I will take a chance on a fight with the friends of the old system of doing things."

"This may not be a parting of the ways, but I would not be candid if I did not say that the Republican party must be progressive, that it must adopt a progressive platform and nominate a progressive candidate for president in 1916."

While not intended to be other than conciliating, Senator Borah's remarks were a confession equivalent to a severe denunciation of the present leadership of the Republican party.

Borah brands the men in control as unscrupulous, because they have resorted to high-handed methods; he marks them as untrustworthy, because they have proved treacherous; he points to them as out of touch with the people, because they have not responded to the demands of the great body of the Republican voters; and he would not enter into another contest with them, because they use the tactics of the thug.

How to purify a party thus controlled is a problem. The national committee itself is to undertake the task and that, perhaps, is as promising a method as could be devised. If the committee does not possess the

wisdom to see the urgent necessity of party reform, a convention made up of delegates selected by the same influences could not be expected to be any improvement over the parent body.

Address CHATTANOOGA, TENN

Date DEC 19 1913

REPUBLICAN HARMONY.

Republican harmony has come into the spotlight. The progressives have won and it would seem that Mr. Roosevelt is going to have his way. The national committee, in its meeting at Washington, by its action showed that it cherished no illusions as to its ability to stand without the help of the progressives and in the main the surrender on preliminary issues was all that the most hopeful "mooch" could ask.

The most significant and perhaps the most far-reaching action taken was the reduction of southern representation in national conventions, which means that the party will commit itself to a reduction of southern congressional representation—a step it has been wanting to take for a long time but which it dared not take for prudential reasons. From the tone of the opinions expressed at Tuesday's meeting and the final adoption Wednesday of the reorganization reforms by the full committee, it is apparent that the standpatners have been sufficiently chastened to be willing to listen to terms of compromise, which is about all Mr. Roosevelt could ask or expect at this time.

One expression at the Tuesday conference must have grated somewhat harshly upon ex-Senator Sanders, who was present and participating. Senator Borah, who spoke for the right of the people to select their delegates, hit the Tennessee machine a body blow when he referred to the determination of the progressives never again to submit to be controlled by "hand-picked delegates." Tennessee's delegates to state and national conventions have always been "hand-picked," for, whereas the democrats have for the past five or six years employed the primary election as best they could without a law on the subject, the republicans have never pretended to do other than select their delegates by the old system of boss domination through the ward and district primary convention plan. In this way the bosses have usually had their way and the masses have had nothing to do with the selection of candidates. Just how far the progressives of the state will be able to progress in overturning this vicious system in Tennessee remains to be seen.

There seems to be a very active sentiment in the First district to substitute the popular for boss rule in the selection of a candidate for congress, the outcome of which will be watched with interest.

All of this harmony agitation among republicans ought to appeal strongly to democrats, unless they are willing to turn the state over permanently to that party.

From EVENING POST

Address: Chicago, Ill.

Date

NOV 4-1913

Not So Fast, Mr. Borah.

"The last six months have been awful," said Senator Borah in the New Jersey campaign. "to the satisfaction of anyone that the vast majority of those who voted for the third party last fall have concluded to realign themselves with the Republican organization."

This is, in our judgment, a decided overstatement of the fact.

In almost all the elections this year the total vote has fallen markedly below that of the presidential election. The Democrats have in the main held their last year's strength. The Republicans have often increased theirs. But there has been a great "silent vote" as yet wholly unaccounted for.

Neither Senator Borah nor anyone else can tell where it is going to be when the big issue comes again.

PARTY RULES AND POLICIES

Reno Gazette Rec 17-13

Southern Republicans are opposed to a reduction in their voting power in Republican national conventions. Having contributed much to Republican dissent and nothing to Republican success during the last forty years, they should speak in whispers rather than in shouts. One Republican in Alabama might claim some right to stand on an equality with a Republican from Iowa in a national convention if he had the same power and potency in promoting the principles and policies for which the convention stands. He not only lacks this equal power or potency but he lacks any power or potency whatever. Under any scheme of apportionment yet proposed the Republican of the South will still have more than his equitable voting strength. If he doesn't care to accept this, the party will find a way to get along with him.

The proceedings in the meeting of the national committee now in session at Washington are conclusive on two points: First, there will be a new apportionment of delegates, whether the South wants it or not; second, there will be no special convention in 1914.

Senator Borah yesterday in opposing such a convention called attention to the fact that in many states the primary laws are not adapted to any national convention except for the purpose of nominating candidates; that a convention called for the purpose of amending party rules or defining party policies would result in the selection of "hand-picked" delegates in two-thirds of these states and that any platform promulgated would not be a true expression of the rank and file of the party nor one upon which the party could go to the country in the next congressional election. Senator Borah, whose alignments have been chiefly with the progressive or radical wing of the party, stated that his observations and investigations convince him that the rank and file of the organization are just as much alive to the problems of this hour as were the men in the forefront of the party from 1850 to 1884. These men will in 1916 send delegates to a convention who will carry full and undisputed authority to speak for them and their voice will proclaim the creed and policy upon which the nominees of the convention will go before the country for support.

From EVENING NEWS,
Address Newark, N. J.
Date MAY 13 1913

THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE.

The conference of progressive Republican leaders at Chicago yesterday adopted a resolution recommending that a national convention of the party be called this year at as early a date as may be practicable. Four objects were suggested to be attained by such convention. First, to change the basis of representation in future conventions so that delegates would proportionately represent Republican voters, and not the general population.

Second, to change the rules so that the primary laws of the respective States would be recognized in the election of delegates.

Third, to make such other changes in the methods of conducting national conventions and campaigns as would conduce to giving the utmost possible effect to the principles and policies of the party; and,

Fourth, to take any other action desirable to reunite the party and to give assurance that it stands for constructive and progressive activities in the affairs of government.

It will not do to disparage the motives of men like Borah and Cummins and Hadley and Kenyon. They are as truly progressive as any of the men who cut loose from the Republican party last fall and followed the call of the Bull Moose. But they believe that the purposes sought are more likely to be attained through the medium of a united Republican party than by a third party movement. They are under no illusions as to the causes productive of the third party, and they know that there is no use of appealing for harmony so long as those causes remain unremedied. It is not worth while to plead with the Progressives to come back so long as the cards in the hands of the national committee are stacked against them.

The Chicago conference might well have added to its manifesto a demand that the members of the present national committee resign. This sentiment was expressed by several of those present, but no formal action was taken. It might as well be understood first as last that until there is a radical change, not only in the party rules, but also in the party management, it is hopeless to hold out overtures to the Progressives or to expect them to forget what happened at Chicago. New leaders are wanted quite as much as new rules.

STANDARD

WATER TOWN, N. J.
OCT 31 1911

THE HOMEWARD DRIFT

Senator Borah was a loyal Roosevelt man at Chicago, his floor leader and eloquent advocate. Mr. Borah was a progressive Republican when Mr. Roosevelt was rated a reactionary. The senator declined to join a new party, declaring that the old Republican party could be trusted to make wise and sane progress. He has been campaigning for Governor Stokes, the Republican candidate for governor in New Jersey. Here is the New York Evening Post's comment upon his position:

"Two things give especial note to Senator Borah's prediction, made yesterday in a speech for ex-Gov. Stokes in New Jersey, that the return of the Progressive party to a renovated and progressive Republicanism is now inevitable. In the first place, as a follower of Roosevelt who still stuck by the old party, he can interpret the psychology of that great body of voters who 'believed last year and believe now,' in his words, 'that the vast majority of Republican voters are progressive, and that in order to make a Progressive party it is necessary only to organize them' under the old name. This new spirit within his party he holds vindicated by its purging away of the abuses which resulted in the Chicago split. In the second place, he draws common-sense inductions from the homeward drift of the Progressives. 'More than 60 per cent of them have gone back in Michigan; less than 10 per cent remained in the third party in the test in Maine; and just about 10 per cent in the test in West Virginia. The vote on an Illinois judgeship a few days ago disclosed the fact that, although they had 36,000 votes last November, they had only 9,000 last Tuesday.' Everything, he believes, points to the determination of progressive-minded men to take possession of the Republican party, and reorganize it. There is sense in all this, and sense that is bound to appeal to the New Jersey voters who are having difficulty in distinguishing between Mr. Colby and Mr. Stokes."

From ENQUIRER
Address: Philadelphia, Pa.

A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL STRAW

The announcement of Senator Borah, of Idaho, that he is deeply interested in former Governor Stokes' candidacy for Governor of New Jersey, and that he hopes to make some speeches for him during the latter part of this month, has a significance that is deeper than the personal friendship between two men. It means that many thoughtful persons who have heretofore cast their lot with the Progressives, have come to the conclusion, that their ideals can best be realized by supporting the candidates of the Republican Party. Mr. Stokes has been rather advanced upon many subjects, but he is of the opinion that the best interests of the people can be served by the success of the Republican Party, and believing that, he consented to become the standard bearer of the party in the State of New Jersey. Scores of those who had voted with the Progressives followed him back to their first love, and now we have Senator Borah, once a pronounced Roosevelt adherent, preparing to take the stump for him as the regular Republican candidate.

This is not at all surprising, because Mr. Borah was one of those who could not see his way clear to following the ex-President out of the Republican Party. There were several million voters who felt the same as he did, and since the election of Woodrow Wilson to the Presidency, hundreds of thousands of former Republicans, who lined up with the Progressives at the polls, have shown a tendency to return to the Republican Party. After all, the differences between the two wings of the party, or at least many of the differences, are not irreconcilable, and the proof of this fact is the readiness of men of the Borah type to take the Republican stamp in favor of candidates like former Governor Stokes. This is cheering, not only in its effect upon Mr. Stokes' candidacy, but to Republicans in every section of the country.

POREANE, WASH. NOV 5-1917

Republican Party to Place Its House in Order.

Senator Borah of Idaho spoke at Camden, N. J., on October 19 about the regeneration and rebuilding of the republican party. His speech ought to be read by every republican.

He stated that "our present situation is due to betrayal of the high principles and purposes upon and for which the party was organized. . . . The meeting at Chicago last June, a year ago, was the end of a system in which all parties had been committed and which ended in a naturala of misdeeds. . . . The convention in 1904 was no different in principle or real working from that in 1912. The convention of 1904 was as bad as the convention of 1912. The same thing occurred at Baltimore. . . . Why not destroy the system? Why not purge the party?"

No intelligent and upright republican can deny the substantial truth, the broad basis in fact, of the statements made by the Idaho senator. Since the republican party ceased in 1878 to be a majority party in nine out of 10 of the southern states the representation of those states in the presidential nominating conventions of the republicans has been a rotten borough system that has misrepresented and helped to thwart the will of their party in the states where it was strong. For a generation the republican presidents, through their control of federal appointments in the south and thus over the choice of delegates to the national conventions, have wielded undue and mischievous influence in the selection of a republican nominee for the presidential term ensuing.

This thing is a cancer at the vitals of the party. It has long been time for political surgery. If the party had done the housecleaning in 1908 or 1912 that it should have done then probably the schism that threw it out of power would not have occurred. It must clean house now or perish.

Senator Borah's address is a straw. But it indicates that republican leaders realize that there must be genuine reform and speedy reorganization of their party. If this is to continue and to work worthily of its origin and early days it must go to the roots of the cancer and extirpate it altogether.



University of Idaho Library

Washington Star

Jan 31-13
Washington Post

BORAH STILL MODEST

Clark's Presidential Prophecy Has No Effect on Him.

TAKEN FAVORABLY BY MANY

Idaho Senator, However, Dismisses Subject by Simply Stating With a Laugh That He Is Not Accepting After-Dinner Nominations for Presidency—His Political Footing Solid.

Despite the prediction of Speaker Champ Clark in Baltimore Thursday night that Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, will be the next Republican nominee for the Presidency, Mr. Borah does not believe circumstances favor him. This is not to say that he may not assent to the nomination, although he has made no active effort to obtain it, but that he thinks nominees for the Presidency must come from States which have a considerable electoral vote, and are so located that the trend of the State will indicate something of the trend of its neighbors.

Being Chalked Up Favorite.

But while Senator Borah does not give serious attention to Speaker Clark's prophecy, he is being chalked up as a favorite by many persons who are casting about for a man of such qualities that he might prove to be soldering material between the two divisions of the party. He is one of the few men in the Senate to whom attention is paid whenever he speaks. His ability as a lawyer is generally admitted by his colleagues; he has never earned the dislike of the conservatives, and yet he has an unflinching habit of speaking in plain language at critical times to show that he is more intent on getting results than in preserving the dignity of the Senate, its traditions, or the political bonds existing between its members.

No Faith in Third-Party Plan.

Mr. Borah does not regard the third-party movement as a stable organization, feeling, it is said, that as soon as Theodore Roosevelt says the word the party will crumble. Moreover, he believes that Roosevelt will say the word, holding the opinion that the proposal is of a turn of mind too practical to continue to keep the Democrats in power indefinitely.

"I am not accepting after-dinner nominations for the presidency," laughingly said Mr. Borah when asked last night about Speaker Clark's allusion to him.

Regarded as Good Timber.

Despite Senator Borah's easy denial, other Republican leaders look upon him as presidential timber. The comment yesterday in the cloakrooms was that the issues for the next national election are not yet indicated. Seasoned political campaigners say much will depend upon the outcome of the tariff, currency, and antitrust measures, and the administration's foreign policy.

Senator Borah is 48 years old, and is serving his second term in the Senate. He is a member of the Republican national committee, and was on the credential committee at Chicago. He supported Roosevelt until the spot came, and then remained regular.

THE SPEAKER'S PROPHECY

Speaker Clark is likely right in his observation that he would have been the nominee of the Democratic party in 1912 if there had been a Presidential primary. He has reiterated that belief a number of times in a public way.

Looking forward to 1916, he prophesies about the Republican nomination rather more pointedly than about the Democratic. He announces, rather than guesses, that Senator Borah will be the Republican candidate in 1916.

The Speaker evidently expects to see amalgamation achieved. Borah is of the liberal Republican wing, and his position, undoubtedly one of great political advantage, is such that it is difficult to believe he would be the nominee except at the end of a contest in which the various elements would have pretty well come together once more.



CLARK PICKS BORAH

Jan 30/14

Says Senator Will Be G. O. P. Candidate for President.

EXTRA SESSION "IDIOTIC"

Would Be in White House, He Says, Had Primary Law Existed.

Missourian Calls Monroe Doctrine Warning to Europe "to Keep Hands Off Lest They Die"—Says He Will Visit Baltimore When He Is President. Secretary Daniels Urges Business Men to Study Politics.

Baltimore, Jan. 29.—"I have never been sufficiently hypocritical to pretend that I don't like praise—praise for deeds well done. If what the toastmaster said about me is true I ought to be in the White House tonight," said Speaker Champ Clark at the annual dinner here tonight of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association.

"If we had had that primary election law in 1912 I would be there," he added. "That primary law originated in my district in Missouri. In fact, I originated it myself."

"We can all agree on the rule of the people. We tear each other to pieces during a primary campaign, and after cursing and swearing for three days we get

out and work for our opponent's election. When a man is elected President of the United States, therefore, I support him because he is my President.

Will Visit When President.

"And when I am President, I want you to ask me to come over here to your banquet. If you invite me, I'll come."

"In Washington," the speaker continued, "things that don't amount to three straws are made to appear of momentous importance, and something that is really serious is shouted to the rear. That extra session of Congress that ran into the regular one was the most idiotic thing on God's earth. But there is no power in the world that will move the Senate."

"The Senate, though, is a great institution. It produces some great men. Here before you tonight I make this prophecy of one of its greatest members: The gentleman who will follow me in addressing you—William E. Borah—is going to be the next Republican nominee for President of the United States."

Monroe Doctrine Still Vital.

In referring to the vitality of the Monroe doctrine the speaker said it was "A warning to the nations of Europe to keep hands off the republics south of us lest they die."

He predicted that Mexico would come out of the present troubles a stronger nation.

"It is a first-rate time for all of us to keep our mouths shut," said the Speaker. "President Wilson is better informed than we are, and I am willing to abide by his decision."

Others who spoke were Secretary of the Navy Daniels, Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Representative Fordney, of Michigan.

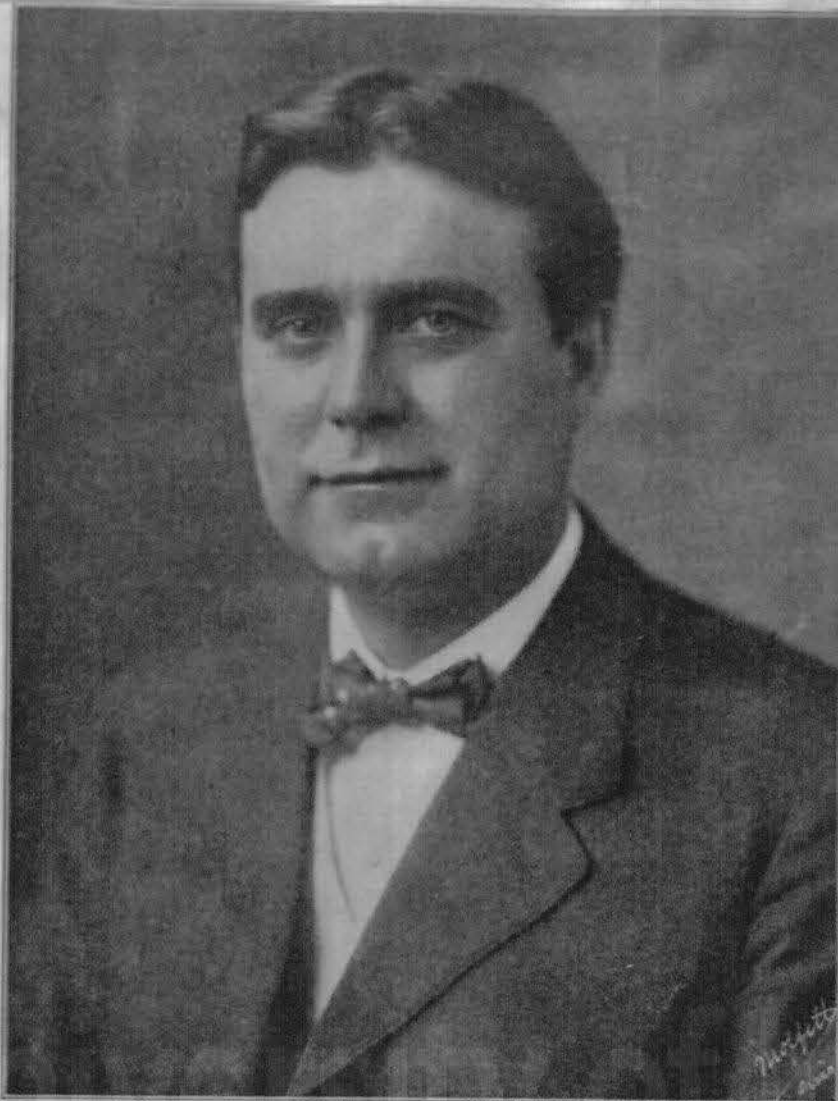
Secretary Daniels made a plea to the business man to take more interest in politics. He said he should resolve to study the political questions applicable to his day, and make up his mind what legislation is needed either for reform or to put into effect new plans for betterment of the people. This should not be postponed till the last minute before election.

TIMES
Washington, D. C.
JAN 30 1914

PERSONS IN THE FOREGROUND

Current Opinions April, 1914

SENATOR BORAH ONE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES OF 1916



THE HOPE OF THE REPUBLICAN HARMONIZERS

If the Republicans and Progressives get together again in 1916, Senator William Edgar Borah, of Idaho, is the likeliest man for their leader. He has a positive genius for making friends of those he antagonizes—all except George W. Perkins, whose correspondence last month with Senator Borah enlivened the press of the country.

WHENEVER people begin to talk about harmony between Republicans and Progressives, they talk about William Edgar Borah, Senator from Idaho. He is the hope of the harmonizers, the one bright star in their overcast firmament. George W. Perkins angrily calls him a straddler, and asserts that he talks in one tone of voice in the conservative East and in another tone in the radical West. Well, most of our political lead-

ers have been accused at one time or another of being straddlers. Jefferson was, and Webster and Lincoln and Roosevelt. Wilson will be. In fact, the woman suffragists are already calling him a dodger. The exigencies of public life are many and a man must often sacrifice one cause to another he deems more important at the time.

Borah would not be the hope of the harmonizers if he had not managed to maintain a strong hold upon both sides.

In that sense he is a straddler. He has maintained his personal friendship for both Taft and Roosevelt. He has kept the confidence of Progressives without breaking with the conservatives. He overlaps their lines of division, it is true, and is sometimes found voting with one side on one question and with the other side on another question; but he is equally outspoken in each case. He will fight for the direct election of senators one day and against the recall for judges the next day, and instead of making, thereby, two sets of enemies, he will make two sets of friends. If the promoters of harmony, said that stanch Progressive paper, the Philadelphia *North American*, two months ago, "fall with Senator Borah as their stalking horse, they may as well give up," for he is "the strongest selection

that could be made," and shows that the conservatives "are ready to go the limit in concessions." It goes on to add: "Mr. Borah not only is conspicuously able, but he has been for all Progressive legislation, altho retaining his standing as a Republican. Moreover, the would-be harmonizers have selected the man who led in denunciation of the theft of the nomination. They could hardly go further."

It was Senator Borah who steered the income tax through the Senate. It was he who had charge of the bill for the direct election of senators. He has a sort of genius for supporting a certain course in a way that endears him to those hostile to that course. He prosecuted Moyer and Haywood for the Steunenberg murder and at the end of the case had the admiration and personal regard of the miners of Idaho, as well as of the conservatives of the state. He was in the inner circle of the Roosevelt adherents at the Chicago convention and yet was denouncing their course to their faces and keeping his allegiance to the Republican party. One of the strongest arguments he gave for that Progressive measure, the direct election of senators, was based upon a plea for perpetuating the rights of the States, in apparently direct opposition to the "new nationalism" as set forth at Osawatimie by Mr. Roosevelt. And in supporting the bill for admission of Arizona he made one of the strongest pleas against the recall of judges and for "clinging to the prin-

ciple of an independent judiciary as of old they clung to the horns of the altar." It is not that he straddles or sidesteps in these cases, for he does not. He is positive and direct and emphatic. But he is fair, tho his controversy with Mr. Perkins does not seem to have been altogether so. And while he is an "insurgent," he holds fast to the

Constitution and says: "Our fathers understood the science of government as no other single group of men has ever understood it. It is altogether probable that if the plan upon which they built fails, with it will pass the hope of a democratic-republican form of government."

You will see a disposition in newspaper correspondents, even those most closely attached to the insurgent cause, to treat the insurgent leaders with good-natured railery. But of Borah they speak with unflinching respect. Even that highly flippant writer—Sam Blythe, we suppose—who gives us the sketches of "Who's Who and Why," in the *Saturday Evening Post*, is serious when he writes up Borah. He speaks of him as "one of the most able senators of these United States and one of the most useful," "one of the sanest of the Republican progressives in the Senate," "a man of great legal ability," "one of the big orators of the Senate," "one of the great debaters in the Senate and one of the few members of that body who have not been bluffed out by the brawny Bailey." The correspondent of the Boston

Transcript gives a list of adjectives that are commonly used in Washington in describing Borah: "One of them is able; another is solid; another is independent; another is conservative; another is quiet; another is patient. He is all of these—a remarkable combination for an insurgent." And Alfred Henry Lewis has spoken of him as "broad, self-centered as the Pyramids, of positive dignity, with a genius for the taciturn."

Orator tho he is, Borah never gives the impression of gabbiness. He speaks in the Senate for the most part with no gesticulation, no raising of his voice above the conversational tone, with deliberation but with no hesitation, taking interruptions with an unruffled good nature, standing as solidly upright as a monument. He has a round, boyish face, a rich, musical voice, a clear enunciation, and the air of ease and good comradeship of the West with none of its spread-eagle qualities.

An interesting comparison is afforded between Borah and La Follette. Each one has been a vigorous champion of progressive ideas and yet has remained steadfastly in the Republican party. Each one has courage and power and constructive ability. But whereas Borah has remained on good personal terms with radicals and stand-patters, La Follette has rendered himself *persona non grata* not only to the conservatives but to a large section of the radicals. Borah is a friend of both

Taft and Roosevelt. La Follette is a friend of neither. Borah gives the impression always of being master of his ideas. La Follette gives the impression of being mastered by his ideas. Borah runs on a low gear most of the time. La Follette always runs on a high gear and seems unable to observe either the speed-limit or the time-limit. He was invited to speak in Plymouth Church one Friday evening, and he kept on talking until midnight, to the exasperation of those who invited him. He spoke at Chautauqua, where they arrange their program with the care and precision of a railway schedule, and he took all his own time and then took the time of the next two speakers. He spoke at the banquet of the periodical publishers in Philadelphia and kept going over and over the ground for two hours and twenty minutes after midnight. On the strength of his record, La Follette

should be the only man in sight to be considered as a harmony candidate, to reunite Republicans and Progressives. As a matter of fact, because of the peculiarly rasping effect of his personality, he is the last man likely to be so considered. If there were to be a harmony campaign to-morrow, Senator Borah would undoubtedly be the man chosen as candidate. But 1916 is a long way off, and the aspect of political conditions then hinges not upon Borah nor La Follette nor Roosevelt, but upon the man in the White House and the degree of success he achieves.

Tribune, Dec. 16, 1913.
REUNITING THE PARTY

A Republican States the Lines on Which He Believes Union Can Be Achieved.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
 Sir: The recent gathering of Republicans in New York served a useful purpose by indicating a desire on the part of certain political leaders to "bring the regiment up to the flag."

At the Republican gathering there was much talk about direct primaries and ballot reform, but nothing was said about the failure of the party to restore the ballot of the disfranchised million voters made citizens by the Fourteenth and guaranteed freedom from discriminations by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which were put into that instrument by the founders of the Republican party, who believed that moral ideas, civil rights and political privileges, as well as commercial propositions, added to the safety of life, the security of property and the pursuit of human happiness. After the bitter lessons of 1912 the party should now retrieve its failure to reduce the party representation in the national conventions from states where there is practically no Republican vote, and along with this there should be a reduction of the representation in Congress, as provided in the Fourteenth Amendment, in the ratio of the disfranchised voters in states where disfranchisement is based on the defiant violation of the guarantee written in the Constitution.

The Republican party enacted the Sherman law as an anti-monopoly measure, and not as a "trust busting" measure. In the process of its evolution the party failed to perfect and clarify that law in the light of the needs of the hour.

Tinkering with the tariff by the Democratic party has not lowered the high cost of living, and the prospective "bread line" and "soup kitchens" of 1914 will give the Republican party's policy of protection for American labor a new lease of life, if it can keep the feet of the "schedule hogs" out of the trough in future tariff revisions. The protective principle is essential, but the schedule is incidental.

What, then, are the essential differences between Progressives and Republicans? Their party platforms in 1912 were not necessarily on permanent divisional lines, but the differences were personal between leaders bent on exterminating each other.

The one great lesson that should be forever remembered by all political parties is that taught by the "steam roller" tactics used in the Republican National Convention of 1908 to defeat such men as Governor Hughes, Vice-President Fairbanks, Speaker Cannon, Senator Knox, Senator Foraker and Senator La Follette. The tactics used then were the beginning of the present troubles of the Republican party.

Suppose Governor Hughes had been nominated by the Chicago convention in 1908. Would the Republican party to-day be in its present position? Suppose the rival factions in 1912 had united upon Mr. Hughes, Senator Cummins, Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. Hadley or Mr. Borah. Would we be discussing the conditions we are facing to-day and must meet in 1917?

If the lessons of 1908-12 shall lead to the abolition of the tactics practised in the Republican National conventions of these years the defeat of 1912 will not be without benefit to the country.

ANDREW H. HUMPHREY.
 New York, Dec. 15, 1913.

BORAH FOR PRESIDENT.

SENATOR BORAH, of Idaho, was the star speaker at the Lincoln day dinner of the New York Republican club. He made a good speech, as he always does; expressing the opinion that the name and traditions of the republican party are political assets too valuable to abandon. He frankly confessed that the later day policies of the reactionary leaders must be repudiated, and expressed the hope that if this is done, the platform modernized, party machinery overhauled, the corpse can be revived. If success crowns these efforts he believes that the name will be a magnet sufficiently powerful to reattract to its ranks the insurgents who deserted to enlist under Roosevelt's banner.

There are a lot of ifs and contingents encountered between this conception and the consummation, and the Expositor will add one more; namely, if all this is accomplished and the republicans ever make another presidential nomination, no stronger, more sanely progressive, more acceptable candidate can be found than this same Senator Borah of Idaho. He doubtless has entertained the thought himself and is modestly waiting for some one to discover and give publicity to it, spurred by the suggestion of this Lincoln day speech.

Of course Cummins is not going to think of it. Clapp's mind is running in another channel. La Follette is concerned with other matters at present and other progressives are erecting their own individual lightning-rods; while Lodge and his kind are still hoping and plotting to put the same old stuff across on a confiding people, knowing that Borah will neither assist nor participate in that conspiracy.

So it seems to be necessary for this admiring democratic journal to launch splendid Borah's presidential boom, regretting the while that the accident of inherited political affiliation prevents him from attaining the big job—but wouldn't he make a superb candidate?

*Every Party Opponent
 Bly Her*

*Reframed
 Republican*

It is not an idle dream to see Senator Borah in the presidential chair in 1916. No other man except Roosevelt is as strong in the republican party; and maybe Roosevelt won't come back, and maybe even he couldn't get it. Borah is the logical leader, and is so recognized East and West. For all his honest intentions, and ability, President Wilson is almost certain to get hit by the political rebound; and the re-organized republican party, led by Borah, has now a great deal better than an even chance to win.

Says He Will Be Next President and Names Opponent

National Weekly



Senator Borah.



Champ Clark.

Addressing the Manufacturers' Association at their banquet in Baltimore, Speaker Champ Clark announced that he would be elected president in 1916. He also declared that Senator Borah would be the nominee of the Republican party. Mr. Clark made it clear that he believed that he would today be president had the presidential primary been in effect when President Wilson was nominated. He said that Colonel Roosevelt knew more about things in general than any other man, and declared that the Monroe Doctrine was a live matter and that no European power dared to interfere on this continent. The democratic platform declares for one term for the presidency, and this may be Mr. Clark's incentive to try again.



SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1914

POLITICAL SITUATION.

"To my way of thinking," said Senator Borah, of Idaho, in a speech in New York last Thursday night, "politics is the most serious thing that can engage the public attention of men."

Not only most serious, but, apparently, the most universal. There has been little beside politics during the past week. Ex-President Taft's article in a current publication on the future of the Republican party; Senator Borah's explanation of his continued adhesion to the Republican organization; Representative Hinebaugh's address as chairman of the Progressive Congressional campaign committee; Representative Prouty's speech on a government by the people instead of a government of the people; the Congressional election in the Second district of Iowa; the activities of the Progressive State committees in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, and other States; the criticism of the administration by that unconstructed standpatter, former Speaker Cannon—all these were interesting details of a week in which the political situation was discussed from every possible angle.

The net result seems to have been the expression of an unwavering faith on the part of the Republicans in the continued existence of their party and an equally enthusiastic outlook among the Progressives as to the ultimate triumph of their organization. The Democrats did not contribute anything to the general discussion. Lincoln's birthday is not a Democratic celebration. As a matter of fact, there is no necessity for Democratic utterance. The Democrats can stand aside and complacently observe the Kilkenny cat fight across the way. As long as the Republican party continues divided they will be victorious without a struggle.

Senator Borah's Position.

Much is to be learned from an analysis of Senator Borah's speech before the New York Republican Club.

Senator Borah is genuinely and sincerely progressive in his ideas. More than this, he is a man of admitted ability and force and he is a possible Presidential nominee, handicapped solely by the fact that he comes from a State with only four electoral votes. Although by nature progressive, he prefers to remain with the Republican party. His speech explains his position. He holds that the Progressive movement is disintegrating, citing conditions in Michigan, Maine, New Jersey, and Maryland. He might have referred to the recent Iowa election, where the Progressive vote dwindled from 13,602 in 1912 to 3,772 in 1914, and where the Republican vote increased from 8,303 to 16,435. Incidentally, the Democratic vote decreased from a majority of 2,844 in 1912 to a plurality of 1,850 in 1914. The lesson of the Progressive loss, Senator Borah believes, is that "those who dared to tear down dared to rebuild." In other words, he looks for a complete revival of the Republican party spirit, with construction along broad lines and in harmony, to use his own words, with the true historic bent of the organization.

Senator Borah asserts that the great mass of the Republican voters will not abandon the name, traditions, honor, and prestige of the Republican party. Out of this great body of voters is to come, in his opinion, the militant and progressive and aggressive Republican party of the future. If this should not be the case—"if the Republican voters," to quote his language, "are not progressive in the true, sound sense of the term, then the way for some of us is clear." He does not believe, however, that he will be compelled to leave

his party, and, like Mr. Taft, he thinks it is better to endure defeat for a season rather than abandon the sound principles of government which has made the United States one of the greatest nations of the world.

There is no doubt that Senator Borah's opinions reflect the sentiments of an immense number of the Republican voters. They gave their party credit for its many great achievements, but they do not want it to place the dollar above the man nor ignore the necessity for humanitarian legislation. If they can be convinced that the destinies of the organization will be controlled by men of the Borah type they will come back to the party, especially if the Roosevelt following becomes more and more socialistic in its tendencies, as is apt to be the case. Summing up this phase of the situation into a single sentence, it may be said that Senator Borah's outspoken declaration of loyalty to the Republican party and his effort to inspire it with high ideals, is the most vital effort yet made toward restoring that party to its old-time eminence.

SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH OF

IDAHO A RISING INFLUENCE IN POLITICS



OT in the history of the republic has the extreme west furnished a great and powerful figure in national political life.

It is not to be denied that in early days Missouri, then on the frontier, sent that masterful mind, Thomas A. Benton, to the Senate, and that the Mississippi valley region has furnished Presidents and statesmen of great stature to the nation, but the region beyond the Rockies, the present-day extreme west, scarcely has not been rich in such products.

Times, however, are changing. The center of national political control is shifting, just as the country's population center has shifted. The east and the north are not the dominating political influence that once they were. For the first time in a generation the south is in control of the national government. Even should it lose a measure of that control in the elections next November, unless all signs are wrong it would be the west and not the north and east that would furnish the leaders for the election that gains.

Three potential leaders of the anti-democratic forces loom on the political horizon. Two are from beyond the Alleghenies, one from beyond the Rockies. Former Gov. Hadley of Missouri, Senator Cameron of Iowa and Senator Borah of Idaho—these are the men on whom politicians, publicists and students of affairs are concentrating their attention.

Many believe that one of them will be selected in 1916 to oppose the Democratic candidate for President. If Borah is the man, all political precedent will be overturned. A presidential candidate from the outer edge of the continent would be a new thing. But this is the day of new things.

Senator Borah last year founded out his first term in the Senate and started upon a new term. In these seven years he has come steadily to the front. At the republican national convention in Chicago in June, 1912, there was a moment when indications pointed to him as the possible choice of the convention for the presidential nomination. Later, in the swiftly moving history of that gathering, Hadley, too, had his moment. But both those moments passed. Many believe that they will come again.

In his seven years in the Senate Borah has become in fact a national figure. It was two years ago that one of the then Senate leaders, a man who had been in public life for more than thirty years, remarked to some of his colleagues, "Senator Borah is the most successful man in charge of a bill that has been in the Senate since I have been a member of that body."

The Idaho senator's record shows the truth of this. It is one singularly full of legislative victories won. But what is not generally known is that the

foundation for those victories was laid years before he came to the Senate, back in the early '90s in Idaho when, in the ranks of the republican party, he was fighting against machine rule and advocating political acts and methods that since have become known as "progressive."

Possibly most notable of his victories was the passage of the resolution submitting to the states for ratification an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the popular election of United States senators, which amendment subsequently was ratified by the states.

Here showed the bulldog tenacity of the man. The fight really started back in Idaho some twelve years ago, when Borah, as leader of what then were known as the young republicans of the state, began his battles for popular control of nominations and elections. In the senatorial election of 1907 in the Idaho legislature he had carried his fight so far that he received twenty-two votes for United States senator, but four short of the number necessary to elect.

From this contest he emerged more intent than ever on the direct election of senators. When, in 1907, he finally won to the Senate, he immediately began his campaign for the constitutional amendment. Other senators had tried it, but always had gone down to defeat. He planned his campaign and went to work. And finally success came in the Senate.

But that was not enough. Borah never considers his work done when he gets a measure through his own legislative body. He follows it over to the House and works just as hard there. This was the method that he used to complete the passage of his amendment.

Also this was the method he used to put on the statutes his bill creating the children's bureau and the eight-hour law, the three-year homestead law and the many other measures with which his name is connected.



SENATOR BORAH OF IDAHO.

Senator Borah's high position in national politics, however, is not due so much to his tenacity of purpose as to another and more notable characteristic of the man; he is singularly independent in thought and action. Party labels do not mean much to him.

"The trouble with Borah," said one politician of an older school some time ago, "is that you never know where to find him."

Once that would have been a terrific indictment of an ambitious legislator. But the older politician was looking only on the surface. A study of Senator Borah's career reveals an absolute consistency of principles and purpose.

To begin with, he is a profound constitutional lawyer. So to designate a man nowadays in the Senate is to damn him in the opinion of some. An element in today's politics assumes that the senatorial constitutional lawyers necessarily are reactionary in the extreme. But Borah, it is admitted on all sides, is anything but reactionary.

The difference is that he finds in the Constitution justification for the progressive measures that he advocates, and that he believes in the restraints imposed by the Constitution as wholesome and necessary to good government. Also, he believes implicitly in

the soundness of the ideas of the fathers in creating a representative system of government as opposed to a pure national democracy.

So it is that Senator Borah is found in opposition at times to projects advocated by some of those parts of whose political program he has favored. So it is, too, that at times he advocates measures and methods that seem to the superficial observer to be contrary in principle to his previous declarations.

For one example, there is his attitude toward labor. When he voted to the Senate organized labor looked upon him askance. Had he not, but a year before, prosecuted brilliantly, on behalf of the state of Idaho, Meyer, Pettibone and Haywood, officers of the Western Federation of Miners, charged on the evidence of the alleged red Harry Orchard, with responsibility for the atrocious murder of Gov. Steuneger by bomb?

Had he not endeavored to the utmost of his ability to prove the truth of the

assertions of Orchard that the officers of the Western Federation of Miners were parties to a conspiracy to do wholesale murder? Even though Meyer, Pettibone and Haywood had escaped conviction had not Borah tried to send them to the gallows?

But in the Senate labor found Senator Borah its staunchest friend, so long as labor asked that which was just and fair. His activities in behalf of the eight-hour law stand of record. His fight against the child labor evil and his establishment of the children's bureau as a step toward the abolition of that evil are memorable. His passage of the industrial commission through the Senate in eight minutes is a recent performance.

And now, more recently, come the Borah speeches in the matter of the West Virginia war between coal mine operators and striking miners. As a member of the Senate committee investigating the condition of civil war which has existed in the mining region, Senator Borah has prepared findings of fact in which he severely arranges the authorities who administered martial law in West Virginia and who, by sentence of court-martial and military commissions, sent men to the penitentiary.

The action of the authorities, he holds, to be illegal and unjustifiable. This from the man who prosecuted the representative of organized labor in mining troubles in the west.

The Borah independence was in evidence at the republican national convention of 1912. As a progressive republican and a national committeeman from Idaho, he went there and fought, before the national committee, against the seating of Taft delegates whose seats were being contested by the Roosevelt following. Borah, in the hearings before the national committee, was the leading opponent of the Taft delegates.

But he refused to accept all the Roosevelt contests as sound. Some he held were ill-founded, and with these he would have nothing to do, concentrating his efforts on those contests that he believed were just. His fight brought him into great prominence and stirred up the talk of Borah as a possible compromise candidate. But he would take no action in the direction of making himself a candidate.

After the convention, firm in his beliefs, Senator Borah declined to support Taft. Neither would he join the new progressive party. He announced that he would continue to advocate progressive principles in the republican party and would seek his own re-election in Idaho without regard to the national ticket. He did so and was re-elected.

Now, still as national committeeman from Idaho, he is one of the larger figures in the affairs of the republican national committee and in the efforts to reorganize the party.

In the matter of the currency bill recently enacted his attitude was characteristic. He opposed it and joined with such democrats as Hittchock of Nebraska and with republicans in seeking to amend it. Along with Dillingham, Brandegee and Gallinger of the older school, but also with such progressive republicans as La Follette, Clapp and Works, he voted against it.

He objected to the bill on the ground that it, in reality, created a central bank with the predominating control of that bank in the hands of bankers. He advocated absolute control by the government.

"I should very much prefer," he said, "to vote for a proposition which would establish a government bank, under the absolute control by the government. If I had my way about it, all currency would be issued through a government bank."

The effect of the currency bill, he said, is to lend the credit of the government to the bankers to issue reserve notes, which are not legal tender for the payment of private debts, though they are for the payment of public debts.

But not alone would he have government control of the central bank, but he leans much toward government ownership of other necessities.

Not long ago, when this subject was discussed, he made his position clear:

"Wherever we find a natural monopoly, or where it has become apparent that as to a particular business competition has ceased to exist, and it has been disclosed that substantial competition cannot be restored, I am in favor of absolute public ownership.

The idea that is now gaining ground in some quarters that we can regulate and control combinations and monopolies if in private hands will bring no relief to the people. The republic must, in our opinion, be strong enough to resist monopoly, but it will never be strong enough to regulate and control it. The persistent, sleepless vigilance and the insatiable appetite of private gain will in the long run prove too powerful or spasmodic and intermittent public virtue.

"Wherever private gain has ceased to be under the law of competition the business must then come under public ownership, where private gain can be eliminated, whether it is a railroad or a coal mine.

"Some will call this state socialism, and so far as it is and to the extent that it is, I am for state socialism. Names have no terrors for me. I am for results."

Elaborating further on the theme, he went on:

"The last twenty years have been portentous years in the history of this republic. One hundred years more of the same drift, and whatever else we may have we will not have a representative republic."

"Centralization of industry, centralization of commerce, centralization of banking, centralization of credit, and all in private hands, and the government yielding to them little by little some time to time its sovereign powers and duties. It may all be in obedience to some sinister law of human progress, but it is to my mind at variance with self-reliance, self-respecting, free and independent citizenship—the very guaranty under heaven of among men for a republic."

"Is there," asked Lincoln upon an important occasion, "in all republics this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

"The former never can be true so long as the proper powers of government remain under and in control of the people. The latter will inevitably be true when these powers have been yielded up to the demands of the few."

"There is no inherent weakness in republics. A representative republic is the wisest of all governments. It meets every demand, and responds to every hope and purpose of a justice-loving, orderly, self-respecting moral people, but it cannot be fitted to classes."

"It cannot adjust itself to an industrial life grounded in inequality; it cannot be fitted to monopoly; though strong enough to destroy, it never can be powerful enough to regulate monopoly."

These things we ought to realize and cease our efforts to adjust our government to the centralizing, monopolizing tendencies of business and compel business to adjust itself to the fundamental principles of democracy."

From the foregoing it might be conceived that Senator Borah is one of those who advocate nationalizing industries and giving greater power to the central government. Such conception would be in error. He is one of those who believe firmly in maintaining the power and dignity of the individual states, who insists that those individual states shall bear their own burdens and assume their own responsibilities in government, all to the end of that well-balanced division of duties contemplated by the Constitution.

Shangerville, Ida
JAN 29 1914

VERY SOLICITOUS ABOUT BORAH

The Boise Capital News quotes G. H. Martin, the great evangelist of political righteousness for Idaho, as saying that "There is a keen feeling of disappointment and regret among many of Senator Borah's friends and supporters on account of the fact that he voted with the Barnes-Penrose-Root machine against the calling of a national republican convention this year. The meeting of the committee did not develop a leader, and the situation of the republican party is therefore hopeless. In view of the fact that the old crew who scuttled the ship in 1912 are still in full control thereof." Whether Mr. Martin ever said such a thing or not, the statement is about as near the truth as the Capital News generally gets, and sounds exactly like one of its common every day unvarnished kind, manufactured from the whole cloth.

It is a well known and clearly authenticated fact that Mr. Borah stood in opposition to Mr. Barnes in the committee meeting on the very subject of the calling of the convention, Barnes of New York, Hadley of Missouri, Cummings and Crane of Iowa, and others favoring the calling of a convention this year, while Senator Borah, almost single handed and alone, took up the fight for postponement of the convention until a later date, and he so impressed the other members of the committee with the sensibleness of his position and the weight of his argument, that he succeeded in defeating Mr. Barnes and his following by a vote of 35 to 14.

The Washington Daily Times says: "The determination of the republican committee not to call an extraordinary national convention, came as a distinct surprise, when Hadley, Cummings, Barnes and Crans, representing the various elements, were all lined up behind the proposition of a convention in 1914. Moreover the action of the congressional committee in formally resolving in favor of a convention, added strength to the movement. Yet the national committee vetoed the proposal, and it is likely its decision will be accepted as on the whole, the part of wisdom. The committee chose to do its own surrendering. It has admitted the outrage that was perpetrated at Chicago last year, and in effect has pledged itself that there shall be no repetition of that performance in the future, by revising the party law concerning apportionment and recognizing the election of delegates by primary. The telling argument against an extraordinary convention was that the party organization ought to come from the people up, and not from the top down. It should begin in the states, in the local campaigns of the coming year, and thence proceed into the realm of national politics. There was a good deal of testimony that the masses of the republicans were showing a disposition to get together without urging. Without much doubt, the discussion and the gathering of the national committee have produced results calculated to promote the unification program. The men who did all this realized that they were abdicating their own powers, but they did it in rather better spirit than might have been expected. Partly of course, because they could not help themselves, and partly, it ought to be said in their favor, because they were disposed to take a rather broad and unselfish view of the situation."

This is illustrated by his attitude toward conservation. An ardent advocate of conservation as understood to mean the elimination of waste and the proper use of natural resources, he yet has been resentful of an extension of the federal powers over natural resources within states. He is not convinced that federal control of natural resources inevitably means the wisest control.

When the bill was recently in Congress permitting the city of San Francisco to inundate the French Flats valley, in the Yosemite National Park, to secure a water and hydro-electric power supply for the municipality, Senator Borah was a leading figure in opposition. The bill sought to retain in the federal government a sort of supervisory control over the manner in which San Francisco might sell surplus water and electric power.

Senator Borah maintained that the interest of the federal government in the lands to be inundated is merely a proprietary interest, not a sovereign interest, that the state of California alone has the title to the water; that all uses of water in the state are subject only to state regulation and not national regulation, and that the passage of the bill, by seeming to recognize the right of the national government to impose conditions as to the use of water, would establish a precedent for a further extension of federal control over natural resources within a state.

In other words, Senator Borah on the conservation question is what the extreme conservationists call "a state's righter."

The senator, when this subject is discussed, points out that federal administration of the public lands and resources has resulted in 17,000,000 acres of the public domain being given absolutely to private corporations, with no adequate return. He points out further that the great land tracts of the past were under federal and not state administration.

"There has been a great deal of discussion of late years," said he, "on the other day, 'on the part of many good earnest people in the effect that all natural resources ought to be gathered up and put in the hands of the federal government, because, they said, the federal government will take far better care of these natural resources than the states."

"Some of us who have thought that possibly some virtue still remained in the old doctrine that there was some sov-

ereign power still left in the states, and that there were some virtues left in the people who live in the states, never could understand how a man was any wiser or more virtuous after he got to Washington than he was before he started. In other words, if the people at home are not capable of taking care of these things, it did not seem to me that there had been such a complete transformation after a man reached Washington to enable him to do it."

"If our theory of government is correct, it was never built upon correct principles at all, then the basis of power, the basis for all things, with the people at home, and those things which are of local concern and private concern should always be left in their hands."

"There is no government in the world so easily moved to grant privileges and special favors as the federal government at Washington. There is no government where such malicious influences upon false and specious plea to so effective as in this city of Washington before Congress and in the departments here, where arrangements are made which the people know nothing about until they have gone into effect."

"We are approaching the time when still recognizing the powers of the state and national governments, our resources must pass more and more under public ownership and be operated by public ownership."

But that, in Senator Borah's opinion, does not mean necessarily national public ownership.

From all of this may be gathered some idea of the political creed and political thought of this earnest westerner, who, so many politicians predict, has in him vast political possibilities.

In repose, as seated in his busy office, the far-away gaze of the student in his eyes, he looks slowly the efforts, he does not inspire one as a man out of the ordinary. Indeed, he is a modest nature. But place him in the Senate, engaged in debate, and he becomes transformed. His voice is that of the natural orator, rich, musical, powerful. His face, heavy, heavy-lidded, pale, almost puffy in complexion, flushes with the joy of combat, his eyes, hitherto dull, flash brilliantly; his massive head suddenly takes on heroic aspects. He is in his element, and a noble figure he presents.

Born in the farming country of southern Illinois (Wayne county) in 1850, and educated there and in Kansas, Senator Borah's appearance testifies to his nativity and early surroundings. Not so careless of his attire as Senator John Shaver Williams, he is yet far from being so particular in his apparel as Senator Owen, that other sartorial extreme in the Senate. When, however, his family succeeds in harnessing him into formal dress he presents a handsome and truly dignified appearance.

In manner he is reserved and, at times, seems almost diffident. That is, of course, away from the environment of the Senate. There a masterful attitude clothes him.

Like all men who have risen to distinction in the Senate, he is a hard worker. It is this hard work, this careful, painstaking preparation for the excursions of debate and this incessant labor in both Senate and House committees, where bills in which he is interested are being considered, that gives him his powerful position in the Senate. Though of the minority his influence is realized and respected.

ASHMUN BROWN.

Among other reasons given by Senator Borah for the postponement of the convention was that it would have had to be called under the old representation and the old manner of electing delegates, very few of the states having primary laws covering election of delegates to the national convention, and that the change could not have been made in time for a convention this year. The committee covered the ground for this change by providing for the seating of the primary elected delegates in whatever form they may be elected according to the state law, and the certificate of election from a state board is conclusive of their right to a seat in the national convention. This is in effect a national primary, and with the cooperation of the states, will enable the people to elect their delegates and seat them, placing the whole matter in the hands of the voters. This takes the matter of passing upon the eligibility of a delegate to a seat out of the hands of the convention and places it where it belongs, in the hands of the voters.

Yet the Capital News and Mr. Mar-

tin say "It is a fact that Mr. Borah surrendered to Barnes" in the face of this magnificent victory achieved by him in the interest of the people, over Barnes and a strong element of progressives. How a man or newspaper can peddle such stuff and still claim respectability enough to get public hearing, is a marvel. The work of Mr. Borah in that committee meeting should be a matter of pride to every Idahoan regardless of politics, and to every honest republican, as well as progressive, the nation over. Still we find those calling themselves progressives ready to pervert the facts and try to mislead the public regarding the acts of Senator Borah and the results of the committee's work.

1 TRIBUNE

Providence, R. I.

FEB 4 1914

SENATOR BORAH AND HIS PARTY

The political prognosticators seem disposed to look to Senator Borah as the Jones who is to lead the Republican party out of the wilderness, though Mr. Borah himself does not seem to be greatly impressed with his chances of getting his party's nomination. Perhaps it is right; there is plenty of time yet in which to consider the question of candidates. But the Idaho Senator's views of the present political situation are interesting. In a recent Washington dispatch to the Cincinnati Enquirer was the following:

Borah is one of the progressive Republicans who does not regard the third party movement as a stable organization, feeling, it is said, that as soon as Theodore Roosevelt says the word the party will crumble. Moreover, he believes that Roosevelt will say the word, holding the opinion that the former President is of a firm of mind too practical to continue a situation which assures uninterrupted Democratic success indefinitely.

Recalling a famous phrase found in a letter to the late Mr. Harriman—"You and I are practical men"—one cannot think that Senator Borah has misinterpreted the eminent Bull Moose's character. The only question is as to the direction in which his "practical" mind will lead him; and that, of course, depends on the object he may have in view. There is the possibility, for example, that he may decide to become a Republican candidate himself. If he should try, could he get the nomination? If he could not, would he think it advisable to keep the Bull Moose organization alive?

He alone can answer these questions, and the depth of his recent silence has been appalling. But it cannot last; and one wonders whether, when he does speak, he will take the line that Senator Borah thinks he will take. That is the great question; and upon it, as every true Progressive knows, there is only one source of light.

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

IS BORAH A PROPHET?

"The last six months have demonstrated to the satisfaction of any one, it would seem to me, that the vast majority of those who voted for the third party last fall have concluded to realign themselves with the Republican organization. They are doing this because they are convinced that it is the only effective way in which to get results. More than 80 per cent of them have gone back to Michigan; less than 10 per cent remained in the third party in the east in Maine, and just about 10 per cent remained in the third party in the east in West Virginia. The vote on a judgeship in Illinois a few days ago disclosed the fact that although they had 28,000 votes last November they had only 2,000 last Tuesday."

Senator Borah is illuminating. People are coming back to the Republican party, he says in effect, because they see no chance to regain office in any other way. It sounds like a confession that the chief purpose of the third party was a forlorn hope of escaping from the sinking ship by means of a hastily constructed raft. It has looked that way from the first. Such incongruous elements as Flinn, Perkins, Roosevelt, Kent could not make a real Progressive party. Nevertheless, the senator is not equivocating.

When Senator Borah cites the decrease of a vote for Roosevelt of 28,000 to a vote in a judicial election of 2,000, he is on shaky ground. For in a judicial election, even though conducted by party ballot, people look to the man and the office, which ought to be nonpartisan, and vote their conviction of their sense of fitness.

What, moreover, does Senator Borah make of the 9,000 who did vote the Moose ticket? And the voters who in every election on which he bases his conclusions have stood by the new party? What reason is there to suppose that they, too, will give up the fight? The majority of men who voted the third party ticket earnestly believed in the new party as representing a movement. Many of them can never be brought into any combination which is acceptable to the Republicans who stood uncomplainingly by Aldrich and Cannon. And on the other hand, many old line Republicans are sincerely Tory in their views. Men like Mr. Philip in Milwaukee and others cannot be brought to vote for any candidate acceptable to Progressives. At each extreme is a body of voters who cannot and will not support a platform or a candidate acceptable to the other extreme.

Take this statement from an editorial in The Emporia Gazette, whose editor, William Allen White was one of the big figures in the third party movement: "While President Wilson amends the constitution and overturns the economic theories of the people, the by-elections show clearly enough that he has the public confidence and esteem. His party is with him. The people seem to be with him." Can the man who says that ever stand on the same platform with the old-time Tory? While there is a leader like Wilson to support, will people sincerely Progressives ever agree to a compromise of radically opposed principles?

Senator Borah pays too much attention to the crowd that is swayed back into the Republican party. He has no ground for believing that all will come back. Every election has shown a determined minority, strong enough to prevent the Republican party from regaining its hold, which must bring about a realignment in which men who hold the Progressive faith will not be voting for candidates and principles that are called "compromise," or an issue impossible of compromise. It looks as though the Republican party had served its turn and come to the end of its usefulness.

PREFROGATIVE IN CHOOSING PARTY AFFILIATIONS.

Senator Borah is among those who are being severely criticized for affiliation with the old republican party when his sympathies and convictions, it is declared, are all with the progressive party, the desire to hold office being given as the reason for his alleged sacrifice of intellectual integrity. The Tribune does not believe the indictment will hold good and therefore ought not to go unchallenged, because, if so, the public is then running off upon imaginary grievances instead of real ones. There are, or will be, doubtless, valid grounds for criticizing and antagonizing Senator Borah and these should be given a clear field instead of obscuring and weakening them by fallacious or untenable accusations. A good way to get the right line on many circumstances is to apply the same rule to one's own associations. In the democratic party, for example, we are prone to admit those who subordinate their own special views to the larger interest of the general policy. At present in congress, both house and senate, there are all sorts of democrats, progressive and reactionary, insurgent and regular, who conceive that their individual differences and degrees should be subordinated to a particular legislative program, which does not altogether meet the identical views of any of them, or of but few of them. Instead of reprobating, we applaud, and the country applauds, the fidelity of democrats to their party's platform and to its prior claims on their allegiance.

Senator Borah is entitled to equal consideration in his desire and in his right to remain in the republican party, even while lacking sympathy with some of its policies and plans. Private citizens assert the same privilege of criticizing and opposing some of their party's professions and performances, and then of supporting the ticket. Much more should a man in public life have the right to retain his membership and his place in the party ranks, even while out of agreement with some of its tendencies. Mr. Borah is a lifelong republican, with one brief intermission which naturally acts as a deterrent from future lapses, and all of his usefulness is to be found in the associations there formed. He would have little prestige or opportunity in any other party organization. The same can be said of any democrat who should leave his party over temporary differences and seek to re-enter public life as something else.

Meantime Senator Borah is taking his own chances in remaining with the republican party and can no longer hope to retain his seat merely because of the past predominance of that party. The republican party is now the minority party, and may remain so indefinitely. Its nomination is no longer equivalent to election. It may be political suicide to give adherence to that party, as things now stand and are shaping themselves. That remains to be seen. It is enough for large public purposes that the former inordinate power of that party is now broken, in the doing of which Senator Borah performed a full part, and that henceforth it must stand on own merits and not through sheer physical might. It is also fair for republicans to try to make their party a worthy and fit instrumentality in government, whether in an opposition or in a responsible capacity, and Senator Borah can be quite as useful there as he can be elsewhere in the partisan grouping. It is not the party or the church or the lodge a man belongs to that counts, but the way in which he conducts himself in that relationship, and Senator Borah has managed to so conduct himself as to win a high place in the national councils for himself, while at the same time bringing just honor and power to his state and his constituency.

The specific public acts and policies of the senator, and of other public officers, are not only fair targets for examination and for comment but it is highly important that they should be held up to right judgment. To that end The Tribune has contributed something, as to Senator Borah as well as to others, and unless all signs fail it will have occasion to contribute a good deal more. But as to what particular party Senator Borah, or others, may deem it their duty or their interest to adhere to, we think is very much of a private right, not to say sacred right, concerning which few private men, in office or out of office, will permit to be questioned, and which equally few men will seek to question.

GROESBECK ATTACK BY MARTINDALE IS IGNORED BY G. O. P.

No Formal Recognition Is Taken of Charges Made by Secretary of State.

Michigan Progressives Ready to Follow Roosevelt Back to Republican Fold.

Borah Lauds Colonel at State Peace Meeting and Is Loudly Cheered.

With yesterday's republican-progressive peace conference a matter of history, political leaders are sitting back wondering just what happened.

"Did we unite or didn't we?" is the question. "And, if we did, just how far was the amalgamation extended and how much will the republican vote be strengthened next fall?"

No one seems able to answer the questions decisively.

General sentiment on the day after is that the meeting was a success and will work immeasurably for the union of the progressive and republican parties in Michigan. The more enthusiastic republicans say that the progressive party—as an organization—is already a thing of the past and will soon disappear in name as well as body. On this point the progressive refuse to comment. They're doing a lot of thinking—and wondering which way Theodore Roosevelt will turn.

The stand which the conference took regarding the Martindale-Groesbeck incident is everywhere lauded today. On the eve of the meeting Secretary of State Martindale issued a statement that the conference, while called ostensibly to unite the republican party, was really in part to eliminate him from the field of candidates for governor and to promote the interests of State Chairman Groesbeck along the same line. The conference ignored Martindale's statement entirely—but, in passing resolutions urging the return of the moose, it inserted the following paragraph:

"It is not our purpose or perspective to encroach upon the province of regularly organized republican state and national conventions by the formulation and promulgation of party faith and principles in party platforms, or in the suggestion of party candidates, but as patriots and citizens of like fundamental faith and purpose, we most earnestly urge upon our people the duty and necessity of uniting in common patriotic effort through an inviolable republican party organization, for the overthrow of democracy, and the restoration of republicanism and sound and efficient government, to supreme control in the affairs of the state and nation."

Wykes May Be Candidate.

Nevertheless, last night when those who came to the conference were leaving for their trains there was no more assurance than there has been for weeks that Roger L. Wykes, or Lieut.-Gov. Ross, or some one else may not enter for the governorship nomination in opposition to Mr. Martindale and Mr. Groesbeck and Miror Hills, of Grand Rapids, the only three avowed candidates as yet for the nomination. In fact, both Mr. Wykes and the lieutenant-governor said that they weren't yet saying that they had dismissed the thoughts of being candidates.

The conference was shortened because of the extreme hot weather. This was why none of the several Michigan congressmen in attendance, except Patrick Henry Kelley, made speeches, and why neither Congressman Austin, of the Knoxville, Tenn. district, nor ex-Congressman Samuel W. McCull, of Massachusetts, whom the republicans are talking of nominating this year for governor, spoke.

Congressman Kelley made his speech before the noon recess, and Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Senator Townsend talked in the afternoon. Senator South prattled and did some talking himself, although he had no speech prepared.

Cedar Rapids, Ia., Republican
TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1914

man of mental power, as well as strength.

Senator Cummins and Senator Johnson, and Senator Brewster are now coming in for a slight kind of abuse because they are helping to remake the republican party. But it may be that they see the republican party is in the process of remaking itself through the natural and inherent strength in its great and living principles, and they may merely be wise enough to stay by the ship that may later carry them to higher, or at least, to continued glory.

Borah Lauds Roosevelt.

Senator Borah fulfilled the advantage, not only in his being a noted lawyer and an orator, but he is a political speaker who can impale his political opponents without reckless or meaningless abuse. He looks like an under-sized edition of William Jennings Bryan.

There was considerable applause when he mentioned Roosevelt's name.

Senator Borah got a large delegation of women suffragists in the galleries applauding and waving flags at him when he told the men on the main floor of the assembly that, "We have had 20 years of equal suffrage in Idaho," and that, "when you cease getting agitated over the militant suffragettes of England you will not be afraid to give cultured women a right to vote," and that "women would restore the old time republican majorities in Michigan, for they have one half the intelligence and more than one half the virtue," and "when I make my next speech in Michigan it will be wholly in favor of women suffrage." He looked as if he was cracking a joke when he made this last statement.

Ogden Standard
May 27-14

BORAH'S APPEAL TO REPUBLICANS.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho has just delivered a great speech. He told the people of Michigan that an amalgamation of voters was taking place throughout the entire Union, without the consent or approval of the leaders of either the Progressive or Republican parties. He was one of the Progressive Republicans who remained with the Taft party after the Chicago convention, but he said to the people of Michigan yesterday:

"The men who voted the third party ticket to the number of four million for reasons entirely satisfactory to them can neither be questioned as to their integrity of purpose or their patriotism. But that it was a protest and not a manifestation of purpose permanently to leave the party is now established by facts and figures which cannot be doubted."

For a Taft Republican to make such admissions so early in the campaign of 1916 indicates to The Standard that the Republican party of the future will be the real Progressive party of the nation. No such overtures and confessions could be made by one of the great leaders of the Taft Republicans unless there was a sincere and abiding faith of the reunion of the Progressives and Republicans, and the Republican leaders would not hold out hopes to the Progressives to return unless those Republican leaders already had decided that the Progressive doctrines of Colonel Roosevelt would be adopted as the Republican principles of the future.

Every indication points now to the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt on the Progressive ticket and the capture of the national Republican convention by the Progressive element of that party and the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt by the Republican convention in 1916, which, of course, would mean the adoption by the Republican convention of the Progressive platform.

Again, speaking to the Michigan people, Senator Borah said:

"To accomplish the union of the Republicans of the past, what is the task before us?"

"It is unquestionably to make our party equal to the tremendous problems which now concern us. It is to build up in this country, out of the traditions, the achievements and prestige of the past, the duties and obligations of the present and the hopes and aspirations of the future, an organization efficient, militant and progressive—worthy of its old days and equal to the obligations which now rest upon us. It is our duty, in other words, in unmistakable terms to make it clear that the Republican party is to be as it was in its best days, a thoroughly progressive party."

It will be seen that the senator plainly states that the Republican party must become THOROUGHLY PROGRESSIVE party.

The Owyhee Avalanche

Sen. Borah Should Worry.

The gulf that separates Senator Borah from all other public men in Idaho today is so great that it is difficult to exaggerate in estimating its extent and depth. He is so far the superior in originality and power of intellect, personality, and influence, that no situation can conceivably arise in this state in which it will be proper to give to him or to withhold from him allegiance on the basis of his expressed preference for any particular candidate. It has, therefore, always been amusing to watch republican so-called leaders carefully regulate the temperature of their admiration and respect for our senator's talents and achievements according to the smiles or frowns he may direct towards their particular pets. What Mr. Borah is and what he is to the state is set utterly at naught by some persons if they entertain a suspicion that he does not put the same rating upon their favorite that he does. There have been times when they were quite ready to throw him over on just such grounds and never at all because of his public policies and his manner of handling public business.

When it became evident, as it

speedily did in the last campaign, that the people in this state were determined to have the legislature send Senator Borah back to Washington whether that body ever performed a single other act or on, and when it became clear that election to the legislature depended upon the support the candidate would show for Senator Borah's name, it was diverting to see the erstwhile laggards develop a sudden stiff-legged agility and sprint with awkwardness of unaccustomed motions to catch up with the Borah procession and climb (a bit clumsily and panting, to be sure) into a place beside the driver on the Borah band wagon.

Another campaign is almost on and the eyes of politicians are turned again to the east. The impression seems to prevail that things will go pretty much the way Senator Borah wants them to go, and many is the political figure stretched to the breaking point to scan the horizon for the high sign from him that will indicate where his indispensable favor may fall.

We have, of course, no information whatever on this subject, and if we had we should probably try to be as mysterious and secretive as some of our friends who are always so very much on the inside of every public matter, especially after it is all over and the world knows both the ins and outs of the subject. If we were guessing, however, we should conjecture that the senator has his hands full of big matters in Washington and that he will not have the time,

inclination, or energy, to be giving delicate Chautauqua salutes to us folks out here.

After all, this is not the senator's fight. He had his last year and he won it, small thanks to many who are cringing to him today. Let them do their own racing now and enter the preliminaries of the meet with the idea that the best man shall win, no favors shown, no handicaps given. Senator Borah has a right to be a spectator interested in the feats of skill. As for picking the winner in advance—why should he?

As the slang phrase has it, he should worry.—Grangeville Globe.

WELFARE CONFERENCE BIG SUCCESS

Messrs David Smith and Samuel Vette who attended the big republican welfare conference at Detroit Tuesday, report a very enthusiastic meeting indeed. Congressman Kelly starred at bat as usual, only more so if anything, giving a brief resume of political and industrial conditions, considerably to our discredit, and he was given a great ovation by the entire audience. Senator William Alden Smith presided and in connection therewith gave one of his characteristic ringing appeals for a reunited party and a resumption of public confidence and national prosperity. Senator Townsend also emphasized the need of redeeming the country from the democrats in 1916, as a result of our present disastrous free trade and dilly-dallying Mexican policies.

Senator Borah of Idaho, a strong presidential possibility was the big drawing card of the conference and made the specially set speech for the occasion. Senator Borah is every inch a statesman, of exceptional constructive and executive ability and he held the vast throng spell-bound during the time of his entire address. He is strong in his faith of a reunited and revived progressive republican party and thinks of the present as only a temporary lapse in its great forward march of progress and achievement. He too, was given a rousing ovation.

BORAH'S BUGLE CALL

It was a very significant speech that Senator Borah made Thursday night in New York, one that was full of meaning as well as of promise. To those who falter in the faith that the Republican party is gaining in strength with the passing of each day and is soon to be returned to place and power, the words of the Idaho Senator should clear away every doubt and dread.

The importance of the sentiments uttered was hardly to be exaggerated. They come from the lips of a man who was one of the Roosevelt chieftains at the Chicago convention, who labored with all of his power to bring about his nomination. They come from a man who was an important factor in that convention, one who saw it from behind the scenes and knew its motives and its methods. And he states that this much-hated nominating body was constructed in the same way and conducted on the same rules as were the conventions of 1904 and 1908, in both of which Mr. Roosevelt was the dominant figure.

It is a bright future that Senator Borah sees for the party. All of the signs are favorable. In the first call to arms after the defeat, in the State of Michigan, which in 1912 was carried by the Progressive party, thousands who had cast Progressive ballots in the preceding November returned to the fold and the State was won by the Republicans. The same thing happened in Maine, in the congressional elections. Last Fall in New Jersey nearly a hundred thousand who had voted the third ticket returned to their old party allegiance. In Maryland, at the same time, fifty thousand out of fifty-seven thousand left the Progressive party. The recent registration in several States discloses the same homeward bound march.

In Senator Borah's mind there is no doubt as to what this signifies. It means that even the men who voted against the Republican ticket because of what they conceived to be a mistake or a wrong, are too wise to abandon permanently the name, the traditions, the prestige and honor that they and their forefathers have established and built up through fifty years of relentless political warfare. It means that such voters are convinced that the Republican party is to be the militant real progressive force of the future.

The Senator from Idaho was one of a committee of protest against the old convention system and in favor of new methods that should keep step with a new political era. He now testifies that all this has been done, and well done. Every obstacle which stood in the way of success of the cause, as he and many like him viewed the situation, has been removed. There has never been a time when the machinery of the party was so responsive to the will of the voters and so subject to their direction.

Those who saw in the returns of the November of 1912 the complete disintegration of a great party, very greatly misread the signs. Such an end could not come to a party that, true to its traditions and past achievements, was in touch with the demands and needs of the hour. The chagrin and confusion of defeat could not change its course nor stay its progress. To Senator Borah the true concept of Republicanism, its real strength and the backbone of its power, is progress, liberalism and growth. And these are factors in success that cannot be denied.

Senator Borah is a progressive and a Republican. To him there is perfect harmony in the two words. He does

not stand for stasis or for stagnation. He wishes for nothing more and nothing less than the application of sound principles of government to the industrial and economic conditions of to-day. That is what the Republican party stands for, that for which it strives. His speech of Thursday night affords a new pathway for the return to the party friends of those who have for the moment strayed away.

Uniontown, Pa., Herald.
Wednesday, June 3, 1914.

Borah And Republicanism

Last week the Republicans from all parts of the state in Michigan to the number of several thousand met in Detroit at a general welfare party gathering. It was the greatest political meeting held in that state in many years. The memory of the first Republican party meeting at Jackson over half a century ago seemed to inspire the participants with a new party loyalty and enthusiasm. The Roosevelt tide ran high in Michigan in 1912, but it has already subsided and the Republican party last year again became the majority party.

The meeting was addressed by several men of national prominence, among whom was Senator William E. Borah who made a notable address which should be read by every voter. Senator Borah is a leading progressive Republican and fought hard in the Chicago convention for the nomination of Roosevelt, but refused to follow Roosevelt out of the party. He spoke of the party split in 1884 when Schurz, Curtis and others bolted Blaine's nomination, left the party and pronounced the Republican party as boss ridden and corrupt and declared that the great party of Lincoln had come and performed its task and was no more. Continuing he said:

"What has that party done since then? What evidence have we before us of its remarkable capacity for constructive and beneficent legislation? I can indulge here in general eulogy, but plain, unvarnished facts are far more eloquent than any general eulogy which I could give you.

"It has since then enacted the interstate commerce law, creating the Interstate Commerce Commission; the Elftershire law, the Sherman anti-trust law, the employers' liability act, the law providing for compensation for injuries to government employes, the postal savings bank law, the parcel post law, the standard equipment act for railroads, the law requiring railroads to report all accidents, the eight-hour provision for all public works and all work done under public contracts, the law compelling publicity of campaign contributions, the law providing for the physical valuation of railroads, the amendment to the constitution providing for the election of senators by popular vote, the law providing for the establishment of the bureau of commerce and labor, and finally for the creation of the department of labor, making its head a cabinet officer—a more remarkable, namely progressive policy of legislation you will not find anywhere outside of the great fruitful period when our government itself was formed.

"Since that time it has given to the world as leaders and benefactors such men as Harrison and John Hay and William McKinley and that class of men whose statesmanship was made all the more excellent in the eyes of a Christian nation because of their exalted and spotless moral strength and grandeur.

"Furthermore, the Republican party in 1897, after we had had the experience which came as a result of that split, took 1,000,000 laboring men—I quote the figures of Samuel Gompers, the veteran president of the American Federation of Labor—off of the highway; honest men anxious to work and unable to find it, and put them back at their jobs, and made their homes, where there had been want and misery and parched and faded lips begging for the food which was not to be had, again the scenes of contentment and schoolbooks and music and family life. Since that time

the foreign and domestic trade of this country has increased beyond anything paralleled in the history of the world.

"Those men in 1884 seemed to forget that a party never dies until the rank and file have surrendered, or until the principles for which it stands have become obsolete and out of place in public thought and in the minds of countless thousands in whose keeping are its honor and its glory. A few bad men remaining in a party can never destroy it and a few good men leaving it cannot force it into moral bankruptcy.

"The former will be controlled and directed in spite of their wishes by the incalculable power of an aroused public opinion and the latter will be kindly remembered. But the great work when once the party conscience is aroused will go on so long as the principles and policies of a party are vital to the welfare of the people. And so, sir, notwithstanding the crisis of those years, the great body of the voters arose and gave the party that renewed lease of power and prestige which have written into history those years of constructive legisla-

tion second only to one other period in the history of the republic.

"What we want in this country is a party which will do the simple but profound thing which Lincoln did—that is, gather up the common sense, the common honesty, the common patriotism, the common courage and the common righteousness of the common people of this country, and organize it into a militant, progressive, disciplined force for legal and social justice, and do it all under the Constitution and laws of this blessed republic."

Such a meeting as was held in Detroit should be held in this state, the Keystone of Republicanism. It would do much to enthuse and quicken party activity all over Pennsylvania. A united and aggressive Republican party will carry this state by several hundred thousand and do much to stop the Wilson raid on prosperity.

BORAH A TRUE PROPHET

Tuesday of this week Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, delivered a magnificent speech at Detroit, Mich., the state in which the republican party was founded, to a mass meeting of the republicans of the entire state. He reviewed the history of the founding and wonderful achievements of the party of Abraham Lincoln, and predicted the rehabilitation and continued prosperity and dominance of the same for years to come. Senator Borah showed that the upheaval in the party in 1912 was but the purging and purifying of that party, that practically the same state of affairs was brought about in the party in 1884 when Carl Schurz, Curtis and others broke away and brought the famed Kulant down to defeat. The party came forth from that scourging better and stronger than ever, and so, he predicts, it will be in the present instance.

As the human system becomes overburdened and distressed with impurities and according to medical science, requires radical treatment with bitter and nauseating remedies before it can free itself so with the body politic. And in both cases the purgative results brought about are well worth all the sickness and suffering, and according to the history of the Chicago convention clearly shows that heroic measures were necessary to save the patient—the corruption of that convention smelt to high heaven—but the operation was successfully performed and the patient is now making rapid recovery, having passed beyond the convalescent period, as shown by late elections and primary pointers. And one fact that is noticeable and is well worthy of particular comment, is that the reforms which were demanded have largely been conceded, and the seas upon which the republican craft ran, and that for a time wrecked it and placed the present democratic administration in power—that of the authority of the national convention to seat and unseat delegates from the various states on its own volition—has been removed and the damage is being rapidly repaired, and will in the end be a blessing.

The republican party has always been progressive and up to date, and has never failed to purify itself within its own ranks and by its own efforts and according to the highest standards of personal and political righteousness. There is not and never has been anything wrong chargeable to the rank and file of the republican party. Corrupt and selfish leaders have risen up and wielded power for a time and have been deposed, even as in the present in-

Wm. E. Borah

stances, when they have too far abused their authority, and have too far tried the patience and forbearance of the lay members of the party. Borah, Bradley, La Follette, Cummings, Newbark, Heston, who were in the forefront of the progressive battle, are still standing for the same principles they advocated when they were making the fight at Chicago against corruption and corrupt leaders. If they were progressive enough to be worthy the confidence and esteem of the ultra progressive element of the republican party before the convention, they should certainly still be so, for they have not changed one iota, and we challenge any one to show to the contrary. The only charge that can be made against them is that they refused to leave the republican party, and Mr. Borah in his speech sets forth very clearly his reasons for remaining with the party, which in effect was that as the party had purified itself in two particular instances before and arose more vigorous and more useful than ever for good, he knew that it could and would do so again. Mr. Borah will yet prove himself a true prophet, and will put to shame both the "pig headed" class of standstillers in his party and the radical, rabid go-it-alone progressives, who criticize him for not bolting and forming a third party which will never be strong enough to work out reforms itself or accomplish anything more than to assist the democratic party, with which it agrees not in a single plank or principle of governmental policy. It is very poor policy for a party or a man to work for the establishment of that which he admits he believes is against his own best interests, simply to gratify pique, or because some two by four political hater, who wants him to do so for his own party gain, chafes him on with the assurance that he is "showing his independence and manhood." A man should work for the right principles, and against the wrong principles in political matters the same as he does in business matters, and not allow himself to be sidetracked for some passing grievance. Read Senator Borah's speech elsewhere in this issue.

Manchester, N. Y., Daily Express
Thursday, May 23, 1914.

A High Ideal.

Republicans of Michigan held a state welfare conference recently in which many earnest men took part. Reviewing the existing situation, Congressman Kelly of Lansing said that for the first time in 21 years the balance of trade is against the United States, the magnificent trade balance of 50 millions a month which republican policies built up having given place to a ten million balance against us. The republican party has been out of power only a little more than a year, but that is long enough to demonstrate that the sooner it is restored to control the better it will be for our domestic affairs and for our standing among the nations of the world.

Senator Borah of Idaho saw proof on every hand that the republican party is coming back into power. The trend is unmistakable. The patriotism of the men who supported the third party ticket in 1912 cannot be questioned, he declared, but it is now established by facts and figures beyond doubt that their vote was a protest and not a manifestation of purpose to leave the party permanently. The republican party is again to be, as it was in its best days, progressive and uncompromising with the forces ever at work to bring parties to their ruin. The country waits and is going to have a republican party which will gather up the common sense, honesty, courage and righteousness of the common people and organize it into a militant, progressive, disciplined force for legal and social justice, and do it all under the Constitution and laws of our republic.

This is a high and realizable ideal, and we are nearer to it to-day than ever before. The best men of all parties demand it and expect to find it in the republican party chastened by defeat and earnest to avoid its errors of the past. The conviction deepens in the minds of men that we can have prosperity, peace abroad and righteousness at home all at the same time, and that the people are defrauded of their rights if asked to be content with anything less. If the republican party cannot give us this it is unattainable in our generation. The

democratic vagabonds have pitifully failed; a single year has shown the country that they have nothing to offer, and their flimsy theories have broken down at the first stress. As for the third party, it was never anything but a protest, a threat, a rebuke. Our country is too big for any one-man party, and already in the two years since 1912, so swiftly do events move, the boggy men of that campaign have been fact-punctured and no longer frighten anybody, and the policies for which the one man clamored so vociferously are felt to be shop-worn, undesirable and dead.

BUT WILL BORAH'S ADVICE BE HEERED?

We commend to the careful and studious perusal of some Republicans the utterances of Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, contained in an address delivered in Detroit at a get-together convention of the Republican party. Among other things Borah said:

"The men who voted the third party ticket to the number of four millions for reasons entirely satisfactory to them can neither be questioned as to their integrity of purpose, or their patriotism."

It would hardly seem necessary for progressive Republican leaders like Borah to say this, since the consistent course of the leaders of the Republican party since 1912 has constituted an admission that the tactics which caused the breach in Republican ranks and led to the organization of the Progressive party were reprehensible, and were due to conditions in the party organization which cried aloud for correction—so loudly indeed that even the reactionary national committee, which perpetrated the offense, has made an effort to bring about the change demanded. It is altogether unnecessary from the Progressive view point since we have yet to hear of a Progressive who felt the slightest regret at the course he pursued in 1912, or who would not, under similar conditions, do precisely the same thing again. It appears to be exclusively necessary with that class of Republicans who think, most fatuously, that they can win the 1916 election with a reactionary candidate, abetted by reactionary leaders, like Penrose, Foraker, Gallinger, Smoot, Cannon and Barnes, running on a stand-pat platform. This class constitutes the genuine bourbons of the country who, like their prototypes of an earlier era, are blind to the currents of public sentiment, who have learned less than nothing by the errors of the past, and who would lead their once successful, constructive and historic party to a new and final defeat.

We urge Republicans to read further what Borah says, when speaking of the party of the future, he describes its task in the following language:

"It is to build up in this country, out of the traditions, achievements and prestige of the past, the duties and obligations of the present and the hopes and aspirations of the future, an organization efficient, militant and progressive—worthy of its old days and equal to the obligations which now rest upon us. It is our duty, in other words, in unmistakable terms to make it clear that the Republican party is to be as it was in its best days, a thoroughly progressive party."

Can any such purpose as that be served, can even pretensions to such a commendable purpose be made so long as the Republican party continues to offer to the voters as candidates, men whose public record belies any possible suggestion of liberality of views, whose entire occupation as partisans for a decade has been to combat the progressives within their own party, and the progressive proposals they championed? Do they think the people's memories so short as to have forgotten where Cannon, Foraker, Gallinger and Penrose stood when Roosevelt was initiating and forcing through congress the policies which bear his name, and which are accepted today universally as the sole defense of the country against government ownership, and ultimately socialism?

Borah's declarations are fine and splendid. But will the Republican party under its present leadership heed

Present Day Party Duty.

In his eloquent speech at Detroit predicting the return of the republican party and its return to power Senator Borah said:

"What we want in this country is a party which will do the simple but profound thing which Lincoln did—that is, gather up the common sense, the common honesty, the common patriotism, the common courage and the common righteousness of the common people of this country, and organize it into a militant, progressive, disciplined force for legal and social justice, and do it all under the Constitution and laws of this blessed old republic."

This is very much to the point. The republican party under Lincoln, and for many years later under the inspiration of his achievements, did notable things. Notable things are still demanded, and if Mr. Borah's prediction is fulfilled, the party, in order to retain power, will have to address itself to their performance.

But not too much should be expected of the new leader, whoever may draw the prize. He will have his difficulties, his ups and downs, his moments

of station and his moments of depression.

Mr. Lincoln's greatness is well and permanently established. But he passed through the severest trials. Until within a few months of his deplorable death, he was between two fires in the north. By some of the supporters of the Union cause he was denounced as a hopeless conservative, without the firm conception of things. His recommitment was opposed, and for a time he himself feared defeat. Luckily for the greatest of causes and the greatest of countries, he was endorsed both in convention and at the polls.

While under criticism as a non-progressive, Mr. Lincoln was making the truest because the safest progress. He was setting off no fireworks—indulging in no perfervid professions of devotion to progress. Nevertheless, he was never for a day in any matter of the first moment a stand-patter. His policies reasoned out, and in the end all were justified. His delay of two years in the issuance of his emancipation proclamation proved to be the wisest step of his whole administration. The matter was so momentous time was necessary to ripen it; and Mr. Lincoln's judgment as to the time was an inspiration.

The new republican leader will be beset in this way. He will be urged to go faster. He will be warned to go slowly. He will not be able to please both sides. He must decide many things for himself, and take the consequences.

Mr. Borah is rated as a progressive republican. At Chicago two years ago he sympathized with the Roosevelt cause during the preliminary work of the republican convention, but refused to follow Mr. Roosevelt out of the party. He remained a republican, and is a republican today. So that when he declares that all the progress now necessary to the welfare of the country can be made "under the Constitution and laws," he sounds a note of importance against all suggestions of tinkering with the fundamentals of the government. The old foundations will easily bear whatever additions may be necessary to the present superstructure.

BUFFALO, N. Y., COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER

Wednesday, May 27, 1914.

safe to go.

BORAH'S CLEAR VISION.

Senator Borah is a republican of clear vision. He has rightly gauged the trend of the times. That the republican party is coming back into power is apparent to all who have noted the results of recent elections from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. The Senator is pleased to call the return of the progressives an amalgamation. It makes little difference by what name it is called, the fact is the progressives are coming back into the old party by the tens of thousands, leaving their leaders in the lurch. They did not desert the party in 1912 for the purpose of staying out; they merely voiced a protest against the existing order of things. Now they have accomplished their object, they see no reason for letting the democrats continue to gather the unearned fruits of victory.

Manchester (N. H.)
Union May 27-19

E. A. BURRELL TALKS OF HIS TRIP TO WASHINGTON

He Says Idaho's Senators and Representatives Measure up Well with Their Colleagues—Senator Borah is Exceedingly Popular.

Hon. E. A. Burrell and family returned last Saturday from a four week's visit with relatives in Illinois Indiana. Leaving Mrs. Burrell and little daughter at Evansville, Ind., Mr. Burrell made a trip to Washington, where he spent ten days very pleasantly and profitably. It was his first trip to the national capital and quite naturally he was very much interested in what he saw and heard. He made brief visits to Mt. Vernon and all other points of interest in and about Washington.

Thru the courtesy of Senator Brady, Mr. Burrell was accorded a good seat in the house gallery and had the pleasure of hearing President Wilson read his special message to congress on the trust question.

Thru the courtesy of Congressman Addison T. Smith, he also had the pleasure and honor of meeting President Wilson in the latter's business office in the White House. Altho the meeting was a short one, Mr. Burrell says the president greeted him very cordially. A card from Private Secretary Tumulty, gave Mr. Burrell the privilege of a visit thru all the apartments of the white house with the exception, of course, of the sleeping rooms of the president and his family. With the exception of his private secretary, Mr. Burrell states that the president has retained all of the employes in the mansion who were there during Taft's administration.

In speaking of Idaho's representatives in congress, Mr. Burrell said: "I found Senators Borah and Brady, and Representatives French and Smith up to their necks in work, and they were especially interested in looking after matters pertaining to the welfare of Idaho. I also learned from authoritative sources that Idaho's senators and representatives measure up well with the members from the Eastern States."

"I was particularly impressed," said Mr. Burrell, "with the favor in which Senator Borah is looked upon as a presidential candidate for 1916. Not only did I find the sentiment strong for him in Washington, but his name was frequently mentioned in connection with the presidential nomination by promi-

ent business men with whom I talked in Chicago, and elsewhere.

"Ex-State Treasurer Klaus of Indiana, now at the head of a large building and loan association at Evansville, stated, while talking with me, 'that Borah is the choice of practically all of the republicans in this vicinity.' Outside of President Wilson, I believe that Senator Borah is the most talked of man in the United States today."

As an illustration of the standing of Mr. Borah has in the senate, Mr. Burrell stated that he was present during the discussion on the Alaskan Railroad bill, and that while several of the "big" eastern senators were discussing the measure, the senate chamber was practically vacant, but each time that Senator Borah spoke on the several amendments, which were under consideration, the senators flocked in from the cloak rooms, and all gave the closest attention to what Senator Borah had to say.

When asked as regards the business situation in the country, Mr. Burrell said, "I have found the sentiment somewhat divided, but a number of prominent men with whom I talked seemed to feel that the bottom had been reached, and that there would be a steady revival of business in all the large industrial lines. The people generally seem to be behind the national administration because of its determination to place into operation laws in accordance with the policies of the democratic party. But whether or not these laws will prove to be beneficial to the country, remains to be seen. However, it appears that a large number of the people at this time have confidence in President Wilson."

As regards conditions in the republican party thruout the east, Mr. Burrell said he found a strong sentiment among the old-time republicans in favor of the two wings of the party getting together for the coming campaign, but at the time he was in Washington it was too early for the leaders of either wing to say what action would be taken towards bringing the two factions of the party together this year.

THE VISION OF BORAH.

In no sense a visionary, but a seer of the keenest and truest vision, Senator Borah in his speech before the Republican Club of New York in celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln has thrown upon the national canvas a picture of the renewed Republican party that is worthy of the ideals of Lincoln and that challenges the zeal of every true lover of liberty and promoter of political ideals.

The keynote of the speech was replete with interest. It was the adoption of a platform that should not represent compromise and no harmony not based upon a common conviction. The Republicans of the country will rise to the proposition to Jerry and temporizing and spirit of adjustment that must arise from a platform brought by somebody into the convention perturbed like an Egyptian mummy and not the product of the virile and passionate sentiments of the body of the Republican voters. It is not hard to read into this declaration a repudiation in advance of any proposition that might be made by the Progressive Republicans that would call upon the Republican party to surrender its mighty and impulsive policies for the welfare of the people and designed to conserve the ends of true progressiveness in order to make way for vague and theoretical generalizations. Senator Borah asks only one thing and that is to be shown whether the Republican voters are or are not progressive in the sound sense of the term, and if they are, no mere question of party organization shall be permitted to stand in the way or to drive me out of the party."

As to the matter of party organization, the brilliant speaker pointed out the uselessness of such schemes as that at the Chicago convention; citing the fact that as lamentable conditions—due to the power of the Southern Republicans—had existed in previous congressions. He does not concede that party organization constitutes a sufficient cause for the disunion of the party, while principles burning and vital, were adopted by the party. Now, however, the things complained of at Chicago have been corrected and the representation of the South will be reduced to the minimum, not as punishment to that section, but because that section itself realizes the injustice that has prevailed in the power exercised by the section where Republicanism was weakest.

Not can there longer be contests, as certification by the state primaries will seat delegates hearing these credentials, without possibility of his claim being called into question by the convention—thus will be instituted what in effect will be a national primary. With these reforms in effect the only subject before the convention of vital nature will be the adoption of the platform; and this, Senator Borah declares, will be torn out from the convention discussions and not be a platitudinous set of principles written far in advance of the convention's meeting. "The next Republican National Convention will be in the hands and under the control of the voters of the party."

Nothing is more significant of the transitory nature of the break in the party or indicative of the fact that the voters have returned to their allegiance than the year of Michigan, New Jersey, Maryland, Iowa and other states where elections have been held, back to the Republican party. Already the Democrats see the handwriting upon the wall and are fearful that they will go down in the fall congressional elections. The chairman of the dominant party has seen the signs and declared that the real adversary of his party in the next campaign would be no other than the Republican party.

The party of Lincoln is fast recovering from the defection and union and accord are bringing to it strength superior to what it had before the split. With the position of the party well defined upon the great issues of the times, there will be and can be no competition with it in the field of its aggression. The speech of Senator Borah will be regarded as an epoch-making one in the history of a great party.

from AMERICAN

address: Baltimore, Md.

etc

FEB 13 1916

From EVENING GLOBE
Address: New York City.
Date FEB 13 1914

REPUBLICAN REHABILITATION.

Senator Borah, euphemist as he becomes an orator and optimist as he becomes a man of the west, speaks of the wrecking of the Republican party at Chicago in June, 1912, as an "incident." Inasmuch as the fault, according to his reading, was one of organization and not in the membership or policies, and inasmuch as since steps have been taken to reform the organization, he sees no reason why the body of voters who constituted the party as it existed prior to the split should not take possession of the party and run it in the old satisfactory, progressive way.

The Idaho senator's explanation shows that his powers of adroit interpretation are greater than his powers of accurate observation. It is true, as he says, that the issue at Chicago was technically and immediately over a matter of organization rather than over membership and policies, but it is not true, as he implies, that the only quarrel was over the matter of the southern delegates. The body of delegates, who believed that they represented a large majority of the Republican rank and file, and that this fact had been emphatically shown by primary results, were more outraged by the refusal to seat duly elected delegates from Washington, Arizona, California, and other northern states than they were by the presence of hand-picked delegates from the south. It was not faulty representation that caused the great bolt. It was the behavior of the Republican national committee and of the coterie of men who stood behind that committee, directing its action and seemingly making good their vaunt that the party of Abraham Lincoln, founded in sympathy for human welfare as opposed to property rights, had been transformed into a party that put property rights first. The results of the election showed, as had been shown in the primaries during the preceding spring, that the majority of the Republican rank and file insisted on progressive action and repudiated the effort to make the party distinctively a conservative one. But this does not obscure the facts that the conservatives, through command of the party's machinery, were able to capture the party and are still in possession of the party so far as there is public record. Senator Borah, now as always, is a progressive, but he must have been aware last night that the tone of his discourse was fundamentally different from that of the other speakers. He knows only too well that Brother Taft seizes every occasion to lift up his voice in behalf of the ark of the covenant, that there is solemn prating about the necessity of reestablishing "representative" government, and that the men who pulled off the big job at Chicago are still the captains and the leaders.

To secure the reunion that is desired by reasonable Progressives as well as by reasonable Republicans more is necessary than the patching up of machinery. It must be clear that the Republican party has purged itself—is once again the party of Abraham Lincoln rather than the party of Mark Hanna. There should be frank and open acknowledgment that the spirit of pristine Republicanism was displayed during the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt rather than during the administration of William H. Taft. In a word, so far as concerns the controversy between the so-called radical and conservative wings of the party there must be capitulation by the conservatives.

Except on these terms there is not likely to be coalescence. Senator Borah would have served his cause and party better if he had been less careful about softening his discourse to meet supposed New York prejudices. The greatest good that a national Republican leader could do for his party would be to proclaim out loudly and emphatically ideas that are commonplace in private conversation.

From PUBLIC LEDGER
Address Philadelphia
Date FEB 14 1914

RANK AND FILE WILL REHABILITATE THE PARTY

Whether it is Senator Borah in New York or Senator Cummins in Colorado pointing to the increasing glory of Lincoln, the foremost thought of each is that the party under which and by means of which the Emancipator accomplished his colossal work must not perish in this country, but must be rescued from the slough of impotence into which it has been plunged; not merely because of its historic value, but because it is today, as it was in 1860, the one available instrument through which a vast body of conscientious and provident citizens can put into effect the great and fundamental principles for which they stand and by which, they are convinced, the nation should be guided.

There has been no dissolution, Senator Borah maintains, because the fact that Progressives at Chicago were seeking honors from the Republican party "proved conclusively that they were in accord with its principles, had faith in its policies and relied upon it as an instrumentality of progressive advancement." Senator Cummins reaches the logical conclusion from the Borah diagnosis. "The Republican party will come back not by amalgamation, but by absorption."

The important fact is that there has been no revolt against Republicanism; there has been an uprising against Republican leadership. The process of absorption will be rapid and complete, ac-

ording to the personnel of the candidates the party offers. This is true in Illinois, in New York, in California, in every Republican State, where in its elements the situation is exactly like that in Pennsylvania. A sacrifice of principle for popularity would be unproductive and indefensible, but a sacrifice of personalities to an evident public prejudice would not only be wise, but is the obvious duty of the party. The rank and file will rehabilitate and vindicate Republicanism, if not prevented from so doing by the stupid recalcitrancy of leaders who have already been repudiated.

HE TRIED IT.

THE declaration of Senator Borah that he would never become a member of a third party, against Republicanism, as long as he knew the leaders of such party, is wholesome, and a quite characteristic deduction made by our worthy senior senator.

He has scathingly arraigned Perkins as the leader in the lost cause of last fall, and shows him a trust magnate and monopolist of the first water. A good many people appreciated that last election.

But the senior senator watched the process until he was able to calmly and dispassionately judge the process of the third party movement, and his definition, as thrown down at the Columbus reorganization banquet, should be sufficient to indicate to the average individual who may have been led astray, that the third party movement was along the line of populism, of other third party movements that were calculated to promote the interests of individuals and opposition parties—just as the third party movement in Idaho operated in favor of the Democrats last fall—and that the movement is no good and should be abandoned.

The senator cannot be absolved from guilt in participation last fall, and his statement of allegiance to bona fide Republicanism is all the more creditable in that he has passed judgment founded on experience and close observation.

FEB 14 1914

FEB 14 1914

m HERALD
ress: Washington, D. C.

FEB 15 1914

POLITICAL SITUATION.

"In my way of thinking," said Senator Borah of Idaho, in a speech in New York last Thursday night, "politics is the most serious thing that can engage the public attention of men."

Not only most serious, but, apparently, the most universal. There has been little hard politics during the past week. Ex-President Taft's article in a current publication on the failure of the Republican party; Senator Borah's explanation of his continued adhesion to the Republican organization; Representative Hinchbaugh's address as chairman of the Progressive Congressional committee; Representative Frazier's speech on a government by the people instead of a government of the people; the Congressional election in the Second district of Iowa; the activities of the Progressive State committees in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, and other States; the criticism of the administration by that unscrupulous standpat, former Speaker Cannon—all these were interesting details of a week in which the political situation was discussed from every possible angle.

The net result seems to have been the expression of an unwavering faith on the part of the Republicans in the continued existence of their party and an equally enthusiastic outlook among the Progressives as to the ultimate triumph of their organization. The Democrats did not contribute anything to the general discussion. Lincoln's birthday is not a Democratic celebration. As a matter of fact, there is no necessity for Democratic interference. The Democrats can stand aside and complacently observe the Kilgore cat fight across the way. As long as the Republican party continues divided they will be victorious without a struggle.

address **CONCORD, N. H.**
date **FEB 13 1914**

REPUBLICAN EVOLUTION.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho thinks, and is right in thinking, that those who saw disintegration of the Republican party in its failure to carry more than two states instead the signs. At the Lincoln day dinner of the Republican club of New York, Mr. Borah characterized the process within the party as evolution, not dissolution.

The subject of Senator Borah's address was "The Republican Party," and at the outset he made it clear that he spoke for those who think this name an asset not to be surrendered, but one under which the voters, in a grim and conclusive way, have shown that the organization of a party at all times must be the servant, not the master. He said well that "political parties, regardless of their traditions and past achievements, must be kept and conducted on a high plane and held in touch with the demands and needs of the hour.

"The next Republican national convention will be in the hands and under the control of the voters of the party, those who believe in the Republican party, who respect its traditions and have helped to make its history. I am not one of those who believe that the Republican party has made no mistakes, but I am one of those who have no doubt that under a full and free expression of the voters it will again become a powerful instrument for good."

Progressives and Republicans.

There were two rival Lincoln dinners in New York city, night before last. One was given under the auspices of the national organization of the Progressive party, and the other by the Republican Club. The speakers at each were professedly hopeful for the future. The Progressive party, if we may judge from the orators on this occasion, looks forward to a satisfactory showing at the polls next fall and a national triumph in 1916; while the Republicans, according to the hopeful remarks of Senator Borah on Thursday evening, expect to win back the deserters of 1912, close up their ranks and retrieve two years hence all they lost in the last national campaign.

It requires no especial gift of prophecy to foresee that somebody is going to be disappointed. Nor is it hard to understand that if the Progressives poll a fair-sized vote in 1914 and 1916 the chances favor the continuance of the Democrats in power. With Colonel Roosevelt in the South American wilderness, the new party is finding it difficult to hold its voters in line. At the Republican dinner on Thursday evening joyful reference was made to the fact that at the recent congressional election in Iowa the Progressive vote dropped from ten thousand to three thousand. "Those who followed Roosevelt blindly," said President Ocott of the Republican Club, "have come to realize that that was the only way anyone could follow him." And yet enough voters may stick to the new party in the fall elections of 1914, and in the presidential election of 1916, to invite a repetition of the Democratic success of 1912.

The only hope of Republican success lies in the return of the great mass of the Progressives to the old party. But there were eight hundred Progressives at the dinner of that faction, and they "seemed to lack none of the enthusiasm which marked the last presidential campaign." At the Republican dinner Senator Borah was meanwhile declaring that there has been a much-needed Republican housecleaning and that no obstacle remains in the way of a reconciliation between the warring elements of two years ago; but it will require more than fine words to bring the wanderers back. Some of them have, indeed, already returned, but others propose to continue in their new affiliation. The net result is bound to be a distinct Democratic advantage. The party in power could ask nothing better of fate than that its opponents should remain divided.

To every voter in Wayne county who does not wish to see a continuation of Democratic rule in this country, we commend a close reading of Senator William E. Borah's Lincoln day address, made last Thursday in New York, found on another page of the Press this week. His reasoning is sound, his conclusions just, and with him as the standard bearer in 1916, (which is entirely within the bounds of possibility) there would be honors coming to old Wayne county surpassing her fondest dreams. As for the Press, we believe that Senator Borah stands out among the men of the nation as a most available candidate for 1916.

The Vitality of the Republican Party.

More than one meaning will be given to Senator Borah's remark at the Lincoln dinner of the Republican Club that "No one was there [at Chicago] seeking honor and place at the hands of the convention who would not have been glad to utilize the party as a party had the results been satisfactory." What he had in mind, of course, was that if the Progressive Republicans had controlled the convention they would have been satisfied with the candidate and the platform and there would have been no split in the party.

The Senator might have added that there is no influential Republican in the country to-day, whether he calls himself a regular or a Progressive, who would not be glad to utilize the party as a party two years hence if he could obtain its nomination for President. No man familiar with its history believes that it is dead or can be killed by seceders who try to set up a rival and a stronger organization. MANHATTAN will have to go to the mountain. No other conclusion is to be drawn from the returns in special Congress elections. Progressive politicians who talk about the Republican party as founder and make a show of keeping up a separate organization will be suspected of doing it for trading purposes.

And Senator BORAH was right when he pointed to the reform legislation of the Republican party under TAFT as well as under ROOSEVELT as proof that it could not be taxed by the separatists with not being liberal and progressive, which is very different, however, from being hysterically radical. Mr. BORAH calls himself a Progressive Republican, but he is also a regular Republican because he is practical. Any other kind of a Progressive is either a visionary or an insincere politician.

Prophecy and Warning.

Never has any question been raised of Senator William E. Borah's progressiveness. He remained in the Republican party when many of his political intimates followed Theodore out of it. For preferring to remain with Cammillo and La Follette instead of going with H. Johnson and Bill Flinn he caused sorrow among the Rooseveltians, but he did not lose any prestige in the Senate. He is one of the strong men of politics to-day, able, sincere and outspoken.

The Idaho Senator spoke to Republicans in Detroit Monday upon the political prospects and the duty of all Republicans to see in its true proportions the apparatus that lies ahead.

The man who voted the third party ticket can neither be questioned as to their integrity of purpose nor their patriotism. But that it was a protest and not a manifestation of purpose purposelessly to leave the party is now established by facts and figures which cannot be doubted.

The figures at the special elections that have been held since 1912 and the enrollment in the party primaries from Pennsylvania to Oregon establish this purpose clearly. The Progressives do not intend to remain permanently out of the Republican party where it becomes clear that their own cause is hopeless and that continuance in it can serve no other purpose than to elect Democrats to office. The Republican party is coming back. Senator Borah has no question about that, he is concerned only that it shall come back right.

It is our duty in unmistakable terms to make it clear that the Republican party is to be as it was in the best days—a thoroughly progressive party.

In this country a powerful influence for the bad in politics and it will take possession of any party in the world, if it can, which is enjoying power. This kind of influence does not fight a party to the open. It holds itself in readiness to direct the course of any party which happens to be in power. With such influences there can be no compromise if we are to have a party which is going to meet and solve the great problems which a new industrial life and a new social condition have imposed upon us.

Senator Borah's very prophecy should not blind Republican leaders to his warning.

Syracuse (N.Y.) Post-Standard May 28-14

From
Address
Date

TELEGRAPH
Harrisburg, Pa.
FEB 16 1914

Bridgeport Conn
Standard 6-1-14

SENATOR BORAH'S PARTY.

BACK TO THE PARTY

MUCH significance is given throughout the country to the speech of United States Senator Borah at the Lincoln dinner in New York city. As one of the most forceful and practical of the Progressives who has remained inside the Republican party to effect the reforms which he believes are necessary to its future usefulness, Senator Borah has aroused greater interest in the work of the Republican party during the last few weeks than any other distinguished statesman of his day. Perhaps the most striking sentence of his New York speech was this:

"No one was there [at Chicago] seeking honor and glory at the hands of the convention who would not have been glad to utilize the party as a party had the results been satisfactory."

No one will doubt the truth of this statement. Had Roosevelt or Hadley or Cummings or any other of the eminent Republicans who were discussed for the Presidency at that time been nominated by the convention then in session there would have been no question raised as to the fairness or locality of the nomination. In short, the Republican party would not have been divided and the Democracy would not now be in control of the government.

Senator Borah pointed out in his New York address the substantial achievements of the Republican party and the progressive character of the legislation under Republican administrations. He also indicated very clearly that those who persisted in maintaining a separate organization under the plea that the Republican party is decadent are doing so for no other purpose than to achieve their own selfish ambitions. As one of the men who stood with Roosevelt at Chicago until the Colonel pulled the party, Senator Borah's conclusions will have unusual weight. He was in close touch with all that transpired in the convention of 1912 and his statements regarding its work must convince many who have honestly believed that there was something very unfair in the construction and conduct of that body. He pointed out that the convention was conducted under the same rules as the conventions of 1904 and 1908, in both of which Colonel Roosevelt was a dominant figure.

All over the country there is a strong undercurrent of common sense which is sweeping back into the Republican party those who were carried away by their admiration for Colonel Roosevelt in 1912. Practically every election that has been held in the last few months shows the back-to-the-party movement everywhere. In Maryland, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, California—in all sections the rehabilitation of the party is proceeding along sane and reasonable lines. There has been no growth of the Democracy in any quarter. Whatever of success has come to the party now in power has been through the division of the Republican forces.

Those ambitious gentlemen who imagine that they can destroy the Republican party for their own selfish purposes cannot have studied the enormous vote given for President Taft under conditions which were discouraging from the very outset of the campaign. In short, there is a great body of Republicans which has not and cannot be swayed from the standards of the party.

But there will be no permanent restoration of the Republican party unless and until the party leaders everywhere recognize the mistakes of the past and turn their faces toward the new standards and the principles which are inherent in the Republican faith.

There is nothing like having the way in which a thing should be made plain, and the path laid out, so that we have only to walk therein to attain whatever is desirable and to arrive ultimately at the goal towards which our cherished aspirations tend. This is true of parties as of individuals and he is the man to be commended, admired and followed who can clearly and unmistakably point the way.

Senator Borah is one of those leaders who lead, and whose voice is always calling in the right way, when it is allowed to make the proposition speaking recently at Detroit about the possible, and to him probable, reunion of the Progressives and the old Republicans, and what they would do by the mere moral weight of this coalition, he said:

"What we want in this country is a party which will do the simple but profound thing that Lincoln did; that is, gather up the common sense, the common honesty, the common patriotism, the common courage and the common righteousness of the common people of this country, and organize it into a militant, progressive, disciplined force for legal and social justice, and do it all under the Constitution and laws of this blessed old Republic."

To be sure! The party that could pick up and gather to itself all these elements could not be resisted and would be invulnerable. There would be a movement to it of all the good and true, the strong, a "concursus honorum omnium," as Cicero put it, that would leave nothing but the lame, the lazy, the criminal, the outcast and the rag-tag and bobtail generally to oppose the combined sweetness and light of the generation. What could stand against such a combination?

Perhaps Senator Borah is just a trifle optimistic if he expects to see such a "hitch up" in politics as he recites. We may approximate to it, perhaps, but no party on this mortal earth will ever have all the good, the true and the beautiful gathered within its ranks, although such a consummation is indeed "devoutly to be wished." And to help it along let us each resolve to be good, to enroll under the banner of Borah's political school and march, shoulder to shoulder, eyes front, heads up, toes out, to our great destiny, whatever that may be.

HERALD
NORRISTOWN, PA.
FEB 13 1914

REPUBLICAN ADVANCEMENT.

The last election demonstrated that there has been a reversal of feeling on the part of voters, especially those who deserted the Republican party and allied themselves with the third party movement.

Another campaign is close at hand in May primaries will be held in which nominations will be made for Governor, United States Senator, Representative in Congress, State Senator and Assemblymen.

That the Democrats are hopelessly divided is apparent. The party is split under over Congressman Diefenderfer. His opponents are open to their avowal that they will support a man other than his for renomination. He has announced his candidacy and simultaneously with his announcement publicly to give to an entire ticket, or "state" this sort of "boast" is resented by the anti-Diefenderfer partisans, who include what is known as the regular or party organization men.

But aside from the division in the Democratic party the Republicans have an excellent chance for success because of the party coming into its

a majority of that vast number who left under the stress of excitement of the last Presidential campaign.

Out in the Second Iowa district on Tuesday an election was held for Representative in Congress to fill a vacancy caused by the death of a Democratic incumbent. Although a Democrat was elected the returns show a Republican gain of 2000 votes over the vote cast in 1912, the Democrats a loss of 6000 and the Progressives a loss of 10,000.

This Iowa election teaches a lesson to the Republicans and Independents of this, the Eighth Congressional District of Pennsylvania. The Democratic candidate won in this normally Republican district because the Progressives insisted on nominating a candidate, hence a man was elected whose views on national questions are at direct variance with Republican ideas.

At the Lincoln dinner of the Republican Club, of New York, last night, Senator Borah, of Idaho, who was a Progressive in 1912, drew a vivid picture of Republicanism virile and progressive as of old. No man or set of men, he declared, can turn the party from its true course and drag it down from its exalted station among the political factors of modern times.

"I am not one of those who believe that the Republican party has made no mistakes," declared Senator Borah, "but I am one of those who have no doubt that under a full and free expression of the voters it will again become a powerful instrument for good."

In citing some of the goodness which the Republican party achieved, the Idaho Senator said:

"When our party put the interstate commerce act upon the statute books this was denounced as socialism and unworkable.

"When it put the rebate act among our laws it was derided as visionary and impracticable.

"When it enacted a pure food law it was criticized as the last step in paternalism.

"When the Sherman anti-trust law was put upon the books it was pronounced by great lawyers as unenforceable, or, if enforceable, unconstitutional.

"When the party enacted a postal savings bank law and a pure food law these were regarded as further evidence of reckless and headstrong paternalism.

"When the child labor bureau was created a solemn plea went up for the integrity of the family and against the rude interference of the state with family ties.

"Now, sir, we ask for nothing more and will be reconciled with nothing less than the free, full and open expression of the full flow of opinion, in peace, union and party affairs among its voters and members.

"I can only say in conclusion that Republicanism, as I understand it in its real scope and purpose, is a theory of government, an organic and vital belief in liberty and justice under the domination of order and law, a striving for the best that can be had as fast as it can be had in national growth and progress.

"It looks forward with eager confidence to the duties and responsibilities of the future. It will not tear down, it will not destroy, but it will go forward and meet the problems upon whose solution depend the happiness and industrial freedom of countless thousands.

"It wars upon no legitimate industry, it shows no malice, it recognizes no distinction in race, but it believes now, as it believed fifty years ago, that this Government, and this goodly land, which a bountiful Providence has given us, belongs to all, to the many and not the few, white and black, rich and poor."

To be Governor of Pennsylvania and loss of the Big League is really too much better for any one man.—Farrington

REUNITING FOR PROGRESS.

In his speech at New York, Senator Borah laid stress on what is the most hopeful sign of Republican reaction—the voluntary return to the party of hundreds of thousands who deserted it in 1912, showing that their desertion was but temporary and that its causes have ceased to exist. This reunion is the more full of promise that it will continue and be complete, because it was not organized. It would be inaccurate to say that Republicans are returning by regiments and brigades, for regiments and brigades have commanders whose orders are obeyed. As Mr. Borah pointed out, the revival of party strength is due not to the organization, or to leadership, but to the loyalty of the individuals to the cause for which the party stands. They left it because their faith in its loyalty to that cause had been shaken for the time; they return of their own accord because their faith has been restored.

Mr. Borah says the next Republican National Convention will be in the hands of the voters. When this becomes apparent from events leading up to and occurring at the convention, every doubt will be swept away and every Republican who still hesitates will rally to the standard. They will do so the more readily when they realize that the party is progressive and aggressive, as they surely will.

The Republican party has to its credit practically all the constructive National work of the last half century. The chastening it has received has purified it of dross and fitted it to continue that work more efficiently than ever. It refuses to be relegated to the position of a conservative party similar to those which exist in European countries and whose function is to oppose change, even when obviously for the better. It stands firmly for the fundamental principles of the Constitution and for the principle of National unity and supremacy of the National Government as decided by the Civil War, but it is not immutably pledged to any particular machinery for putting those principles in effect.

It stands for all the progressive measures outlined by ex-President Taft in an article in the Saturday Evening Post, but it may go beyond him in enlarging the direct power of the voters to shape legislation, and by so doing would not be false to its principles. As a National body it may increase the direct responsibility of judges to the people without abandoning its ideals, though Mr. Taft seems to imagine that it cannot. Individual states like Oregon have made such changes without ceasing to be Republican.

These questions will be decided by the party in a convention which will be controlled by its voters. When they give the word "forward," the party will advance and those who refuse to follow the adopted road will drop out. Since the word will not be given until the new measures have been thoroughly canvassed and accepted, the de-

sections will be few and will be compensated by new adherents to the standard.

WASHINGTON, D. C. HERALD 1914

Sunday, February 15, 1914.

Senator Borah's Position.

An analysis of Senator Borah's speech before the New York Republican Club.

Senator Borah is genuinely and sincerely progressive in his ideas. More than that, he is a man of admitted ability and force and he is a possible Presidential nominee, handicapped solely by the fact that he comes from a State with only four electoral votes. Although by nature progressive, he prefers to remain with the Republican party. His speech explains his position. He holds that the Progressive movement is disintegrating, citing conditions in Michigan, Maine, New Jersey, and Maryland. He might have referred to the recent Iowa election, where the Progressive vote dwindled from 13,652 in 1912 to 3,673 in 1914, and where the Republican vote increased from 8,303 to 10,435. Incidentally, the Democratic

vote increased from a majority of 4844 in 1910 to a plurality of 1390 in 1914. The reason of the Progressive loss, Senator Borah believes, is that "those who dared to tear down dared to rebuild." In other words, he looks for a complete revival of the Republican party spirit, with reconstruction along broad lines and in harmony, to use his own words, with the true historic bent of the organization.

Senator Borah asserts that the great mass of the Republican voters will not abandon the name, traditions, honor, and prestige of the Republican party. Out of this great body of voters is to come, in his opinion, the militant and progressive and aggressive Republican party of the future. If this should not be the case—"if the Republican voters," to quote his language, "are not progressive in the true, sound sense of the term, then the way for some of us is clear." He does not believe, however, that he will be compelled to leave his party, and, like Mr. Taft, he thinks it is better to endure defeat for a season rather than abandon the sound principles of government which has made the United States one of the greatest nations of the world.

There is no doubt that Senator Borah's opinions reflect the sentiments of an immense number of the Republican voters. They gave their party credit for its many great achievements, but they do not want it to place the dollar above the man nor ignore the necessity for humanitarian legislation. If they can be convinced that the destinies of the organization will be controlled by men of the Borah type they will come back to the party, especially if the Roosevelt following becomes more and more socialistic in its tendencies, as is apt to be the case. Summing up this phase of the situation into a single sentence, it may be said that Senator Borah's outspoken declaration of loyalty to the Republican party and his effort to inspire it with high ideals, is the most vital effort yet made toward restoring that party to its old-time eminence.

Get Together.

In a brilliant speech at a get-together banquet in New York last night Senator Borah of Idaho strikingly set forth the basis upon which Republicans of all factions might reunite to wage battle against the common enemy. Here are a few striking thoughts from his address:

"Republicanism as I understand it in its real aim and purpose is a theory of government, an organic and vital belief in liberty and justice under the domination of order and law, a striving for the best that can be had as fast as it can be had in national growth and progress. It believes in our form of government and that under its faithful administration and in harmony with its tremendous sweep and power, the human family may reach its highest state of culture and contentment. It reveres the work of the fathers and pays feeling tribute to those who forfeited all for the union, but it does not alone in the past.

"It looks forward with eager confidence to the duties and responsibilities of the future. It will not tear down, it will not destroy, but it will go forward and meet the problems upon whose solution depends the happiness and industrial freedom of countless thousands."

No real Republican or Progressive can find any legitimate ground for complaint in this statement of the situation and a reorganization plan based on a platform comprising views along this line ought to result in a campaign which would restore Republicanism to its normal place in the political economy of the nation.

Principles, rather than personalities, are involved. Under the new deal process and patriotic leadership will be de-

From ENQUIRER
Address: Cincinnati.

Date

FEB 16 1914

Acceptance of Progressive Principles by the Republican Party.

Senator Borah in his address on Thursday evening to the Republican Club of New York made a decided step forward toward the union of the forces of the Progressive and Republican parties.

He is quoted as saying that domination of the Republican party by Progressive ideas is inevitable, and that a reorganization by the rank and file of that party is being carried on in a resistless manner.

That the Senator is correct in these statements as to what is left of the former Republican party is obvious to all observers.

If the campaign of 1912 carried any lessons to political forces in the United States, there were two, so plainly and so unmistakably defined, that none but a Bourbon of the deepest density of intellect could fail to perceive them.

The first was that stand-pat Republicanism was as dead as Caesarism. The second, that it was only the division of the opposition that forced victory on the Democratic party.

The result of 1912 proved that Progressive principles dominated the nation; that no party could command the support of the majority of the voters of the country until that party became progressive.

It also proved that in the popular vote the Democratic party was in the minority as to the total vote; that in the electoral vote it would have failed if the opposition had been united against it, and in the congressional vote its success could be attributed to the divided opposition.

The campaign of 1912 was won by the Democratic party without even attempt at close organization; without any great amount of campaign funds; without aggressive action on part of the national or state committees.

None of these were needed in the campaign; they would have been superfluous.

The Democratic path to triumph was prepared for it through the utter demoralization, the crumbling to ruin of the barrier to its victory, the Republican party.

From the hour of the division at Chicago it was plainly in evidence that Colonel Roosevelt and the Progressives were the only forces that there was any danger from to Democratic success.

Senator Borah now marks the result of the 1912 campaign, and of the months of thought since its close, by announcing that progressive principles will dominate the Republican party.

This is not a surrender of the Republican remnants, but it is an acceptance of political existing conditions that have ended the stand-patism that was so arrogant and so autocratic at Chicago.

Acceptance of progressive principles as announced by the Senator

may be regarded as a forerunner of the union of the Progressives and Republicans.

If there is nothing left to discuss but the name of a united opposition, some one probably will suggest that both be used, and a Progressive-Republican or a Republican-Progressive party may be the outcome of Senator Borah's New York address.

From COMMERCIAL TRIBUNE
Address: Cincinnati, Ohio.
Date: Feb 15, 1914

A LINCOLN LOOK BACK AND A DEMOCRATIC FORECAST.

The passing of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln is a season to recall what Joseph W. Hooper said about what he termed "the Homer Claimants." The philosopher-humorist remarked: "Seven cities declare they were the birthplace of Homer dead, through which the living Homer could not have scented a ham sandwich and a glass of lager beer." The universality of Hooper and the universality of Abraham Lincoln are suggested by much of what has been lately cluttered on public thought.

As usual in these testing times in which promptitude is the best political test, the wicked Democrats are a little ahead of the still more fluent Republicans. Governor Glynn eulogized Lincoln two days before the Republicans perfunctorily began to do so. The Governor contended that Mr. Lincoln was not only a Republican, but a Democrat, and as a Democratic-Republican was the property of all parties and the monopoly of none. This was broad, true and timely, and the Governor got in his fine work as a Lincoln eulogist and a political philosopher notably ahead of the Republican eulogists who trailed after him.

Those eulogists were more audibly than opportunistly in evidence last night. Their pro-Lincolinism was not more marked than their anti-Rooseveltism, though they did to Mr. Roosevelt the honor of stealing his thunder, while casting the thunder aside. Some of them who sought to do that see a successor to Lincoln every time they look in the glass, and then thank God that the effigy resembles the Illinois statesman and martyr. While cruel death, but not untimely death, released Lincoln from pain and distraction, and made him an universal possession or obsession, it also opened the door of eloquence, of unction and of perversion of history to several too fluent Republicans who know that Lincoln was great, but are sure that they are greater.

Senator Borah substantially announced his candidacy for the next Republican nomination for President. While he did not in terms do so, he allowed those who encored him to do so, and was as smiling and grateful to them as Herodias was to those who brought to her the head of John the Baptist on a charge. There never was anything more captivating in Herodian politics than the smile of Herodias. But it did to the King no good and to the woman it brought but a passing pleasure.

One can doubt the nomination of Mr. Borah by the next Republican National Convention, if only because "behind him will stalk the headman" in the form of the still embodied flesh of Colonel Roosevelt. The tendency of national conventions in a quandary or a cataclysm is toward hedging. To hedge Borah out will not be difficult. To hedge some Republican conservative or pseudo-conservative in, for the purpose of a sacrifice nomination, will be more easy. And against Borah, as also against any such pseudo-conservative nominee will stalk Colonel Roosevelt with Miss Jane Addams and Miss Mary E. Dreier as holders of bottles filled with grape juice on either side.

We can, however, leave the question of presidential nominees in 1916 to the evolution of events, which, as Artemus Ward, a philosopher in whom The Eagle habitually delights, declared, "will continue to evolve for some years to come." President Wilson's re-nomination is virtually preserved. His re-election is apparently doubted by no Republican, excepting ex-Speaker Cannon, who is going to have more difficulty in climbing back into Congress than he now wots of. Nevertheless, it may not be ill to recall that many Americans have memories to the effect that Lincoln, living, had more enemies in the Republican party than Lincoln dead even now has eulogists among the yet unburied octogenarians, out of whose way death took the President. To speak of the

past, that Stevens was not only for the anti-Lincoln policies, but he virtually contemplated the impeachment of Lincoln himself, a notion that did not appear to be offensive to Henry Winter Davis, Edwin M. Stanton or Ben Wade. "Uncle Abe" realized this, and smiled at this, what time he realized it. Of course, he did not anticipate or fear or expect his own assassination. But he had psychological moments in which he was a mystic and in them, he truly discerned that

those who objected to his way of running this nation would not be without difficulty in running of themselves.

Every would-be Republican politician who was a candidate for nomination after Lincoln was set aside in favor of General U. S. Grant, neither a Republican nor a politician, just as some Republican who may be electable, but can stand defeat, may next time be set aside as against Senator Borah or men in his likeness, who would divide the political garments of Roosevelt among them, and who for his vesture would cast lots.

Not only are the Democrats ahead of the Republicans in the nationalization of the Lincoln tradition, and not only are they provided with a candidate of their own now in the White House and likely to remain there for a second term, but they are also favored with "issues" to their advantage and to the disadvantage of their opponents. They are for the States which Lincoln believed had never gone out of the Union and never could get out of it. They are for the electoral determination of the Presidency by State representation equal to that of the Commonwealths in Congress, a principle to which Lincoln was avowedly committed. They are for everything which Lincoln desired on the line of freedom for men, and though they had to come to that stumbling through blunders, yet come to it they did.

They have put their irreconcilables behind them. They have put themselves abreast with the principles Lincoln foresaw. And they have so distinctly Lincolnized themselves, as it were, as to make their party the paramount Lincoln party at this time.

Of course Mr. Roosevelt says he is the head of the really true Lincoln party. All the same Mr. Lincoln was for statehood, which Mr. Roosevelt fully is not. Mr. Lincoln was for the Constitution, which Mr. Roosevelt fully is not. Mr. Lincoln recanted his youthful suggestion of woman suffrage, a convert to which in his aging years Mr. Roosevelt avows himself to be. And looking through the eccentric mirrors which grotesquely distort the countenance, Mr. Roosevelt suggests an overversion of Lincoln or a perversion of him more than a duplicate of the martyr and the sage.

Still, Mr. Roosevelt is doing well. He would obstruct Republican success. He is obstructing it. He would wreak his revenge on the Taftites who turned him under, and he is doing so. He would assure Democratic continuance, and he is assuring it. He would preserve a picturesque and pugilistic estate in public interest, and none can maintain that he is not doing that.

BORAH VS. TAFT AND CANNON

Senator Borah's Lincoln day speech on the subject of Republican party re-organization and program, if contrasted with the speeches of former President Taft and former Speaker Cannon on the same topic, abundantly testified to irreconcilable differences of opinion among the spokesmen for the old party who see in Democratic policies and third party disintegration a stronger incentive than ever to reorganize their forces and reoccupy the chancellery of power.

Oddly, the feeling of renewed confidence is the very factor that is seen to widen the gap between the old guard and the moderate progressives regarding the wisest course to be pursued in campaigning for the prize. Messrs. Taft and Cannon hold that now is the time for the G. O. P. to reaffirm the principles of Republicanism as they were understood before the disruption. Mr. Borah, on the other hand, declares that the domination of the Republican party by the progressive element is inevitable, but that before it could be brought about there must be a downright fight within the ranks of the party to the end that the real sentiment and the real convictions of the people shall prevail in drawing up the Republican platform and the choosing of candidates. He adds that the party is being reorganized not by its leaders, but by the rank and file, arguing that the old leader employed methods of party procedure which led to defeat.

Mr. Borah gives no thought to the personal quarrel to which everybody at the time attributed the split, and from which sprang the inconsequential issues embodied in the third party platform clearly in order to make it appear that the party had divided on other than personal considerations. From this platform the third party voters are breaking away in vast num-

bers, as Mr. Borah told his audience.

Mr. Borah cites the return of 100,000 Progressives to the Republican ranks in New Jersey, 50,000 in Maryland, and an avalanche of them in Michigan, as proof that the third party is stepping back to its former allegiance. To further proof, Mr. Borah quotes from National Chairman McCombs as saying that "the real adversary of his party in the next campaign would be no other than the Republican party." Nevertheless, Mr. Borah does not admit the real significance of this "back to the G. O. P." movement—that is, that they are returning to the old platform and organization, to the principles for which Messrs. Taft and Cannon stand.

Are not the repentant voters coming back unconditionally? Are they not leaving the progressive program behind them without a murmur of regret? That obviously being true, by what process of reasoning does Senator Borah reach the conviction that the situation imperatively demands the surrender of the old guard to the domination of the progressive wing? It is not easy to reconcile Mr. Borah's statement that the Progressives are returning to the old colors with his clarion call for a reorganization of the old party that would take them back into the wilderness from which they have just emerged. Does not Chairman McCombs' remark clearly convey the idea that Democracy's adversary in the next campaign will be the old, not the new, Republican party?

Nothing is more conspicuous than that the issues in the next campaign will be sharply drawn, something that could not occur as between Democratic and Progressive platforms, which are practically alike.

A WEIRD DREAM

Senator Borah, of Idaho, who is one of the most eloquent and impressive speakers among the men now in public life in this country, delivered the principal address at a statewide "conference" of old guard Republicans at Detroit, yesterday, and gladdened the hearts of his listeners with the declaration that the Republican party "is coming back into power."

Nothing pleases the average stand-patter so well as the assurance that the party is coming back into power. He has little use for a party that is out of power, without hope of getting in, as the primary and principal purpose of all political parties, in his view, is the distribution of the spoils of office.

The "conference," therefore, probably accepted the prophecy of the Rocky Mountain statesman purely on faith, as the most conspicuous feature of the address, next to its smoothness and charming optimism was the lack of specifications showing how the Progressives and Republicans are to be reunited under the Republican banner and the leadership of the men who wrecked the party at Chicago two years ago. His declaration that the amalgamation that will take place will be "an amalgamation of the voters, not the assumed leaders," not only fails to explain how the reunion is to be brought about, but presents a picture of a party without leaders—an army without officers.

That he does not mean what this language implies, however, is shown in the spirit of forgiveness in which the Senator suggests that "the men who voted the third party ticket to the number of four million, for reasons entirely satisfactory to them, can be neither questioned as to their integrity of purpose or their patriotism." That their action was "a protest, rather than a manifestation of a purpose to permanently leave the party," he now regards as "established by facts and figures that cannot be doubted." And "in view of their pronounced and unmistakable purpose to ally themselves with the Republican party and determination to support its principles and policies" Mr. Borah asks the conference the question: "What is the task before us?"

If we were permitted to answer this query we would suggest that the first duty of Mr. Borah and his friends who are planning for the return of the prodigals, is to find out what the principles and policies of the party really are, and then set about the task of "making it clear that the Republican party is to be as it was in its best days, a thoroughly progressive party."

And this brings us to a consideration of the progress that has been made in the last two years in the task of rescuing the Republican party from the control of the reactionaries, who made it the instrument of special privilege, rather than the servant of the people, and, finally drove a majority of the voters into revolt.

What indication is there that the leaders of the party are in any greater sympathy with the principles of progressivism now than they were two years ago? What have Penrose, Barnes, Root and the other reactionary leaders done to show that they either regret what they did in the past, or to justify the hope that they are willing to co-operate in a movement to build up in this country out of such raw material as the remnant of Republicanism, and "the traditions, achievements and prestige of the past, an organization efficient, militant and progressive?"

Here in Pennsylvania Senator Penrose proved his unrepentance by defeating in the state senate, a year ago, every progressive measure passed by the house, and forcing the enactment of measures as vicious as any previously passed by the machine legislature. Senator Penrose is still in command of the party in Pennsylvania, and Mr. Barnes, of New York, is as blithe and gay as in the days of yore, and just as confident as ever of the eventual triumph of minority rule in politics. Penrose has been renominated for United States senator without making any concession to either the progressive voters or the principles they represent, and so cheerful is the outlook in the Republican party that the discredited leaders who have been outside the breastworks for years are again coming forward. Ex-Senator Foraker, of Ohio, who, like Penrose, was shown to have been liberally lubricated with Standard Oil, has emerged from seclusion and announced his purpose to go back to Washington.

These matters are mentioned only to show what prospect there might be of making the Republican party progressive if Mr. Borah's vision of the return of the repentant rebels who revolted at Chicago and organized a party which they dedicated to the principles of social and industrial justice, was anything more than the hope of a man who puts party loyalty and personal ambition above public duty.

Mr. Borah was one of the most active and conspicuous leaders of the Roosevelt forces in the Chicago con-

vention. He realises the machine to the last, but, when its purpose was accomplished—when the nomination had been stolen—he acquiesced in what had been done and went home to Idaho to support Taft, the recipient of stolen goods.

The condition which Mr. Borah describes, we need not doubt, would be entirely agreeable to him if it were possible to bring it about. What more natural than that when "the forces that brought the party near to ruin" are driven out, the men who have steadily professed progressive principles but remained loyal to the party should become the leaders?

In that contingency who is there among the progressive Republicans more fitted to lead than Borah himself?

He typifies with a degree of accuracy seldom equalled, the man whose inclination to do right nobody questions, but whose resolution is too weak to resist the call of the party, right or wrong. Senator Borah, we believe, is thoroughly convinced of the wisdom and justice of the Progressive cause, is in full accord with those who are endeavoring to put Progressive ideas and principles into actual effect, yet he does not seem to realize the inconsistency of his position in remaining loyal to the machine regardless of the infamies of which it may be guilty.

It is incredible that Senator Borah really believes what he says when he describes the revolt and the organization of the Progressive party two years ago as "a protest rather than a manifestation of purpose to leave the party." If he really believes that the movement was a mere protest against the theft of the presidential nomination he implies that the principles of progressivism are less important than the traditions of a party prostituted to base services, and totally discredits his own professions of devotion to the ideas and ideals for which the Progressive party is battling.

MOSES TO LEAD REPUBLICANS GREAT NEED

New Men Must Come to Front
and Lead Get-Together
Movement.

WEST APPEARS STRONGEST

Cummins and Borah Widely
Discussed But Roosevelt a
Prominent Factor.

(Statesman Bureau.)

WASHINGTON—The year 1914 will witness the development of new leaders in the Republican party; men who must come to the front and lead the get-together movement, which started some time ago, and took specific and definite form at the recent meeting of the Republican national committee.

It is admitted on every hand that the old leaders cannot be restored to power, for it was their lack of foresight and their refusal to yield to popular demands that brought about the split in 1912. Being fairly charged with responsibility for the plight of the party at the last election these leaders cannot expect to be restored to power. They may still be leaders, but of a minor order; they must be subservient to newer and younger leaders who at heart are believers in a progressive Republican party and who have done with the old stand-past ideas.

None in New York.

Ordinarily the state of New York is replete with material when political leaders are desired in the national field. Today New York has not a single Republican of prominence who gives promise of becoming conspicuous in the work of reorganization; no one who at this time promises to become a recognized national leader. Senator Root, while he has shown entire sympathy with the get-together movement and has recognized the desirability of reorganization on progressive lines, intends soon to retire to private life and cannot be considered in this connection. Boss Barnes, having lost control of the New York Republican party, cannot expect to figure and, moreover, Barnes contributed almost as much as any other one stand-patter to the defeat and disorganization of the Republican party in 1912. Barnes, from a national standpoint at least, must hereafter be regarded as a soldier in the ranks; his general's straps have been taken from him.

Keystone State Out of It.

Pennsylvania is about as bad off as New York, for while Senator Penrose remains a power in the state he has been so long and so prominently identified with the stand-patters that he cannot be recognized as a leader in the get-together movement. And Bill Flynn, the progressive boss in Pennsylvania, is so radical in the opposite direction that he, too, is impossible. Pennsylvania, like New York, may develop men of caliber and belief who will develop into national leaders, but if so these men must come from the ranks.

As a matter of fact most of the big men in the Republican party today—the most likely to be recognized as leaders of the reorganized party hail from the west. But Senator La Follette is not to be reckoned as one of them, for senator La Follette voted for the Underwood tariff bill and that act alone will preclude him from assuming leadership. He may and probably will be prominent within the party if he remains a Republican but he will not be ranked with the big leaders.

Cummins to Be Reckoned With.

Senator Cummins of Iowa will be reckoned with. Cummins, of course, has the presidential bug and hopes to be nominated in 1916. He therefore wants to be the big leader of the reorganized party. Senator Cummins, however, is 54 years of age; he will be 61 when the next president is inaugurated, and that fact together with his dwindling strength at home will probably put him out of the running so far as the nomination is concerned, and when that time comes Senator Cummins probably will follow the example of Senator Root and retire.

Missouri Has a Man.

Missouri comes forward with a man who is sure to be prominent in the reorganized Republican party, ex-Governor Hadley. At the Chicago convention of 1912 Hadley could have been nominated as a compromise candidate had Colonel Roosevelt been willing to compromise on anyone but Roosevelt, but he insisted there was but one compromise candidate to be considered; the Taft people would not compromise in that way and so Hadley lost.

Borah is Strong Man.

In the minds of many men Senator Borah of Idaho gives promise of developing into the biggest man in the reorganized Republican party. He dominated the national committee at its recent Washington meeting and largely dictated the terms of agreement which that committee set forth to the party generally. His leadership was acknowledged by many committeemen present and before the committee adjourned there was much favorable talk of Borah as the coming leader of the party. The Washington Herald, in a recent editorial, said:

"Of all the western men Senator Borah seems most likely to occupy the largest share of attention during the present year. There is no doubt that he made a deep impression upon Republican leaders during the meeting of the Republican national committee and there will be much discussion of his name during the months to come."

Colonel to Be Factor.

When all is said, however, it is to be remembered that Colonel Roosevelt must be reckoned with. That the colonel will return to the Republican party before the next presidential campaign is believed to be certain. The third party has dwindled to such an extent that it has become negligible and now that the Republican party through its national committee has decreed in favor of those reforms which the colonel himself demanded at Chicago, and has made those concessions refused by the last Republican national convention, hundreds of thousands of Republicans who left the party in 1912 to express their disapproval of the old leaders will return to the party, if they are not already back in the fold, and not even the candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt as a third party nominee would get them off the reservation again. It is believed by many shrewd analysts of things political that the reorganization movement has gained such headway that not even Colonel Roosevelt can check it and that he himself must return or be left with a hopelessly small following.

What the colonel will do or attempt to do, if he does return, no one can say, but that he will be a factor once he does return, is assured and there are many, even those who disagree with him on many issues, who admit he can again dominate the party if he returns and seeks leadership. If the colonel after his return is satisfied with the leadership that develops while he himself is nominally out of the party, he may decide to step aside and let others seek the highest honors. But that is hardly in accord with his nature. Therefore, he must still be regarded as the biggest individual factor in the Republican situation.

date. The result is well known. Roosevelt was defeated and with nearly one hundred Republican candidates for Congress, a minority President was placed in the White House whose free trade doctrine is now costing the country a million dollars a day, and hundreds of thousands of men are out of employment.

Senator Borah realizes now as he did in 1912 that a divided North can not win over a solid South, and to placate any further disaster in 1916 as occurred in 1912, is zealously endeavoring to reunite all elements of the Republican party. His declarations at Detroit several days ago have the true ring in them, and with the new plan of Southern representation in the National Convention there can be no excuse for further jeopardizing the country's prosperity by continued Third Party exploits. Senator Borah is a true man of the people and he was more than gratified by the progressive steps taken by Pennsylvania when the Republican party provided for the nomination of candidates for Governor and other State officers by popular vote, as well as the adoption by our Legislature of the Constitutional Amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by the same method. These things have all occurred since the National Convention of 1912, and by their adoption the teeth and claws have been removed from what actuated many who left the Republican party for one election to vote for Colonel Roosevelt.

The candidates nominated on May 19th, in Pennsylvania, were placed on the party ticket by the will of the people at a popular primary, which method has long been one of the aims of the great body of progressive voters. Whether Roosevelt will come from another State into Pennsylvania and attempt to thwart the will of the people as thus expressed remains to be seen. With so much of progress accomplished and the power fully in the hands of the people to attain whatever they wish, and within the Republican party, we very seriously doubt whether Col. Roosevelt will take the chances of results by undertaking to have the people reverse the decision they have already registered at the primary election. He has already had his day of personal revenge on his party for not nominating him at Chicago, and if it would have ended at that there would be no complaint for he was clearly the choice of the great industrial North and would have been elected. But to square himself countless homes have been distressed through the agency of the Democratic party which his Third Party put in power.

Roosevelt should return to the Republican party, and if he wants to run for the Presidency in 1916 on the Republican ticket nothing can stand in the way of an open field for a contest with any others who may wish to run. If he is the politician he ought to be he will choose no other course; if he is the statesman and lover of humanity and the home the world thus far has admitted him to be, then he will counsel his followers to desist from any further attempt at permanently establishing a Third Party in the presence of the unhappy experience of 1912.

All should join with the Progressive ideas of Senator Borah—be happy for the present with what has been accomplished and plan for further steps of progress, but in the meantime there should be ample regard for the prosperity of the country which so seriously involves the farmer, manufacturer and wage earner.

The Saturday News

SATURDAY, MAY 30th, 1914

BENJAMIN K. FOCHT, - President and Editor
S. B. WOLFE, - Sec'y-Treas. and Associate Editor

SENATOR BORAH'S HOPE.

ONE OF AMERICA'S statesmen of the first-class is United States Senator Borah, of Idaho. He is a Republican Progressive who long ago took the advance in all important Federal legislation. At the Chicago Convention in 1912 he was one of two or three of Colonel Roosevelt's best friends and ardent advocates. When Roosevelt failed to receive the nomination for President, and he and his supporters left Chicago, it was understood that they would continue within the Republican party lines to gain adherents to the advanced progressive ideas in the hope of controlling the National Convention in 1916. Unfortunately for himself and the country Roosevelt yielded to the persuasion of other friends, many of them more eager for political power than the consummation of progressive ideas, and ran as a Third Party candi-

FEBRUARY 14, 1914.

THE "WRECK" OF 1912.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, addressing the Republican Club of New York at the Lincoln celebration, made a notable analysis of what he called the "wreck" of 1912. Coming from a Far Western state, where the Progressive element removed a few of the rails which made the wreck possible, it was hardly to be expected that the analysis would be entirely free from the note of apology which many Republicans still inject into their comments on the situation as it exists today and as it existed when the wreck occurred. There is a too prevalent disposition to concede, to conciliate, to admit that after all the Progressive position was correct, and to accept with meekness the chastening that was administered. There still are leaders who shy away from the word "standpatter," as though standing pat for genuine Republicanism is an undiluted evil and not the part of wisdom.

In his contention that the signs of the times were woefully misread by those who believed the Republican party was killed in the wreck, Senator Borah unquestionably is correct, but there are abundant evidences that his general diagnosis is faulty. Loyal Republicans, who stood firm against the wreckers, who "stood pat" on the fundamental principles of Republicanism, cannot accept the conclusion that the present status of the party is one of mere resuscitation, that "those who dared to tear down are now daring to build up." That is not the situation as it exists today or as it ever did exist.

Those mistaken Republicans who followed the lead of the wreckers saw long ago the mistake they had made. The inauguration of Woodrow Wilson was a convincing object lesson. They quickly realized that they had been made the dupes of the party wreckers, and at every opportunity which has since presented itself they have, by tens of thousands, made evident their determination not to repeat the mistake. If there is one indisputable fact in connection with the campaign of 1912 and the events that have succeeded it, that fact is this: The spectacular personality of Theodore Roosevelt swept hundreds of thousands of Republicans off their feet, and the sobering effects of the campaign of 1912 are putting them back on their feet again.

To "stand pat" is not to stand with eyes fixed on the past, to close them to the palpable facts of political history, to blind them to the possibility of mistakes having been made by the Republican party. Still less is it to defy the trend of times that demand progress or to look at the future through a looking glass instead of a telescope. The word "standpatter" has been egregiously misconstrued by those who have seized upon it as a term of opprobrium. Any man of sense "stands pat" on conditions that, in his opinion, are for the best. The Progressive remnants are "standing pat" on their own weird and fatuous policies and principles. To "stand pat," from the Republican point of view, is merely to act consistently upon the assumption that the principles and policies of the Republican party are for the best interests of the country and the party. It is to say that the policies and principles which have administered the affairs of the country with unexampled wisdom and prosperity for fifty years are wise. It is not to say that no errors have ever crept into that long and distinguished history. It is not to say that no undesirable leaders have ever found their way to the council tables of the party. It is not to say that no changes should be made. It is not to say that no forward step should be taken. It is not to say

that consummate wisdom and patriotism have characterized every act of every leader of the party's roll.

Senator Borah is eminently right when he declares that the Republican party is in process of evolution rather than of revolution. It has always been in evolution. It has always, as a party, been amenable to the conservative progressiveness of changing conditions. Its platforms show steady and consistent responsiveness to the safe and sane advancement of the nation's welfare. It cannot be charged with inconsistency because it has not taken up every fad and fad of political restlessness. It has been the "main line" of the country's progress and prosperity and the "wreck" occurred only when a successful effort was made to slant it to sidebars which led to the realization of selfish personal ambitions.

The party emerges from the "wreck," but not in any frame of mind to concede that it ought to have been wrecked. Those who helped in that lamentable tragedy are among the injured quite as emphatically as those who did their utmost to avert it. Prosecutions will be taken, in the nature of things, to prevent a repetition of the disaster. Weak places will be made strong. Possibly the personnel of the operating force will be subjected to incidental changes, but it is inconceivable that there will be any wholesale discharge of the faithful, and especially that the train will be turned over to the wreckers with the supine admission that the whole system on which the train was being operated was wrong. Instead of those who dared to tear down now daring to build up, multitudes of those who were misled into tearing down are now doing all they can to repair the mischief wrought, and in this commendable work they are being opposed only by the survivors of the wrecking crew, whose "jobs" depend on keeping the main line from being reopened for business.

weathered ahead, or whether its members shall unite to urge their common principles upon our country and the world.

This is an incident in human history—not merely in partisan or political history.

The clearest sign of the new era coming upon us is that the main sought for this reason section is not from the settled east or the prosperous north. William Edgar Borah comes from the mining lands of Idaho, though he was born in Illinois. He comes with a western record of horsemanship, of adventures, of prosecutions under rifle fire, of steadfast and gritty official duties in dangerous waste lands. A ringing echo of the west comes in recalling that Borah once prosecuted and convicted for murder a man called "Dismalfield Jack."

Borah has been a battler all his life, and he came out of a rugged

fight to his seat in the senate. To the senate he gave a new stimulus by his untraditional western ways. He spoke early and late for the income tax, and for all other measures that seemed fresh and new like a good pasture or a streak of pay ore. Men think he speaks something like Bryan, and sets something like Roosevelt—this comes from his ecologists.

A man of definite significance in these times is William Edgar Borah, for he is one of the men who helped to make these times significant. So to Republicans or Democrats or Independents, to Americans who realize the importance of parties and principles in popular government, there is great meaning and great interest when Borah announces:

The Republican party will be made or unmade in the next 90 days.

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BORAH AND "THE NEXT 90 DAYS."

One can almost hear that history's "moving finger writes" in the words of Senator William Edgar Borah of Idaho to the delegation of Michigan Republicans and Progressives who called on him in Washington and urged him to come to the reunion of their common party on May 26:

The Republican party will be made or unmade in the next 90 days.

The making or unmaking of a party as a mere campaigning organization is of very little interest to me. Borah was referring instead to the Republican party as a body of citizens representing certain principles. No one has much respect for the Republican party in the shape of a house machine—but as a body of men organizing at Jackson in 1826 for the purpose of crushing human slavery in this country it is one of the great institutions of our history.

And it is to the Republican party as it should be, a body of citizens carrying out their convictions, that Mr. Borah referred. In 1912 there was a decided break between two bodies of Republicans on the best way to work out their principles. Some held to the old organization. Others cast their lot with a masterful leader who emphasized the progressive doctrines of the day. It is a matter of great moment to every American whether this party shall continue divided, its force

ROOT LINKED WITH BRYAN BY VARDAMAN IN TOLLS SPEECH

Pair Working Shoulder to Shoulder to "Roll Canal Stone from Path of British Commerce—Borah Traps Simmons

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES.

Washington, June 2.—This was a bold day in the senate for free tolls and the people.

Not since the discussion began has the great forum of debate been charged with so many thrills and so many triumphs for the champions of the American policy. Borah, of Idaho, called Simmons, of North Carolina, to the cross of inconsistency, and Simmons squirmed hopelessly in the futile effort to escape conviction.

Simmons made a half hour's impassioned addition to his previous speeches for repeal. At the conclusion Borah arose, holding in his hands the exact copy of Simmons's impassioned speech two years ago arguing for free tolls, denouncing the selfishness and monopoly of the transcontinental railroads, which had always opposed building of the canal and now opposed the free tolls, that would compel the lowering of their own rates by competition and bring about a lower cost of living.

It was a sharp projection of the whole matter of material subservience to the Executive will, and Borah's ringing voice and clear-cut sentences abounded the subservience and surrender on such vivid lines that not only Simmons, but a full score of Senators, felt ashamed and showed the castigation. It was a palpable hit and was the sensation of the hour, which the galleries and aisles fully enjoyed. Simmons did not recover his equanimity during the afternoon.

BORAH PREDICTS REUNITED PARTY

Idaho Senator Says Next National Convention Will Be in Hands of Voters.

POWER TO BE RESTORED

Evolution, Not Dissolution, Result of Recent Events—Party Can Afford to Wait if It Faces Its Problems Right.

NEW YORK, Feb. 12.—(Special.)—Senator Borah, of Idaho, delivered a strong Republican harmony speech before the Republican Club of New York tonight. The club comprises many of the leading citizens of New York State who are and have been workers in the Republican cause, and the fact that Senator Borah, entertaining well-understood views, was invited to address the club tonight is regarded as an indication of its sympathy with the idea that the factions of the party should be brought together on a progressive basis.

Mr. President, when the returns came in last November a year ago, and it was known that the then dominant party had carried but two states, the opinion quite generally prevailed that one of the most interesting and remarkable chapters in the annals of political parties was drawing to a close. Indecent and aggressive, operating with remarkable skill and judgment the course of government for 50 years, the party now seemed nearing complete disorganization. But the signs were misread. It was not dissolution but evolution.

Party Strength Returning.

The first call to arms after the defeat was not in the great State of Michigan. Through the sheer courage and party devotion of the rank and file the Republican ticket won over all competitors. The same thing in the same way happened in the Congressional election in Maine. The Spring registration in several states disclosed the same tendency. In the last November election in the State of New Jersey nearly a hundred thousand who had voted the third ticket returned; in Maryland 10,000 out of 21,000. In other states the same trend was equally marked and unmistakable.

To whom do we owe this revival of party strength this rejuvenation of party power? To the organization? Certainly not. To leadership, to generalship? Certainly not. Had some Sheridan overtaken the routed forces and called them back to order and victory? Certainly not. We owe it to the party loyalty, the courage, the high and steadfast purpose of the Republican voters. Those who had dared to tear down dared to rebuild. It was a singular exhibition of self-reliant citizenship and of party loyalty.

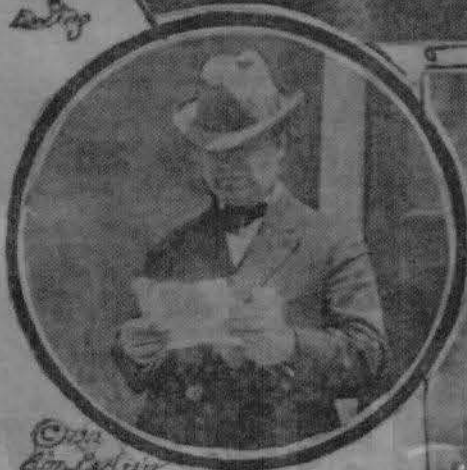
There is no mistaking what all this means. It means that the voters of the party are too independent to concede what they conceive to be a mistake or a wrong, and too wise to abandon permanently the name, the traditions, the prestige and honor that they and their forefathers have established and built up through 50 years of relentless political warfare. It means that out of this great body of voters is to come the militant and progressive and aggressive Republican party of the future—that there is no stronger or more available force for wise and effective work along progressive lines than those voters who have stood eager and restless in the forefront of progress for 50 years.

Rank and File Are Loyal.

The next Republican National convention will be in the hands and under the control of the voters of the party. Those who believe in the Republican party, who respect its traditions and have helped to make its history, those who cannot but feel a quickened pulse and a livelier sense of civic pride at the mention of the name of the great leaders of the party, and, above all, those who looking to the future hope to take up again the great problems of humanity and the tasks of government may now direct its course and measure its destiny. I am not one of those who believe that the Republican party has made no mistakes, but I am one of those who have no doubt that under a fair and free expression of the voters it will again become a powerful instrument for good.

Let us therefore have no platform of compromise, and no harmony that is not based upon a common conviction. We want a platform made at the immediate time, a platform which speaks of battle and conflict and which will record in the harsh language of truth the actual convictions of the majority of the Republican voters.

IDAHO SENATOR WHO MAKES PLEA FOR HARMONY IN REPUBLICAN PARTY.



Senator W. E. Borah in Portrait and Snapshot.

Deseret Journal
Friday, February 11, 1911.

A DOLLAR A TICKET

For the State-wide Republican Dinner, Feb. 26

Arrangements for the State-wide Republican post-Christmas dinner at Columbus, on Thursday, February 24, are proceeding. The price will be \$1. In order to allow Republicans from all over the state to leave their homes in the morning and get back the night of the same day, it has been decided to have the feast at 1 o'clock the first of the afternoon to be taken up with the speaking. The function will be held at Memorial Hall, on East Broad St. It is expected to be one of the most interesting and important that has been held in the state for many years.

There is great curiosity to see and hear the principal speaker, Senator Borah. One day last week this distinguished Republican received flattering attention at the hands of the Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer. After narrating the Presidential talk in connection with Senator Borah's name, the correspondent said he would say:

"He is one of the few men in the Senate to whom attention is given whenever he speaks. His ability as

a lawyer generally is admitted by his colleagues. He has never earned the dislike of the conservatives and yet he has an unflinching habit of speaking in his plain language at critical times to show that he is more intent on getting results than in preserving the dignity of the Senate, its traditions or political bonds existing between its members.

Borah is one of the progressive Republicans who does not regard the third-party movement as a stable organization, feeling, it is said, that as soon as Theodore Roosevelt says he won the party will crumble. Moreover, he believes that Roosevelt will say the word, holding the opinion that the former President is of a turn of mind too practical to continue a situation which insures uninterrupted Democratic success indefinitely."

This evening there will be a gathering of Republicans at Downey that will prove of interest to the party throughout the state. It is in the nature of a unity meeting, and there is not a discordant note, nor a jar among the partyites throughout the southeast, and all factions are getting together for the purpose of furthering the solid sentiment and union that is in such healthy condition at the present time.

Bannock county Republicans generally will attend the session, there will be a banquet at which prominent speakers of the party will advance the optimism that is so much a cardinal virtue of the Grand Old Party.

Representative partyites from nearly every county in the eastern part of the state will attend the function, and some are from the north and western parts of Idaho.

Among the speakers will be Senator J. Frank Hunt, Former Attorney General D. C. MacDougall, C. D. Smith, M. E. Hughes, Dr. Pond, Theodore Turner, D. W. Church, Senator Walter Hanson, Representative Bert Conner, and many other Republicans of prominence.

Address to Republicans.

During the session an address will be read and adopted, and is directed to the Republicans of the state. It contains many vital points of interest, and could contain a good many more, but it evidences the spirit of harmony and good feeling that prevails within the ranks of the party. It was adopted by the Republicans at Downey this afternoon, and follows:

To the Republicans of Bannock county:

The Republican party is now, and since its birth has been, the party of progress. In the master minds of its founders and in the minds of those who in later years have shaped its destinies, have originated the thoughts, and to these same minds have come these inspirations which, crystallized into acts, are our nation's history during the last five decades. This period will go down in national history as a period of great progress, marked in the year 1912 by a most fitting monument to advancement, the restoration to this self-governing people of a right heretofore delegated, the right of choosing (directly) representation in the United States senate, and as citizens of Idaho we mark with pride and fervent patriotism the fact that it was an Idaho citizen, Idaho's truly progressive senior senator, the Honorable William E. Borah, who led in bringing about this restoration. With such a leader and with such opportunity as now presents itself, the Republican party of Bannock county should, and will, join with the Republican organizations of sister counties in contributing to the ushering in of a second era of national progress which should exceed in duration, if not in achievement, the period beginning with the nomination of the martyred Lincoln and ending with the presidency of William Howard Taft.

Let all factional differences be forgotten and with unity of purpose let us rally to the support of those principles in which our citizenship is most vitally interested, recognizing as our leader our senior senator, the Honorable William E. Borah, now the most imposing figure in American politics. In him we see a man, who more than any other, reflects the sentiments and purposes of the great thinking classes of this country, not only at the present time, but at all times during the last two decades. He is not a doctrinaire, nor an opportunist, neither is he an extremist nor a radical.

Let us therefore, pledge ourselves to follow him, to work with him and under him to the end that a reunited Republican party may go on in state and nation championing the cause of the great masses of the people.

MR. BORAH'S PROPOSITION

Senator Borah, though one of the youngest Senators, has won himself an enviable repute as a lawyer and a clear thinker. His contribution, therefore, to such a question as that of canal tolls is sure to be listened to and considered seriously.

The Idaho Senator takes the ground that if Congress shall now repeal the free-tolls measure, it will take a step that for all effective purposes will be irrevocable. He believes that, once placing the construction on the treaty that would be indicated by repeal, it will be impossible for us ever to withdraw from that construction.

This, of course, he deduces from consideration of the international aspects of the matter. The pending legislation is in one view only a crystallization of American policy concerning an American affair. But in another view it is a construction of a contract between the United States and its sisters in the family of nations; and it appears to be the Senator's opinion that, once we grant their extreme demands, we permit rights to vest in that grant which we cannot thereafter withdraw without their consent.

There will be disagreement on this point; but there is a considerable measure of impressiveness in the argument. It suggests another reason why the whole question of tolls or no tolls on any or all of American shipping ought to be sent to The Hague tribunal for arbitration. That is the one decision of the matter that would be entirely satisfactory to other countries. There could be no justification for protest on their part if the decision were against them. It would be apparent that the award in favor of the United States had been made by a tribunal whose members represented, in general, the economic interests hostile to this country; therefore the more assurance that the verdict did not give America more than its due.

Arbitration could cost this country nothing, because it could not take away from us any more than the Administration's policy proposes to yield voluntarily. It is one case in which this country, having got itself into a bad situation by dint of bad diplomacy and an unfortunate mixture of domestic politics with diplomacy, has nothing to lose. The worst that could happen to us through arbitration would be to lose all that President Wilson would have us give away. Perhaps it will seem to the President, and to other generously disposed persons, that we could with better grace grant voluntarily rather than have an international lawsuit. But this is hardly an affair for generous and free-handed consideration. The canal will be a vital concern of this nation so long as there is a canal. It will be increasingly important to us with every passing year. More and more will our national security, our domestic and likewise our foreign commerce, and therefore our peace and dignity before the world, depend upon the part which the canal shall play in our affairs. We cannot afford, and it would not be the part of true national dignity, to do more than submit our differences to arbitration. In like circumstances it is hardly conceivable that any other power of our standing would do otherwise. It becomes more apparent with every day's continuance of the discussion in the Senate that arbitration at The Hague is the one proper, dignified and permanent settlement of the question.

News
Wilmington, Del.
FEB 14 1914

BORAH'S LINCOLN DAY ADDRESS.

NO note of pessimism was sounded by Senator Borah, of Idaho, in his address delivered at the Lincoln Day celebration before the New York Republican Club, but on the contrary the western senator renewed his allegiance to the faith of Abraham Lincoln and expressed his belief that the Republican party would emerge from the clouds that have surrounded it stronger than ever. He contended that the Republicans, now unshackled, are strong; that the disaster of 1912 was not a dissolution of the party, as many were then inclined to believe, but an evolution and that it will be the party of sane and sensible and real progress.

These encouraging words should hearten every Republican, for the party still has a mission to perform and its dissolution cannot be seriously thought of. Evidence is conclusive that the Republican party is recuperating from the effects of the great defeat, the latest testimony being the gain made by the Republicans in the recent congressional election in Iowa.

Mr. Borah attributes the defeat of the Republicans in 1912 chiefly to the internal working of the machinery of the party, to bickering and the failure of the leaders to respond to the sentiments of the rank and file. This failure he thinks will be overcome, because under the rules that will govern the next convention the party will be more responsive to the thoughts of the average Republican.

But this reason, mentioned among others by Mr. Borah, cannot account satisfactorily for the defeat of the party. The Southern leadership of the national convention, the rules and regulations of party government were in force long before the disaster when the Republicans were triumphant. The reasons for the defeat of the Republicans undoubtedly centered in the personality and inordinate ambition of one man—Colonel Roosevelt. The rules of the party, the southern representation and all that were good enough for Colonel Roosevelt when he could win, but when in the game of politics he could not win they were thoroughly bad. The Colonel exploited the rules, held them up in horror, just as some other man of his personal magnificence and power could have done years before. Then, of course, the Colonel was aided by the sentiment for so-called Progressive principles, a sentiment created after years of agitation by LaFollette and his followers who sowed the seed and Roosevelt came along and reaped the harvest. These conditions made it possible for Colonel Roosevelt to sweep the opportunity at the timely moment and ride on the crest of the wave of political emotionalism.

Whether that tide is receding or how far it has receded the next elections will tell, but there is little doubt that at present it is far from being as strong as it was during the last national campaign.

TWO SENATORS WHO DENOUNCE METHODS OF FINANCING EMPLOYED BY HEADS OF NEW HAVEN RAILROAD.



LEFT—WILLIAM E. BORAH, OF UTAH. RIGHT—GEORGE W. NORRIS, OF NEBRASKA.

Lincoln Day Orator Pleads ^{Feb. 13/14}
 the Cause of Republicanism
Philadelphia Press
 William E. Borah Party Achievements



Interstate Commerce Act—Put upon statute books. Once denounced as Socialism and unworkable.

Rebate Act—Decried as visionary and impracticable.

Pure Food Law—Criticized as the last step in paternalism.

Sherman Anti-trust Law—Put upon the books and pronounced as impracticable.

Postal Saving Bank Law—Regarded as reckless.

Parcel Post Act—Called headstrong paternalism.

Child Labor Bureau—An insurance of fair play.

Republicanism—It looks forward with confidence to the duties and responsibilities of the future. It will not tear down—will not destroy.

Industry—The party closes no mills and seeks to aid business.

From Senator Borah's Speech.

HIGH FINANCIERS CALLED CRIMINALS

Senator Borah Demands Action Against Those Who Wrecked New Haven.

FURTHER INQUIRY URGED

Senator Norris Suggests Investigation Might Recover Something for Widows and Orphans Who Have Been "Plundered."

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8.—Men involved in past transactions of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad were denounced as criminals in the senate

today. Senator Borah said they should be "copying penitentiary cells if charges relating to the corporation's affairs are substantiated."

There were intimations that the Federal Government still contemplated instituting criminal action against certain individuals engaged in transactions of the New Haven, which have been investigated by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The discussion arose when Senator Norris, of Nebraska, called up his resolution which would direct the Commission to extend its inquiry into the New Haven's affairs, with a view to ascertaining what became of millions of dollars of the New Haven's funds declared to have been fraudulently withheld from the railroad's stockholders.

Recovery Thought Possible.
 Senator Norris insisted that further investigation might furnish a basis for proceedings by the present management of the New Haven to recover something for the widows or orphans who have been "plundered."

The Senator asserted the Commission had not completed its investigation as to the New Haven, but it feared it might be compelled to extend immunity to offenders.

Senator Borah said that men, if proved guilty of the financial transactions described "should be in the penitentiaries." Senator Borah declared his faith in the Attorney-General to burn prosecutions of certain men involved in alleged crooked New Haven deals. For him not to proceed on disclosures made, if ground for the revelations should prove sound, he said, would lay the Attorney-General open to impeachment.

William E. Borah, Progressive

William E. Borah, United States senator from Idaho, is looming large in the political horizon as a possible candidate for president of these United States, possibly as the candidate of the Progressive party. In view of this a casual glance through his record as a senator may not be untimely. Without going further in the meat of our subject, it is well to state that no less a person than Senator John W. Kern, introducer of Senate Resolution No. 17, authorizing the appointment of a committee to make an investigation of conditions in the Palmt Creek district of West Virginia, stated that it was largely due to the untiring efforts of Senator Borah, that this resolution received favorable consideration. The results of this investigation has been made public and has done much to establish the justice of the cause as represented by the United Mine Workers.

President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, considered William E. Borah such a friend of labor legislation, that under date of October 11th, 1912, in a letter addressed to all local unions and central labor bodies in Idaho, he impressed on the workers of that state the advisability of rallying to his support. It is well to recognize a desire on the part of certain law-makers to give acknowledgement to the justice of labor and progressive legislation, and among these William E. Borah occupies a singularly prominent position. By his voice and vote he has done much to call attention to the grave need for better legislation, and we would be less than human did we not call attention to some of his noteworthy efforts in behalf of the common people.

It will be remembered by those who aim to keep in touch with the meanderings of our solons, what an uproar went forth from certain quarters, when the proposal first went forth for the popular election of United States senators, for know you, that certain members of the American House of Lords,

have pre-empted certain senatorships, not because the people of their states have favored them, but rather that certain interests of their states have been able to maintain them by reason of legislative choice. William E. Borah, in June, 1911, introduced and fought for an amendment to the federal constitution providing for such popular election.

His record in voting for labor legislation, for the first four-year term is taken from the report sent to the local unions of Idaho, by President Gompers. It will be noted that in this respect his record has been remarkably clear and above board, he having voted for every labor measure during that time. Without regard to our political feelings, we would be pleased to see a majority of the Senate that were as fair in their dealings with labor as the senator from Idaho. President Gompers in a letter to this office, adds:

"During this Congress (the 63rd) he has been equally alert and active in behalf of measures in the people's interests."

President Gompers says farther of the Senator:

"Senator Borah possesses and exercises his great constructive talent, tenacity of purpose, parliamentary tact, and on all questions coming before the United States Senate his great humanitarian impulses manifests his chief characteristics. He is one of the big, able men in the public life of our nation. He represents that type of industrial statesman that makes for progress, having due regard for the rights and interests of all the people, the weak and strong."

Rather a good record we take it, and one that entitles him to the careful scrutiny of all those who can see good in a right thinking, right acting legislator. He has shown rare ability as a constructive statesman, as well as a sympathetic understanding of the legislative rights of labor. He must take high position in the ranks of the few who have labored honestly and well for the people.

WINCHESTER JOURNAL

Official Paper Lewis County

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We'll Follow Bill.

Now is the time when a great many persons, formerly affiliating with the Republican party, and known as Progressives, are hesitating between their old love and the new Progressive party. Almost daily, prominent progressive republicans, men who supported Roosevelt in his overthrow of the old party, are publicly declaring their return to their first allegiance, giving as their reason for so doing, that the new progressive party cannot thrive as an opposition to democracy or the old parent party. The same republican, and the achievements of the party under the leadership of Lincoln, Chase, Seward, Blaine, Grant, Sherman, Garfield and McKinley cannot be torn from the memories of men, grown up since its inception, and sharing in its best achievements. They still believe that the party, chastened and humiliated by its recent defeat, a worthy instrument for good, under the leadership of such men as Borah, Hadley, Cummings, LaFollett, Bristow and other stalwart progressive republicans, whose adherence to the cause of the people, is proven by the written statutes of the nation. Idaho has today, in William E. Borah, one of the foremost leaders of the nation. His high rank in the senate, and his championship of such popular measures as the "Income Tax," "The Direct Election of Senators by the People," and other measures tending to a return of the powers of government to the people as was intended by the fathers of the republic, all stamp him as a man worthy in every way of true leadership, and a safe guide to follow in these days of doubt and hesitancy. We have no quarrel with a true progressive, be he a democrat, republican, socialist or a Roosevelter, neither have we any hesitancy in saying, that if the progressives within the republican party are in sufficient numbers as to take control of the organization, they should do so, not as progressives but as progressive republicans. There will never be a return to the stand-patism of Barnes-Penrose-Root-Crane and company, it is as dead as the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. If the republican party is to live, it must live as a true champion of the people and advocate only such principles and measures as will tend to their welfare. We would, especially at this time ask all progressives to examine well the records of those who seek leadership. We in Idaho have on the one hand Senator Borah and on the other Gipsen-Martin-Cruzen and Company. Whom will you have for your leader, Senator Borah, whose voice and talents have always stood for the welfare of the American people or Gipsen-Martin-Cruzen Company, an unknown and an untried quantity, possessing neither the talents, leadership or courage of our senior senator? As for us we'll take Bill Borah as our guiding star, trusting in his honesty of purpose, as evidenced by his public record.

om WORLD
dress: New York City.

FEB 14 1914

THE TEST.

Where did our Bull-Moose friend George W. Perkins acquire this highly fantastic notion of American institutions?—

We have succeeded with the experiment of a government on this hemisphere on the centralized and co-operative plan, reducing destructive competition to a minimum, and now that the necessities and best interests of our people require that we at least try to do business on a somewhat similar plan, our statesmen are putting every possible obstacle they can in our way.

The only "centralized and co-operative plan" of government that we know anything about in the United States exists in the Socialist and Progressive platforms. The only government that the American people have had actual experience with is neither centralized nor co-operative. It is decentralized and individualistic.

It starts with the town and local self-government. Out of this is developed a system of State government, with all its powers defined. Those powers not defined are reserved to the people. Out of the State governments is developed a Federal government of enumerated and delegated powers. Those powers not expressly delegated are reserved to the States and to the people.

Instead of the centralized and co-operative government which exists in Mr. Perkins's imagination, we have a highly competitive government.

Mr. Perkins's dream of government is a dream of Prussian bureaucracy. That is what he means when he glorifies the centralization and co-operation of Germany. A Prussian bureaucracy has many excellent qualities, especially in the way of cash-register efficiency, but it can never be a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Should the Roosevelt-Perkins theory ever get the American government in its clutches, free institutions will have to shut up shop. They cannot survive in that atmosphere, and whenever the people of the United States deliberately accept such a government they will have lost their hopes for freedom.

This is an issue that most Republicans, except a few courageous leaders like Mr. Taft, deliberately dodge. Job E. Hedges said in his Buffalo speech that "the differences that exist between the rank and file of the Republican and Progressive parties are not so great as leaders try to make them appear." If this be true, then the rank and file of neither party understands its own professed principles or those of the other.

Senator Borah at the Lincoln Day dinner of the Republican Club pleaded for a platform that would express "the genuine convictions of a majority of the party." He was careful, however, not to define those genuine convictions. If he will read Mr. Perkins's speech, which is a clear, coherent expression of the purposes of Rooseveltism, he will find that the Republican party in its history and traditions is as far removed from Rooseveltism as from Catholicism. Would Senator Borah accept the Perkins speech as a definition of Republicanism?

There is the irrepressible conflict, providing both factions are sincere and honest. If they are not sincere and honest, there is no conflict whatever. It is all the manoeuvring of two crews of managing politicians intent on jolting each other.

We shall know more about that when we know definitely whether Theodore Roosevelt is ready to sell out to the Republicans in return for the Republican nomination for President, and whether the Republicans are willing to sell out to Theodore Roosevelt in return for the Progressive vote. That is the test of principle, if principle there be.

SENATOR BORAH'S STAND.

William E. Borah, Idaho's brilliant junior United States senator, has come out strong for Colonel Roosevelt. In a telegram to the Taft club at Boise, the senator said:

"Since the contest had to come, I think it important that you send a Roosevelt delegation and all efforts in that direction have my earnest approval. Personal friends who are supporting Mr. Taft have wired me that my stand against the president will endanger my personal interests. Perhaps this is true, but it does not change the situation and cannot be permitted to deprive one of his right to urge his choice prior to the nomination. I am for Roosevelt and hope Ada county will send a Roosevelt delegation to Lewiston."

While there are many leading Republicans in all parts of the state—out and out Borah men—who feel that the senator has made a mistake

in embracing the Roosevelt candidacy, still all Idahoans are willing to give the senator credit for honesty of purpose and fearlessness of consequences. That there will be any consequences, as affecting Senator Borah's re-election, no one believes. Senator Borah has "made good" and Idaho feels that it cannot get along without him in the senate. His remarkable popularity is not confined to members of his own party. The Tribune editor overheard a leading Democrat of Pocatello remark yesterday that he felt sure the four Democratic nominees for the state legislature will be pledged to support Senator Borah for re-election.

It would, of course, have been much pleasanter for all members of the dominant party in Idaho, which, we believe, is for Taft, had Senator Borah kept with the majority. His influence, which is very powerful, if directed vigorously against the president, may prevent an instructed delegation from this state, but it will not, in the estimation of this paper, have much of an effect on the outcome. It would merely place Senator Borah out of harmony with the national organization, but it will not hurt him in his own state influence in any particular the chances of his re-election.

THE COMMERCIAL TRIBUNE

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1914.

Get Together.

In a brilliant speech at a get-together banquet in New York last night Senator Borah of Idaho strikingly set forth the basic open which Republicans of all factions might unite to wage battle against the common enemy. Here are a few striking thoughts from his address:

"Republicanism as I understand it in its real scope and purpose is a theory of government, an organic and vital belief in liberty and justice under the domination of order and law, a striving for the best that can be had as fast as it can be had in national growth and progress. It believes in our form of government and that under its faithful administration and in harmony with its traditions, speed and power, the human family may reach its highest state of culture and contentment. It reveres the work of the fathers and pays fitting tribute to those who forfeited all for the union, but it lives not alone in the past.

"It looks forward with eager confidence to the duties and responsibilities of the future. It will not tear down, it will not destroy, but it will go forward and meet the problems upon whose solution depends the happiness and industrial freedom of countless thousands."

No real Republican, no Progressive, can find any legitimate ground for complaint in this statement of the situation and a reconstruction plan, based on a

THE MEANING OF INSURGENCY

WHEN an indefensible decision of the New York court of appeals annulled the good law for workmen's compensation, a Brooklyn lawyer suggested that it might be advisable for this country, by amendments of state and federal constitutions, to follow the example of Great Britain and practically every other constitutional government by establishing the law-making bodies as the sole judges of their legislative powers.

The *Saturday Evening Post*, in timely and interesting fashion, recalls that this very doctrine—seemingly dangerously novel—was upheld by a large minority of the framers of the national constitution, among them Jefferson, Madison, Pinckney, Mercer, Dickinson, Randolph, Geary and Mason.

Yet an able and representative Tory newspaper denounced this ancient and respectable objection to what Thomas Jefferson described as a possible "despotism of a judicial oligarchy," because "it indicates the monstrosities of the program to which the rabid socialism of the times would carry this country."

"The monstrosities of the radical socialism of the times"—that is the hard-worked phrase applied by the Tories whenever any proposal, good or faulty, practical or immediately impractical, is made for progress, for the betterment of humankind, for honest restoration of government by the people, for change of any kind. This is the invariable standpat definition of insurgency. We think it would be advisable for even the Tories to abandon their senseless prating of "socialism" about doctrines that were maintained half a century before the creators of modern socialism were heard of, long enough to study two recent, truthful definitions of the meaning of insurgency in present-day America.

Ray Stannard Baker's article on "Plain Words About the Progressive Political Movement" describes Toryism with this fine accuracy:

It implies the attitude of the man who is satisfied and secure. It is the bacon in his tower, the king in his walled city.

"I've made my money with the constitution as it is, with political parties as they are; therefore the constitution and the parties are right. I want no changes."

Armed with this logic, the standpatter sits behind his fortifications. Advance any argument for change and he will immediately reply that you are un-American, that you are unconstitutional, and wind up finally with the threat that if you continue your demands for change prosperity will instantly cease, business will be ruined.

His arguments always get back to the statistics of bank clearings, cost of pig iron and gifts to philanthropic purposes—until one sometimes feels like crying out as Carlyle did when the business men of his day argued the prosperity of the cotton trade against the first feeble demands that the lives of women and children in the mills be protected. Said Carlyle:

"Deliver me these rickety, perishing souls of infants and let your cotton trade take its chances!"

Mr. Baker observes that the present nation-wide insurgency is no sudden upheaval, to be distrusted on that account, but the third wave that has swept across the country since the great insurgency that destroyed human slavery, and that it is the result of "a deep-rooted, far-determined, slow-growing movement of the whole people."

The Populism of the early eighties and the Bryanism of the nineties included many proposals now part of the progressive program. Both those waves were beaten back in failure for reasons stronger than any cited by Mr. Baker. False economics in the form of hurtful financial heresies were the central features of both movements. The present insurgency is weighted with no such handicap.

But, in addition, public thought had not crystallized. There was no general understanding of the intertwined relationship of all the problems of the nation, of the kinship of pure politics and pure food, of municipal graft and the health in soul, mind and body of the child.

For the first time has come a movement essentially humanitarian, yet based upon sound economics and a practical, workable, profitable, political idealism.

Furthermore, not since Lincoln has insurgency had true leadership until now. La Follette and Wilson, Roosevelt and Ben Lindsey, Borah and Bass, Bristow and Brand Whitlock, Chamberlain and Johnson, Cummins and Clapp, Pinchet and Poindexter, Garfield and Kent—so runs the list, regardless of party labels, a list happily too long to name all.

They are not men of one mind, these true leaders in the cities and the states and the nation of the economic movement of progress for the betterment of mankind. They differ from the honest single-taxers and the honest socialists, as from the old-time honest Greenbackers, in having no panacea.

Upon details they disagree. All matters upon which there is variance, such as the initiative, referendum and recall, they regard merely as instruments. They are to be tried or left untried, as the time and conditions seem to demand. But they are only means to the end of restoration of popular government. And the use or disuse, the success or failure, of any experiment will not serve to sever the permanent union of the progressive, economic statesmen of the new school upon the basic beliefs of present-day insurgency—the insurgency that is represented today by nineteen governors out of forty-six, by the balance of power in twenty-five legislatures and by forty congressmen and thirteen senators in the capitol, where only six years ago Robert La Follette stood alone, derided but indomitable.

And for understanding of those basic principles of insurgency and of the career and unselfish intent of La Follette, first, strongest and most typical insurgent of them all, we need only quote another of the foremost, Borah, of Idaho, interviewed last week for the *Hearst* papers, by John Temple Graves:

If any one should say that the progressive movement consists of tariff revision, of the election of United States senators by popular vote, or the right to tax incomes, or the initiative and referendum, he would be referring to different phases of the movement, to different means for the attainment of a certain end. These are all means to an end.

When I say that the progressive movement means the divorcement of business and government, of commercialism and politics, it must not be understood that this implies in the remotest way an attack on legitimate business or business operating in its own proper sphere. * * *

You will also be told the progressives do not all agree—that we have no unity of view. I do not think there is a particle of disagreement as to the main questions. The difficulty as to details, as to how best to accomplish what all want accomplished—there is a difference upon these matters. We would no longer be progressives if this were not true. If there were somewhere an intangible power or organization which could make us all think alike, whatever else we would be we would have lost the element of progression. * * *

Those who seem to think that because men in either party are declaring for certain principles they are seeking to form a third party, to my mind wholly misconceive the situation and wholly misunderstand the facts. If this movement means anything at all, it means nobility of individual effort for the public good in whatever party the individual may be found.

It means that business shall be driven out of politics, whether Democrat or Republican is in power. It means the recognition of the changes in our political, economic and social lives and the adjusting of the affairs of the government in accordance with those changes, and these things are not to be incorporated with success in any third-party movement, nor monopolized, it is to be hoped, by any particular party.

Neither does the progressive movement mean an attack upon our form of government, as those who oppose it are fond of saying. The fight today is to bring the government back to its true function and restore it in operation to the place from which it has been wrenched through the commercialism that has existed since the close of the civil war.

That is the whole meaning of the "monstrosities of the program of the rabid socialism of the times," as set forth in the creed, the conduct and the fixed faith and enduring purpose of La Follette and all his associates in progress and patriotism.

The  Sun

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1914.

The Vitality of the Republican Party.

More than one meaning will be given to Senator BORAH'S remark at the Lincoln dinner of the Republican Club that "No one was there [at Chicago] seeking honor and place at the hands of the convention who would not have been glad to utilize the party as a party had the results been satisfactory." What he had in mind, of course, was that if the Progressive Republicans had controlled the convention they would have been satisfied with the candidate and the platform and there would have been no split in the party.

The Senator might have added that there is no influential Republican in the country to-day, whether he calls himself a regular or a Progressive, who would not be glad to utilize the party as a party two years hence if he could obtain its nomination for President. No man familiar with its history believes that it is dead or can be killed by seceders who try to set up a rival and a stronger organization. MANHATTAN will have to go to the mountains. No other conclusion is to be drawn from the returns in special Congress elections. Progressive politicians who talk about the Republican party as founded and make a show of keeping up a separate organization will be suspected of doing it for trailing purposes.

And Senator BORAH was right when he pointed to the reform legislation of the Republican party under TAYLOR as well as under ROOSEVELT as proof that it could not be taxed by the separatists with not being liberal and progressive, which is very different, however, from being hysterically radical. Mr. BORAH calls himself a Progressive Republican, but he is also a regular Republican because he is practical. Any other kind of a Progressive is either a visionary or an insincere politician.

Observations and Comment

By JAMES CALLAWAY.

A NOTABLE SPEECH.

In the Senate of the United States on January 17, 1915, Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, delivered the most remarkable speech on home rule and State self-government which has been uttered on that subject since Ben Hill died.

Senator Borah is an intense suffragist, but he subordinates the suffrage question to his loyalty to the great principle of local home rule and State self-government. He is unwilling for Congress to exercise Federal powers in matters belonging to States. Republicans and representing a State of the far West, usually given over to "progressivism" taught by Roosevelt, make his utterances not only interesting but unique. If ever the Republicans have another President, Senator Borah is good timber. He objected to hurdening the South by Federal action with 2,000,000 negro women voters. Indeed, he expressed a willingness to take the matter out of politics, repeal the fifteenth amendment, and confer the ballot on white women. But the Woman's National Association, led by Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Medill McCordick, Jane Addams and Alice Paul would not accept the offer.

Listen a moment to a few utterances of Senator Borah: "At the time of the organization of this government and during the best years of its existence there lived two of the most remarkable men in the history of politics—Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. . . . But the strength of the republic arises not out of the policies of Hamilton and not out of the policies of Jefferson, but out of that combination of policies which are everywhere interwoven into our system.

"The maintenance of these principles of government are essential.

"Any serious departure," declared the late Justice Harlan, "from that principle would bring disaster upon the American system."

"We forget in this day, both as Hamiltonians and as Jeffersonians, that the government was not framed by Hamilton and that the government was not framed by Jefferson. It represents neither the full view of Mr. Hamilton, nor the full view of Mr. Jefferson. It is the result—the combination, the composite work—of two of the most powerful and potent minds that have ever lived in the tide of time. It is the government as Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton made it—one of them believing in a government strong enough to guarantee all the blessings to the individual which it promises to give, stable and powerful enough to protect them; and the other believing in the principle of local self-government, in the initiative upon the part of the individual citizen, and in reserving to the State everything of a local nature. It is to such a government I give my allegiance."

This is worthy of Ben Hill in his great speeches for preservation of home rule and the prerogative of the States.

Continuing Senator Borah said: "We are not a homogeneous people yet by any means. The interests of States are diverse. We have the Oriental question on the Pacific slope; we have the negro question in the South; and we have the countless thousands of immigrants crowding into this country from Southern Europe, who are yet to become acquainted with our theory of government and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship."

"Thus it is necessary to preserve certain principles—a representative republic and local government for States. . . . The cornerstone of that fabric is the right of local self-government as to who shall vote in the State, and such a precedent will give to the government the right to say who shall own lands and property or attend schools in a State. . . . What I am contending for is this—that which is local in its nature, as I conceive this matter to be, should be permitted to remain local. The right to vote can never, in the very nature of things, under our system, be other than a local question, for upon it rests the very INTEGRITY and SOVEREIGNTY of the state."

The whole speech is a lofty exposition of principles of our government, and it took a strong mind to subordinate his special hobby to his love of the principles upon which rests our system.

A Senator like Borah, when compared to LaFollette and Roosevelt, reaches the sublime in statesmanship. It takes a brave, courageous man, one who puts regard for the system of government established by the fathers above his hobbies, to speak out like Senator Borah. Such a man is an honor to his country. So many forces are at work to

Increase the powers of a general government and rob the States of all dignity. This speech of Senator Borah is a rebuke to all this array of forces, under whatever name and guises they appear, which would subvert the fundamentals of our federative system and place all their contentions under government regulation. These "high-cuts," by means of national legislation, below no good to State self-government. There are no "high-cuts" to heaven, no short routes to liberty. Eternal vigilance is the price to be paid.

The great principle of State self-government, devised by the fathers, once surrendered, cannot be restored. Senator Borah realizes this, and his tribute to our system of government—that system without a model, should be engraven on the heart of every American. It should be the theme of every school boy and declaimed perpetually by every student from every school house room. In the name of every lawyer of our constitutional system of Government, thanks are extended to Senator Borah—a wise expounder of our system than Webster himself.

NEW YORK MORNING HUNTER

Thursday, January 14, 1915.

Senator Borah Accepts a Challenge.

Senator BORAH in his speech in the Senate yesterday accepted President Wilson's recent Indianapolis apology as a challenge to Republicans. As such he took it up with frank defiance. He added the reproach that the attack of the President upon Republican ideals and capabilities was an unseemly display of partisanship coming from the Chief Magistrate of all the people.

Probably this view will not make much impression upon Mr. Wilson's convinced admirers, but it is a strong appeal to neutrals as well as to that reawakened loyalty to the Republican standard which is an unmistakable factor in the political situation to-day. The attack loses none of its trenchancy from the fact that the Senator may not possibly be Mr. Wilson's adversary in the great contest of which the present interchange is but a preliminary skirmish.

The President's attitude as a political leader gave Senator Borah another easy opportunity. He made a direct onslaught upon the conception of "team work," which Mr. Wilson presented as the perfection of party organization and allegiance. His restatement of the President's position as an attempt to establish boss rule, party solidarity controlled by the use of Federal patronage, will of course be resented by the President's supporters as a glaring misrepresentation couched in terms of belligerency. But the Senator has at any rate brought into association the President's deliberately advanced ideas and those charges against him of dictation and domination which have attended the whole course of legislation by Congress ever since Mr. Wilson entered the White House. Senator Borah did not fail to drive the point home in his references to the conservation bill and the shipping bill. Administration measures, of great danger according to his view, which he considered were being or about to be forced to enactment without full or free debate or wise appraisal of their consequences.

Altogether the Senator's speech was a pretty display of dialectic tilting. Whatever may have been the motive of the President's address he cannot complain that it has fallen flat. Certainly his opponents are attaching due importance to it as the opening movement in a new campaign. Senator Loomis had something to say in reply a few days ago, not exactly cordial. Now comes Senator Borah. There may be others who will still further pick at identiam clothed in epigram.

The Folly of the President's Change of Attitude.

Precisely what moved President Wilson to commit that incomprehensible error known as the Indianapolis speech it becomes daily more and more difficult to see. The regrettable consequences have not been backward in making themselves felt. Already the cleavage between the Democratic and Republican parties is perceptibly more pronounced. Against the administration entrenchments which the President himself has so inexplicably weakened, Senator Borah has levelled his guns with instant and telling effect. "A virulent attack," says the Senator in substance, "has been made upon one of the great political parties of the country by the Chief Magistrate of the Nation at a time when our country has sore need of united wisdom and patriotism, when the American people, regardless of party, have long shown patience and forbearance and have long tendered support in order that a situation most delicate, because of foreign complications, might not be aggravated."

What gain the President expected to accrue from his speech a study of its results certainly fails to make clear. Why should the President, by solidifying and crystallizing the opposition, impair in advance the prospects of much of the legislation which he hopes to get through? Why should the President, in the praise of whom so many Republicans have shown themselves generously non-partisan, retaliate by showing himself surprisingly and pettily partisan? Why should the man born for the universe—we apologize to Goldsmith for our crude paraphrase—

"narrow his mind,

And give up to party what was meant for mankind?" Why should the man who has been so universally admired for the exactness of his language and the dignity of his bearing suddenly fall into that recklessness of

phrase and irresponsibility of attitude which we are customarily disposed to regard as the peculiar characteristics of the discredited political spell-binder?

Woomington, Ill. Bulletin
Thursday, Jan. 14, 1915.

THE CAUSES

They are all making the president's speech the text for talks for the edification of the home folks, but Senator Borah who speaks very well and very sarcastically rather took the wind from the sails of the minor matters. Representative Humphreys of Washington, today declared that the tariff law had thrown four million people out of work. The joke of it is that none of the big men who own the factories claim anything of the sort. They say there were two things the matter before the recent return of confidence and prosperity, one was the war and the other the fact that for seven or eight years or long before the Democratic administration had been elected, there had been a movement to punish big business for abuses in the matter of stock watering and the carrying on of monopolies, and that this movement had become a habit and investment in new enterprises was discouraged.

It was really a matter of letting the gas out of a dangerous situation in time to avoid an explosion. This has been accomplished and business is opening again on a more sound basis and all broad gauge people agree that we are at the beginning of a long period of prosperity.

FOR THE NATIONAL BIRD

NOT THE TIME FOR IT

The speech made by President Wilson at Indianapolis has led to a hot and not altogether illogical retort by Senator Borah, at Washington. Thus the two men have set the foundations for a perfectly useless and wholly needless outburst of partisan stump-speaking, at a time when nobody is particularly interested in party politics, and when the discussion will probably have not the slightest effect upon public opinion or national action, in the presidential contest of next year. That this passionate, but perfectly harmless, interchange of partisan abuse is wholly out of season is plain enough to everybody except the principals concerned. That it was a mistake on President Wilson's part to start such an interchange, at this time of all times, he himself probably realizes, by this time. He usually has a big fund of common sense for his own use, when he has time to think matters over. And it is surprising that he "slopped over," as he did, at Indianapolis. The fair inference is that he was egged on to his blunder by insistent party leaders, at Washington.

At this time of all times, when the President stands for the whole American people in his attitude towards the warring nations of Europe, it was a very unfortunate blunder for him to indulge in a spiced-eagle, partisan stump-speech of the Indianapolis brand. It was inexcusably out of place. It was altogether untimely. It is necessary, while the President is speaking for the American people to the rest of the world, during the greatest crisis this century is likely to see, that he speak in no uncertain way, and with the show of an absolutely united public sentiment, behind him. To pose as a mere party leader, to apologetically and gratuitously a party which represents almost a motley of the American people, was not only an act of bad taste, but it was a blunder involving very poor judgment. If it had been committed on the impulse of the moment, it would have been bad enough. But to commit such a blunder in a great public address, carefully prepared days in advance, made the blunder all the more indefensible.

It is true that the speech contained what could be easily construed into a hint that it was the opening gun in advance of the next great national campaign; but even so, it was wholly needless and was practically useless for any such purpose. The next national campaign will not be decided by digging up the political history of the past generation in partisan politics. It will be settled by the condition of the American nation, in 1916, as felt by the average voter in his own daily life and conditions of living.

Since the present administration came into power, it has had to do with a number of important national issues—perhaps more so than any administration since the days of Abraham Lincoln. It has been forced to develop international policies, first as affecting the two years of revolution in Mexico, and now as they arise in connection with the most extensive and most momentous war ever recorded in history, affecting the three great continents of the Old World. In internal affairs the President has led his party to enact important legislation affecting the control of business, the adjustment of the tariff, and the creation of a new system of banking and the currency. All of these policies must naturally affect business. But what the effect will be, by 1916, it is useless at this time to attempt to forecast with any pretense of absolute certainty.

The standard set by the individual voter, in 1916, however, may be predicted with assurance beforehand, in the light of human experience. The

administration will be judged, not on theories of legislation, but on the practical experience of the whole nation, under the new laws. It is quite possible that this form of verdict may not be fair. It is quite possible that the complications resulting from the long-continued war in Europe may render it impossible accurately to gauge the influence of the internal legislation, of itself. The verdict may be illogical, but the influences which determine it will be more powerful than abstract logic. It will be based upon the condition of the American people. If that condition be prosperous and comfortable, the administration will be sustained. If the situation of the American people should be generally unsatisfactory, the administration will be condemned.

Under the circumstances, then, the less the President indulges in public

stump-speeches, the better. Nothing he can say in that line, now, will affect the result in 1916. And the less he has to say, in the way of merely partisan harangues, the better his position for representing the whole American people in handling the tremendously important problems of our international relations. In offering this suggestion we believe we voice not merely an editorial opinion—that might be wholly unimportant—but the dispassionate judgment of most Americans, without any thought of partisan politics.

10-287

SENATOR BORAH'S SPEECH.

President Wilson has created the view that he intended to "start anything" with a view to his renomination in 1916 in his speech at Indianapolis, but his appeal to partisanship on that occasion has not only started the campaign, but has made him the center of it.

It is early to begin campaign activities, but evidently the line-up of the 1916 contest is already being formed. Even without the President's speech the crystallizing of partisan sentiment might have been expected, but his tirades were effective in precipitating the contest.

Senator Borah replied in the President's Indianapolis address in the Senate yesterday, reviewing it with severe criticism. The Senator held up for condemnation especially the infringement on the legislative branch of the Government, represented by the President's verbal picture of himself as "captain of the team" ordering the Democrats to go as they were bidden or "quit the team." He charged that this method of "bossing" was the same as that employed by Tom Taggart and Charles F. Murphy. The Senator quoted Woodrow Wilson, the historian, to contradict the statements made by Woodrow Wilson, the President, and made an impressive attack on the President's Mexican policy.

Senator Borah was especially effective in his reply to the President's attack on the Republican party.

Which Policy is the Better?

President Wilson declared in his Indianapolis speech concerning the struggle going on in Mexico and its consequent outrages against American people and property that "it is none of my business and it is none of your business." Can it be possible that he has thus defined the Democratic attitude? If so, at least the country has the true meaning of what he once termed "watching and waiting."

In a speech in the United States Senate a few days after Wilson made his startling statement, which put the world agape, Senator Borah of Idaho, voiced the position of the Republican party as to the Mexican struggle, saying, in part:

The Republicans on this side of the chamber have remained practically silent for two years. They have done so out of a desire to give the president of the United States the fullest opportunity to work out the destiny of those people if he could.

But now when a condition of affairs exists in Mexico such as the civilized world never saw and Republicans rise to express their views as to what shall be done the answer which we get from the public nostrum of the country by the chief magistrate of the nation is practically, in the language of Barera, that the revolution in Mexico shall be permitted to fester in open seas of blood and that the man who questions the course of revolution in Mexico is to be suspected before the American people.

"Speaking for myself, I am desirous of peace in Mexico; I want no war; and I know we shall never take any part of the territory of that republic, but above and beyond that and more important to my mind is the fact that we should at least protect our own citizenship, securing our women against ravishment and murder at the hands of those ferocious men who prey upon our nationals wherever they find them in their territory. There are some things which are dearer to me than peace."

"I do know this, that no nation ever retains respect among the other nations of the earth or long maintains the consideration of other powers that does not protect its citizens and the honor of its women and prevent them from being ravished and murdered even upon its very doorsteps."

Senator Robinson, a Democrat, interrupted to inquire of Senator Borah just what he would do as regards Mexico if he were president of the United States.

"If I were in a position to do so," Senator Borah replied, "I would say to the Mexican people in no uncertain words: 'We want you to settle your own internal affairs; we do not want to interfere with your domestic concerns; you shall have the kind of government you like and the kind of ruler you like; we hope that you will work out finally a government such as our own and we want you to understand that we will never interfere with the domestic concerns of your government for the purpose of in any way acquiring territory or destroying the autonomy of your government' and, second, I would say, 'You will from this hour respect the rights and the honor of American men and American women in your territory or the United States will itself attend to the matter.'"

"I would build my policy around the protection and the absolute protection of our own citizens and the whole world will respect us and honor us and Mexico herself, in my judgment, when she finds we are in earnest and not to be trifled with will respect our demand."

"If it were necessary to again send a vessel of war to Vera Cruz or 20,000 troops to the border I would send them with this message: 'We are now here, not to acquire Mexican territory or to destroy the Mexican government, but to see that whereas upon the face of God's potent an

American citizen is found, whether the government be weak or strong, he shall be protected."

"Do you think that the warring factions of Mexico could not heed such a statement?"

The Democratic policy as expressed by Wilson is: We have no concern as to Mexican affairs; it is none of our business and it is none of your business. The Mexicans have a right to kill one another, if they want to, and so far as we are concerned they can continue their outrages against American people and American property.

As outlined by Senator Borah, the Republican policy regarding Mexico is one of helpful concern, one to protect American life and American property and one to lead Mexicans into early settlement of their troubles without taking anything from them.

Which of the two policies is the better? Which is Christian?

Clairborne, Kan. 10/10

Jan 17/16
BOEAH ON A BENDER 43

YES, even dignified senators unbend now and then, and the distinguished gentleman from Idaho, who is of presidential size but probably lives in the wrong state, seems to have let out several notches in his address before the senate Wednesday. National politics was the general theme, with the President's recent Indianapolis speech as the particular text, and more than one republican took a fling at it.

Which was how it came about that Senator Borah declared the federal reserve bank act is a "sort of antediluvian mastodon, too dead for a monarchic and too much alive for the operating table, designed for the treasury, but seemingly on its way to the Smithsonian Institute."

Referring to the outlook after 1916 the senator said that the cry of the campaign would "not be for new ideas, but for bread; not for more rhetoric, but for more soup."

Of the administration's proposal to acquire the Nicaraguan canal route he said, "having built but one canal and given it to England, we now want to build another and give it to Germany."

"The Mexican mind is firm in the belief that we will not protect our citizens. The flag that will not protect our citizens is a rag that contaminates the air in which it floats."

To refute the president's statement that the republican party had not had a new idea in 70 years, Senator Borah gave as an instance the Sherman anti-trust law, the interstate commerce, parcel post, postal savings, pure food and direct election of senators acts.

The cost of living on August 1, 1914, he said, was higher than at any other time in the country's history, yet an emergency war tax bill had exacted \$100,000,000 additional from the people.

If President Wilson intended to open up the 1916 campaign with that Indiana speech, he is certainly getting results.

STIMMONS BY AMERICAN 1916

Friday, January 11, 1916

PARTISAN OR PRESIDENT?

Mr. Wilson has time and again hidden behind the declaration that as president of all the people he could not assume a partisan attitude. His Indianapolis address raises the query as to his actual relations. Is he permanently President or is he permanently partisan? The interrogation is pointed by his own remarks. In that extraordinary speech he went the limit of partisan invective and irony and abuse in his assaults upon the Republican party. At a time when the country needed peculiarly the respect of union with the head of the nation the President of all the people, Mr. Wilson deliberately placed himself at the head of the Democratic club. With all the vigor and venom of a clan leader he stated that the Democratic majority in Congress is a team and that he is at the head of that team and that any one who does not want to do team work had better get off. Such an amazing declaration of executive effrontery was not heard in the palest days of the president who has since degenerated into the leader of a petty political clan and who today counts little even in that capacity. Let Mr. Wilson read the record of and learn that the spirit of Jackson, whose memory his speech was designed to honor, is not the spirit of today. Autocracy in the White House is insufferable and subordination of the representative branch of the government is offensive to the last degree.

Senator Borah has done a service to the country by challenging his partisan position of the head of the nation, showing that it has the very essence of boss rule and boss arrogance and boss menace. The fact that Mr. Wilson is a man of superlative intelligence and is drilled in the theory of politics as well as having adeptness in its practical use only makes the more amazing his raising of the partisan flag adorned with the skull and cross bones of a boocancer leader. What has come over the spirit of one who started upon his presidential career with the avowment of broad principles of presidential legislation from partisan positions that he should now be the expounder of the quintessence of bossism in the presidential chair?

Even Democratic newspapers have warned the President that his address at Indianapolis was unfortunate and such style of delivery must not be repeated. Some of these have attempted to have the people believe the remarks were extemporaneous instead of being as they were, carefully prepared. The entire country will feel the justice of the observation by Senator Borah that understanding the Chief Magistrate prefers the

leadership of a party to the chief magistracy of the entire people, the Republican party will not need to be reminded of that fact again. Thus the head of the nation has gratuitously affronted and insulted the Republicans of Congress and of the nation and destroyed irreparably the measure of support and good will that he had secured from this source. The Republicans feel at liberty now to characterize his measures in their true nature and to criticize his policies according to the facts. Hence, it is that Senator Borah ridicules the Federal Reserve Law as rapidly advancing toward a place amid the archaic curiosa of the Smithsonian Institute. Thus it is that he arraigns the administration for its Mexican policy; thus it is that the President comes in as a partisan for the excoriations that as Chief Magistrate would have been spared him.

The remarkable precipitation of the presidential issue in the Upper House was due to the action of Senator John Sharp Williams in declaring that Mr. Wilson would be re-nominated and re-elected. This injection of presidential bee-buzzing into the Senate debate upon the propriety of the President assuming to dictate the use of the customs funds collected at Vera Cruz by the military authority of the United States, opened wide the door for challenge of the President upon his references in his now famous speech and upon his record as therein disclosed.

Mr. Wilson has deliberately put himself in the position of chief partisan and the people have to that extent been deprived of him as their chief executive. The day has long past when a partisan could fill the presidential office. The day will be revived very shortly when the incumbent will honor the office too highly and the people too much to use its lofty position for the utilization of violent partisan ends. And let it be said that the resources of the administration in carrying on an employment bureau for out-of-workers will not secure the votes of the workers. The workman will vote for the party that gives him the opportunity of working in his particular capacity and not the one that drives him hither and thither to seek out bare existence.

SENATOR BORAH'S CRITICISM OF THE PRESIDENT.

It is on the grounds on which Senator Borah condemned the sentiments voiced by President Wilson at Indianapolis call especially for consideration in connection with the President's legislation of the Democratic party as the progressive party of the Nation, says in the intensely partisan spirit that characterized the Indianapolis speech and the other was the assault therein made upon the integrity of the representative form of government. It has been a long time since any President made such a sweeping and virulent attack upon a political party, and it is doubtful, in fact, if his address can be matched in this regard in the entire history of presidential utterances in this country.

One may fairly say that such a speech is not calculated to promote that softening of partisan prejudice in regard to chief magistracies of the Nation, that growing disposition to consider presidential policies on their merits and to vote who's party lines in supporting an executive in matters of large public importance, which have been in evidence of late years, and which have given to criticism of public measures a far greater value than could possibly arise from a state of more partisan opposition. The extent to which Democrats united with Republicans in the passage of worthy constructive legislation in Mr. Taft's administration was a notable and commendable feature. While party divisions and party sentiment have their place and function in affairs it is not well to carry them beyond proper bounds. For an executive to do this is to work an injury to our governmental system, an injury that will be more lasting than the fleeting party majority on behalf of which it is sought to invoke this partisan feeling, and it is to weaken the claim which the President ought to maintain and propriety to maintain upon the regard and support of the whole people, regardless of parties.

More fundamental and serious than this, however, is the attack which Mr. Wilson makes upon the very spirit and essence of free representative government, when he says: "If any group of men should dare to break the solidarity of the Democratic team for any purpose or from any motive, theirs will be a most unenviable notoriety and a responsibility which will bring deep bitterness to them."

In other words, individual legislators must not vote according to their conscience and convictions when such a course involves disobedience of the "captain of the team."

This position which the President assumes is false in the very spirit of democracy, and utterly indefensible for any leader calling himself progressive. There could be no plainer reason than this. Senator Borah does well to emphasize this glaring fault and to point out the inconsistency that lies in Mr. Wilson's use of the phrase "captain of the team" in this connection. When a party leader takes that position he has no right to condemn any party for being unprogressive, no matter what that party's record may be. But in regard to the legislation accomplished in this country under recent Republican administrations, no fair-minded judge can deny that it was in a high degree constructively progressive and was attended with great and signal prosperity. Senator Borah says that it is impossible to point to any like period in history from the days of Pericles to the present as filled with Progressive legislation as the thirty years beginning with 1895, and it will be hard to dispute him. In that way of progress the Republican party has borne a mighty part. Mr. Wilson's

party has got to do a lot of hustling to match the Republican record.

One of the great things about this thirty-year period here in the United States, is that the progressive legislation has been accompanied by a pronounced reduction of bitter and selfish partisanship, a growing tendency among members of all parties to cooperate for constructive and beneficial measures, an advancement of the merit idea, as opposed to the spoils policy, in the public service. Are the President and his party living up to that ex-ample? Let the American people answer.

Progressive Party

Thursday, January 14, 1915

Senator Borah made a fetching speech against Mr. Wilson, yesterday, scoring his verbal points neatly, but is he not a little overdoing it when he asks his hearers to grieve with him at the spectacle of a President speaking as a partisan? Somehow, our Presidents belong to parties. Latterly, they have set up as party leaders. If Senator Borah should be elected President in 1916, he would set himself up beyond any question. It might be true of him, as it has been of many Presidents—as it certainly was of Taft and Wilson—that the opening months of the term of office should be spoken of as an era of good feeling, with much emphasis on being "President of the whole country." But all this could deceive nobody. All could understand that Presidents are party men, and are certain to do all they can to make their party successful. So it has been, so it is now, so it will be.

SENATOR BORAH'S SPEECH

Senate Republicans chose wisely in designating Senator Borah to take up on their behalf the challenge of President Wilson's remarkable Jackson Day speech. The effective way in which the Idaho senator flayed the phrases and the policies of our phrase-making President reveals a campaigner fully able to handle Wilson rhetoric and recalls to many minds the prophecy of Colonel George Harvey, made more than a year ago, that the next President of the United States would be William E. Borah. It is not surprising that the Washington correspondents agree in calling the speech "the most impressive criticism of the Administration yet heard in Congress."

But in his discussion of Mexico Senator Borah rises above the plane of partisanship and speaks the language of true Americanism. Hear him:

I am desirous of peace with Mexico. I want no war; and I know we shall never take any part of the territory of that republic, but above and beyond that and more important to my mind is the fact that we should at least protect our own citizenship, securing our women against ravishment and murder at the hands of those ferocious men who prey upon our nationals wherever they find them in their territory. There are some things which are dearer to me than peace.

Mr. President, the mistreatment of American citizens in Mexico is due to the fact that there has passed into the Mexican mind a firm belief that we will not protect our citizens, and I say whatever criticism shall come to me from those who love peace more than they love honor, that the "flag which will not protect its people is a dirty rag that contaminates the air in which it floats." We cannot have peace, we cannot have honor unless we are prepared to protect our own citizens, and I believe, verily believe, that we may do so and still have no war with Mexico.

Speech like this makes red-blooded Americans hold up their heads again in hope that in 1916, if not before, we shall witness an end of conditions across the border that have for two years made many men in this country ashamed of the name American. The Idaho senator has outlined a Mexican policy which we believe his fellow countrymen, regardless of party, will endorse by popular vote at the first opportunity, either under his leadership or that of some other American, no less courageous.

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Springfield (Mass)
Republican

Mr Wilson's Political Game.

Senator Borah's reply to the president's Indianapolis speech was precisely what the president must expect whenever he takes the stump in the role of a fighting party leader. Mr Borah was brilliant, partisan and unfair—but so was the president. Partisan speeches on any side are always unfair, and seldom brilliant. When they do happen to be brilliant, they arouse anger in the party attacked, and that has been the effect of the president's Jackson Day performance.

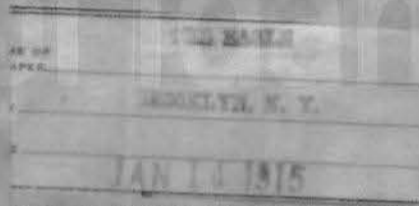
It is true that a president of the United States necessarily plays a dual role. He is not only chief magistrate of the republic—an office which constitutionally has nothing to do with parties, as George Washington tried to demonstrate without practical success; a president is also the leader of the party that placed him in power and upon which he must mainly depend for support in Congress if his administration is to achieve legislative results and carry out its policies. Ever since Washington's day, this dual role has been recognized and every great president has been supreme as a party leader.

Whenever a president turns from one role to the other and appeals to his own supporters as a political chieftain, he is sure to strike the partisan note very strongly, and inevitably he challenges his opponents to the rough and tumble fighting of swash-buckling politics. No one ever learns anything from the heated controversies thus aroused. If politics is in large measure the art of mobilizing and controlling popular prejudices and passions, it is to be presumed that shrewd politicians engaging in such a contest always have ulterior ends.

It is to be regretted that President Wilson has started on such a campaign in a period of tense international strain like the present. The time is peculiarly suitable to national leadership as remote from partisan politics as possible. A president that conspicuously falls into his role as a party leader cannot possibly get the support from the opposition that conditions may really entitle him to. But if Mr Wilson was bound to engage in this partisan foray, his performance at Indianapolis showed calculation and a degree of discernment which may or may not be vindicated by the political results.

For his assault was wholly directed against the republican party as a party of conservatism and even reaction. He said nothing that could not have been said by the bull moose progressives, and much harsher criticism of the republican party has been spoken by Mr Roosevelt in the past two or three years. The deeper political purpose of President Wilson is revealed, probably, from this point of view. His Indianapolis speech was at least shrewd bid for the support of that radical section of Mr Roosevelt's following in 1912 which is unlikely to be drawn back into a republican party so conservative as the republican party now is. If the progressive wing of the republican party aims to take the sharpest of it to his credit, with the democratic party, the socialistic program of ownership of shipping, and the small joint Wilson—of the socialists.

MANY MARVELS OF OUR TIME were foreseen by imaginative men and rivaled...



BORAH'S ATTACK ON THE PRESIDENT.

Senator Borah of Idaho, a really able Republican of the wing that thinks it sees progress possible under the party banner, arraigns President Wilson for "virulent attack" on the Republican party in the Indianapolis speech. He holds that allusions to "the solidarity of the Democratic team" can only mean exclusion of consideration of the opposition, at a time when it is the country and not the Democratic party that ought to be united. He accepts the challenge and vigorously assails the President's policy in dealing with Mexico.

There is ingenuity in the Borah plea. Disingenuousness is there, too, for nobody knows better than Borah that McKinley and Roosevelt and Taft took precisely the same position toward the minority in their time, and he may recall, if he tries, the fact that no notion of a united country prevented the holding in the United States of Colonel Bryan's regiment so that laurels in Cuba should be garnered with as much exclusiveness as possible by Colonel Roosevelt. We have a party form of government. In no case is a party that could only carry Vermont and

Utah in a national election likely to be permitted to hamper national policy.

As for Mr. Borah, he sees his party facing a problem analogous to the one of 1880. "Is there another Presidency in the Bloody Shirt?" "Is there another Presidency in the protective tariff?" is the query of today. Unlike Mr. Borah, most of the Republicans will answer the query in the affirmative, and the Mexican question will be only a side issue in the minds of 1916 voters.

Eric (Pa) Dispatch
Jan 13/15

BORAH'S MEXICAN POLICY

Senator Borah answered a question, in his speech Wednesday, that few have had the courage to attempt. When asked what he would do with Mexico, if charged with executive responsibility, he tersely replied:

"If I were president I would say to the Mexican people: 'We want you to settle your own internal affairs and we will never interfere for the purpose of acquiring territory.' Secondly, I would say to them: 'You respect American lives and property and the United States will see to it that they are protected.'"

There is a Mexican policy in a nutshell. It does not necessarily mean war, but it does mean business and would, we believe, be supported by a large majority of the people of the United States. The watchful waiting policy has made all Mexican factions sneer at us with a consequent lack of respect for the Stars and Stripes. Even the occupation of Vera Cruz brought us nothing, not even the salute we demanded, though it did fill twenty-one graves with our brave men. Mexico knows, and the world knows, that no action we might take would mean acquisition of territory. We might at least try a "note" and if that didn't work, there are other things to try. We believe it would be quite enough to send them Senator Borah's statement backed up by the army and navy. Well, Mr. Borah may yet be in a position to send it himself. His great speech will make him more than ever a strong candidate.

AN AUXILIARY CANAL

Borah Answers the President

Senator Borah has answered President Wilson's challenge to the public in no uncertain terms. The President, in his Indianapolis speech, set himself up as the arbiter of party regularity, as the party boss and as a partisan leader, rather than as President of the whole people. He denied that in thirty years the Republican Party had one new idea in government.

Senator Borah replies that the President for the first time since the days of Andrew Jackson has set forth that his duty is only to his party, and compares him to Murphy, leader of Tammany Hall. Senator Borah speaks especially for the West, and returns from the late elections indicate that he voices Western opinion. If the President is satisfied that he now represents a majority party he is easily pleased and he has not the power to understand figures.

It is a curious statement by the President that the Republican Party is one of reaction. During the thirty years he mentions the Democrats have been in power twice and not once have they been able to put forward any progressive legislation of their own. Had the Democratic Party triumphed in 1896, the debased coinage which it would have created would today be resting on the Nation. Has the President forgotten the firm establishment of the gold standard, the Inter-State Commerce Commission, the conservation of natural resources, the many sociological efforts by the Republican Party which have accomplished so much good? He cannot lay claim to currency reforms, which had its beginning when the Republicans were in power.

All that the President may take unto himself, with any justice, is the temporary wreckage of the policy of Protection.

Senator Borah Accepts a Challenge.

Senator Borah in his speech in the Senate yesterday accepted President Wilson's recent Indianapolis apology as a challenge to Republicans. As such he took it up with frank defiance. He added the remark that the attack of the President upon Republican ideas and capabilities was an miserably display of partisanship coming from the Chief Magistrate of all the people.

Probably this view will not make much impression upon Mr. Wilson's convinced admirers, but it is a strong appeal to neutrals as well as to that resuscitated loyalty to the Republican standard which is an unmistakable factor in the political situation to-day. The attack loses none of its trenchancy from the fact that the Senator may not impossibly be Mr. Wilson's adversary in the great contest of which the present interchange is but a preliminary skirmish.

The President's attitude as a political leader gave Senator Borah another easy opportunity. He made a direct onslaught upon the conception of "team work," which Mr. Wilson presented as the perfection of party organization and allegiance. His restatement of the President's position as an attempt to establish boss rule, party solidarity controlled by the use of Federal patronage, will of course be resented by the President's supporters as a glaring misrepresentation couched in terms of belligerency. But the Senator has fitly rate brought into association the President's deliberately advanced ideals and those charges against him of dictation and domination which have attended the whole course of legislation by Congress ever since Mr. Wilson entered the White House. Senator Borah did not fail to drive the point home in his references to the conservation bill and the shipping bill, Administration measures, of great danger according to his view, which he considered were being or about to be forced to enactment without full or free debate or wise appraisal of their consequences.

Altogether the Senator's speech was a pretty display of dialectic tilting. Whatever may have been the motive of the President's address he cannot complain that it has fallen flat. Certainly his opponents are attaching due importance to it as the opening movement in a new campaign. Senator Lacey had something to say in reply a few days ago, not exactly cordial. Now comes Senator Borah. There may be others who will still further pick at idealism clothed in epigram.

STILL BITING AT BORAH'S HEELS.

Once more it seems Senator Borah has committed an unpardonable sin in the estimation of his political enemies—at least they keep harping on the matter as though he had done something which should condemn him to the demerition howlows. And what might this act of sinful treason be? Simply writing the chairman of the Republican state committee, after the Allen state land loan had been exposed, and urging that his resignation from the Republican ticket be demanded and in the event of his refusal that he be repudiated by the party organization. This happened before Allen's defalcation as state treasurer was known, and while there was every disposition to whitewash Allen and get back of his candidacy.

No sooner had Senator Borah's letters to the chairman been made public than he was pounced upon for his "attempt to knife the state ticket." Notwithstanding he had been courageous enough to say to the state chairman what others were saying behind his back, the senator's motives were impugned and he was credited with the instincts of a Mexican Greaser. The Statesman led off with its strongest batteries and the popguns followed suit, and some of them are still keeping up the desultory firing although the campaign is over. Allen is in the penitentiary and the senator's course has been fully justified by subsequent events.

It is a well known fact that a word from Senator Borah would have defeated John M. Haines for renomination, but notwithstanding he disliked the governor he refused the importunities of his friends and declined to interfere. Had he done so he would have been heralded as a dictator by the same critics who deplore his interference in trying to rid the party of a crook. In fact the Statesman very adroitly endeavored to forge an expression from him concerning Haines early in the primary campaign for the sole purpose of howling "boss," but they failed. He let them nominate Haines and was willing to keep hands off had not the Allen matter developed, and then he did what every other Republican should have done, he demanded that the party organization clean house.

Notwithstanding Senator Borah came out in a strong interview and urged the election of Senator Brady, he is even accused by that gentleman's home organ of trying to knife his colleague by simply asking the state

committee to do its duty. What injurious effect this could have upon the candidacy of Brady they will have a hard time explaining unless we are to understand the junior senator had approved the course of the state chairman in applying the whitewash. It would seem to the Signal that Senator Brady had much to lose and nothing to gain by allowing his organ to attack Borah in this manner. The people will never relegate a leader who is open and frank in his demands for cleaner politics and cleaner men in public life and elevate to his place one who covetly attacks him for taking a stand on the side of honor and decency. Senator Borah certainly will not suffer through comparison, and it would seem to be the part of political wisdom for some people to not even indirectly hurt the same.

Richfield Recorder

THE PERIOD OF TROUBLE

Next to distrust born of civil war memories the Democratic party was kept out of power because of disbelief in its intelligence and political capacity. The people did not approve of every phase of Republicanism. They did not admire the men who captured the leadership of the party during the second Grant administration, or the McKinley administration, or the Taft administration. But thousands, looking at the alternative, said: "It's better to take a chance with the Republicans. Too many of their leaders are knaves, but look at the other fellows!"

In Cleveland the Democratic party secured a strong, patriotic, and effective leader. There was gathered under the Cleveland leadership a group of men who commanded public confidence. Then the party blew up. It fell into the hands of the silver mine owners and the Populists. Bryan became its chief spokesman, and the electorate increased the Republican majority. It did not seem safe to trust the affairs of this great nation to men whose intellects and morals were both open to suspicion.

But in 1912 the managing elements in the Republican party insisted that the party should not have the candidate that the rank and file indicated that they wished. The Republican schism was in the nature of an offer of a free gift of control over the national government. The majority of the Baltimore convention, by insisting on the nomination of Champ Clark, struggled against the acceptance of the gift. The confidence-inspiring candidacy was present, but with great stubbornness the delegates were determined to do a foolish thing. It is probable Woodrow Wilson would not have been nominated if Kermit Roosevelt had not blurted out, "Pop is praying for Champ."

Having secured a skilful and able leader through good luck rather than good judgment, the party cooperated with him for as much as twenty months—from March 4, 1913, until Election Day in 1914. As a result the party did much to lessen the old prejudice against its congenital incapacity. It looked as if it had become an instrumentality for efficient government. But the strain could not be endured. During the last three months the party has been blowing up. It has broken away from the direction of President Wilson and Chairman Underwood. It is wrangling in the old, familiar way.

The President's policy with respect to Mexico and to militarism is harshly condemned in his own party. Democratic senators, without a dissenting voice, have expressed a demand that the President turn over to them his power to nominate to office. William J. Bryan, in the San Domingo affair, has shown that he is unfit to be secretary of state, yet the President apparently does not feel strong enough to turn him out with the rebuke that he merits. All along the line there is insurrection and announcement of a determination no longer to be afraid of the schoolmaster's ferule.

The final item of trouble to the scholarly President is the outbreak of Frank P. Walsh, the chairman of the President's Industrial Commission. President Wilson knows that the only way to lessen the number of unemployed is to increase employment. He is aware his party cannot hope to succeed unless there is an end to hard times. So the President has raised his voice in favor of industrial peace and reconstruction. He would slow up on the further application of a policy emphasis on which does not make for capitalistic confidence and the launching of new enterprises.

But Chairman Walsh, apparently dissatisfied with the measure of publicity heretofore attaching to his investigation, has other ideas. He is for even a more aggressive war on the Money Devil. He spits on the go-alow policy of the President, and practically announces that steps should immediately begin toward the general confiscation of property. He is pursuing Wall Street, and brokers and capitalists, and employers with great fury. This is frost to the faint bud-dings of confidence and is calculated, whatever the ultimate social effect of the confiscation, to renew uncertainty and thus discourage employment. But having unleashed another amuck-runner, the poor President cannot head him off. All he can do is to look on impotently while the Walsh doctrine is being exploited—even as Grover Cleveland looked on during the days when William J. Bryan, as the paid lecturer of the silver mine owners, was intensifying times already hard by declaring that in a short time every owner of fifty cents' worth of silver would be able to take it to the mint and get it stamped as a dollar.

SENATOR BORAH.

There are very few who criticize Senator Borah for what he did not do for Haines or Allen; and their knock is mostly a boost. It is well known that he never liked Haines; and while he was probably agreeable to Allen's first nomination, he certainly owed nothing for the third term! The worst objection would be, that he did not lend his strength to defeat their nomination, when a vigorous word would have destroyed them. It was understood from the first that he would not come to Idaho for the campaign if Haines was nominated. Senator Borah has been excessively modest; he has not wished to be a dictator, and he has absolutely refused to intrude as a dictator in state politics. It is a fine trait—though the Recorder believes he would have done better to take a hand according to his conscience in making Idaho better. Instead of wishing him to do less, we'd have him do more. One who has that power for good, is morally obligated to use it rather than to hold off for squeamish notions and let things go bad. A hundred words from Borah at the right time would have kept Allen off the ticket and would have elected Lewis. It was a fine courtesy, to keep hands off—but it worked out badly.

But those who have shouted themselves black in the face over Czar Roosevelt and Dictator Wilson, ought to just naturally love him to death for his modesty! As for us, we'd rather have seen him wade in with an axe, wielded with vigor and honest judgment.

DOWN AMONG MEN

SENATOR JOHN SHARP WILSON is too effective a debater to suppose that his prediction of the President's triumphant re-nomination is a conclusive reply to Senator Borah's sharp criticism of the administration's Mexican policy. A retort of that sort is unworthy the brilliant intellect of the Mississippi senator. It too closely resembles the challenge to wager made by the beaten disputant who seeks to bring his opponent into a silence he could not compel by his logic.

No more incisive attack has ever been made upon a President of the United States than that voiced by the Idaho senator. No more candid analysis of an administrative policy has been heard in the Senate chamber for half a century than the Idaho senator's masterly and comprehensive arraignment of the ineptitude displayed by the President in dealing with Mexico. In the following, Mr. Borah epitomized the general sentiment of the American people with reference to Mexico:

If I were, President, I would say to the Mexican people, "we want you to settle your own internal affairs and we will never interfere for the purpose of acquiring territory." Secondly, I would say to them, "you will respect American lives and property in the United States will see that they are protected."

More important, however, than the above picture of what the President should have done and did not do is the change in sentiment towards Mr. Wilson revealed in this speech. It is not that Senator Borah, who is an enthusiastic Republican, is more anti-Wilson than before; it is not that a Republican senator disapproves the policy of a Democratic President, but that Mr. Wilson has become less the demigod and more the man, less a majestic figure on a pedestal to which each citizen must doff his hat as he passes, and more a flesh-and-blood individual whose stewardship needs an accounting.

Library

*Harold Republican
Sally Lobe
Jan 15/15*

Borah a Much Misunderstood Statesman.

(Lexington Tribune.)

Since the address of Senator Borah at the farmers' and business men's picnic at Parma last week, some of the papers of the state have been discussing his statements with a good deal of acerbity. There seems to be a disposition on the part of the more hide-bound organs to bring the issue that Mr. Borah attempted to present. Most of them in their utterances emphasize the speaker's statements relative to the direct primary law, and in this way attempt to draw attention away from what he was evidently trying so very hard to do—bring to the people of the state a realization of the desperate condition in which the state's business has been permitted to fall, and to hear of these same people that they shall use the instrument given them in the direct primary to cure these conditions. His address was not an indictment of officials alone, or of political agencies only, but of the whole people. It was intended to be an appeal not to Republicans and Democrats but to all men whose desire is that the government of this country shall be what it

is intended to be—fully representative of the desire for liberty without license—protection without patronage—upon which it is founded. Although Mr. Borah does not say so in so many words, it does not require a great deal of mental effort to read between the lines of his address his thought that political parties like the direct primary and the Australian ballot are not the end sought in political activity, but the means to an end—the instruments which are necessary to secure expression of one thought in many minds in a concrete way. He is a Republican, we take it, because through that organization he believes he will best be able to express his thoughts on government, and not because through that instrumentality himself and friends can best and easiest secure office. As Mr. Borah very well expresses it, "if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee." Equally in the minds of good citizens is the faith that duty should impel a man in his political life if party leaders and party machinery become so rotten with corruption that the cure of the evils become impossible within that party, it is better to lead in the revolt, and reorganize a new party—although perhaps all that can be accomplished thereby is to open the eyes of those within the old organization who have permitted themselves to be blindly led through the devious paths of graft and extravagance—of broken promises and purchased favors.

It has been a good many years ago since a prophet rose up in Kansas, then as now one of the mentally unweary commonwealths of the nation, and called out loudly: "What's the matter with Kansas?" And then he told what was the matter with that state. The edifying read something like what could be told of state governmental conditions in Idaho. It was more bluntly done than has been the indictment just read the people of the state by Mr. Borah, but to he who is anxious to know the truth, a careful reading of the Parma speech should give the

seeker after the truth a fair idea of what ails his own state, and a very clear idea of one means of effecting a cure—either within his own party, or without a party.

Those who make a business of assisting men to throw off evil habits express the opinion that the first step in the process is to make the victim understand that he must want to throw the habit off—that he is so anxious that even bodily pain and distress of mind and nerves can be endured. The man must be able to justify himself. Mr. Borah in his address is beseeching the people of Idaho to appreciate the fact that they must want to justify themselves to themselves. No voter desires to stand sponsor for a state government of which he is ashamed—of which such things can be said with truth as Mr. Borah has just said of the state government of Idaho—not only in its past but in its present. The mere faith that in Mr. Borah's mind the direct primary is the best possible instrument that could be provided for the effecting of such a cure, does not have and should not have an overpowering influence upon the mind, so that those who disagree with him in this one particular, should for that reason refuse to answer this call back to the better path.

Party faith, it would seem, should not be an alibiing loyalty to disloyalty, but a desire to remain loyal to the thought of loyalty—to one's family and home, friends, and to the best inter-

ests of the community of which he is a citizen and of the government under which he lives and whose strength protects him. If he finds that the whole fabric of society—the sacredness of the home, or the efficiency of the government, are being attacked through the organization of a corrupt machine, whose aim is the prevention of the righteous will of the people being enacted into both law and the proper administration of the law, it is not party faith but party disloyalty that holds the individual voter to a blind following of the leaders who have already betrayed him.

BORAH'S CALL TO ARMS.

Lack of space prevented the publication of Senator Borah's Roswell speech in our Monday issue, but it is good reading any time. It should be read again and again by every voter in the state of Idaho and the Signal hopes not one of its readers will fail to get every word of it. It is the bugle call to their colors of every voter in the state who believes it is time to inaugurate a new deal.

Because Senator Borah declined last year to take sides for and against certain candidates for the Republican nomination, in order to avoid the charge of bossism, there were those among his enemies who were shouting "trimmer," but his friends, and they are legion, knew when the right time came neither his friends or his enemies would have cause for complaint. That he has risen manfully and nobly to the occasion a perusal of his address will convince anyone. It is most satisfactory.

Idaho Republicanism has suffered partial defeat and humiliation because the people have allowed the politicians to run the party, and Senator Borah's appeal to the voters to awaken and assume the full responsibilities of citizenship is most opportune. In doing so he has assumed the leadership which was expected of him and has risen above personal interests. In thus dedicating himself to the task of cleansing the party in Idaho he has assumed a responsibility which he doubtless has carefully weighed, but has not shirked. For this reason he should have the unselfish, untiring and loyal support of every Republican in the state who believes in common decency and honesty in public life.

BORAH SWINGS THE CLUB.

Senator Borah knows how to bring to terms the Southern Bourbons who control the House. Their abject surrender when he threatened to prevent passage of the river and harbor bill unless some bills for the benefit of the West were passed proves that. They no longer saw danger that their own particular pieces of pork would be lost than they scurried to cover like frightened rabbits. The most important of the public land bills are to go through the House, and Mr. Borah and his Western colleagues may be trusted to bring the Senate to terms.

The promptness of the Democratic surrender is doubtless due partly to memorize of the success of the late Senator Curtis in talking the river and harbor bill to death in order to force action on the irrigation bill at the succeeding session. The Democratic leaders also must realize that they will need every Western vote they can get next November and that, unless they pass some of the land bills, they can show little they have done for the West.

The only means by which the West can get anything out of this Congress is a club, and Mr. Borah did well to swing that weapon. He knows how to wield it, and we doubt not will get results.

MAN WHO SAID HE WAS SENATOR BORAH WAS NOT GOOD GUESSER

Who is the "United States Senator William E. Borah of Idaho" who passed through Calgary, Alberta, June 5 and declared to Calgary newspaper men that the United States would be at war with Germany within 48 days.

"I have not been in Calgary in my lifetime and was in Boise, Idaho, writes Idaho's famous senator. 'I have no idea, of course, who the gentleman was who gave out the interview, but he didn't by any means guess closely to my views upon the subject. 'I do not think we're going to have war with Germany in 48 days, or in it likely that we will have it at all. I sincerely hope that I can not see it if I had been passing through Calgary and had thought that I can not imagine myself as announcing it under the present condition of affairs.'"

PRESIDENTIAL AGES.

"The Oregonian," says the North Yakima Republic, "needs him from the list of Presidential eligibles on account of his age, and Borah because it thinks the Idahoan comes from a better lot for West."

It would be a little more accurate if our North Yakima friend had said that Mr. Root had definitely withdrawn himself from consideration as a candidate because he thinks he is too old, and that Mr. Borah has said he is not and will not be a candidate, doubtless because he thinks that he cannot overcome the Idaho geographical disadvantage. But it is true enough that the public has not yet excited either Root or Borah wholly from consideration as available material.

Mr. Root is over 70 years old, having been born February 15, 1845. No one has yet been elected President at so advanced an age. William Henry Harrison was 68 when he became President, and James Buchanan was 65. Andrew Jackson was 61 when he was first elected in 1829, and 65 when re-elected. Yet Old Hickory lived for eight full years after his retirement from office. The Nation chooses to remember him as a rugged and powerful old man. As a young man Jackson has no place in the popular imagination.

Senator Borah is exactly 58 years old, an age which many men regard as still young. It is the ideal Presidential age for few men under 50 have been elected President. Roosevelt was one, Cleveland was another. Borah is a genuine National figure, and in the energetic and untiring search by the Republican party for a candidate, it would seem by The Oregonian that his supposed geographical disadvantage might cut small figure. It is possible that Senator Borah felt that he would stand less chance of the nomination if he asked for it than if he did not. No one doubts that Borah, if nominated, would be a strong candidate.

REACTIONARIES WARNED.

SENATORS BORAH AND LA FOLLETTE have issued significant warnings against activities of reactionaries in the Republican party. Both men say the progressive spirit is not dead in their party and predict another disruption similar to that of 1912 should the program for a reactionary candidate be carried out.

Who can lick Wilson?



WILLIAM E. BORAH
of Idaho

Borah, unlike Whitman, has shed his blood on every "issue" going. Sometimes he sheds it for the radicals and sometimes for the conservatives. He is ardently a suffragist; but he denounced the Federal amendment which would have imposed woman suffrage on states that don't want it. He is belligerent for labor legislation and is patted and groomed by the labor lobbyists at Washington as one of their special champions; but he prosecuted the labor leaders Moyer and Haywood for the murder of Steunenberg, and has never repented. He was strong for the direct election of United States senators and strong against the recall of judges. He loved the income-tax—a regular anarchist. But he loathed the idea of taking forests and water-powers and locking them up under the keys of Federal conservation—a regular reactionary. The fact is that Borah is a regular guerrilla. He doesn't swallow any political restaurant's whole table d'hôte just because he likes one of the courses. Yet, instead of offending everybody, he seems to make most people like him and trust him.

Lots of politicians say that Roosevelt's shadow is growing less all the time. They say this to their friends and to themselves, and at evening prayer and in their sleep.

HEARS OF BORAH FOR PRESIDENT

W. D. Vincent Home From Three Weeks' Trip East.

W. D. Vincent, vice president of the Old National bank, has just returned from a three week trip east, during which he attended the annual meeting of the executive council of the American Bankers' association at Old Point Comfort, Va.

A party of 50 bankers, accompanied by United States Customs Inspector Hamilton, were taken on board the River Frederick, the converted German cruiser interned at Newport News, and met Commander Thierichens. The Kronprinz Wilhelm, also interned, was in the roads, which the bankers were there.

Commander Thierichens is a fine, genial chap," said Mr. Vincent. "All the German sailors seem to be jovial, good-natured fellows and are in the best of spirits. It was payday when we visited them and each sailor is paid \$3 a month. They are kept busy painting and cleaning their vessel and their internment doesn't mean idleness.

"Political talk is the main thing in the east. I was much surprised to hear men who are in touch with things state that Senator Borah of Idaho is slated to be the republican candidate for president in 1916. They declare he is the only man who can bring together the various elements in the party and that geography will have no part in it.

"We had a good meeting of the executive council. The council decided to take no part in the suit which the trust companies are bringing to test the constitutionality of a section of the new Federal reserve law permitting national banks to do trust company business. The trust companies will press the suit individually."

THE POCATELLO TRIBUNE

Published every evening except Sunday, at Pocatello, Idaho

TALKING STRAIGHT.

And out of the gray sage and peace of the west it appears that there has gone a man who is materially stirring the sullen east.

A good many candidates have shown up on the surface, any one of whom would like to be under the right spot when the nomination permission drops. Giving due allowances and observing every condition it has not yet developed that any of the eastern candidates towers as a monumental figure in the presidential game. Burton, Fairbanks and a dozen others are substantial men in the nation, but there is an apparent lack of enthusiasm, of partisan interest in their behalf that indicates the choice might easily settle on any other individual with far greater degree of fervor.

In all the present political jockeying Senator Borah has gone quietly along, denying that he is a candidate for the presidential race, and at the same time evidencing that he is the only man in the nation up to this time who has presented anything like tangible solution of the political problems before the people. His utterances have shot straight from the shoulder, and his arraignment of the administration and his wholesome truths have caused eastern people to take marked interest in this man of eloquent words and epigram.

Borah is saying something, and is about the only political figure who is saying anything worth printing these days, and as time draws near for the next campaign, Borah will develop into a power within himself, if the present signs portend anything.

In the United States would be seized and destroyed. "Gilted pigs" would dry up. Liquors could not be disposed from drug stores. Steamship companies would not dare to bring them in. Railroads would refuse them transportation.

Some slight activity would persist in hidden illicit stills, but the fourth leg arm of the federal government would soon drive them into secret fastnesses remote from population, and the risk, difficulties and cost of moving their products would become so great that they could only fill a restricted local demand. Before long their numbers and the extent of their operations would be comparable to the present-day activities of counterfeiters.

That the United States is on the way to national prohibition admits of little doubt. All who believe in state prohibition are for it, and with them will be hosts of citizens who do not support state prohibition, but would like to see the traffic destroyed, root, branch and branch.

United States on the Way to National Prohibition.

Senator Borah's letter to the Anti-Saloon League of Oregon, coming out unreservedly for national prohibition, will cheer prohibitionists everywhere in the United States and give new ears to the liquor trade. Mr. Borah commands a hearing in all parts of the Union. His stand for federal prohibition is an event of national interest.

Senator Borah is right in saying that nation-wide prohibition would be more effective than prohibition by individual states, but when he adds that "experience shows there can be no really effective method of treating it except from a national standpoint," many prohibitionists will dissent from his conclusion. State prohibition does close the open saloon and the open saloon is regarded by many as the worst manifestation of the liquor traffic. He and more and more as new states swing into the dry column the difficulties attending law enforcement in a dry state surrounded by wet states will be reduced.

Prohibitionists are pressing Congress for a constitutional amendment to prohibit absolutely every phase of the traffic—liquor's importation, its exportation, its transportation, its manufacture and its sale. A law that sweeping would practically blot out the consumption of alcohol. Nothing would be left to varying or decided local opinion. Liquor found anywhere

Spokane Review

Our Boyhood Ambitions.

—By Webster.



SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH
WANTED TO BE A RAILWAY
CONDUCTOR.

WHAT WERE YOU?!

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The Independence of Borah
WHEN Senator William E. Borah left the Republican convention and marched over to the Auditorium to talk harmony to the Progressives, his enemies said that he carried a boom for Borah in his pocket. They claimed that he was only prevented from launching it by the mad enthusiasm — for Roosevelt — which greeted him. However, nothing in the nature of opposition ever turned Borah from his purpose. He thrives on it, and if there is one thing he has, it is the courage of his convictions. He showed that when he voted against the recent army reorganization bill on the score that it included

the attempt to federalize the National Guard, a piece of legislation which he declared "wrong in theory, wrong in principle, vicious in practice and practically futile in supplying real defense to the country in time of need." He stuck to his guns in spite of a veritable flood of admonitory telegrams from militiamen, "friends" of the militia, commercial clubs, influential business men and a very suggestive sprinkling of county chairmen. The militia lobby, which "got busy" early, succeeded in bringing his colleague, Senator Brady, into line; and many another senator was persuaded to dance to the National Guard tune. But Borah held out. He is also sure to hold out against all manner of pressure whenever there is an attempt to force indiscriminate pension legislation through the Senate. For which alone he deserves highest praise.

1 born and bred

SENATOR Borah is a real independent, and he backs his independence of thought and action by a bulldog tenacity of purpose. In spite of the fact that when he came to the Senate he was known out of Idaho principally for his brilliant prosecution, in behalf of the state, of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners who were accused of the atrocious murder of Governor Steunenberg, he has taken a stand for labor so long as its demands were just and fair. His activities in behalf of the eight hour law stand of record. He pushed the bill establishing the industrial commission through the Senate in eight minutes, he has fought tooth and nail against child labor, and he fathered the bill to establish the Children's Bureau, which has just completed five years of memorable achievement. Moreover, he stood up for the miners in the West Virginia war between operators and striking miners, which he was called upon to investigate.

The Courage of His Convictions

THE Borah independence was in evidence at the Republican convention of 1912, when he fought before the national committee against the seating of Taft delegates whose seats were being contested by Roosevelt. Later he declined either to support Taft or join the new Progressive Party. He announced that he would continue to advocate progressive principles in the Republican party, and would seek re-election in Idaho without regard to the national ticket. He did so, and was re-elected. He first came to the Senate on the issue of popular control of nominations and

elections and possibly his most notable bit of legislative work was the passage of a resolution submitting to the states an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the popular election of United States senators, which amendment was subsequently ratified by the states.

Borah Lashes President

Scathing Attack on Wilson's Policy in Mexico.

Senator Borah shows both his ability as a statesman and his patriotism as a citizen, in calling attention to the excellencies of the Wilson administration, and the folly of the reactionary and stand-pat campaign now being carried on by old time Republican party organs and the Bourbon brand of Republican politicians, for there is Bourbonism among the Republicans as intense as among the Democrats.—St. Louis Star.

The Star, in using Senator Borah to boost President Wilson and his administration evidently does not go outside of its two Democratic opponents, the Republic and the Post-Dispatch, for its information. That it may not make itself ridiculous again in using Senator Borah, in trying to revive the Wilson administration, the Censor reproduces the speech of Senator Borah, recently delivered in the Senate, for the benefit of the editor of the Star:

Republicans in the Senate to-day accepted the challenge thrown at them by President Wilson in his Indianapolis speech. Senator Borah, of Idaho, served notice on Mr. Wilson that Republican senator would not have to be reminded from now on of the fact that "our chief magistrate prefers leadership of a party to a chief magistracy of an entire people."

Mr. Borah is one of the most forceful speakers in the Senate and he reviewed the President's Indianapolis speech with keen sarcasm. Especially did he hold up for condemnation the infringement on the legislative branch of the government, represented by the President's verbal picture of himself as "captain of the team," ordering the Democrats to do as they were bidden or "quit the team." He charged that this method of "boning" was the same as that employed by Tom Taggart and Charles P. Murphy.

The Idaho senator quoted Woodrow Wilson, the historian, to contradict statements made by Woodrow Wilson, the politician, and generally delivered the most impressive attack that has yet been made on President Wilson, and particularly his Mexican policy.

It was apparent that Mr. Borah's utterances represented more than his individual views; that they were the answer in the Senate to the Wilson attack at Indianapolis. The speech is likely to bring Senator Borah forward still further as a Republican possibility in 1916.

Accepts Challenge.

It was in the very beginning of his speech that Senator Borah served notice that the Republicans of the Senate accepted President Wilson's challenge to them as expressed in his Indianapolis speech.

Senator Borah, "and his purpose and purport cannot be mistaken or misunderstood. It is a virulent attack upon one of the great political parties of the United States by the chief magistrate of the nation, a party in whose traditions millions of his countrymen take great pride and in whose policies and principles they devoutly and patriotically believe. It not only challenges the wisdom of the leaders of that party but it assails the intellect and the patriotism of its rank and file.

"All this was done, Mr. President, at a time when this country had more need of united wisdom and patriotism to deal with these matters which have been rendered delicate by reason of foreign conditions; at a time when there ought to be presented upon these matters not a divided country, but a united one.

"But, Mr. President, we accept the challenge which has been thrown down by the President. While we shall oppose no legislation which we deem to be wise or just, we shall, notwithstanding his admonitions and his threats, hold ourselves perfectly free to oppose to the utmost of our ability and of our energy those things which we deem to be unwise and unjust. Having arrived at the conclusion that the President prefers to be the leader of a party rather than the chief magistrate of the whole people, we shall not need to be reminded of that fact again."

Statement Significant.

A moment later Senator Borah added:

"The language which the President addressed to his own followers is the most significant statement, I think, that was ever made in regard to a coordinate branch of the government since the days of Andrew Jackson. I do not mean to say by that that the spirit which actuated it was the same, but you will search the history of our country in vain to find any such imputation upon a great co-ordinate branch of the government as is found in the remarks of the President at Indianapolis. It calls for the serious consideration of every man who is a member of this body. He said:

"If any group of men should dare to break the solidarity of the Democratic team for any purpose or from any motive theirs will be a most unenviable notoriety and a responsibility which will bring deep bitterness to them."

"Not for any evil purpose, not for any unwise purpose, but for any purpose or for any reason should any man dare to break the solidarity of

the party his future will be shrouded with unenviable notoriety."

Commenting further on this statement by the President, the senator from Idaho said:

"Mr. President, that is the sole and central principle upon which every corrupt machine was ever organized or put into existence.

Like Murphy Command.

"If the President had said, 'If any man shall for unrighteous or for more patronage purposes or for any indefensible reason assume to break the solidarity of the Democratic party,' he would have been upon safe ground; his position would have been unassailable, but, mind you, the language which fell from the lips of the leader of the Democratic party at Indianapolis was not different from that which Tom Taggart would have issued to the men in Indianapolis, eighty of whom have just pleaded guilty to the crime of corruption; it is not different from the language which would be used by Mr. Murphy, of New York, to his satelittish and slavish adherents to follow the dictates of the captain regardless of what their volition, their conscience or their judgment might suggest."

"It cannot be possible, Mr. President, that the President upon reduction would want it understood that men who come here, having taken their oath and representing a constituency which has sent them here, should be devoid of all volition, of all judgment, and refuse to exercise their conscience and wisdom in passing upon public questions, and yet they are advised that for no reason and for no purpose shall they dare to break the solidarity of this organization."

Senator Borah then quoted the following from the President's Indianapolis speech:

"If a man will not play in the team then he does not belong to the team. You see, I have spent a large part of my life in college and I know what a team means when I see it; and I know what the captain of a team must have if he is going to win. So it is no idle figure with me."

Not a Happy Figure of Speech.

"When one reflects," added Senator Borah, "upon the position of a captain of a baseball team and the position of the team, the orders which are given by the captain and ordinarily the language in which they are couched, the manner in which the team must obey regardless of what their judgment may be, and the way in which they are fined if they do not obey—which I assume may be anonymous with patronage in the public service—the figure of speech used by the President toward the Senate of the United States was, to say the least, not a happy one."

Senator Borah then took up the President's complaint that legislation

is being held up by the Republicans of the Senate. Mr. Borah said he had investigated and had found that for every two hours of the Senate's time that have been utilized by Democrats the Republicans have consumed an hour or three-quarters of an hour.

"The other evening," he added, "we had an executive session for two hours and ten minutes and not a voice was raised upon the Republican side, the entire time being spent by our Democratic friends in saying things about one another they did not desire to say in the open.

"I only call this to the attention of the President in order that the captain of the team may get to be more active with reference to the team and not lay the misfortunes of 'the team' upon those who are not members 'of the team.'"

Explains Alleged Delay.

The senator pointed out that the President had referred to the conservation bill as one of the great measures that was being delayed by Republicans and self-styled friends of business in the Senate. The senator showed that at the time the President was speaking the bill had not yet been reported out of the committee, another administration measure, the ship purchase bill, had been out but three or four days.

As to the conservation bill, the senator pointed out that at the time the President was at work with his typewriter indulging his speech a prominent Democratic senator and an administration man was before the committee that had the bill in charge declaring the proposed legislation would ruin the West.

"This," said Borah, "is not the trivial matter. It is a matter which was said by Senator Sharfroh, of Colorado, and is believed by many others to involve the whole future prosperity and growth of these great commonwealths.

"Is thirty or forty days a sufficient length of time to reduce states from states to colonies? Shall the President hasten us exceedingly when the question of the stability of the future of these states is involved? Will he catalogue a party because we have not taken the bill from a committee and passed it?"

"Upon what theory does this great magistrate of ours suppose that men with conscience and judgment legislate with reference to those whom they represent?"

Warns the President.

"I warn the President now, if I may be permitted to do so, that it is not so easy to dispose of the Western spirit more willing and pliable, but I venture to say that when the integrity of the great commonwealths is involved

it will require something more than rhetoric to drive them from their position."

Senator Borah then read from Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" to show what his ideas were before he became "captain of the team." In that book Mr. Wilson emphasized the importance of full and free debate on legislation. Mr. Borah said the ship purchase bill involved issues big enough to admit of a "few days of debate, even if the President in his petulance thought the time too long."

"I commend him," said the Republican senator, "to a reflective moment with his own deliberately expressed opinions and views as found in his books."

Senator Borah criticized the President for ignoring rural credits legislation while he pushed the ship purchase bill. He contended that the former was much more vital to the farmer and that the President would be justified in calling a special session of Congress to pass such legislation and give the farmers relief.

Answered in His History.

The senator then took up President Wilson's statement that the Republican party had not had a new idea in thirty years. Again Mr. Borah quoted Woodrow Wilson, the historian, and contended that his language as a historian answers his remark as a politician. He referred to the President's remark that he would rather pray for the Republicans than abuse them.

"It is to be hoped," added the speaker, "that if the President should indulge in that course, his prayers will not have the same effect on the country that his policies have had."

"I assert without fear of successful contradiction that if you will study the history of political organizations in every free institution under the sun from the days of Pericles until this hour, you will not find thirty years so crowded with sane, progressive, beneficial legislation as the thirty years following 1885."

Mr. Borah mentioned among other Republican ideas that have been put in the statute books the interstate commerce act, the creation of the department of commerce and labor, the pure food law, the safety appliance act, the postal savings law, the physical valuation of railroads, the employers' liability law, the child labor bureau, publicity of campaign funds, direct election of senators and other measures.

Referring to the return of prosperity with the election of Mr. McKinley, Borah said:

"Mr. President, it might not have been an era of 'ideas,' but what we did had the effect of feeding the American people and restoring the American business prosperity. In my hum-

ble judgment, that same task will devolve upon the Republicans in 1917.

3,000,000 Men Idle.

"There are at least 3,000,000 men in this country this midwinter asking for work and the soup house is again dotting the land. The cry in the campaign of 1916 will not be for more ideas, but for more bread; not for more rhetoric, but for more soup; and the termination of the campaign will not be doubtful when that issue is once raised before the American people."

But the most remarkable of all the President's utterances in Mr. Borah's opinion was that on the Mexican situation.

"What has been the result during the last eighteen months?" the senator said. "The President now says that we are to let Mexico alone. How unfortunate that that was not the policy from the beginning. I think if he had said in the beginning that we were to let Mexico alone he would have been in an almost impregnable position."

"When Barere stood up in the midst of the Assembly of the French Revolution—a man who Macaulay says tasted blood and felt not loathing; tasted it again and liked it well—when he stood up in the midst of the French Assembly, he said: 'The revolution of France will float into port upon seas of blood;' he then turned and said, 'Those who distrust the course of the revolution will be treated as suspected men.'"

"Mr. President, the Republicans on this side of the chamber have remained practically silent for two years. They have done so out of a desire to give the President of the United States the fullest opportunity to work out the destiny of those people if he could."

Wilson Liked Barera.

"But now, sir, when a condition of affairs exists in Mexico such as the civilized world never saw and Republicans rise to express their views as to what shall be done the answer which we get from the public rostrum of the country by the chief magistrate of the nation is practically, in the language of Barera, that the revolution in Mexico shall be permitted to flout in open seas of blood and that the man who questions the course of revolution in Mexico is to be suspected before the American people."

"Mr. President, speaking for myself, I am desirous of peace with Mexico; I want no war; and I know we shall never take any part of the territory of that republic, but above and beyond that and more important to my mind is the fact that we should at least protect our own citizenship, securing our women against ravishment and murder at the hands of those ferocious men who pray upon our nationals wherever they find them in their ter-

ritory. There are some things which are dearer to me than peace."

"I do know this, Mr. President, that no nation ever retains respect among the other nations of the earth or long maintains the consideration of other powers that does not protect its citizens and the honor of its women and prevent them from being ravished and murdered even upon its very doorsteps."

Senator Robinson, a Democrat, interrupted to inquire of Senator Borah just what he would do as regards Mexico if he were president of the United States.

Outlines Mexican Policy.

"If I were in a position to do so," Senator Borah replied, "I would say to the Mexican people in no uncertain words: 'We want you to settle your own internal affairs; we do not want to interfere with your domestic concerns; you shall have the kind of government you like and the kind of ruler you like; we hope that you will work out finally a government such as our own and we want you to understand that we will never interfere with the domestic concerns of your government for the purpose of in any way acquiring territory or destroying the autonomy of your government,' and, second, I would say, 'You will from this hour respect the rights and the honor of American men and American women in your territory or the United States will itself attend to the matter.'"

"I would build my policy around the protection and the absolute protection of our own citizens and the whole world will respect us and honor us and Mexico herself, in my judgment, when she finds we are in earnest and not to be trifled with will respect our demand."

"If it were necessary, sir, to again send a vessel of war to Vera Cruz or 20,000 troops to the border, I would send them with this message: 'We are now here, not to acquire Mexican territory or to destroy the Mexican government, but to see that wherever upon the face of God's footstool an American citizen is found, whether the government be weak or strong, he shall be protected.'"

"Do you think that the warring factions of Mexico would not heed such a statement?"

Tells of Outrages.

"A gentleman from Mexico told me—and I have no doubt he told the truth, because he professed to be an eyewitness—that at a time when American citizens were being attacked by a faction in Mexico it appeared there was in the crowd a German citizen and when it was made known he was told to step aside; and his life was respected and protected, while the American citizens were assaulted and maltreated."

"I was told by another citizen that—and this man I know very well, a

most respectable and reputable citizen in our part of the country, who witnessed it—when an attack was being made upon certain American citizens the American flag was hauled down, dragged in the street and spat upon, and they said to the Americans, 'We have murdered your men, we have ravaged your women, we have insulted and spat upon your flag. Tell us what we can do to make you Yankees fight and we will do it.'"

"Mr. President, the mistreatment of American citizens in Mexico is due to the fact that there has passed into the Mexican mind a firm belief that we will not protect our citizens, and I say whatever criticism shall come to me from those who love peace more than they love honor that the 'flag which will not protect its people is a dirty rag that contaminates the air in which it floats.' We cannot have peace, we cannot have honor unless we are prepared to protect our own citizens, and I believe, verily believe, that we may do so and still have no war with Mexico."

In conclusion Senator Borah said he would "not have taken the time of the Senate to discuss these questions nor to give any consideration to the views of the President at Indianapolis had it not been for the fact that it seemed to me that it challenged the self-respect and the character of every man who assumed to be a spokesman or even a member of the rank and file of the Republican organization."

KLINE'S OPENING.

St. Louis women Monday extended their utmost appreciation of the beauty and artistic arrangement of the new Kline store at 606-608 Washington avenue. It deserves fully the superlative in praise.

Efforts to make the establishment most attractive to discriminating women shoppers were not spent in vain, as hundreds, indeed, can testify. The occupation of the new building, leased and remodeled by the firm of Kline Bros., consisting of Messrs. Eugene B. Isaac D., Sol and Julius Kline, represents a twenty years' growth along lines of distinctly creditable mercantile endeavor.

The new store occupies 75,000 square feet of floor space, employs five hundred salesmen and saleswomen, and is equipped throughout with American walnut store fittings, delft blue velvet carpets, a display and mezzanine floor and an indirect lighting system.

The announced aim and intention of the store is for its personnel to come into direct personal touch with its clientele, and to retain at all times a degree of co-operation and intimacy designed to work toward the greater satisfaction of its customers.

When passing behind a street car look out for the car approaching from the opposite direction

FEB 15 1914

Senator Borah's Position.

Which is to be learned from an analysis of Senator Borah's speech before the New York Republican Club.

Senator Borah is generally and accurately progressive in his views. More than this, he is a man of admitted ability and force and he is a possible Presidential nominee, handicapped solely by the fact that he comes from a State with only four electoral votes. Although by nature progressive, he prefers to remain with the Republican party. His speech explains his position. He holds that the Progressive movement is disintegrating, citing conditions in Michigan, Maine, New Jersey, and Maryland. He might have referred to the recent Iowa election, where the Progressive vote diminished from 13,000 in 1912 to 10,722 in 1914, and where the Republican vote increased from 8,921 to 12,435. Incidentally, the Democratic vote decreased from a majority of 2844 in 1912 to a plurality of 1,240 in 1914. The lesson of the Progressive loss, Senator Borah believes, is that "those who dared to tear down dared to rebuild." In other words, he looks for a complete revival of the Republican party spirit, with construction along broad lines and in harmony, to use his own words, with the true historic bent of the organization.

Senator Borah asserts that the great mass of the Republican voters will not abandon the name, traditions, honor, and prestige of the Republican party. Out of this great body of voters is to come, in his opinion, the militant and progressive and aggressive Republican party of the future. If this should not be the case—"if the Republican voters," he quotes his language, "are not progressive in the true, sound sense of the term, then the way for some of us is clear." He does not believe, however, that he will be compelled to leave his party, and, like Mr. Taft, he thinks it is better to endure defeat for a season rather than abandon the sound principles of government which have made the United States one of the greatest nations of the world.

There is no doubt that Senator Borah's opinions reflect the sentiments of an immense number of the Republican voters. They gave their party credit for its many great achievements, but they do not want it to place the dollar above the man nor ignore the necessity for humanitarian legislation. If they can be convinced that the destinies of the organization will be controlled by men of the Borah type they will come back to the party, especially if the Roosevelt following becomes more and more socialist in its tendencies, as is apt to be the case. Screening up this phase of the situation into a single sentence, it may be said that Senator Borah's outspoken declaration of loyalty to the Republican party and his effort to inspire it with high ideals, is the most vital effort yet made toward restoring that party to its old-time eminence.

Borah's Reply to President's War Address.

Springfield Republican: Senator Borah's reply to the president's Indianapolis speech was precisely what the president most expect whenever he takes the stage in the role of a fighting party leader. Mr. Borah was brilliant, partisan and unfair—but so was the president. Partisan speeches on any side are always unfair, and seldom brilliant. When they happen to be brilliant they arouse rancor in the party attacked, and that has been the effect of the president's Jackson Day performance.

ation and national policy

WILSON AND BORAH.

Two ideas of American duty in Mexico are set forth in President Wilson's speech at Indianapolis on Jan. 8, 1915, and the reply of Senator Borah of Idaho, delivered in the United States Senate on Jan. 13, 1915. They should be read together, in the light of recent and present events in Mexico, that we may fully understand their respective merits.

The facts in Mexico are that hundreds of Americans have been killed, hundreds have been brutally abused and imprisoned, and thousands have been robbed, their homes and property destroyed and themselves reduced to poverty by the several warring factions which have contended for supremacy in Mexico. These Americans had been encouraged, if not actually invited by the former government of Mexico, to entrust their lives and fortunes to its protection. Many more Americans have been killed or wounded in border towns by Mexican bullets. Nothing has been done to obtain justice for these wronged Americans or to bring about the punishment of their murderers and plunderers.

This is why Mr. Wilson has done nothing, as stated by him at Indianapolis:

"I hold it as a fundamental prin-

ciple, and so do you, that every people has the right to determine its own form of government; and until this recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Diaz reign, 80 per cent of the people of Mexico never had a 'look-in' in determining who should be their Governor or what their government should be. Now, I am for the 80 per cent. It is none of my business, and it is none of your business, how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business and it is none of yours how they go about the business. The country is theirs. The government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it, and Godspeed them in getting it, is theirs. And so far as my influence goes while I am President nobody shall interfere with them."

This is Mr. Borah's view of what Mr. Wilson should have done:

"I am desirous of peace with Mexico; I want no war; and I know we shall never take any part of the territory of that republic, but above and beyond that and more important to my mind is the fact that we should at least protect our own citizenship, securing our women against ravishment and murder at the hands of those ferocious men who prey upon our nationals wherever they find them in their territory. There are some things which are dearer to me than peace."

"Mr. President, the mistreatment of American citizens in Mexico is due to the fact that there has passed into the Mexican mind a firm belief that we will not protect our citizens, and I say whatever criticism shall come to me from those who love peace more than they love honor, that the 'fox which will not protect its people is a dirty rag that contaminates the air in which it floats.' We cannot have peace, we cannot have honor unless we are prepared to protect our own citizens, and I believe, verily believe, that we may do so and still have no war with Mexico."

We leave it to our readers to decide which of the two men voices the truly American sentiment. Other nations succeed in enforcing respect for the lives, liberty and property of their citizens in foreign countries. Do they succeed by the Wilson policy or by the Borah policy?

Felt Flat.

Senator Borah characterizes the President's Jackson Day speech as a virulent attack on one of the great political parties by the chief magistrate of the nation, and this at a time when our country has the sorest need of the united wisdom and patriotism of all its people and of all its parties.

The President's warning to men "who should dare to break the solidarity of the democratic team for any purpose or from any motive" was denounced in scathing terms by the senator from Idaho. It is the sole and central principle, he said, of all correct political machines. No Tammany boss ever went further in the effort to serve his constituents nor did "Tom" Taggart of Indiana, slightly of whose followers have just pleaded guilty to the crime of political corruption.

The whole tenor of the President's address was an appeal to his party to get in line behind him and stand firm. Hence a 'fel' flat, for the country had looked to him to sound a better note.

Sp. Rep. Review

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BORAH PREDICTS REUNITED PARTY

Idaho Senator Says Next National Convention Will Be in Hands of Voters.

POWER TO BE RESTORED

Evolution, Not Dissolution, Result of Recent Events—Party Can Afford to Wait if It Faces Its Problems Right.

NEW YORK, Feb. 11.—(Special.)—Senator Borah, of Idaho, delivered a strong Republican harmony speech before the Republican Club of New York tonight. The club comprises many of the leading citizens of New York State who are and have been workers in the Republican cause, and the fact that Senator Borah, entertaining well-understood views, was invited to address the club tonight is regarded as an indication of its sympathy with the idea that the factions of the party should be brought together on a progressive basis.

"Mr. President, when the returns came in last November a year ago, and it was known that the then dominant party had carried but two states, the opinion quite generally prevailed that one of the most interesting and remarkable chapters in the annals of political parties was drawing to a close. Indomitable and aggressive, directing with remarkable skill and judgment the course of government for 50 years, the party now seemed nearing complete disorganization. But the signs were misread. It was not dissolution but evolution.

Party Strength Returning.

"The first call to arms after the defeat was not in the great State of Michigan. Through the sheer courage and party devotion of the rank and file the Republican ticket won over all competitors. The same thing in the same way happened in the Congressional election in Maine. The Spring registration in several states disclosed the same tendency. In the last November election in the State of New Jersey nearly a hundred thousand who had voted the third ticket returned; in Maryland 50,000 out of 57,000. In other states the same trend was equally marked and unmistakable.

"To whom do we owe this revival of party strength this resuscitation of party power? To the organization? Certainly not. To leadership, to generalship? Certainly not. Had some Sheridan overtaken the routed forces and called them back to order and victory? Certainly not. We owe it to the party loyalty, the courage, the high and steadfast purpose of the Republican voters. Those who had dared to tear down dared to rebuild. It was a singular exhibition of self-reliant citizenship and of party loyalty.

"There is no mistaking what all this means. It means that the voters of the party are too independent to concede what they conceive to be a mistake or a wrong, and too wise to abandon permanently the name, the traditions, the prestige and honor that they and their forebears have established and built up through 50 years of relentless political warfare. It means that out of this great body of voters is to come the militant and progressive and aggressive Republican party of the future—that there is no stronger or more available force for wise and effective work along progressive lines than those voters who have stood eager and restless in the forefront of progress for 50 years.

Rank and File Are Loyal.

"It means that no man or class of men can turn the Republican party from its true course and drag it down from its exalted station among the great political factors of modern times, and it means, moreover, that no man or class of men can wreck or destroy it.

"If every assumed leader and every commissioner of the party from ocean shore to ocean shore should resign tonight and announce that the hour of dissolution was at hand, before the sun had set upon another day the rank and file would seize the banner where it fell and straightway entrust it to loyal hands.

"There has never been a time when the machinery of the party was so completely subject to the direction of the voters. Of course, this will be denied by those who would destroy the party whether it does right or whether it does wrong, but it will not be denied by those who investigate and sincerely want to see the party reorganized and re-established, and made to do the service of the people in this country as it performed that service in its best days.

IDAHO SENATOR WHO MAKES PLEA FOR HARMONY IN REPUBLICAN PARTY.



Senator W. E. Borah in Portrait and Snapshot.

Portland Oregon

Party Can Wait, But Must Be Right.

"To my way of thinking, politics is the most serious thing that can engage the public attention of men. The family, the home, the social and physical well-being of the citizen are, after all, anchored in politics, and political parties are therefore the only effective instruments through and by means of which the people of a representative democracy can effectuate their purposes or realize as citizens their highest aspirations. We can afford to be patient, so that when the party records its policies it will be under such circumstances that though all men will not accept them, no one will doubt their genuineness. We can afford to stay out of power for another season, but we cannot afford as a party to face the tremendous problems which are before us until we face them right.

"The next Republican National convention will be in the hands and under the control of the voters of the party. Those who believe in the Republican party, who respect its traditions and have helped to make its history, those who cannot but feel a quickened pulse and a livelier sense of civic pride at the mention of the name of the great leaders of the party, and, above all, those who looking to the future hope to take up again the great problems of humanity and the tasks of government, may now direct its course and measure its destiny. I am not one of those who believe that the Republican party has made no mistakes, but I am one of those who have no doubt that under a full and free expression of the voters it will again become a powerful instrument for good.

"Let us therefore have no platform of compromise and no harmony that is not based upon a common conviction. We want a platform made at the immediate time, a platform which speaks of battle and conflict and which will record in the harsh language of truth the actual convictions of the majority of the Republican voters."

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POSSIBLE CANDIDATES.

Two of the strongest supporters of Cleveland Roosevelt in the Chicago convention were Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Governor Hadley, of Missouri. Neither of them followed the usual rule and joined the Bull Moose party. Both are now trying to have republicans get together for the campaign of 1914. It is quite possible that each of them is a candidate for the republican nomination in 1916. Borah is an able man, but he is at the disadvantage of living in a state far to the northwest and with few electoral votes.

Ex-Governor Hadley is a man of ability and is well located politically. His state has a large electoral vote and is in the doubtful column. But about thirty-six months must elapse before things can begin to take definite shape, and by that time some man in New York may develop presidential propensities.

In a letter to the Kansas republicans who invited him to address them, Senator Borah said:

"I am in full sympathy, however, with any movement which has for its purpose the strengthening of the republican party and the directing of its influence and power along effective and progressive lines. I have no desire to quarrel with, and certainly I shall not question the sincerity of those who think they can better serve their country by working with other organizations. But surely it is the duty of all those who propose to remain with the republican party and to make the fight there to see to it that the party is made up of effective and militant forces for sound and wholesome service in dealing with the questions of the day.

"I am quite willing to concede that there is room for honest difference of opinion as to how we can best effectuate those things which for the welfare of society ought unquestionably be done.

"No man, in my opinion, is wise enough to foretell the alignment which is to come in the next few years. So everyone acting in sincerity must map out his own course. But, speaking for myself and believing as I do that the great body of the republican party, those who have made its history, are in thorough sympathy and full accord with the things which ought to be done, I propose to remain with them."

[Handwritten initials]

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