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# THE REPUBLICAN SITUATION

HEODORE ROOSEVELT did two things when he became an open candidate for the Republican nomination for president. He

made the renomination of President Taft as certain as anything political can be certain. And he lessened, to a large extent, the already slim chance President Taft has for reëlection next November.

After a second trip across the country from coast to coast—a trip that included every debatable state in the Union—and following Mr. Roosevelt's Columbus speech and his open candidacy, I find no reason to modify the conclusions I reached following a similar trip last fall. I said then that Mr. Taft will be renominated by the Republicans, and that is still the fact. I said also that Mr. Taft will not be elected in November if the Democrats make the right sort of a nomination against him, and that statement still holds good.

The Democrats have the election in their hands, the more so since the injection of Roosevelt into the situation. Their chances are better in every way than they have been since 1892. If they present a good candidate who makes the right sort of an appeal on a rational platform, Mr. Taft will be defeated and that candidate elected. If they are not politically wise in the selection of their candidate, Mr. Taft, who is stronger now than he was four or five months ago, will win, not overwhelmingly, but with votes to spare.

with votes to spare.

The reason Mr. Taft will win the nomination at Chicago is being shown every day in the political news in the papers. He will win because the men who control the machinery are for him. There have been claims that if there could be presidential preference primaries in all the states, Mr. Roosevelt would be largely the choice of the Republicans for president. Without discounting the popularity of Mr. Roosevelt, that statement, which is not susceptible of proof at this time, carries no particular weight, for there are just as good reasons for doubting it—perhaps better—as there are for believing it. It is the opinion of competent political observers that Mr. Roosevelt would receive a rude shock if he could go before preferential primaries in all states, and North Dakota has proved it as this is written and other states are likely to prove it

The fact is that Mr. Roosevelt, admired as he is by a large majority of his fellow citizens in this country, is held to have placed himself in an untenable position from a party viewpoint, and party obligations are still strong with the mass of the people—not so strong as they have been or so weak as they will be—but still strong. There was some clamor for him, induced and fostered by newspaper polls and by the efforts of men who have reasons for being against Taft. But that was largely sentimental. When it came down to his actual candidacy, which involves the defeat of Mr. Taft and the consequent repudiation of the platform, obligations and record of the Republican party, a good many of the men who were doing the cheering for Mr. Roosevelt suddenly became silent. It was one thing to shout for a hero when nothing was concerned but

the noise, and another to support him and aid in the defeat of the titular head of the party by voting for the hero as well as shouting for him.

No matter how widespread the opinion among Republicans may be that Mr. Taft is likely to be defeated, the party spirit is still impelling enough to face defeat with him, rather than to disown and discredit him, and thereby disown and discredit the party. Colonel Roosevelt miscalculated. He relied too much on the assertions of friends.

Colonel Roosevelt undoubtedly thought there was a loud call from the people for him. He was half right. There was a loud call, but it was not altogether a genuine call. Some of the people who were calling didn't think

By Samuel G. Blythe he would think they meant it. They were calling largely in the spirit of adventure, in the American spirit of starting something. When these same people

saw he took the call seriously they immediately stopped the noise and voted, not as they had so boldly shouted, but as the party spirit impelled them to vote.

Any attempt to explain the Colonel's psychology must be gratuitous. He doesn't play the game by set rules, but makes up the rules as he goes along. Still no candid friend can fail to see now that the situation into which he injected himself was almost impossible before he jumped in, and immediately became impossible because of his entrance. Most of them saw it before he threw his hat in the ring. Just why the Colonel, who is felt to be one of the shrewdest and most adroit politicians of the day, did not see things with his usual clear vision, is merely a subject for speculation.

Colonel Roosevelt's closest friends—personal friends and not political friends—political friends being close only in a selfish way—besought him to stay where he was. The Colonel had frequently said this was not his fight, that he didn't want to be a candidate, and that he would not consent to run unless there was an overwhelming demand for him. Even if he did desire to be president again—and the fact that he is an active candidate for the place is proof that he did so desire—he was in the most advantageous position possible before his declaration. He was in a position where he could gain everything and lose nothing. If the nomination came to him he could take it on the assumption that it was the result of a great popular demand. If it didn't come he had lost nothing for there was nothing to show that he had ever aspired to it.

He was urged to remain in a purely receptive position. He was told that if he felt he must write a proclamation, to write one that should say substantially that he was not a candidate for the nomination, that he felt Mr. Taft should be renominated by the Republican party, but if the Republican party did not so feel and desired to draft him for service, he would consider the call when it came to him. A declaration of this kind would have had all the good points of the declaration he did make and none of the bad points. Most important of all, it would not have placed him on the defensive, where he was immediately placed when he issued his declaration.

where he was immediately placed when he issued his declaration.

The men who wanted Mr. Roosevelt to run, and who urged him to come out, and who finally brought him out, are earnest and sincere men, but each one of them had a grievance against Mr. Taft, not all personal, perhaps—although many of the grievances were personal—but political. They felt that Mr. Taft would be defeated. They held to principles in advance of any Mr. Taft has advocated or promulgated. They saw only one side of the matter.

It is quite likely that ten years from now a movement of this kind would be successful. But the people move slowly and are moved even more slowly. The fetish of party is still strong. It is stronger, too, in the canvass for a nomination than in the canvass for an election. After a man is nominated, and a platform is adopted, and the issues are defined and the whole campaign is clear cut, the people are far more likely to change

and vote according to their desires and convictions than they are in the matter of a nomination. Nominations have been made for the people in this country for many years. They are accustomed to that procedure. Their recourse has been in the actual election of the candidates. No matter what the rights of this particular situation may be, the fact is as stated. Reforms comeslowly. It has taken years of ceaseless agitation to get the few direct-primary laws we have now. It will take years more to get a universal primary system. Habit is largely the controlling factor. The habit of the people is to let the men who control the machinery name their candidates for them, and that habit is still too powerful to



make the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt possible, even if he were more in favor than apparently he is.

This is lamentable, but also it is true. The men in advance of a political or social movement are usually sentimentalists. They would not be in advance if they were not. But sentimentality does not sway the mass. Habit controls. Hence, though the men who advocate the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt in place of Mr. Taft have looked at the situation through glasses tinged with their very sentimentality, and have let their enthusiasm and their conception of right and justice sway them, the people have not risen to the heights. The organizations still control. The organizations are for Taft. And there you are.

Notwithstanding, a situation might easily arise in this country when the people would take matters in their own hands and force the nomination of a popular hero, just as they have frequently taken matters into their own hands and defeated for election an undesirable candidate. But that situation must inevitably be predicated on a man who inspires and is unhesitatingly held to be the real leader of the revolt. The candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt bogged down exactly at this point. As the Greatest Living American, the people of the United States were largely for Mr. Roosevelt and delighted to honor and acclaim him. But when he became an actual candidate for the presidency again, he ceased to be, in their estimation, the Greatest Living American, and became a politician who wanted an office. That step put him on a par with others who want office. When Mr. Roosevelt was put into this position by the people they looked him over with the same sort of cold and analytical eye they focus on other candi-"There's nothing supernatural about this chap," they said. "Let's have a look and see why we should be for him."

Now, mark you, the Republican party, until the very moment when it became certain Mr. Roosevelt would be an active candidate against Mr. Taft, was largely anti-Taft. That is, the Republicans who felt that Mr. Taft had failed in a large measure were in the majority in the party. Also there was an almost universal feeling that with Mr. Taft nominated and a well-selected Democrat running against him, the Democrat would win, because many Republicans who held this opinion had made up their minds to vote against Mr. Taft. Then Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy, which had been intangible, became a fact by his declaration of February 24, 1912. That crystallized the situation. The work of the organization men in the various states who had the task of getting delegates for Mr. Taft became easier, not because there had been any increase in political regard for Mr. Taft, but because Mr. Roosevelt had taken himself down from his pedestal.

#### How the Columbus Speech Helped Mr. Taft

DESPITE the constant rumors that Mr. Roosevelt would be a candidate, a very large proportion of the Republicans of this country said and thought he would not be. They considered they had his word for it. But with his declaration, sentiment hardened into opposition overnight. Then with the man actually in the field, the Republicans who had held him as their hero brought to bear on his candidacy objections that had before that time been brushed aside as immaterial and not to be considered, because Mr. Roosevelt was not a candidate, they thought. Also Mr. Roosevelt contributed an additional argument or two himself at the same time.

There are three reasons why Mr. Roosevelt will not be nominated and why there will not be an overwhelming popular demand for his nomination. The first of these is the third term argument. It is doubtful whether the fear of a third term for a president has more than a passing effect on a nomination. It would be more likely to operate adversely after a nomination and to defeat an election. Still, the anti-third-term sentiment is strong, and it helped Mr. Taft some. There is room for all sorts of quibbling over Mr. Roosevelt's position on this. As the anti-third-term feeling is entirely sentimental, so the arguments for or against it must be based on individual opinion and deduction, instead of on fact. But the American sentiment against any man becoming president three times had its effect.

The second impelling cause for the turning away from Colonel Roosevelt was his Columbus speech. That came a few days before the declaration of his candidacy. Colonel Roosevelt is the only man who knows whether he, the Colonel, thought that speech would attract or repel support. He is full grown and mature, with an accurate knowledge of what words mean, and should have—if he hasn't-a comprehensive understanding of the aggregate temper of the people. The American people are as yet somewhat conversational in their radicalism. They talk about radicalism, but they are not radical. They will be in time, but the process of change is slow, especially as the persons who do most of the thinking for the people are hugely conservative. Hence, when Colonel Roosevelt came out for the recall of judicial decisions the people fell back, and those who did not fall back were pushed back by the conservatives who do the popular thinking. This departure was held to be too radical even for the most advanced of the mass. But that was not the main gain for Taft in that speech. The big thing, considered Taftwise, was that the great bulk of the business men of the country, and the bankers and others who control the business men-financially, of course-were frightened. Naturally timid, they were thoroughly scared. The Columbus speech alienated thousands of men in thousands of communities who, if it had not been made, might have been for Colonel Roosevelt.

Disregarding the merits or the demerits of the contention, that speech solidified the business opposition to Roosevelt. It makes no difference whether Mr. Roosevelt or any of his supporters contend he is fighting for a principle and not for himself, the principle he enunciated in Columbus helped Mr. Taft immensely and hurt Mr. Roosevelt in exactly the same proportion. It was in advance of the times. It was entirely impolitic. It was undoubtedly urged by the more radical of Mr. Roosevelt's supporters, but it supplied one thing lacking to the organization men who are making the fight for Taft—it put the business men behind them and the business men put those dependent on them behind also. Mr. Taft couldn't have fared better if he had written the speech himself.

I was in the Middle West when Mr. Roosevelt made his Columbus speech. I had gone over that territory four months before and had found Colonel Roosevelt as popular as ever with the people. The result of the speech was apparent overnight. It swept over the Roosevelt movement with the same blighting effect with which a frost sweeps over a field of flowers. Next morning after the papers had been read there were reënforcements for Mr. Taft. This, of course, was first noticeable in business circles, but it spread rapidly. On the second day after the speech it was not uncommon to hear men who had been Republicans all their lives say they were for Mr. Taft now, although they had previously favored Roosevelt; and I heard dozens of men say they would not vote for Roosevelt if he were nominated, but would bolt. This was not in any particular locality, but all the way from Kansas City to the Pacific Coast and back again to Boston.

So much for that. The Columbus speech undoubtedly eased the ways for Mr. Taft, by giving the Republican organization men in the various states support and encouragement that had been lacking hitherto. But—and

this is another important reason for his decrease in popularity—as soon as Colonel Roosevelt made his declaration of February 24, 1912, in which he said, "I will accept the nomination for president if it is tendered to me," his stock fell away below par. The anti-third-term sentiment, the feeling that Taft must be renominated or the Republican party repudiated, the Columbus speech—all these were greatly augmented by the third reason for loss of faith in Roosevelt and for his subsequent loss of support.

On November 8, 1904, as soon as it was settled that President Roosevelt had been elected, he gave out a statement to the public in which he said: "On the fourth of March next I shall have served three and one-half years, and this three and one-half years constitute my first term. The wise custom which limits the president to two terms regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate or accept another nomination." Later, on December 11, 1907, Mr. Roosevelt reiterated that statement by saying: "I have not changed and shall not change that decision thus announced."

### Wiseacres' Guesses as to Roosevelt's Motives

AFTER his open avowal of his candidacy on February twenty-fourth last the tide turned. I observed it everywhere, this change in sentiment. The American people know that Roosevelt nominated Taft. They know he elected Taft. They do not care particularly for Taft, but many of them think that Roosevelt has not played fairly with Taft, and when Roosevelt comes to sum up the reasons for his defeat he will place this reason near the head of the list if he considers the matter calmly and philosophically. Many people will scoff at this. But you can hear it talked everywhere in this country. Many persons, especially the Roosevelt protagonists, will say the emergency is too great to be dominated by mere sentimentality of this character. Admitting any claims of that character that may be advanced as to why this conviction should not work to the disadvantage of Mr. Roosevelt, I still maintain that this sentiment is largely responsible for checking the Roosevelt movement.

There are always in every campaign deep thinkers who inhabit various parts of the country, and seek to ascribe motives and to explain circumstances, and who impute supernal political strategy to individuals and construct fantastic theories as to the finesse of various politicians. These are working overtime now. They say Colonel Roosevelt has no idea he will be nominated this year, but that he has gone into the campaign merely to keep himself in the public eye and to place himself in the position where he can say, after Taft's defeat: "You had a chance to nominate You refused. I should have won." And, more than that, to make it imperative that he shall be nominated in 1916. In other words, they say Mr. Roosevelt, with intense political sagacity, is playing for 1916, when the Republican party will have to turn to him, he thinks. Mr. Roosevelt has an agile and an adroit mind, and he may have these almost supernatural powers of political astuteness, but it is hardly likely. He doesn't want to lose. He cannot afford to lose. He went into this campaign with 1912 in view, not 1916, and the reasons he did so are because he advised himself badly and was badly advised by others.

The success of Senator La Follette in the North Dakota primaries, and its subsequent interpretation by the Roosevelt managers as an evidence of the anti-Taft sentiment, in reality beg the question. Even if Roosevelt had not been in the race to take off Taft votes, Senator La Follette would have carried North Dakota overwhelmingly, for North Dakota farmers are solidly against Taft, almost, on account of the reciprocity issue and for other reasons.

(Continued on Page 43)



## A TOBACCO **EDITORIAL**

Famous Edgeworth Tobacco Now Also Supplied Ready-Rubbed for the Pipe—Interesting Facts Told Without Pictures

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### THE REPUBLICAN SITUATION

(Continued from Page 4)

Nor has it any bearing on the question of who shall be nominated by the Republican convention, except in one way.

It is the announced intention of Senator La Follette to remain in the race to the end, La Follette to remain in the race to the end, not with the hope of getting the nomination himself, but for the purpose of defeating Roosevelt, whom he feels has not acted fairly with him, and with the further and more important purpose of displaying to the country the popular weakness of President Taft as a candidate. If, the La Follette managers assert, Taft makes as poor a showing in other states where there are primary tests as he made in North Dakota, it may be possible to force the nomination of some other man by the proof they expect to secure of the widespread antagonism to President Taft among the voters of his President Taft among the voters of his

No informed person has ever held that Mr. Taft could secure anything like a majority of the votes in a nation-wide primary against any good progressive candidate. What the men overlook, who claim these various primaries will have an effect on the convention result, is that but six or seven states have presidential primaries. In the rest of the states the delegates to the national convention are selected by the old convention system, and in most of these states the conventions are dominated by the organizations which almost entirely are for Taft. Senator La Follette's only served on Taft. Senator La Follette's only appeal or only chance for delegates was in the primary states. If Roosevelt had not entered the race thus to split the La Follette vote or, to put it on a broader basis, the progressive Republican vote between himself and La Follette—Senator La Follette could not have been nominated and would have had an inconspicuous number of delegates—out of the total of 1076—in the national convention. The Senator won in North Dakota because of the active support of Senator Gronna and also because of the feeling there that La Follette had not been given the great deal. been given the square deal. There w encouragement for Roosevelt in the North Dakota result.

### Party Reasons for Loyalty to Taft

Allowing La Follette successes in other Allowing La Follette successes in other primary states, there is no possibility that he can come to Chicago with enough delegates to win. This then leaves the contest between Taft and Roosevelt. It will not be much of a contest. Taft will win. He will be nominated, and the reason he will be nominated is because Taft men are in control of the state organizations, the national organization, and for the other reasons that affect Mr. Rooseveltheretofore set forth, and because Mr. Taft is president and can use the power of his place to get delegates—and is using it. is using it.

The great bulk of the delegates to the National Republican Convention are se-lected by the convention system. The The great bulk of the delegates to the National Republican Convention are selected by the convention system. The convention has for years been the medium whereby the organization, which in turn is dominated by the boss or bosses, attains its results. There is no particular love between the various state bosses and Taft. They do not think Taft has done very much for them, and he has not. Still, as between Taft and Roosevelt and La Follette, they are for Taft. They mostly have taken their losses for 1912, to use a Wall Street phrase, and have decided they will be whipped; and as a matter of party regularity they are for Taft, who, as titular head of the party, demands renomination, and whose defeat for renomination means that the Republican party itself, through its organization, has repudiated itself unworthy of further support by the people. Organization men in the Republican party are not enthusiastic for Taft. Their work for him is due to no loyalty or affection. They are working for him for next.

work for him is due to no loyalty or affec-tion. They are working for him for party or political reasons solely to perpetuate themselves in the control of the machinery. They expect Taft to be beaten, but they want to retain the organizations for future use, and the only regular way they can retain them is to use them this time for the regular candidate.

There are fifty-three members of the Republican National Committee. Of these forty are Taft men—or for Taft in the present crisis. Paring the committee down



Vest:—Six buttons; two buttons abowing above opening of soat. No colfar. Slightly curved at bottom.

Trousers: - Medium full over hip; narrow



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### ARMOUR A COMPANY



to the bone, two of these forty can be set aside as not thoroughly dependable for Taft work, but that leaves thirty-eight men who will do any Taft task that is desirable or needful. These men will sit in Chicago, before the convention, as a body of judges on the qualifications of the delegates who shall

before the convention, as a body of judges on the qualifications of the delegates who shall present their credentials to them for enrollment as regular delegates to the convention. The national committee makes up the temporary roll of the convention, and makes it up by placing on the roll the names of delegates elected in accordance with the national party call for the convention, and on the basis of their credentials. The committee has the first say as to the regularity of the candidates.

The only recourse for Roosevelt delegates in most instances is to present contesting claims for places on the temporary roll. The national committee hears these contests. Thirty-eight members of the fifty-three of this committee will vote solidly to place Taft delegates on the temporary roll in all cases where there are contests. They have ample precedent. Four years ago when the Allies presented contesting delegates, the committee, then dominated by President Roosevelt, threw out contesting delegation after contesting delegation and placed Taft delegates where Roosevelt wanted them. Then the steam-roller rolled for Taft at the direction of Mr. Roosevelt. This year it will roll for Mr. Taft again.

It is the same way in the majority of the states. The Republican organizations are for Taft for reasons of party regularity. The impelling personal cause is not strong, but the party demand holds them in line. They are seeing to it that the district and state conventions send Taft men. It is not so hard as it looks. Without primaries the bosses can control the district and state

state conventions send Taft men. It is not so hard as it looks. Without primaries the bosses can control the district and state conventions. Delegates have been and will be instructed for Taft whenever instructions can be forced. This coming Republican National Convention will be a machine convention run by machinists, and the machinery will be well oiled.

The protests of the Roosevelt men that machine methods are being used, and that the power of the presidency is being invoked by Mr. Taft to renominate himself, are not worthy of serious political con-

voked by Mr. Taft to renominate himself, are not worthy of serious political consideration. Ethically, of course, the whole thing is atrocious, but politically it is customary. Besides, when Mr. Roosevelt was nominating Mr. Taft four years ago, there never was a boss who was quite so bossy a boss as he was, nor was there ever a more effective use of Federal power to get delegates. Also, Mr. Roosevelt and his friends said nothing then about popular primaries gates. Also, Mr. Roosevert and his friends said nothing then about popular primaries or the expression of the will of the people. They went at the job they had—the nomination of Taft—with their sleeves rolled up, and they used the good, old-time methods. The issue of popular primaries methods. The issue of popular primaries the Roosevelt people are trying to raise to defeat Taft is a fake issue in so far as it applies to the Roosevelt-Taft situation. There should be presidential preference primaries in every state, but there is no reason for them just because Mr. Roosevelt wants to take the nomination away from Mr. Taft.

#### When the Roll is Called

When the Roll is Called

The temporary roll of the convention will be for Taft, unless the old-line politicians lose their cunning. With any sort of intelligent political work Taft should have a clear majority on the temporary roll. Then the situation becomes easy. The delegates on the temporary roll will select a credentials committee, to which will be referred such contests as have been held to be meritorious by the national committee. Then the question resolves itself into a situation where a lot of delegates vote whether they themselves shall remain on the roll and become the permanent delegates to the convention, or shall vote to unseat themselves.

Of course if Mr. Taft's managers shall commit the incredible error of making up a temporary roll with less than a majority of Taft delegates on it, or if Taft cannot come to the convention with that number, Mr. Taft would better retire, for he will not be nominated. Still there isn't much danger of that. Likewise, the necessity for ironclad instructions is widely apparent. The delegates must be chained, or they may get away.

Enthusiastic Roosevelt supporters, while

away.

Enthusiastic Roosevelt supporters, while admitting that Taft, by virtue of his power as president, will have most of the delegates.

from the Democratic Southern states, are holding to the hope that when these delegates get to Chicago and are fully informed on the probability of Taft's defeat next November, they will break away on the principle that self-preservation is the first law of a Southern Republican. This is a slender thread on which to hang the hope of a nomination for president. The men who elected those Southern delegates will keep them herded, and will vote them as they are expected to vote them. It is quite true that the only reason a Southern delegate is a delegate is because he is a Federal office-holder or influenced by a Federal office-holder or influenced by a Federal office-holder or selected by one, and if left to himself he might break away. But they will not be left to themselves. Somebody will ride herd on them every minute.

### No Stampede in Sight

Then, too, the real enthusiasts talk of stampeding the convention by the magic name of Roosevelt. That idea is fanciful, even fantastic. No convention with a majority of delegates instructed for a candi-

even fantastic. No convention with a majority of delegates instructed for a candidate ever was stampeded for anybody. It is easy enough to stampede the galleries. You can get those non-voting persons going by simply waving a flag and shouting "Honk! Honk!" at them. The delegates under instructions do not stampede. Instead they maintain rather bored attitudes, and vote for their choice, or are voted for him, when the noise has subsided. There is no doubt that the Roosevelt managers will present an unprecedented number of contests. It is easy to organize rump conventions and send contesting delegations, if the money for expenses is forthcoming. But with a national committee composed largely of regulars voting on the regularity of delegates and placing them on the temporary roll, it is doubtful if many of the Roosevelt contests will get very far. The steam-roller will be working at Chicago in June, 1912, just as efficiently as it was working there in 1908. However, one thing is certain: The Chicago convention next June is likely to be overstocked with impassioned oratory, with charges and countercharges and with a lovely lot of criminations, recriminations, and what one side or the other will call political crimes.

There is another angle to the situation

of criminations, recriminations, and what one side or the other will call political crimes.

There is another angle to the situation that is discussed—that is the choice of a compromise candidate. This talk was more prevalent when the opposition of Mr. Roosevelt to Mr. Taft seemed more formidable than it does as this is written. It was the idea of some men that when the delegates got to Chicago, with this fierce fight raging between Taft and Roosevelt, the wiser and cooler heads in the party would call in the leaders and say: "Let us compromise this thing. It is probable that Taft will be defeated if he is nominated. It is certain that if Roosevelt gets the nomination away from Taft that will leave enough soreness in the party to defeat him. It looks to us as if neither can win next November. Why not discard them both and select a man who can unite all factions and lead the party to victory?"

Several names have been selected as possibilities for such a compromise: Mr. Justice Charles E. Hughes, of the United States Supreme Court; Charles Warren Fairbanks, former vice-president; Senator A. B. Cummins, of Iowa; Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, former United States Senator; and mayhap one or two more. There might be a chance of this if the convention should be split between Taft, Roosevelt and La Follette, so that neither had a majority of the votes and there was a deadlock; but the idea of the Taft people compromising when they will probably have enough delegates to nominate their man is too quixotic to be considered. It might be that some set of politicians would throw away a victory after it is won, but no such set will be working at Chicago next June, nor has this country produced any such up to the hour of going to press.

It took a long time to get Mr. Taft moving in this campaign. He was placidly of

country produced any such up to the hour of going to press.

It took a long time to get Mr. Taft moving in this campaign. He was placidly of the opinion that all that was necessary was for him to announce his desire for a renomination and the people would do the rest. What he needed was to have somebody hit him with an ax. That happened. The somebody who hit him with an ax was Theodore Roosevelt. When Mr. Taft became convinced that Colonel Roosevelt really did intend to be a candidate against him he cut loose. All the power of the



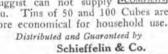
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presidency is being used to secure Taft's nomination. Also, Taft has had the first luck he has had since he became president. That luck was the opposition of Mr. Roosevelt, which helped him a lot and tended to solidify the party for him because of the Columbus speech and the third-term business. Also he has increased in strength before the people in the past six months. six months.

#### Taft on the First Ballot

But it is more than that: The actual result of the candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt will be the nomination of Mr. Taft on the first ballot at Chicago next June. If Mr. Roosevelt had kept away from a public declaration and had eliminated a part of his Columbus speech, he was in a good place. Taft would not have had the impetus the candidacy of Roosevelt gave him, and the convention at Chicago would have assembled with a candidate before it whom almost every delegate thought was certain to be defeated. Then if this impression could have been fostered there might have been a chance for a turning to Roosevelt and his nomination. Indeed there was a chance. There is no doubt that before his Columbus speech and his declarabefore his Columbus speech and his declara-tion Mr. Roosevelt was as strong with the tion Mr. Roosevelt was as strong with the people as he ever was, and that means he was very strong. Out of a newspaper poll taken by the Kansas City Star, a progressive paper, Mr. Roosevelt had more than half of the one hundred and sixty thousand votes cast, and the rest were distributed between all other candidates, Republican, Democratic and Socialist. The same proportion was shown in other parts of the Democratic and Socialist. The same proportion was shown in other parts of the country in other polls. Then Mr. Roosevelt made his Columbus speech. He advocated presidential preference primaries, direct popular primaries, the short ballot, and the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people. The people believe in these things. There is nothing incendiary about them. But his speech wasn't edited for him. He tacked on the recall of judges and their decisions, and, as they say in Indiana, "he spilled the beans."

beans."

Since that time the Taft people should have had no fear of presidential primaries, for Mr. Roosevelt, while he may regain his personal popularity with the people, has lost his political popularity. This has made it much easier for the organizations, which, though not for Taft on personal or any other grounds, but entirely for political and party reasons and to maintain their own political standings and the political standings of their organizations, have had much easier work.

had much easier work.

It is not necessary to go into detailed It is not necessary to go into detailed explanations of state situations. The general facts based on detailed investigations are herewith set forth. A number of conventions and some primaries will be held before this is printed, but there can be no doubt that Mr. Taft will come out in these tests with the bulk of the delegates. Nor is there any doubt that he will be nominated at Chicago, unless he too should make some blunder like the Columbus speech, which is not probable.

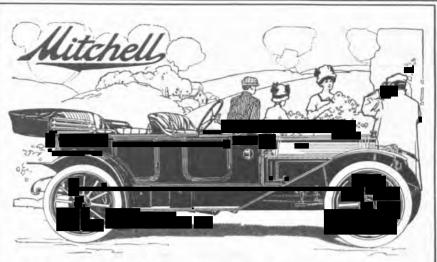
So far as his election is concerned, the fact that a good many Republicans who are for him, as against Roosevelt, for the nomination, are for him now, does not mean that his election is any surer than it was some months ago. That depends on the character of the man the Democrats nominate and the kind of a platform the Democrats present to the people.

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