



[Ruth Cutler and family papers.](#)

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GAYNOR MAY CAST HIS HAT INTO RING

Predicted His Speech at Jefferson
Banquet Will Be Formal Announce-
ment of His Candidacy.

NEW YORK DELEGATION HIS

Rooms Engaged at Baltimore for
Him, Where Headquarters May
Be Opened if He Enters.

New York, April 9.—It was freely predicted by leading Democrats that the speech of Mayor Gaynor at the dinner celebrating the birthday of Thomas Jefferson next Saturday evening would be the formal announcement of his candidacy for the presidential nomination.

It is declared by close friends of the leaders that the ninety delegates from New York, even though uninstructed, will vote for Mayor Gaynor. It was pointed out today that friends of Mayor Gaynor already have engaged rooms at a Baltimore hotel and that headquarters will be opened there in the interest of Mayor Gaynor should he consent to be a candidate.

Murphy, leader of Tammany hall, from Atlantic City it was declared that if the counsels of party leaders are followed, as there is every reason to believe they will be, New York's ninety delegates to the Democratic convention will go to Baltimore unpledged to any candidate for the presidential nomination.

In addition to the four delegates-at-large to be chosen by the state convention, which will assemble here on Thursday, the forty-three congressional districts will name delegates to the Baltimore gathering who will be confirmed by the state convention. It is said the delegates-at-large probably will be United States Senator O'Gorman, Charles F. Murphy, Samuel Untermyer and Governor Dix or Lieutenant Governor Thomas F. Conway. Other names suggested include Alton B. Parker and Isidor Straus.

At a meeting of the Democratic state committee tomorrow the tentative draft of the platform to be adopted at the state convention will be discussed in executive session. Many leaders are known to favor making state issues subordinate the national questions.

SUBJECT TO CRITICISM.

Mayor Gaynor belongs to the new and rapidly growing school which appreciates that criticism of the courts, keen, sincere and intelligent criticism, instead of being an evidence of disrespect to the administration of justice or a want of belief in the sanctity of the ermine, truly and strongly makes for the betterment of all court practice. Courts are organized for the benefit of the people and there is no reason why the business and functions of the courts should not be carried on to the satisfaction of the people. As far back as Mansfield it was laid down in judicial determination that the best and most honest administration of justice was made possible only by the closest scrutiny by the people of the acts of the courts.

Going still further, Mayor Gaynor, who himself is an attorney and has been a judge on the higher bench, declares everything is subject to criticism. In so far as he means that just and proper criticism is the great popular regulator, he is right. And in this respect there has been a recent and radical change of public thought. We have passed the point, for illustration, when the Constitution was held as something so sacred that the improving hand of man would profane it, or that because it met the wants and satisfied the needs of our fathers it must necessarily meet the vastly different wants and the changed conditions of today.

Colonel Roosevelt very aptly illustrated this in his St. Paul speech when he declared the absurdity of carrying on a war today with the flintlock of a century ago, instead of with the high-powered repeating rifle. If it is disclosed that we are trying to meet modern conditions with flintlock laws or even with percussion-cap court practice, why should we not criticize and continue to criticize until our court and legal equipment is up to date?

HARMON DENOUNCES CRITICS AS CROOKS

**Calls Some of His Foes Lobbyists,
Office Brokers and Dealers in Illicit
Favors With the King.**

INVADES BRYAN'S OWN STATE

**Intimates in Address at Omaha That
Peerless One Merely Prates About
Jeffersonian Principles.**

Omaha, April 12.—Governor Harmon of Ohio spoke here tonight in reply to criticisms of his public record and the assertion that he is a reactionary. He resented as a slander the intimation that he stood for or permitted special privileges—"an offense little short of treason in the eyes of the Democrats"—and declared the charge that he took part in the sale of government bonds while a cabinet officer was mere wantonness.

Governor Harmon's visit to Omaha followed an announcement that William J. Bryan would speak in opposition to Governor Harmon. Mr. Harmon did not mention the name of the Nebraskan but said:

Intimates Bryan a Mere Prater.

"The good people of Ohio will bear me out when I say, as I do, that not in a generation have their affairs been so honestly, fairly, economically and capably managed as they have been by the present Democratic administration. It has been because Jeffersonian principles were practiced and not merely prated about."

In Beginning, Governor Harmon said:

"There has been no retraction of the published statement that I took part in a sale of government bonds which occurred months before I entered the cabinet. And as the facts are matters of public record, making the charge without inquiry was mere wantonness."

"Among the many things it was my good fortune to accomplish as attorney general, the one which is best known, and for which even my Republican successors have commended me, was securing from the Supreme Court the first decisions upholding the Sherman anti-trust law. These were not announced until my term had expired, but afterward became the basis of the cases in which that wholesome law was enforced, until the recent ones wherein the idea of reasonableness was introduced. Yet, though these facts are of common knowledge, the false statement is reiterated that I neglected my duty in that regard."

Elected to Make Reforms.

"But my first election as governor when Ohio went Republican by almost 70,000 majority, was due to the knowledge of my public services and the belief by the people of Ohio that their continuance would bring about reforms whose need had become urgent."

"One of these related to favoritism and grafting in connection with the deposit in banks of the public money. While I was making the campaign largely on these matters one of my associates on the ticket, as was afterward learned, was trying to better his prospects by promising deposits in case of his election to bankers who would give him support by votes or contributions. This man is now noisily Progressive and farbicator-in-chief of a league at whose first meeting the door keeper was under indictment for bribery in the Legislature and is now in the penitentiary."

Threatens Public Exposure.

"Only the governor and treasurer were successful at that election and another member of this league who, understand, had been stumping in Nebraska, did his best to prevail on the treasurer to break faith with the people by going on with the favor practice they had so sharply condemned."

"I sent for him and threatened to denounce him publicly. It turned out that he had a client who had borrowed \$200,000 of state funds from one of the favored banks which had them at 2½ per cent interest, while it was paying 4 per cent on all other deposits."

"But the treasurer kept the faith and under the promised plan of free and fair competition, open to all banks alike, the state has ever since received nearly double the former interest on its funds."

Progress Backward, Like Crops.

"Some members of this league are known lobbyists, office brokers and dealers in illicit favors with the ring which long disgraced the Republican party in Ohio. The progress they want is backward, like the crab's, to the fruitful times when they swapped votes they could control in the Legislature with the bosses on the other side in return for advantages of some sort to themselves."

"The reforms that have been secured in Ohio had to encounter their opposition and every public officer is a reactionary to them who insists on restoring to the public service honesty, economy, efficiency, and devotion to the common interest of the people who pay him, with no favors on the side to anybody."

Intimates President Is Mere Placeholder.

The speaker discussed national affairs, and referring to the President said he never could understand how anybody can rest content with being a mere placeholder while economies and practical reforms are suggesting themselves all around him, especially in times when the fast growing cost of living strains the resources of almost every home."

"Standing for or permitting special privileges or advantages of any kind through the action of a government maintained by all the people for their equal benefit is an offense little short of treason in the eyes of the Democrats," he continued.

"The intimation that I ever was or could be, actively or passively, guilty of this offense I resent as a slander without excuse or mitigation. I would rather be charged with theft, because that would involve no betrayal of trust reposed by my countrymen and would admit of restitution."

"It is said, and I think truthfully that I have the confidence of the men who conduct the business enterprises great and small, which have done so much to make Ohio what she is."

"The weakness of the Republican party is that it has become the party of a class. The strength of the Democratic party is that it has never been the party of any class."

Is it now proposed to change all this? Are we to nominate for President some one whom the men of business all over the country fear or distrust? The answer depends chiefly on ourselves."

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, FEB. 13, 1912.

THE ADVANCE AGENT OF POLITICAL DISASTER.

Mr. BRYAN, in Texas, on his way to Arizona, expresses his opinion that Democratic prospects were bright until the hunt for the Money Trust fell into the hands of Wall Street. Well, why does not Mr. BRYAN foil the plot? He started the hunt, and has been invited to assist in it, and now he speaks as though it were anybody's business except his. He says his party is afraid of the Money Trust, and himself leads what he describes as the flight before it. Is he ambitious to be known as the advance agent and organizer of Democratic defeat, and surrender to Wall Street the reward of organizing Republican victory and National prosperity?

On Saturday he was anxious to testify in the inquiry which he started, and on Sunday he had reconsidered his intention to co-operate with his party. What altered his mind? Was it the approval by the country of the Democratic resolution to proceed in a sane and orderly manner to learn what he knew? Or was it his unconquerable resolve not to associate himself with the Democratic intention to deserve victory rather than to advantage any individual by inviting party defeat? Mr. BRYAN must be capable of perceiving that his course exposes him to suspicion of being unwilling that any Democratic candidate except himself should be elected while he lives. If that is not his intention, and if he truly wishes to rescue the country from the Money Trust, he owes it to his countrymen as well as to himself to tell the last thing he knows about it.

Why should not every admirer of Mr. BRYAN rejoice rather than resent the opportunity offered him to "make good"? Is it lack of confidence in his ability to substantiate his insinuations? If so, is not any one who obstructs that demonstration of insincerity on the part of Mr. BRYAN in the same position with him as one willing to harm his country for personal reasons? Mr. BRYAN and the Bryanites alike have gone too far to retreat. The conditions require that they should prove their charges or eat their words. The country will profit in either case. That this is the Democratic view as well as the patriotic view is proven by the Democratic cheers with which the House of Representatives resounded when his leadership was repudiated. Three times and out is his rule. Twice he has been repudiated by the Democratic caucus. His third opportunity to forfeit his leadership or to reassert it lies in his Money Trust dilemma.

COLONEL DIDN'T SAY ENOUGH.

Mr. Bryan, However, Thinks His Letter Unimportant to Democrats.

Ogden, Utah, Feb. 26.—William Jennings Bryan began an address here this afternoon by stating that the announcement made by Theodore Roosevelt was of vastly more importance to the Republican party than to the Democratic party.

"I do not regard the announcement of Mr. Roosevelt of any importance to the Democratic party," he said. "My only objection to the announcement is that it is too brief. It does not explain enough to the public. I should like to know why Mr. Roosevelt should be called back into the ring after he left it to give place to Mr. Taft. It would seem that Mr. Taft has thrown the Republican party into political bankruptcy and Mr. Roosevelt is being called back in an effort to make good the mistakes of the man he selected as his successor.

"Surely Mr. Taft could not have received the nomination for the presidency had it not been for Mr. Roosevelt four years ago, and he could not have been elected had it not been for the help of Mr. Roosevelt. However, the announcement of Mr. Roosevelt's return to the political ring will not prevent me continuing to make Democratic speeches.

"There is, in fact, much humor in the situation for Democrats. The Republicans have long watched with pleasure our internal controversies and now we are watching with considerable interest the troubles within their own ranks."

St. P. Pioneer Press
Sat. Mar. 2, 1912

THREE SPEECHES BY BRYAN.

Details Arranged for Nebraskan's Visit to Twin City Next Friday.

W. J. Bryan will make three speeches when he comes to the Twin City next Friday, according to the announcement made by Z. H. Austin yesterday. He will speak at noon at a luncheon arranged by the Hennepin County Democratic club at the Hotel Radisson, for which 400 reservations have been made. At 3:30 in the afternoon he will speak at the University of Minnesota and in the evening at the St. Paul Auditorium.

Mr. Bryan speaks at Fargo Thursday evening and will be met at the Union depot in Minneapolis Friday morning by a committee from the Hennepin County Democratic club. He will be entertained at breakfast at the Radisson. Guy A. Thomas will preside at the noon luncheon and Mr. Bryan will be the only speaker.

The details of the arrangements for Mr. Bryan's reception in St. Paul have not been completed, but will be announced soon by F. A. Pike, who has the matter in charge.

BRYAN ATTACKS ROOSEVELT.

Scores Third Term, Belittles Taft, Calls La Follette Progressive.

Tacoma, Wash., March 1.—In an address at a theater, which was packed to its capacity, William Jennings Bryan attacked Colonel Roosevelt late today, declared his opposition to a third term, consecutive or otherwise, recommended Senator La Follette to his Republican hearers if it was a Progressive they desired, and declared the Taft administration unparalleled for "great reforms in which the President had no part."

The Nebraskan contended that Roosevelt's statement that he would not attack the Taft administration could not be harmonized with the announcement of his candidacy.

"He cannot excuse his candidacy," the speaker said, "except on the theory that Mr. Taft's administration had been a failure."

BRYAN RAPS PROGRESSIVES.

Scores Them for Deserting La Follette, in Address at Miles City.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Glendive, Mont., March 6.—With only a couple of hours' notice of his coming, nearly 6,000 persons gathered at the Northern Pacific depot this evening to greet William J. Bryan, who was vigorously applauded in a ten-minute speech he made from the rear platform of the train on which he was traveling to Fargo, N. D., for the Democratic gathering there tomorrow.

Mr. Bryan was introduced by Representative Dan J. Donohue as the greatest living Democrat.

Mr. Bryan said he had found the Democrats of the Northwest almost unanimously progressive, but uncertain which Progressive Democrat should be named as a presidential candidate.

"I am somewhat in doubt myself," he declared, "and am more anxious to get the opinion of other Democrats than to give one myself. But the polls that have been taken unquestionably show that no candidate except a Progressive has any chance in the West."

"For sixteen years we have had a riot of plutocracy in this country," said Mr. Bryan, "and that riot has gone on while Mr. Roosevelt was in the White House, and it has gone on while Mr. Taft has been in the White House."

Toward the close of his address Mr. Bryan strongly criticised the Progressive Republicans for deserting La Follette for Roosevelt.

Fri. Mar. 8, 1912.

BRYAN PRAISES BOB

Before Democratic Rally at Fargo He Predicts La Follette Will Poll More Votes Than Opponents.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Fargo, N. D., March 7.—Speaking to 2,000 persons in the Fargo opera house tonight, William J. Bryan predicted that La Follette will poll more votes than either Roosevelt or Taft and paid a high tribute to the Wisconsin senator. In part Mr. Bryan said:

"When you name Progressive man in the Republican party I am for Bob La Follette. He was a Progressive before Roosevelt could spell the word, I have gone to Wisconsin to do what I could to help elect La Follette governor of the state, and I have refused to stump that state for Democrats who were against him. I have seen Bob La Follette when the interests of his own state were against him, and I have seen him go on to victory. There is faith in La Follette. I have seen him in the Senate of the United States, when members of his party would turn their backs on him and leave in the middle of his speech, and I have noticed that he put the marks on their backs. I have seen twelve of those senators defeated and their places filled by Progressives."

"If I was a Republican I would be for La Follette. I would want him for the leader of my party. He will poll more votes than either Roosevelt or Taft. This may seem strange to my Democratic friends, but Mr. La Follette is a Progressive and I want to see a Progressive nominated by the Democrats to show that the country will be saved, no matter which of the two are elected. I put my country ahead of my party every time."

DEMOCRATS MUST PICK PROGRESSIVE

William Jennings Bryan, in Remarkable Address, Pleads for Nomination of Anti-Reactionary.

WILL FIGHT IN THE RANKS

Commoner, in Arraignment of Republicans, Declares They Have Stolen His Thunder.

YESTERDAY WITH THE COMMONER.

Speaks before throng at Auditorium which packed every available corner.

Assails third term idea; declares Republicans have stolen Democratic thunder; indorses initiative, referendum and recall; pleads with voters to support none but a Progressive; lauds La Follette and asserts Roosevelt is Progressive by necessity.

Avows he is delighted to serve in the ranks and thus will refute the charge of selfish interest.

Colonel Bryan given ovation by students at University of Minnesota, who stormed platform at end of his address to shake his hand.

Repeating his former statement that he believed some other man could poll a larger vote than he could, W. J. Bryan, thrice the candidate of the Democratic party for the presidency, in his speech at the St. Paul Auditorium last night, pleaded for the nomination of a progressive Democrat, and declared that if that were done, his party could win whether Roosevelt or Taft was nominated by the Republicans.

In a speech that lasted over two hours, and in which he held intact to the end an audience that filled every seat and standing space in the theater part of the Auditorium, he denounced and ridiculed the leading candidates for the Republican nomination, declaring that President Taft was repudiated by the man who made his election possible, that he did not believe the American people would accord Roosevelt an honor which they did not accord to Washington or Jefferson or Jackson, and that the Republican party was in sore straits if it had but one man who could win.

Sees Plenty of Material.

Mr. Bryan did not mention the name of any of the Democratic candidates, but said he rejoiced that the party had so many good men. Those who had expected that he would declare himself for Woodrow Wilson were disappointed. Once, after he had made several statements to show that the people had made a mistake in not electing him in 1908, and then said, "Let's get to the interesting part and see how those mistakes can be corrected," many in the audience thought he might say something to indicate that he again might accept the leadership of the party. But they were disappointed, and if Bryan has any thought of again being the party's candidate he is not going to make it appear that he is seeking the nomination. Mr. Bryan, however, took occasion many times during his address to point out where the Republicans had stolen his



"They stole my thunder."

thunder and where things which he in 1908 said were right and Taft and Roosevelt said were wrong, had since been enacted into law.

Mr. Bryan began by saying that the outlook was encouraging and that however much the Democrats may have been inclined to despair, as they have fought year after year, there is no reason for one to be pessimistic today.

"The progress we have witnessed was only a part of the world's progress," he said, and described the growth in education and the consequent advance in intelligence. The world is also moving forward morally, he believed, and one of the most hopeful signs is the interest which big men take in the welfare of their brothers.

No Scarcity of Money.

"Sixteen years ago we felt the need of legislative assistance," he said. "We were in an era of scarce money and low prices. Now conditions have been entirely changed. There has been an unexpected and unprecedented increase in the money supply. We can coin as much gold today as we could coin gold and silver combined sixteen years ago. The price level is rising and instead of the world going into bankruptcy it is coming out. Instead of there being a scarcity of money some men have more money than is good for them or for the country."

This reference to the free silver issue and the causes for its abandonment brought him back to the interest which big men are taking in the common welfare. He told of one Chicago man who had confided to him his worry over a condition under which a few men sitting around a table and forming the steel trust could, by their pens, create twice enough wealth to build the Panama canal. He told of Rudolph Spreckels of San Francisco, how he found his social and business acquaintances and even the courts against him in his fight for honesty in business and politics. He spoke of Louis Brandeis, a successful lawyer, who revolted at the iniquity he found so that he later took a \$1,000,000 case free. Then he mentioned Fred Townsend Martin, who is spending his own money "attacking the only branch of the government of which has class of men has a monopoly" and fighting for government residences for the foreign ambassadors in order that they might appoint poor men if desired.

Finally he mentioned the late Tom Johnson as an illustration of "this growing group of men, found in all parties, who have taken hold of this new doctrine of the new brotherhood of man." To them, he said, we must look for great labors in the progress of the world.

(continued)

Growth of Popular Government.

The growth of popular intelligence has led to a better knowledge of scientific government, which naturally has led to a recognition of popular government. With the moral development also has come a growth of popular government. To illustrate he mentioned the granting of the Duma in Russia, the granting of a constitution in Persia and of a constitution and a representative body in Turkey and the recent evolution in China in which the empress dowager offered a constitution, a senate and a representative body, but not as quickly as the people demanded it. Then he cited the victories of the Commons over the Lords in England, but added that "our nation is leading the world intellectually, morally and in the application of the principles of popular government."

"The most important thing just now is the popular election of senators," he said. "No issue in 100 years has been more important in national politics. The fight has gone on twenty years and is now won. I have no doubt that before Congress adjourns the differences between the two branches will be reconciled and the question put up to the people."

Tracing the history of this movement, he said that it was twenty years ago that the Democrats began fighting for this amendment. Two Democratic congresses passed it, and three conventions have since indorsed it.

"But some Populist will say, 'We advocated it before that.' It is true they indorsed the idea eight years before we did. But if the Populists get to bragging too much, let me remind them that the Prohibitionists indorsed it twelve years before that. And if they get to bragging too much, let me remind them that a Republican President recommended it in a message to Congress four years earlier."

A Word for Andrew Johnson.

"I don't know how I could stand the Republicans bragging about this if it were not for the fact that the Republicans tried to impeach this President," he said. There was a generous laugh at this reference to Andrew Johnson, but he continued:

"We are not so much concerned about who started it as we are glad that we are all for it now. We ought to be satisfied, we who are interested in democratic government, that whenever an issue is made between the people and those who distrust the people it will be solved in the interest of the people."

Mr. Bryan then went on to tell of other measures which showed that the nation is progressing, beginning with the Australian ballot. Then the pri-



"This third term sophistry."

mary was introduced to do away with the bosses, and the idea is spreading through the land. "No primary is perfect, but we will learn its defects by experience and remedy them, and we know that the principle is absolutely sound."

"A few years ago a Republican senator said that purity in politics was an iridescent dream," he said in referring to the law recently passed requiring publicity of campaign contributions. After explaining the law, he added: "Oh, my countrymen, if we had had such a law in '96."

"The Democrats in 1908 demanded a law providing for publicity for campaign contributions before elections. Taft said there should be publicity after election, and Roosevelt took the same position. They won, but we were right. Right has triumphed, and we now have the law, and Taft has the exquisite pleasure of signing a bill that repudiated what he and Roosevelt said in 1908."

Publicity for Judiciary.

"When we got what we wanted we discovered that we wanted something else. We are now asking publicity for the recommendations on which Presidents appoint judges. All the Democrats but thirteen voted for that bill, and they are finding that they were an unlucky thirteen. I do not know if the Senate will pass it this session, but the day will soon end when the President can retire to the dark chamber of the White House and develop judicial negatives."

"We also want publicity for the contributions that help nominate candidates as well. No reason why we should not have that just as well as the other. Then we demand publicity as to the ownership of the newspapers of the country. The newspapers can turn the light on every one else in public or private life, but the trouble is they have used a dark lantern that casts the light on those in front and conceals those behind. Some of them have been owned by railroads or the trusts, and have not been run as a business, but as adjuncts to predatory interests. The owners have hired brilliant editors to chloroform the people while the owners picked their pockets."

Mr. Bryan asked all those who were in favor of publicity for newspaper ownership to raise their hands. Naturally many raised their hands, and none lifted their hands in opposition.

More Stolen Thunder.

Next Mr. Bryan took up the income tax, for which he said the Democrats had fought eighteen years. "In three campaigns I urged the very thing that is now before the people," he said. "Mr. Taft said we didn't need it, but he used the very plan to defeat the income tax by statute which he had advocated. I had the pleasure of seeing the man who defeated me take the plank I wrote myself on this subject."

Mr. Bryan touched briefly on the tariff, saying that the people were unquestionably for a reduction of the tariff burdens, but the President had thrown himself across their path.

"The states are also making progress," he continued. "Twelve states now have the initiative and referendum, and in others it is pending. We have some very conspicuous converts to this theory. Woodrow Wilson, after teaching twenty years that the initiative and referendum was wrong, found that Wilson was wrong and the initiative right. But he is not the most conspicuous convert."

"It was about four years ago that President Roosevelt sent his Secretary of War, Mr. Taft, to Oklahoma to urge them to delay the submission of their constitution till they could leave out the initiative and referendum. But they voted by 100,000 to leave it in, and they have done so well that the man who then sent Taft all the way to Oklahoma to protest against it now goes all the way from New York to Columbus and tells them to do as Oklahoma and Arizona have done."

Need Not Fear Recall.

"Some of you say the initiative and referendum is all right, but we don't like the recall. When you know it you won't be afraid of it. It is only a process by which you pull a man away from the public crib before he's ready to go. There is not an official today who can claim that he has a right to hold office unrestricted and whose term cannot be ended by impeachment. The recall is the same thing in different form. In one he is tried by a jury of his fellow servants, in the other he is tried by a jury of his employers, the people."

"The people will make mistakes, you will say. Of course they will—who has better evidence of that than I? But shall I despair of the republic because the republic did not elect me President? I would rather live in a democracy and be defeated all my life than be king in a monarchy."

"In a monarchy the king makes the mistakes for the people and in an aristocracy a few people make the mistakes for the whole people. Sometimes it is to the advantage of the rulers in such governments to make mistakes."

In a republic those who make the mistakes have to bear the burden. Naturally they are not so apt to make mistakes and they are more apt to correct them if they make them."

Colonel's Mistake About Taft.

Having spent an hour and a half in this introduction, Mr. Bryan announced that he was now getting to the real interesting part. "I had a suspicion three years ago that Taft ought not to be elected. Now I know it, for I have the testimony of the man who picked him out. Taft would never have been nominated without the aid of Mr. Roosevelt nor could he have been elected without his aid. Roosevelt said of Taft that he knew him as a book, that he could read him up and down and that there was never a man so well fitted for the presidency before. But now this man, who's his guarantor, comes in to take his place. What a time we're going to have! Roosevelt says Taft ought not to be President and if we could get a dictograph into the White House we can prove that Taft thinks Roosevelt ought not to be President. I believe both of them are correct."

"If Taft is nominated we have Roosevelt's indictment against him and he can't withdraw it. Besides that, there is no good thing in his record that the Democrats have not helped him put there. Three great reforms characterize his administration and he will have no part in any of them. In the election of senators he stood still while the procession marched by. In the move for publicity of campaign contributions and the income tax he did the same. Mr. Taft has been in many states where the income tax amendment has been pending and he never said a word to encourage its ratification. He elevated to justice of the Supreme Court the only justice who ever asked a Legislature not to ratify it. This is his record and we are not afraid to face him."

"Suppose Roosevelt is Nominated."

"But suppose Roosevelt is nominated! Do you think the Democratic party is going out of business? If Roosevelt is nominated in spite of the precedents of a hundred years it will be because the Republicans think he is the only man who can win. The Republican party has boasted that it contained all the patriotism and intelligence of the country. They have been in power fifty years, and in uninterrupted control for sixteen years, and if they now have fallen so low that they have but one man who can win they are in a sorry plight."

"The third term precedent is not a trivial matter. It cannot be dissolved in a cup of coffee, as the Outlook proposes, which says that refusing a third cup of coffee at breakfast does not mean that you will refuse coffee at dinner. I am opposed to the third term for anybody at any time. I am opposed to a second term. I tried when in Congress to make the President ineligible for re-election. The presidency of this nation is the most powerful position in the world, and the man who accepts that position ought to consecrate four years of his life to the public service with no selfish motives to blind his eye or pervert his purpose. Yet this aspirant, who thinks that his nomination is necessary, not to save the nation but the party from defeat, has already been in office seven years. I challenge you to say that he deserves more of his country than Washington or Jefferson, and I am not willing that he shall be honored more highly than Andrew Jackson, who saved his country from the conspiracy of the national bank."

Grant Refused Third Term.

"If you come with the sophistry that this is not a consecutive term, let me remind you that this nation refused to give Grant a third term. And even if you get over this third term you have to put him up against a Democratic Progressive. Our party was the pioneer in the Progressive movement."

"If you want a Progressive in the Republican party why don't you take the man who has blazed the way. He was a Progressive before Roosevelt learned to spell the word. It is now nearly eight years since La Follette was nearly put out of a national convention because he was a Progressive. That convention was dominated by Theodore Roosevelt."

"When did Roosevelt first advocate the election of senators by the people? About a year and a half ago. At the convention four years ago, which he dominated so completely that he forced the nomination of the man he wanted, this plank, when proposed by the friends of Senator La Follette, was voted down, seven to one. You may speak of his railroad legislation, but he got his inspiration from the Democratic platforms and his help from the Democrats in Congress. When the Democrats with their platforms alienated the support of the railroads he was silent and enjoyed their support."

"The great struggle in this country today is between the money power and the common people. I was the party's leader in three campaigns in which we challenged the money power and in all of these we would have won if the money power had not strangled the voters."

Must Shun Wall Street.

"But we must not trust to the mistakes of our opponents or their divisions. We have a brilliant chance and must not throw it away. We threw away 1,250,000 votes in 1904 because we allowed Wall street influence to enter into the nomination, and the Democratic party must be progressive this year if we are to win."

Mr. Bryan said that it was not enough to instruct the delegates for a Progressive candidate, but they must send Progressive delegates. They write the platform, and it is not so easy to instruct on that. Besides that, if the man they are instructed for does not win on the first ballot they may not vote for a Progressive unless they are themselves progressive."

"My friends, I believe we can win this year," he concluded. "I find much satisfaction in the prospective victory for the principles for which I have fought. In each of the three campaigns in which I was the candidate I thought I could poll more votes than some other candidate. This year I believe some other man could poll more votes than I can, and I therefore believe I am not available as a candidate. I rejoice that my party has so many men who will make excellent candidates. Give me a chance to fight for a Progressive candidate. When I was a candidate I was handicapped because I might be suspected of selfish motives. Give me a chance and see how I can fight for somebody else."

Mr. Bryan left shortly after the conclusion of the speech for Watertown, Wis.

WILL SUPPORT A PROGRESSIVE

Bryan, However, on Arrival, Fails to Give O. K. Hoped for by Wilson Supporters.

DENIES HE WILL RUN AGAIN

Declares Any Number of Candidates Are Worthy—Speaks in St. Paul at Night.

William Jennings Bryan arrived in Minneapolis yesterday, and the first thing he did was to dash the hopes of Wilson supporters by announcing that he was not ready to express his personal choice for president. It had been hoped that the Commoner would come out for the New Jersey governor in one of his speeches in the Twin City.

"I not only have not expressed a choice as between Progressives," said Mr. Bryan, "but I find difficulty in reaching a conclusion, and while I shall not hesitate to express a preference if the time comes when it seems proper to do so, I would rather have the convention nominate without my having to compare relative availability.

A number Qualified.

"We have a number of men, a considerable number, who are, in my judgment, fully qualified to lead the party. I named a dozen or more a month ago, and that did not exhaust the list. My purpose is to help every progressive in the Democratic party against every reactionary, and I am confident that a convention made up of Progressives will select a candidate with whom we can win."

Willing to Run Again?

That Mr. Bryan is willing to be drafted for a fourth time is the conclusion reached by many Democrats from his refusal to line up for any candidate. He said again that this is not his wish. "I do not wish to be considered," he said, "and I prefer to work for the success of the ticket."

Likely to Be a Love-feast.

"In case of a deadlock, is it not likely that the convention would turn to you?" he was asked.

"No, a deadlock cannot happen in the Democratic convention. It may in the Republican convention, but ours is more likely to be a love-feast."

Aided by Republican Split.

Mr. Bryan continues to laud Senator La Follette and chastise Colonel Roosevelt for his entry as a candidate. "Aside from the advantage Democrats have this year in the growth of our policies," he said, "we are aided by a division in the Republican ranks. The split in the Republican party is much nearer the center than I ever have known it before, and the breach seems to be wider.

Could Have Nominated La Follette.

"If Mr. Roosevelt had taken up the cause of Mr. La Follette, I believe the senator could have been named, and I believe that Mr. La Follette could poll more votes than either Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Taft. But Colonel Roosevelt has become a candidate, without seeming to recognize the strength of the objections to a third term, not to speak of another important and well known fact, that as a progressive Mr. La Follette has gone beyond him, both in the length of time during which he has advocated progressive measures, and in the number of progressive measures advocated."

Exactly Like Grant's Case.

Mr. Bryan was told of the argument made Thursday by Gifford Pinchot, that the third term argument applies to a third consecutive term.

"Did he find time to discuss the episode of General Grant?" Mr. Bryan asked with a broad smile. "If I remember rightly, four years had intervened after Grant's second term, and still he was defeated on that issue. He had been around the world, too. Perhaps he was defeated because he had not been to South Africa."

Not Informed on Tariff Views.

Asked what shape the tariff issue would take if Mr. Roosevelt is nominated, Mr. Bryan said:

"I am not sufficiently informed as to Mr. Roosevelt's tariff views to venture a guess."

Approves Income Tax Bill.

Passing to the tariff, Mr. Bryan declared his approval of the free sugar and income tax bills pending in the House. As to the failure of the Democrats to frame a wool bill following the recommendations of the tariff commission, he said:

"I don't see why a Democratic Congress should pay any attention to a Republican tariff commission. The commission was a deliberate effort to postpone consideration of the subject. No member of Congress would give any weight to the recommendations of the commission if they did not correspond with his own views.

Its Only Use.

"The commission has already been used as an excuse for continuing several hundred million dollars in taxes on the people, and that is about the only use that will ever be made of it. I have no objection to a bureau of statistics which will be open to congressmen, but Congress must act according to its own judgment, and the money to determine tariff taxes will not be delegated to any commission. The members of the commission will either be protectionists or tariff reformers, and their conclusions will be biased accordingly."

BRYAN FAVORS BENCH RECALL

Nebraskan Also Champions Initiative and Referendum Before Ohio Constitution-Framers.

SEES NO DANGER IN THEM

Judges Who Would Be Swerved by Fear of Losing Places Not Worth Having, He Says.

Columbus, Ohio, March 12.—William J. Bryan today gave the Ohio constitutional convention his views on the making of the constitution. He spoke in favor of the initiative and the referendum and the recall, saying the recall is an evolution rather than a revolution. Mr. Bryan said:

"The only difference between the recall as now proposed and impeachment as it has been employed is that in impeachments the trial is before a body of officials while the recall places the decision in the hands of the people."

Mr. Bryan said there was no darker page in our industrial life than that which recorded indifference to the welfare of children—the coining of dividends out of childhood, the darkening of the prospects of a rising generation and the impoverishment of posterity."

Champions Reforms.

In championing the initiative and referendum, Mr. Bryan said:

"Experience has shown that the defects of our government are not in the people themselves, but in those who, acting as representatives of the people, embezzle power and turn to their own advantage the authority given them for the advancement of the public welfare.

"The initiative and referendum do not decrease the importance of legislative bodies, nor do they withdraw authority from those who are elected to represent the people; on the contrary, when the people have the initiative and referendum with which to protect themselves, they can safely confer a larger authority upon their representatives."

Concerning courts and the recall of judges Mr. Bryan said:

"The judge, like every other officer, is the servant of the people; and there is no reason why he should be made independent of a permanent public opinion upon questions fundamental in character. The people are much more apt to deal justly with judges than they are to receive justice at the hands of judges who distrust the good intent of the masses.

"The judge who would be swerved by fear of a recall would not be fit for the place, anyhow. If there is any position in which we need rigid, uncompromising uprightness, it is upon the bench, and the recall, instead of menacing the independence of the judiciary, is more likely to improve the character of those who occupy judicial positions.

Terms May Be Made Longer.

"With the recall, official terms may with safety be made longer. And, speaking of the length of terms, the tendency is toward making an executive ineligible to re-election. No one can devote his best energies to the public if his vision is clouded by political aspirations or his judgment perverted by personal considerations."

Referring to taxation, Mr. Bryan said:

"The income tax is likely to be employed by the Federal government, but that is no reason why it should not be employed in the state. It is not double taxation to include a tax upon incomes by both state and Federal governments."

WILLIAM J. BRYAN IS BRYAN'S CHOICE

Democratic Leaders Believe Secret
Was Let Out at Anniversary
Dinner Last Week.

HE SEES CHANCE FOR SUCCESS

Sudden Interest in Clark Campaign
Believe Move to Open Way for
Dark Horse.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, March 25.—William J. Bryan, in the opinion of leading Democrats in Congress, has disclosed the name of his choice for the Democratic nomination for President. This disclosure has not been made publicly, but is believed to have been communicated privately at Mr. Bryan's anniversary dinner at Lincoln, Neb., last week. There has been more or less mystery as to the name of Mr. Bryan's favorite leader for 1912. It was known that he was against Governor Harmon and it was assumed, from what he has said from time to time, that he was equally opposed to Representative Oscar Underwood. At one time he was thought to be for Governor Wilson; at another and later period he is believed to have desired the nomination of Senator John W. Kern of Indiana; and more recently he has seemed to "cuddle up" to the Clark boom.

But the veil has lifted. To the minds of the Democratic leaders in Congress Mr. Bryan's first choice for President is William J. Bryan. The always peerless, sometimes cheerless, leader recently has expressed his strong aversion to a third term for Colonel Roosevelt or any other President. But he is apparently not opposed to one being a candidate any number of times, so long as one has no chance of being elected.

Bryan Sees Chance to Win.

Four out of five leading Democrats at the Capitol have come to the conclusion, reluctantly but irresistibly, that Mr. Bryan is playing for the nomination. Evidently he believes Democratic chances for success are so favorable that even he could not lose the fight. Mr. Bryan evidently believes that this year affords the opportunity for which he has been striving for sixteen years.

Since the Bryan anniversary dinner at Fairview last week, two of the guests on that occasion, George Fred Williams of Massachusetts and Representative Ollie James of Kentucky, have declared for Speaker Champ Clark. The former made his declaration openly today, and the latter has spoken privately, but is expected to follow with a public statement in a day or two. George Fred Williams took occasion to rap Governor Woodrow Wilson. Both men are devoted friends of Mr. Bryan. Speaker Clark's managers here have been hinting for several days that Mr. Bryan's position soon would be so well known that it could not be open to question, and that he would be found to be supporting Speaker Clark.

Suspect Play for Dark Horse.

National Democrats are trying to figure out whether this sudden interest in the Clark boom is for the purpose of putting a final crimp on Governor Wilson's chances, and, this being accomplished, then adroitly pointing out that Speaker Clark would be a weak candidate and might not be elected if nominated, thus opening the way for the dark horse at the Baltimore convention.

Several months ago Mr. Bryan charged Speaker Clark with responsibility for the defeat of Canadian reciprocity, in that Mr. Clark had publicly declared reciprocity would be the first step in the direction of annexation. This is one of the charges against which Speaker Clark will have to be defended if he is the Democratic nominee.

It has been only a few days since Mr. Bryan's brother-in-law declared in a political gathering in Nebraska, according to press reports, that Speaker Clark would not be able to continue in the race, and that his voluntary retirement therefrom might be expected as soon as Mr. Clark was made aware of some of the influences behind his candidacy.

CALLS HARMON REACTIONARY.

Bryan Opens Campaign Against Governor in Ohio.

Akron, Ohio, April 15.—William J. Bryan spoke here today, after having delivered a half dozen ten-minute speeches in as many cities on the first day of his anti-Harmon campaign in Ohio. Mr. Bryan declared the Ohio governor was "one of the greatest reactionaries the country has known."

Mr. Bryan will make the chief speech of his Ohio visit before the Jefferson club of Columbus tonight. The trip began with a speech at Ravenna, in which he said:

"I affirm that Harmon has not changed his sympathies since 1896 when he was with President Cleveland in opposing the Democratic party.

"I affirm that Harmon's sympathies are, as they were then, with the Wall street masses."

Thurs. April 25, 1912.

THINK BRYAN A BARKIS

Impression in Washington Nebraskan
Would Like to Take Field
Against Roosevelt.

Washington, April 24.—The visit of William Jennings Bryan to Washington yesterday and his conferences with the various party leaders here, particularly in the Senate, was followed today by widespread discussion of the possibility that the distinguished Nebraskan might again be the Democratic candidate for President.

Mr. Bryan frankly said to interviewers that he is not a candidate for the nomination in any sense, and that it is difficult for him to conceive of any circumstances under which he might be a candidate. He said there are plenty of other Progressives in the party from whom a selection could be made.

Despite these public utterances, some Democratic senators today, in discussing their informal talks with Mr. Bryan, were inclined to the belief that under certain conditions Mr. Bryan would not decline the nomination.

The impression was left that if Theodore Roosevelt should be the Republican nominee Mr. Bryan would like once more to take the field against him.

SEE BRYAN COUP

Democratic Senators Think Nebraskan Is Planning to Procure
Presidential Nomination.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, May 1.—National Democratic politicians were today discussing an incident which they think indicates all too clearly that William J. Bryan is secretly planning to have himself nominated for President at the Baltimore convention. For a long time the Wilson men and the Clark men have said that Bryan wants the nomination himself.

As an example of his planning, they referred to the fact that he was for Wilson in one state and for Clark in another, always for the man who stood least show for the nomination. He was for Clark in Nebraska and for Wilson in Florida.

At the meeting of the subcommittee of the Democratic national committee at Baltimore last Saturday, to arrange for the convention, National Committeeman Hall of Nebraska, Bryan's friend, submitted the name of Mr. Bryan for the temporary chairman of the convention.

The suggestion at once aroused curiosity and resentment. Other members of the committee decided that a plan was on foot on the part of the friends of Mr. Bryan to pave the way for another speech of the "Crown of thorns and cross of gold" variety and they balked at it. Finally, after playing the name of Senator O'Gorman of New York against that of Mr. Bryan for a while, the members of the subcommittee decided to refer the whole matter of the temporary organization to the full national committee. Democratic senators are convinced that Bryan is a candidate.

Sat. May 4, 1912.

BRYAN COUP IN IOWA

Nebraskan's Friends Launch Movement for "Peerless Leader" to
Grab State Convention.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Des Moines, Iowa, May 3.—Clark men tonight have 585 of the delegates to the state convention, Wilson 191, while 112 are doubtful. As the political cards now lay, Clark is winner of the Iowa delegates to the national Democratic convention.

But another force has entered into the game. Bryan leaders held a secret conference here last night, of which State Senator J. R. Correll was chairman, to plan for launching a movement to capture the state convention for the Nebraskan, declaring that there is an apparent deadlock in the national convention and he alone is the leader who might win against the Republicans. They point out that of the Clark delegates so far selected only 321 are bound by instruction, and 156 instructed for Wilson.

Both Clark and Wilson leaders have played the political game strong, putting Bryan men on as delegates to the state convention to hold that force. Now the Bryan leaders point out that with the 254 uninstructed Clark delegates, the thirty-five Wilson delegates, the 112 doubtful and the 145 delegates yet to be selected, there is a chance of lining up 546 delegates, or twenty-nine more than enough to control the convention.

Committees were appointed to this secret meeting to commence work at once, of focusing Bryan sentiment. Manager Jamieson of the Clark campaign is confident he can hold the Clark delegates in line.

A primary campaign for state offices following immediately the Cedar Rapids convention has necessitated at least a seeming acceptance of the Cummins defeat in order to prevent a bad party breach, though progressives, piqued at Cummins' defeat, are talking both Roosevelt and dark horse, or anything to beat Taft.

BRYAN-O'GORMAN READS NEW TICKET

Reported Combination Between Progressive Democrats and New Yorkers to Fix Slate.

HE IS THE ONLY SOLUTION

Wilson and Others Thought to Be Out of It—Nebraskan May Force Nomination.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, May 3.—Democratic politicians were discussing a new national ticket today. It will read:

For President, William J. Bryan of Nebraska.

For vice president, James A. O'Gorman of New York.

This ticket is based on the contention made in some quarters that Governor Woodrow Wilson has probably been eliminated from consideration as a candidate by the result of several primary elections recently held, notably in Massachusetts, Georgia and Florida.

There is a feeling that Speaker Champ Clark, who appeared to be the leading candidate, is impossible. With Mr. Bryan out of the consideration, the alternatives are Governor Harmon of Ohio or Representative Underwood of Alabama. Governor Marshall of Indiana is not seriously considered. There is really more talk of Senator John W. Kern of Indiana than there is of Marshall.

O'Gorman Satisfactory to Bryan.

There were suggestions in Democratic circles today that a combination is being formed between the so-called Progressive Democrats and the New Yorkers by which Mr. Bryan is to be nominated for first place, with Senator O'Gorman as his running mate. The senator would be satisfactory to Mr. Bryan. In fact the Nebraska statesman has said within a few months that Senator O'Gorman was good material for the head of the ticket.

Bryan Followers Could Block Underwood.

While there is a possibility that Representative Underwood might be acceptable as a compromise, the certainty that Mr. Bryan's followers control more than one-third of the convention, in the opinion of politicians here, makes it altogether unlikely that Mr. Underwood could procure the necessary two-thirds vote.

In predicting Mr. Bryan's nomination, Democratic leaders here are frank to say that the wish is not father to the thought. Some leaders are driven to the conclusion that Mr. Bryan's nomination is a probability simply because they feel he will have a sufficient hold upon the convention again to force his nomination.

Bryan Playing Clever Game.

Bryan has been playing a very clever game of personal politics and will probably fall heir to most of the support of both Wilson and Clark if these two leaders should get out of the running. The latest political move by Mr. Bryan's friends that indicates his cleverness in playing the game is the opening of negotiations with the New York Democrats to bring about the nomination of Bryan and O'Gorman.

The Democrats are admittedly at sea for a leader. They have canvassed the field for a compromise but Mr. Kern made a strong speech in support of pension legislation in which he criticised the Southern Democrats because of their opposition to pensions and by that speech Mr. Kern alienated considerable support from the Southern states.

Chief Justice White Mentioned.

It became known here today that overtures were made several weeks ago to Chief Justice White to permit the use of his name for President and there is reason to believe that the influences behind the movement were sufficiently influential to bring about his nomination but Chief Justice White promptly put a quietus on the movement by firmly stating that he would decline if nominated and that he preferred to be Chief Justice rather than President.

NAME TAILOR FOR PRESIDENT.

Socialist Labor Party Selects Its National Candidates.

New York, April 9.—The Socialist Labor party at its national convention here unanimously nominated Elmer Reimer, a woman's tailor of Boston, for President of the United States and August Gilhaus of New York, a stationary engineer, for vice president.

Daniel De Leon presented the platform which condemned the methods of organizers like Haywood, who managed the Lawrence strike. The question of the final adoption of the platform was postponed until tomorrow.

Twenty-eight delegates were present, among them Mrs. Edith L. Cody of Philadelphia and Mrs. Olive Johnson of Oakland, Cal., acting as a proxy for Oregon.

**SOCIALISTS PLAN
NATIONAL FIGHT**

**Attitude Toward Industrial Workers
of World Most Important Matter
at National Convention.**

METHODS ARE DENOUNCED

**To Nominate Candidates and Draw
Up Platform—Party Has 600,
000 Voters.**

Indianapolis, Ind., May 12.—With 250 delegates the Socialist national convention was organized in this city today. Rules and an order of business were adopted and committees are to be elected tomorrow. The convention will formulate its platform on Wednesday and Thursday and on Friday will nominate candidates for President and vice president of the United States. One of the most important questions to be determined is the formal attitude of the party toward the Industrial Workers of the World.

"Conservative Socialists will demand that the convention go on record as denouncing the methods of the Industrial Workers," said Congressman Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, a member of the executive committee. "Ten to one of the delegates are opposed to 'direct action' and other violent principles of the Industrial Workers. The Socialist party cannot afford to continue to be embroiled with this riotous organization. There has been too much of this on the Pacific coast and elsewhere."

Expect Attack in Convention.

William D. Haywood, a member of the Socialist's executive committee and a leader of the Industrial Workers, said he expected criticism of the organization on the floor of the convention.

"But we are asking nothing from the Socialists except approval of the unit form of national organization of labor," he said. "We believe in militant methods and many delegates in this convention are with us."

John W. Work of Chicago, national secretary, called the convention to order and Morris Hillquitt of New York was elected chairman for the day. He told the convention that since the party was formed in Indianapolis 11 years ago, it had grown from 10,000 members paying dues to 150,000 and that the voting strength had increased from 100,000 to 600,000.

Predicts Election of Congressmen.

"We now have one member in Congress, Victor Berger," said Mr. Hillquitt. "After the next election we shall have at least six."

Eugene V. Debs who is named as the preference of most of the delegates for the head of the ticket, is expected to arrive at the end of the week. He has been the party's candidate for President in every election since 1900.

After a meeting with Congressman Berger, Superintendent of Police Martin Hyland withdrew his order prohibiting the flying of red flags in a street parade of the visiting and local Socialists tonight but rain prevented the parade. Instead a mass meeting was held in the convention hall, decorated with entwined red banners and American flags. Addresses were made by Congressman Berger, William D. Haywood and other Socialist orators.

FOR PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY.

Gov. Osborn of Michigan Calls a Special Session of Legislature.

LANSING, Mich., Feb. 12.—Gov. Osborn announced to-day that he is preparing a call for a special session of the Legislature, to convene Monday, Feb. 26. His action is said to have been the result of urgent requests by Michigan voters for a Presidential primary election.

In the call, which is issued to date Tuesday, to-day being a legal holiday, the Governor says, in part:

"This is an era in this country during which government by the people is becoming a reality. The tendency is to have the governmental function exercised on the part of the people as directly as possible.

"Because of the growing appreciation of this sentiment the Legislature in Michigan and Legislatures in other States have improved and are still improving methods of election. In Michigan at this moment there exist an extraordinary condition and occasion which have never been paralleled. Thousands of voters in both of the great political parties and many in parties of less magnitude as well, demand an opportunity to vote directly upon Presidential candidates. If this, which is their right, is withheld at this time, there can be no exercise of it for four more years, even if obtained by Legislatures in regular session during that time. No candidate and no party should wish to obtain a privilege through a minority."

It is frankly admitted by the Governor's adherents that his action is taken to further the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt for the Presidency. Gov. Osborn thinks he started the Roosevelt boom himself by his demand on President Taft and Senator La Follette to withdraw in favor of the ex-President, and ever since the Roosevelt supporters have been urging him to take action to obtain a primary.

MICHIGAN'S INTERESTING FIGHT

Governor Osborn of Michigan is the General Grant of politics and he proposes to fight it out on that line, with the Legislature, if it takes all summer. The warring factions of the Republican party in the Wolverine state make it a mighty difficult matter for the governor to pursue with serenity the straight line of his duty as he sees it, but he has made an exhibition of nerve and pluck which will earn him the applause of the country whether his course is wholly approved or not. People like to see an official lay down the path of right and then walk boldly and bravely through it.

The Michigan governor began proceedings, in the present instance, by declaring the people had the right and the desire to indicate their personal preference for President of the United States. He called the Legislature together in special session and informed it in a gingery message of his views. The state solons agreed with him to the extent of passing a bill embodying the provisions necessary to the desired primaries, but the Senate failed to give the measure the vote necessary to make it at once effective. Then the Legislature adjourned.

This did not satisfy the doughty executive. He boldly announced that certain interests were actively at work to cripple the effectiveness of the law and the law-makers were scarcely ensconced in their homes when he announced another special session, declaring it to be the duty of the state to determine whether the people of Michigan or the brewery interests control the Legislature.

Of course all of this could not and did not occur without stirring up a storm of approval and disapproval throughout the state. Neither approval nor disapproval was limited to strict party lines. The governor has been patted on the back by many who were political opponents and he has been rapped vigorously by those of his own party who disagree with his views or who are possibly connected with the interests upon which he has opened fire. He is accused of subterfuge and indirection by one element and of trying to run the legislative and judicial branches of the state government by another. All in all Michigan is having quite a merry time over it, though tempers are lost and sweet dispositions soured in certain quarters.

Michigan is entirely competent to take care of her own domestic affairs and doubtless will do so to her own satisfaction. The outside view is not always an accurate one and Governor Osborn may be right or he may be wrong, but until it is shown he is wrong the impartial public in the bleachers will cheer him for his courage and his determination to do what he, at least, thinks right.

PARTY IS DIVIDED

Michigan Republicans Now Have Separate Organizations, for Roosevelt and Mr. Taft.

Detroit, Mich., April 12.—As a result of the special interest in the state Republican convention at Bay City yesterday there are, in one sense, practically two Republican parties in Michigan today, although neither side will recognize the other as representative of the party.

There are two Republican state central committees, each claiming the other illegal. There are also two state chairmen.

If Alex J. Grossback, whom the Taft wing of the convention yesterday elected as state chairman, tries to serve as such, Frank Knox, Roosevelt leader, elected chairman in the fall of 1910 for a term of two years, promises to carry the matter to the courts.

The same is true with respect to several committeemen who were replaced at the convention yesterday.

Th. contesting committeemen base their claim, they declare, on the state law fixing the date of state central committee elections to follow the regular fall primary or March primary. There was no March primary this year. The Taft forces on the other hand declare that law and custom provide for the naming of the state central committeemen at a state convention.

Thurs. April 12, 1912

SOLDIERS HELP TAFT MANAGERS

Guardsmen Enable President's Supporters to Gain Advantage at Michigan Convention.

FIERCE CLASH TAKES PLACE

Roosevelt Man Is Hurlled From the Platform and a General "Scrap" Ensues.

FIGHT ON PLATFORM.

Bay City, Mich., April 11.—The opposing factions in the Republican state convention here indulged in fighting as soon as the convention was called to order today. The Taft and Roosevelt chairmen attempted at the same moment to open the gathering.

W. D. Gordon of Midland, a Roosevelt committeeman, sprang to the stage and attempted to address the convention. He was hurled from the stage by J. F. Crener of Marquette, a Taft man. Police and militia at this juncture forced back a hundred men who sought to engage in the fight precipitated by Gordon and Crener. All attempts to quiet the excited delegates seemed useless.

Despite great disorder, both the Taft and Roosevelt forces attempted at the same time to organize the convention. Two policemen stood guard over Mr. Beveridge who had been swept back from his seat during the Gordon-Crener fight.

Armory, Bay City, Mich., April 11.—The opening act in the Michigan state Republican convention today took place under guard of members of Company B, of the Michigan National guard.

While the troops held the front entrance to the armory against a crowd of 1,800 delegates and contested delegates, members of the Republican state central committee, headed by Acting Chairman Robert H. Shields, of Houghton, were admitted to the building through a small side entrance. The Taft forces thus secured the first strategic advantage in the fight with Roosevelt men for control of the convention.

Knox Protests in Vain.

As soon as the Shields members of the state central committee had been admitted to the armory Chairman Knox and Former United States Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, also were admitted through the side entrance. Knox at once voiced emphatic protests against the action of his committee members but despite his protests he was voted down.

The committee then proceeded to choose Robert Shields as temporary chairman and went ahead with seating arrangements for the delegates, waiting impatiently outside in the street. Shields said he expected to call the convention to order by 1 o'clock.

Planned to Seat Newberry.

While the Taft forces held the armory in this manner, Roosevelt leaders conferred at a downtown hotel several squares distant and prepared to go to the convention and seat their temporary chairman Former Secretary of the navy Truman Newberry, of Detroit.

Compromise Offers Rejected.

During the night almost every conceivable method of compromise had been advanced, discussed and rejected by the men at the head of the two fighting factions.

Bitterness, which has been developing for weeks, came to a head with last night's special meeting of a majority of the members of the Republican state central committee, which took action favorable to President Taft. After this action by the Taft leaders, all of a half dozen possible means of compromising the fight apparently went glimmering.

Battalions of Police There.

The gravity of the situation, with a larger delegate body than that of the national convention to control, caused Mayor Roy Woodruff of Bay City to place almost his entire police force on duty at the convention hall, in addition to many private detectives, to prevent possible serious disorder.

FOUR TICKETS FOR WISCONSIN VOTER

Two Factions of Each Party Have
Candidates for Convention
Delegates in Field.

PRIMARY TO BE HELD APRIL 2

Colonel With Republicans and Jud-
son Harmon With Democrats Are
Both Doubtful Quantities.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Milwaukee, Wis., March 2.—There are now in Wisconsin 104 candidates for delegates to the Republican and Democratic national conventions, who are making the race for election in the April presidential primary. It is believed that the lists are complete for the most part, though there is a possibility that candidates may be placed in the field in some of the congressional districts pledged to Colonel Roosevelt.

The delegates, who are contesting, are divided into four tickets, each consisting of twenty-six, and each representing a faction of one of the political parties. The primary will be on April 2.

The doubtful quantities in the field are Colonel Roosevelt, whose friends would like to get delegates from Wisconsin if they could, and Judson Harmon, whose alliance with the Clark forces appears to have been consummated. There is still some talk that Harmon delegates may be put up in conservative districts, though that is considered hardly likely.

It is reported in Milwaukee that Roosevelt delegates will be nominated in two or three congressional districts. There will be no effort, however, to conduct a state-wide campaign in behalf of the former President. That plan was canvassed and abandoned some time ago, when it was decided to surrender the state to Senator La Follette.

Colonel and Taft in Close Race.

According to the count made by the Roosevelt managers, however, the vote in the convention will be close between Colonel Roosevelt and President Taft, and naturally they are casting about for as many additional men as they can get. It is reported that some of the Wisconsin districts are looked upon as being promising. One of these is the Eighth district, where announcements are expected. In all, however, Colonel Roosevelt could not get more than six delegates from Wisconsin, with the best of luck.

The followers of Senator La Follette made it plain, after the announcement of Colonel Roosevelt, that they would not tolerate any plan of campaign that meant less than a solid delegation for Senator La Follette. Taft leaders were equally explicit, and so no Roosevelt movement may expect aid from either side, unless as one of the means of bringing defeat to what each conceives to be the real enemy.

The Democrats, like the Republicans, appear to have settled down to a fight in which there will be but two contestants. Former Governor George W. Peck, who has been actively supporting Governor Harmon, has been placed on the Clark slate as a candidate for delegate at large. Some of the other Clark candidates are also said to be friendly to Governor Harmon, and the Clark slate is generally accepted throughout the state as a combination, though it is still denied by Clark and Harmon managers that there was a formal stipulation.

Wilson Men Active.

Wilson men, aroused by the apparent alliance, met in Milwaukee and after a conference in which the chief leaders from all parts of the state were assembled, decided to maintain headquarters in Milwaukee until the close of the campaign. They selected Hubert Wolf, Milwaukee attorney, to take charge.

Clark and Harmon headquarters are being kept open, with former Representative Charles H. Weiss in charge of the Clark campaign, and A. A. Allen of Chicago, conducting the movement in behalf of Governor Harmon. Allen, after the coalition of the Clark Harmon delegations, left the city temporarily, and has not returned to announce his plans. The Harmon headquarters in Madison, in charge of J. E. Jones, are still active and Allen is devoting much time to the campaign there.

The line of distinction between the Clark and Harmon men appears to an outsider to be rather slender, but it may be sufficient to enable the Clark men to break what the Wilson adherents had hoped would be a solid delegation from the state.

The Wisconsin ballot will have printed upon it the names of the presidential candidates who have delegations in the field. Each voter will have the right to indicate which of these candidates he desires nominated by his party. The law says this is an advisory vote only, since the delegates are not required to abide by the choice of the voters.

The Wilson men are seeking to make the law binding as far as their candidate is concerned, by making the race on the pledge that they will be for Wilson in the convention. The Clark men are not taking that position. They state that their own preference is Clark, but they announce that if a Clark delegate is elected in a district that indorses Governor Wilson for the nomination, that delegate will consider himself instructed to vote for Wilson. They say, in effect, they consider that the matter of instructing should be left to the advisory vote.

An important distinction they make, however, is that the congressional district should be the unit in deciding what is the will of the voters. According to this plan, only the four delegates at large will be instructed by the vote of the state at large, while all the other delegates will look to their district for the expression of sentiment. Politicians figure that this construction of the law is decidedly favorable to Clark.

BAY STATE PRIMARY

Bill for Presidential Preference Will Pass Massachusetts Legislature This Week.

Boston, March 11.—Presidential preferential primaries on April 30 to select all delegates to the coming national political conventions are practically assured by the passage of a primary bill in the Senate today, in concurrence with the House. Unless some unexpected change in sentiment develops it is expected that the bill will be laid before Governor Foss for approval this week. Democrats expect him to sign it.

The bill abolishes conventions for the selection of delegates to national conventions, and the thirty-six Massachusetts delegates will go to Chicago and Baltimore knowing the preference of the voters as to presidential and vice presidential candidates.

The Senate last week passed a bill limiting the preferential feature of primaries to district delegates, but the House amended the bill so as to include delegates at large. Today the Senate accepted the House amendment. The only opposition came from Republicans.

VOTERS KEPT BUSY
IN MASSACHUSETTS

With Passage of Presidential Primary Campaigns Will Be Going on Nearly Every Day.

CITIZENS WILL NEED LISTS

Numerous Elections Cause Grafters Art to Be Developed to High Point of Science.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, March 17.—With the passage of a presidential preference primary law in Massachusetts the average man in the Bay State will have to work harder at the job of being a citizen than does the resident of any other state. There will now be campaigns of one kind or another going on in Massachusetts every day in the year, and the voter will need a special calendar to keep him informed of just what days he is expected to vote in this primary or that election.

In the city of Boston, where the elections are held in portable, temporary booths of corrugated iron, erected in the streets, it is now proposed to leave the booths standing the year around, as they will be in such constant use.

Massachusetts has annual state elections to choose state officers and members of the Legislature, there are municipal and town elections of one kind or another every year, there are congressional elections every two years and presidential elections every four years. Preceding all these elections there are primaries to nominate candidates, and when there isn't anything else going on the selectmen can always call town meetings of the traditional New England type.

It is, of course, in presidential years that the Massachusetts voter must work the hardest in exercising his prerogatives as a citizen, for all of these primaries and elections come in that year. The presidential primary in April means a long and bitter campaign, with the voters pulled and hauled this way and that way. As soon as the presidential campaign is out of the way the fight for nominations at the state and congressional primaries, held in September, comes on.

Other Elections Follow.

Then come the general elections in November, and as soon as they are over the campaign for municipal and town primaries is on in December and January, to be followed by the municipal elections. Town meetings are held annually, always, to vote on the license question, and they may be called at any other time by the selectmen.

Candidates for all offices are named in the primaries, and to get their names on the primary ballots they must file petitions signed by a certain percentage of the voters. As candidates are as thick as flies in August, the voters are constantly besieged with requests to sign petitions. Moreover, no voter may sign the petition of more than one candidate for the same nomination, so the citizen is almost forced to keep a memorandum of the petitions he has signed in order that he may not violate the law.

Naturally, where there is so much voting to be done the venal voter has a rich field for his peculiar operations. Political grafting is developed into a fine art and the industrious individual who puts a price on his citizenship can make a tidy income out of it. Candidates and campaign committees of the Bay State find politics about as expensive there, especially in Boston and other larger cities, as it can be made. Corrupt practices acts will not stop the spending of money in politics; they simply make it more difficult to conceal expenditures that will not stand publicity.

Opposition Based on Cost.

As a matter of fact, it is said that the opposition of the Republican and Democratic organization leaders in Massachusetts to the enactment of a presidential primary law was based primarily on the objection that it would place such additional burdens on taxpayers, candidates and campaign committees. The popular demand for the primary was sufficient to overcome this objection, however, and the law was passed and will be given its first trial this spring.

Incidentally, to contribute further toward keeping the political pot constantly boiling in Massachusetts, the state Legislature convenes annually and its sessions are always prolonged for six to eight months. Under the state law, every bill that is introduced in the Legislature must be disposed of finally before the session is adjourned. There can be no smothering of proposed legislation in committees and no permitting bills to die on the calendar. Every measure that is introduced must be referred to a committee, the committee must make a report on it, and the Legislature itself must act definitely on the committee's report before adjournment can be taken. It is thus within the power of a comparatively few members to prolong the session almost indefinitely.

Too much politics is now the slogan of a movement in Massachusetts to do away with the annual state elections and give all state officials a term of two years, with biennial sessions of the Legislature. A strong argument in favor of this is the contention that a governor is barely inaugurated before he must begin his campaign for renomination and re-election, and that he has had no fair opportunity of showing the people what kind of administration he will give them before he must make his plea for another term.

At any rate, the people of Massachusetts, rule, or if they do so it is assuredly their own fault. They have abundant opportunities to rule—more opportunities than are now enjoyed by the people of any other commonwealth.

FIGHT GROWING HOT

Roosevelt and La Follette Bending Every Energy to Carry North Dakota Primaries.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Valley City, N. D., March 12.—With the sentiment which they must overcome in their fight for supremacy in the presidential primaries of next Tuesday definitely defined, Roosevelt and La Follette forces made valuable use of this day in conducting their campaign. Roosevelt managers see their hope of ultimate success when they remove all suspicion that the colonel's candidacy is in fact in the interests of Taft. La Follette workers are seeking to set aside the opinion that the Wisconsin senator is ill and unable to longer continue in the fight.

Both sides are bending every energy in that direction, the La Follette people seeing success for them in bringing La Follette to the state, and the Roosevelt forces feeling that they already have taken a long step toward righting the Taft alliance question through the several statements which have been made public today and on previous days by prominent Progressives now aligned with Roosevelt and who formerly were with La Follette.

Statement by Stubbs.

One such statement came from Governor W. R. Stubbs of Kansas today. He lauds Roosevelt's administration and scores Taft's failure to carry out the policies which the colonel advocated.

"Mr. Taft's election is absolutely hopeless," says Mr. Stubbs. "If he drags the national ticket down, it is only reasonable to suppose that numerous Republican states would go down in the landslide which would inevitably follow his nomination. On the other hand the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt means the election in every normally Republican state of the state ticket, the control of Congress by the Republican party and the carrying forward of the greatest administration in the interest of all the people that has been witnessed since the days of Abraham Lincoln. It is my judgment that the hope of the Republican party from the nation, as well as many states, depends upon the nomination at the Chicago convention of Theodore Roosevelt."

Plans for the reception of La Follette to the state Thursday were made more complete today, one new speaking date being added, Mandan, where he will appear Friday afternoon. The Jamestown date has been advanced to the morning of that day, the Bismarck address to be delivered in the evening. Secretary H. N. Tucker of the State Progressive league also is planning for special trains to be run to several of the towns in which La Follette will speak.

Walter L. Houser, La Follette's campaign manager, is coming to this state from California, being due to arrive tomorrow. This will be his second visit to the state. Gilbert E. Roe, La Follette's former law partner, also is due to arrive here with the senator and will make several addresses.

Allen at Valley City.

Declaring that Roosevelt is not and never has been a candidate for third term as President, but that he has said he will accept the nomination if tendered to him, Henry J. Allen of Wichita, Kan., spoke here tonight in favor of the Roosevelt candidacy. Allen came here to take the place of Governor Stubbs of Kansas, who was to have spoken. He reviewed the career of Roosevelt and said that any of the great movements he had instituted would in itself be sufficient to mark his administration as one of the greatest in American history. Mr. Allen paid great tribute to Senator La Follette, but said that the Taft Republicans and the Democrats seemed to be united in their efforts to lead the North Dakota voters to believe this was factional fight in order to increase their own chances.

Mr. Allen was followed by P. V. Collins of Minneapolis, who spoke much along the same lines, urging the voters to stand united in the support of a man who could carry the convention and later the election against Taft or any other candidate. He declared that no one but Roosevelt could do this. More than six hundred persons heard the addresses.

Allen also spoke at Harvey this afternoon. A. M. Christianson is touring Mountrail county for Roosevelt. Senator Simpson opened the colonel's campaign in Dunn, Oliver and Mercer counties this morning, and several other Roosevelt speakers entered the fight today.

Many Speakers.

La Follette men also are on the stump in goodly numbers, about fifteen being engaged in the campaign today. The La Follette campaign is being directed from Courtenay, while the Roosevelt campaign is being directed from Fargo, J. F. Bass establishing headquarters in the Waldorf hotel there today.

Chairman R. M. Pollock of the Progressive Republican league made a tour of Cass county today and declared his belief that that county would be for La Follette. His claim, however, is disputed by the Roosevelt men, who contend they are in the lead.

NO COMPROMISE NOW

Battle in North Dakota Between Roosevelt and La Follette Is to a Finish.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Fargo, N. D., March 13.—This was a day of good cheer in the Roosevelt headquarters in Fargo, with good reports being received from various sections of the state. According to J. F. Bass, who is directing the campaign, the situation is entirely satisfactory and the Roosevelt forces generally are satisfied that their cause is gaining ground. Today there was a Roosevelt club organized in Foreman, with a membership of 100 in that district. More favorable reports also were received from districts which previously had been recognized as being quite strong for La Follette, it being contended that the Wisconsin senator's apparent leads are being lessened in various districts.

Tonight Ernest Lundeen delivered an address in Grafton, speaking to an audience of about 200. In Mountrail county A. M. Christianson is campaigning for Roosevelt, and is having good success, while like reports also have been received from other speakers.

The conference held in this city last night, in which Mr. Bass and Secretary Garfield participated with a number of the La Follette workers, did not materialize very satisfactorily to either faction. A proposition was made to the La Follette men to join in the campaign for Roosevelt, but such a proposition was turned down.

That the question of state politics is beginning to enter very generally into the situation is becoming more evident each day, and the La Follette forces are making much of that point. They contend that the defeat of La Follette in the primaries of Tuesday would be a knock to the Buchanan candidacy for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, inasmuch as Hanna was so closely identified with the launching of the Roosevelt campaign.

The Roosevelt leaders here declare that they have nothing to fear at the hands of the La Follette forces on the Missouri slope. The La Follette people have been bending every energy towards the defeat of Roosevelt in his county, Billings, but the Roosevelt people believe that the situation is so well in hand that the fight will not be successful. La Follette, when he enters the state tomorrow, will find that his forces are well organized throughout the sections which he will visit, with the possible exception of Bismarck. At Mandan, Valley City and Jamestown, the La Follette forces have been hard at work for some time, but there are equally as hard working Roosevelt men on the job supporting his candidacy.

La Follette will be accompanied on his tour of the state by a number of his leading supporters, and with the arrangements for his entertainment practically complete, everywhere, it is believed that big crowds will be secured.

Thurs. Mar. 14, 1912

AWAIT THE SENATOR

La Follette's Supporters Invade "Solid Roosevelt" Territory—Confident of Victory.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Bismarck, N. D., March 13.—Roosevelt's own country, the Missouri slope, is the prize which the La Follette forces of North Dakota are seeking to capture in the presidential primaries of next Tuesday, and their hard fight in this section has aroused the Roosevelt forces to new energy. With Walter L. Houser in Dickinson tonight, with Secretary H. N. Tucker of the State Progressive league spending today in Mandan and Bismarck, with Judge J. V. Gilbertson working in Bowman, Adams and Hettinger counties, and La Follette himself scheduled to speak in Mandan and Bismarck Friday, some idea of the strenuous fight being made for the Wisconsin senator in this section, generally recognized and regarded as "solid Roosevelt" is little short of remarkable.

Secretary Tucker is confident that the fight for the Wisconsin senator will end in victory next week. He asserts that the opposition to La Follette has weakened materially within the last two or three days and that the prospects for the success of the Wisconsin senator's cause never were better.

Today the Roosevelt forces opened their fight for the cities along the Bismarck-Minot branch of the Soo line, on which La Follette speakers have already worked. Two speakers left Minot this morning and will make the entire line to Bismarck. The Roosevelt forces are not overlooking the fact that they are being made to fight hard in the western district, and will put the next two or three days to valuable use wherever possible.

FEAR VOTES MAY GO TO MR. TAFT

Progressives Incensed Over La Follette's Fight Against Colonel in North Dakota.

WILL NOT HELP THE SENATOR

In the Meantime the Strife is Bringing Joy to the President's Camp.

Washington, March 13.—Political Washington is very much exercised over the action of Senator La Follette in leaving for North Dakota to wage a fight against Theodore Roosevelt.

The fear is expressed that the fight in North Dakota between Messrs. Roosevelt and La Follette may result in the delegates of that state being captured by the Taft forces. That Progressives, who are opposed to the renomination of President Taft, are in an ugly frame of mind over Mr. La Follette's hostility to Colonel Roosevelt, is expressing it mildly. They declare that Senator La Follette is sacrificing principle to feed a grudge, and the prediction is made that practically all the Progressives who are pledged to La Follette, except, probably, those from Wisconsin, will line up with Roosevelt.

Wisconsin Man's Grievance.

Mr. La Follette's complaint against Roosevelt is that the colonel entered the race after he (La Follette) had received assurances that the ex-President would remain on the side lines, and in all probability indorse the Wisconsin Senator.

Mr. La Follette left for North Dakota yesterday. Senator Gronna is already in the state making speeches in support of the Wisconsin Senator.

The Taft forces are very much elated over the fight between La Follette and Roosevelt. Whatever the outcome, they figure that it will accrue to the political advantage of the President.

Colonel Won't Speak in North Dakota.

Colonel Roosevelt has no intention of taking the stump in North Dakota. Information to this effect was received direct from the colonel today by Representative L. B. Hanna.

ST. P. Pioneer Press
Sat. Mar. 15, 1912

STEM SENATOR'S TIDE

Roosevelt's Backers in North Dakota Claim Material Gain Since Yesterday—Speakers' Itinerary.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Grand Forks, N. D., March 15.—That La Follette's strength is on the wane in North Dakota, and that material gains have been made by Roosevelt since yesterday morning, is the word that has gone forth from the Roosevelt headquarters of the state. It is stated that the colonel's forces have been successful in stemming the tide toward the Wisconsin senator and that their most material gains have been made in counties which have been recognized as exceptionally strong for La Follette. Traill, La Moure, Walsh and several other counties have been pointed to by the Roosevelt forces as evidence of what is under way. Traill county has six La Follette clubs in the eastern part, while in the western district at Hatton a La Follette club of 159 members has been organized.

Tomorrow night as La Follette closes his campaign in Grand Forks there will be fully thirty speakers for Roosevelt at various points throughout the state. These include several new men from Minnesota, as well as a large number of North Dakotans, who are into the fight with every energy bent towards victory.

Not the least interesting factor in the fight is Silver Serungard of Devils Lake, a Democrat, who is making a campaign of Nelson county for Roosevelt. He has delivered a large number of addresses and will stay in the field till the close of the campaign.

Tonight H. J. Allen of Wichita, Kan., was in Williston, Ernest Lundeen of Minneapolis in Lankin, F. T. Cuthbert of Devils Lake in Oakes, J. J. Samson of Devils Lake in Adams, Sever Serungard in Aneta, A. M. Christianson of Towner in Mountrail county, and several slope speakers were covering that section for Roosevelt. Tomorrow H. T. Halbert of St. Paul speaks in Jamestown and Dawson, M. F. Norelius of St. Paul goes into Traill county tomorrow and will remain there till Monday evening, and Mr. Lundeen, following an address in Fardale tomorrow afternoon, also goes into Traill county, speaking in Mayville Monday evening. Mr. Allen speaks in Lakota and Devils Lake tomorrow.

The closing days have seen more activity upon the part of the Roosevelt forces than has been evident at any time since the campaign opened, the managers putting forth every effort to combat the effects of the personal tour by La Follette.

ST. P. Pioneer Press
Fri. Mar. 15, 1912.

THE NORTH DAKOTA CONTEST.

Nation-wide political interest attaches to the presidential primary election to be held in North Dakota next Tuesday, March 19. North Dakota cuts but a small figure in the electoral college, but the vote looms large just now as being the first opportunity the leaders will have to receive first-hand information from the people on their choice of presidential candidates.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the issue in North Dakota is not to be drawn squarely between President Taft and Colonel Roosevelt, the leading candidates for the nomination, as that would afford a real test. Senator La Follette's refusal to withdraw from the race and his determination to make a fight for the North Dakota indorsement lends a complication to the situation that may have an important bearing upon the Roosevelt candidacy. It must be admitted that if Colonel Roosevelt fails to carry the primaries his candidacy will suffer a loss of prestige, particularly if he is defeated by Senator La Follette, who, apparently, is hopelessly out of the race. It would indicate a lack of harmony among the Progressives that may prove disturbing in their progress for delegates in other anti-Taft states. On the other hand, should Colonel Roosevelt win at the primaries, after the determined fight by Senator La Follette and his supporters, it would lend a big impetus to his candidacy, indicating his popularity with the voters above all other candidates.

Whoever the victor may be, the result will be a notice to the parties in the nation of the wishes of the North Dakota voters. It is certain that President Taft and the standpatters will find no comfort in the returns next Tuesday night, unless the triumph of La Follette should afford some consolation.

NORTH DAKOTA VOTES FOR PRESIDENT TODAY

NORTH DAKOTA VOTE ACID TEST FOR TAFT

Senator Dixon Says Primaries Today
Will Show Extent of Presi-
dent's Popularity.

PEOPLE'S CHANCE TO SPEAK

Roosevelt Manager Declares Even if
La Follette Wins State's Delegation
Will Be Pro-Roosevelt.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, March 18.—"A yard measure of President Taft's popularity among the people will be taken at the primaries to be held in North Dakota tomorrow," said Senator Joseph M. Dixon, manager of the Roosevelt headquarters, to the correspondent of the Pioneer Press tonight. "The Taft candidacy will be subjected to the acid test of a popular primary in North Dakota. The result will be Anti-Taft. The state may go for Roosevelt, or the North Dakota people may declare for La Follette. Either Roosevelt or La Follette will be indorsed. The Taft people will derive no satisfaction from the returns in North Dakota."

Commenting on the President's speech at Boston, in which Mr. Taft indorsed the primary, if properly safeguarded, Senator Dixon said:

"The President appears to favor the primary in the abstract, but he opposes it in the concrete. He announces his indorsement of the proposition at a time when his managers are putting every obstacle in the way of a presidential primary. The Taft people do not like the idea of a country-wide primary. There's a reason for it that will become apparent to all before the Republican convention meets in Chicago on June 18."

Representative McKinley, the Taft manager, said:

"The position taken by the President in presidential preference primaries is a fair statement of the position he and his representatives have maintained throughout the entire campaign." Director McKinley added that he favored the system "wherever primaries are or may be legally provided, fairly conducted and surrounded by the restrictions of the law."

Await Results With Interest.

The watchers at the Taft and Roosevelt headquarters await with keen interest the results in North Dakota. The Roosevelt people declare that a La Follette victory will be a blow to the Taft cause. If Roosevelt wins, so much the better, they say. Senator Dixon made public today a statement on North Dakota in part, as follows:

"The nation-wide movement in the Republican party for the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt as its candidate for President is primarily based on the belief that an overwhelming majority of the Republican voters themselves demand Roosevelt's nomination. On this assumption we rest our whole case."

"Tomorrow, for the first time in the history of American politics, the voters of the State of North Dakota, through the medium of a state-wide presidential preference primary law, held under the authority of the state itself, will be given an opportunity to express at the polls their choice of a

VIEWS ON THE SOUTH DAKOTA TA PRIMARY TODAY.

Robert M. La Follette:
"I will carry North Dakota by a majority of not less than 15,000. In all my life never have I seen such enthusiasm displayed as on this tour through North Dakota."

Harris Tucker, chairman of the Progressive league and James A. Buchanon, progressive candidate for governor, predict the North Dakota vote today will be divided as follows: La Follette, 55 per cent. Roosevelt, 35 per cent. Taft, 10 per cent.

Senator Frank Talcott (for Roosevelt):

"Within the last few days I believe our gains everywhere have been tremendous and that we will be able to win the contest at the polls."

Senator Dixon, Roosevelt's campaign manager:

"The message from the Republican voters of North Dakota tomorrow to the Republican leaders of the nation as to whether the rank and file of the Republican party do or do not again want Taft for their nominee for President should make every Republican who is anxious for party success in November 'stop, look and listen.'"

presidential candidate to be voted for in the November elections. Tomorrow in North Dakota, Republican voters themselves will, by their ballots say whether they do or do not want Mr. Taft as the Republican nominee for President. Unfortunately a fierce factional fight between Republican leaders in that state for the control of the state organization has caused a temporary division in the anti-Taft ranks, with the result that the anti-Taft feeling among Republicans in North Dakota will be given expression in the support of two anti-Taft delegations to the Republican national convention."

In balloting tomorrow, there will be three delegate tickets in the field; first, the Taft ticket; second, the anti-Taft ticket, backed by Senator Gronna and his friends, known as the La Follette ticket; third, the delegate ticket backed by Congressman Hanna and his friends, known as the Roosevelt ticket, but both unequivocally anti-Taft.

Yard Stick of Taft Sentiment.

"No matter whether the Hanna-Roosevelt ticket wins, or whether the Gronna-La Follette ticket wins, the North Dakota delegation will be anti-Taft and pro-Roosevelt at Chicago. To get a true yard stick of measurement as to the Taft and anti-Taft sentiment among North Dakota Republicans it is only necessary to add the votes cast for the two anti-Taft delegate tickets together and then compare the total anti-Taft strength with the number of votes cast for the Taft delegate ticket in North Dakota. Only by that method can we arrive at the truth respecting the wishes of the North Dakota Republicans as to whether or not Taft shall be the nominee of the Republican party."

"The message from the Republican voters of North Dakota tomorrow to the Republican leaders of the nation as to whether the rank and file of the Republican party do or do not again want Taft for their nominee for President should make every Republican who is anxious for party success in November 'stop, look and listen.'"

"Surely it will be sheer madness for Republican leaders to attempt to force a nomination at the Chicago convention which will be repudiated by the Republican voters at the polls."

According to Senator Dixon, encouraging reports relative to the Roosevelt movement continue to come to headquarters. Mr. Dixon made public a telegram received from I. A. Caswell of St. Paul, reading:

"It looks like a Roosevelt landslide."

BOTH SIDES EXPECT TO WIN AT PRIMARY

Managers of Roosevelt and La Follette Campaigns in North Dakota
Predict Victory Today.

SENATOR SAYS 15,000 MAJORITY

Big and Enthusiastic Meeting at
Devils Lake Closes His Whirlwind
Tour of the State.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Grand Forks, N. D., March 18.—Their campaign closed, Roosevelt and La Follette managers contented themselves tonight with the disposition of final business details, awaiting the result of tomorrow's balloting. From both headquarters were issued statements to the effect that the respective campaign managers were confident their chief would be successful in tomorrow's election.

The Roosevelt forces particularly were well pleased tonight, having received numerous reports from various sections of the state to the effect that the vote there would be larger than first anticipated. None of the confidence of the La Follette men has left them, however, and they feel practically certain of being able to win.

In the name Roosevelt his managers have every confidence. They believe the average voter, when confronted by that name on the election ballot, will find it a big force, and that there will be a large number who will vote for him on the strength of that fact.

Fight for Roosevelt Just Begun.

The charge made by the La Follette forces that Roosevelt managers were responsible for the circulation through the state of campaign literature under the heading, "The Progressive Roosevelt Club of North Dakota," has been met by a statement from the officers of that league, issued over the signature of A. Y. Moore, president; Rev. R. A. Beard, vice president; Rev. B. Dewitt Dowling, vice president; C. C. Creagan, treasurer, and A. M. Baker, secretary. They declare that the club has been organized to promote the candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt and that they have just begun their fight with that end in view, confidently anticipating his nomination in Chicago. This league was charged with using the name of Roosevelt at the head of the list of La Follette delegates, and the La Follette forces declared that the Roosevelt campaign managers were behind the move.

"We have urged upon the voters of the state," said Senator Frank Talcott tonight of the Roosevelt forces, "the idea that this is a campaign that is a whole lot bigger than one of mere state interest. We have endeavored to show them that they must lay aside petty personal differences, or dissatisfaction with state conditions, and vote for the candidate who has a chance of winning the nomination; and we believe our plea who has been heard and heeded by thousands. Within the last few days I believe our gains everywhere have been tremendous, and that we will be able to win tomorrow's contest at the polls."

Mr. Bass stated his belief that state issues had cleared away materially.

Predicts Big Vote for La Follette.

H. N. Tucker, secretary of the La Follette campaign bureau, was equally as enthusiastic. That the La Follette candidacy was serious, that it was real, and that the people of this state are with the senator, is his contention. Following the rousing reception tendered the senator today at points along the Great Northern from Minot to Devils Lake, his optimism was increased. Mr. Tucker believes the La Follette vote will be about 8,000 over the combined vote of Taft and Roosevelt.

La Follette forces hold the belief that the vote for Taft tomorrow will be quite heavy, and look upon it as a material factor in reducing the Roosevelt strength. The Roosevelt managers do not expect a heavy Taft vote, believing that the Taft voters will go to Roosevelt on account of the state fight that has been injected into the situation.

In this campaign the "brass band" has been with the La Follette forces at every stage, and they seemingly have had the best of it in the matter of noise at their meetings.

There was a distinct drop in the temperature tonight, the forecast of unsettled weather being borne out by a stiff northeast wind, which is sweeping over the state. As yet the unsettled conditions do not give promise of taking on serious proportions, although a fall of snow during the night, coupled with the wind, would have the effect of cutting down the size of the vote very materially.

PETITIONS FILED FOR EXTRA SESSION

Both Roosevelt and La Follette Managers Write Letters to the Governor.

URGE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

Ask Eberhart to Act if Members Agree to Take Up No Other Legislation.

DOESN'T SEE NECESSITY.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Mankato, Minn., March 26.—When asked tonight his opinion on the proposal for an extra session of the Legislature to pass a presidential primary law, Governor Eberhart replied there is no warrant for this unless there is genuine necessity and demand for it among people of the state.

"I have traveled over the state and have found no sentiment for it," he said, "and no such emergency exists as would warrant me calling a special session."

Governor Eberhart will be petitioned in two separate communications which he will receive this morning on his return from Mankato, to exercise his constitutional authority for convening an extraordinary session of the Legislature for the purpose of passing a preferential primary law. One of the petitions is signed by I. A. Caswell of St. Paul, clerk of the Supreme Court, representing the Roosevelt state committee; the other bears three signatures, namely, George S. Loftus of Minneapolis, chairman of the Progressive League of Minnesota; James A. Peterson, chairman of the Progressive Republican campaign committee of Minneapolis; and William T. Coe, chairman of the Progressive Campaign committee of the rural districts of Hennepin county.

Mr. Caswell's Letter.

The petitions are dated March 26. Mr. Caswell's letter is as follows:

"We believe that an extraordinary occasion is presented before the electors of this state which would justify you in exercising your constitutional authority for convening an extraordinary session of the Legislature with a view to passing a preferential presidential primary law. Such action has been taken within the last few weeks by the governors of several states, and has received very general commendation. Such an extra session of our Legislature would be comparatively inexpensive, as the members of the Legislature have already received their salaries, the only cost incident to such a session being the mileage of the members and clerk hire for three or four days. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the great benefit that such action upon your part would confer upon the people of this state at this particular time.

"We, therefore, respectfully ask that you indicate at the very earliest moment, consistent with due consideration of the matter, whether you would call an extraordinary session of the Legislature if a majority of the members of each house were to signify in writing their desire for such a session for the purposes aforesaid, and, at the same time, give their personal pledge that no other matters would be transacted or attempted to be transacted at such extraordinary session. We urge an immediate reply as to your attitude with respect to such a proposition in order that we may proceed at once to obtain from the members of our Legislature an expression of their views in the premises. We believe that if you will indicate your willingness to take the action requested, the whole matter may be disposed of and a preferential presidential primary law placed upon the statute books of this state within three weeks from the date hereof."

The Letter From Loftus.

The La Follette Progressives sent the following letter to the governor:

"We wish to inform you that the sentiment within the State of Minnesota for a special session of the Legislature to enact a presidential preference primary law, is general.

"The people of the state feel that they ought to have the same privilege of voting for the presidential nominee that has been given the people of neighboring states.

"We are informed today through the public press that the governor of Illinois has just consented to call a special session of the Legislature to give the people of that state the presidential preference primary law. We can see no good reason why the people of Minnesota should not have every privilege that the citizens of other states enjoy.

"If you have any doubt as to the attitude of the members of the Legislature of this state upon this question, we shall be glad to follow the course of the people in Illinois and ascertain for you, in as short a time as practicable, what might be expected from a session of that kind.

"It is generally understood by the people that the members of the Legislature are now paid a yearly salary, and that there will be no expense attendant upon the convening of the Legislature excepting mileage and such other incidental expense as may be necessary in holding a short session.

"The taxpayers of this state, we are firmly convinced, are more than willing to bear the small additional expense to bring about this needed legislative action.

"We therefore, representing the supporters of Robert M. La Follette for President of the United States, do respectfully petition that you convene the Legislature in extraordinary session as soon as possible, for the purpose of enacting a direct presidential primary law.

"Expecting an immediate reply from you on this matter, we beg to remain."

According to Mr. Caswell, chairman of the Roosevelt state committee, the action was taken in order to give the Governor the opportunity to procure a presidential primary with proper safeguards.

No Chance for Evasion.

"We have been trying to get Governor Eberhart," said Mr. Caswell last night, "to come out openly for the presidential primary and use his influence as the head of the Republican state central committee to secure it for the state. He has insisted in evading the issue, by reiterating that he was in favor of the presidential primary with the proper safeguards. This is only a move to have Governor Eberhart show that he is in favor of the primary and that he wants to do what public sentiment demands, by calling the Legislature together in extraordinary session and passing a primary law which will be properly safeguarded. This is a chance for him to meet his objection to the primary and we feel that in justice to the people of the state who are calling for it, he should grant our petition. We will secure pledges from a majority of the members of the Legislature that the primary issue will be taken up immediately and disposed of if an extra session is called. The Legislature can be called together in twenty-four hours and a bill passed in two or three days."

In behalf of the signers of the Minneapolis and the organizations they represent, James A. Peterson of Minneapolis petitioned and the organizations they represent, James A. Peterson of Minneapolis gave his reasons last night why the Governor should call a special session of the Legislature. He said:

Vote for Man People Want.

"As one of the cardinal principles of Progressive Republicanism is that the rank and file should control the party, we feel that the citizens of this state are entitled to all the privileges that are accorded to citizens of other states. The governors of California and Michigan have called extraordinary sessions of their respective Legislatures to enact presidential primary laws. The governor of Illinois has agreed to call an extraordinary session of the Legislature of that state for the same purpose. We do not see why the Governor of Minnesota should not do the same for the people of this state. We are not acting in the interests of any candidate. We simply want the Minnesota delegation to the national convention to vote for the man our people want. This is the only reason, the only motive for our actions. If Governor Eberhart favors progressive legislation he will not refuse our request. He has the time and opportunity. We hope he will not refuse to give the people of Minnesota that which they are entitled to."

Ralph W. Wheelock, secretary to the Governor said last night that the petitions would be taken up immediately on the Governor's return from Mankato this morning. He stated that in as much as the request for an extraordinary session of the Legislature was a big surprise, he was not prepared to say what the Governor's attitude on the matter might be.

REASONABLE SPECIAL SESSION DEMAND.

The demand for the extra session of the Legislature to enact a presidential preference primary law is both reasonable and warranted, provided such a session is thoroughly and satisfactorily safeguarded in advance. With a majority of both houses pledged to the consideration of no subject other than this primary law, there is no reason why the Governor may not yield to the request and summon the lawmakers in special session.

State-wide presidential primaries are in keeping with the spirit of the age. No one dares nowadays to deny the people themselves the right to declare in the most direct method their choice of presidential candidates and this declaration can be made only by means of state-wide primaries provided by and under protection of the law. In taking such a step Minnesota would be keeping abreast of other progressive commonwealths. There can be no effective argument against the primary theory and system.

The cost of the proposed special session should be limited to the actual expenses, which would include the mileage of members and the small clerical force necessary. Ten thousand dollars would probably cover it. Senators and representatives draw regular salaries and as far as the matter of pay for their attendance is concerned a special session entails no expense. The consideration and enactment of a primary law would involve no committee and little printing cost and should require but a few days at most.

Relieved therefore, of large expense and the possibility of the introduction of extraneous propositions, there seems no reason why we should not have a special session, enact a primary law and settle permanently the manner of choosing delegates to presidential conventions.

Sun. April, 7, 1912

HENNEPIN COUNTY TO HAVE PRIMARY

Committee Provides That Caucus Ballots Have Names of Presidential Candidates.

FIRST PLAN TURNED DOWN

Roosevelt Men Satisfied With Scheme—Convention Date Fixed for May 13.

Hennepin county Republicans will have an opportunity of voting directly on their choice for President, and it only remains for them to see that their votes are reported in order to get the popular choice of the county. The county committee so decided at its meeting late yesterday, after rejecting a proposal of the La Follette committee and voting down a motion of Alderman John Peterson, a La Follette supporter, by a vote of 2 to 11, proposing a committee to confer with the three candidates' organizations to agree on a uniform ballot. The committee members held, like the state committee, that they had no authority to take such action.

Didn't Know They Did It.

After the primary plan apparently had been turned down Walter H. Newton, a Roosevelt supporter, moved that the committee request all ballots to be headed with the name of the candidate favored for President. This was passed without a word of debate, and not until afterward did some of the committee realize that they had endorsed the germ of the primary plan. If the committee's request is carried out the delegate tickets in each precinct will be headed with the names of Taft, Roosevelt or La Follette. When the ballots are counted they will be sorted out, and the returns will show how many votes there are in each precinct for Taft, Roosevelt or La Follette. It only remains for such headquarters to collect the returns to show how many votes its candidate received in the county.

Colonel's Friends Satisfied.

"The committee gave us all we wanted," said A. A. D. Rahn of the Roosevelt organization, after the meeting. "It certainly provides for a popular expression of the voters' choice."

The La Follette men were far from pleased, however. Alderman Peterson denounced the majority of the committee for raising objections to his motion. "What's the use of saying that it isn't legal," he demanded. "You know that you are afraid Taft wouldn't win with that kind of vote. That's all there is to it, and what's the use of beating about the bush?"

The caucuses on President will be held Friday, May 10. The county and district conventions will be held May 13 at 10 A. M. The delegates at that time will number 116. The county elects eighty-four delegates to the state convention in Minneapolis, May 16.

ST. P. Pioneer Press
Tues. April 9, 1912

ILLINOIS RECORDS ITS CHOICE TODAY

**Lorimer and Jackpotism Main Issues
in Primary, With Heavy Vote
in Prospect.**

ROOSEVELT MEN CONFIDENT

**Democratic Presidential Contest De-
velops From Perfunctory Affair
Into Bitter Fight.**

Illinois primary election will be held today, polls opening at 6 A. M., and closing at 5 P. M., with tremendous vote expected.

Lorimer and jackpotism are main issues in presidential and state contests.

Friends of Theodore Roosevelt are confident he will be choice of state for Republican nomination.

Governor Deneen is most confident of Republican aspirants for gubernatorial nomination.

Fight between Wood and Wilson and Champ Clark for Democratic delegates has become bitter.

Taft's New York followers on eve of convention to select delegates at large are undecided whether or not to instruct them for the president.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Chicago, April 8.—The hottest political fight ever settled at the polls in Illinois will begin at 6 o'clock tomorrow and end at 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

Conservative estimates of the total vote to be cast at the direct primaries in Chicago and the country towns place the minimum at 300,000, a number far in excess of anything ever cast at a primary in Cook county and almost on a par with the vote which gets out at a presidential election.

Fair weather and a rising temperature are predicted for the day, and this condition is expected to add thousands to the aggregate. From the 101 counties out in the state the final reports to the headquarters, Republican and Democratic, were unanimous that a tremendous vote is to be polled except in some of the counties along the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, where the high water is furnishing great trouble. With this great mass of Republican and Democratic voters rushing to the polls, the campaign managers, except in the Deneen camp, issued the last bulletins on the situation admitting they are at sea as to what is to be the outcome.

Governor Deneen arrived in the city at 5 o'clock this afternoon, just up from his sick bed at Springfield. The governor was easily the most optimistic of any of the Republican gubernatorial candidates. He expects to be nominated again and by a plurality, which will be a smashing blow to the Lorimerites and jackpot crew. A plurality of less than 50,000 for Deneen will be surprising to his managers.

Lorimerism and Jackpot Main Issue.

Lorimerism and the jackpot make the only issue in the state at large in the closing diagnosis of the Governor's friends, the regular Republican organization in Chicago and down state, and in the judgment of most of the Republican voters.

Taken up by Theodore Roosevelt in the speaking campaign of the state which he ended at Danville this afternoon, Lorimerism and the jackpot have entered as a critical angle of the presidential and the United States senatorial campaigns, produced by William Lorimer and the Lorimer-Lincoln league in taking the field openly in behalf of President Taft and Senator Cullom in connection with his own fight for "vindication" masked under the candidacy of Len Small for governor.

The presidential battle will start at the polls with Theodore Roosevelt's friends in supreme confidence that he will sweep the state and that without question the congressional districts will be lined up for the colonel in solid rank. The concession which was made Sunday that President Taft might capture one of the Lorimer districts was withdrawn tonight at Roosevelt headquarters.

Bitter Democratic Fight.

The Democratic presidential contest between Woodrow Wilson and Champ Clark, from a perfunctory and friendly contest, has climaxed into a whirlwind of bitterness. The Clark campaign became involved with Hearstism and the unrelenting factional strife between the Sullivan forces and the Hearst-Harrison combination, and every available Democratic vote will be cast in the Democratic primaries.

This in itself, as it is believed in the Deneen camp, will slaughter at the outset thousands of votes which usually have been delivered to Lorimer to be used as needed.

Judicial, civic and protective organizations tonight instructed and sent out more than 10,000 trained workers and investigators to man the polls and prevent disorder and possible attempts at corrupt practices. Of this number several thousand will work at Chicago.

Count Will Be Slow.

Because of the numerous candidates and large number of offices for which nominations are to be made it is probable that judges and clerks of election will not complete the count of the ballots for eighteen hours after the polls close.

The two little ballots, one for woman suffrage and the other on presidential preference, will be counted first, it is planned, before the judges start on the count of the large ballot containing names of candidates for state, congressional, legislative, county and municipal offices. Factional warfare has become so bitter that trouble is anticipated in many parts of Chicago, and it is said that the same situation exists in many of the larger cities out in the state.

YESTERDAY'S CONVENTIONS AND POLITICAL MANEUVERS:

The Vermont Republican state convention refused to instruct the delegates-at-large for President Taft. The four delegates all are said to favor Taft, but are free to vote for a compromise candidate. Of the other four Vermont delegates, two will be for Taft and two for Roosevelt.

The Maine Republican state convention instructed the delegates-at-large for Roosevelt. Roosevelt will have the entire delegation's support at Chicago.

The Kentucky Republican convention adjourned until today because the credentials committee was unable to decide upon contesting delegates. Indications are that the Taft and Roosevelt forces will hold separate conventions today.

The Michigan Republican state central committee unseated Truman H. Newberry, a Roosevelt man, as temporary chairman of the state convention which meets today, and decided to seat Taft contested delegates. Chairman Frank Knox, who was absent, declared the meeting illegal, and a bitter fight between the Taft and Roosevelt forces for the control of the convention is expected today.

Colonel Roosevelt, at Philadelphia, made a forceful appeal for support at the Pennsylvania primaries next Saturday. He scored New York lawyers who attacked his theories on judicial recall.

Republican leaders at Washington again were discussing the possibility of Associate Justice Hughes becoming a compromise candidate. The New York Old Guard is said to be opposed.

Late returns from the Illinois primaries show that Taft carried the Fifth Congressional district.

VERMONT UNPLEDGED

Delegates-at-Large Friendly to Taft, but Free to Vote for Dark Horse.

Montpelier, Vt., April 10.—Of the eight Vermont delegates to the Republican convention at Chicago, two district delegates will go instructed for Taft and two for Roosevelt. The four delegates at large are unpledged, although the state convention today indorsed President Taft's administration, and all four delegates expressed a personal desire for his renomination.

Two of the delegates were chosen without opposition and the other two after spirited contests between the Taft and Roosevelt forces, in which the Taft majorities were 54 and 53 respectively.

Chairman Williams of the Republican state committee and the principal Taft leader in Vermont said tonight that, while the delegates at large were uninstructed, he was sure they would vote for President Taft. Chairman Batchelder of the Roosevelt committee was equally sure that the four were unfettered, while John L. Lewis, a delegate at large, who, with Senator Paige, was chosen unanimously, said all four were favorable to the renomination of President Taft, but could vote for a dark horse if such seemed a wiser course on arrival in Chicago.

The convention was a noisy one and the proceedings were interrupted frequently by hoots, yells, clanging of cowbells and cheering by both the delegates and spectators. The platform included an indorsement of President Taft. The platform was adopted by a voice vote. Although the Roosevelt leaders protested stoutly and asked for a ballot, Chairman Dillingham decided against them.

COLONEL GETS MAINE

Will Have Support of All Twelve Delegates at Chicago Convention.

Bangor, Me., April 10.—The candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt will be supported by Maine's twelve delegates in the Republican national convention. Ten were chosen at the Republican state convention and at three of the four district conventions held today and tonight. The other two were elected a week ago in the First district. Instructions were not formally given in the case of the Fourth district delegates, but those chosen were named on ballots headed, "Roosevelt delegates."

The Roosevelt leaders had a good working majority in the state convention, the vote for delegate at large being 739 to 497.

Of the 1,380 delegates entitled to seats, 1,302 were present. The convention lasted five and a half hours, as the conduct of business under the provisions of the new primaries law was slow and often confusion prevailed.

The platform adopted for the state election in September indorses the Republican national administrations from that of President Lincoln to that of President Taft; declares that prohibition as the settled policy of Maine was decided at the referendum last September and demands a faithful enforcement of the liquor law as it stands; favors presidential primaries; accuses the present state administration of incapacity and blundering, and of partisan bias in the investigation of the recent York county bribery charges.

SPLIT IN KENTUCKY

Republicans Today Are Likely to Select Two Sets of National Delegates.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Louisville, Ky., April 10.—Senator W. O. Bradley, as temporary chairman of the Republican state convention, today slurred the memory of the late Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois.

When Senator Bradley, during his speech inquired, "What is a Progressive?" he was greeted by shouts from the Roosevelt section of the hall by "The right kind" and "What About Illinois?"

This angered Senator Bradley, and he shouted:

"Do you want me to tell you what I think of Illinois? Illinois is the same state that once elected an anarchist, Altgeld, for governor."

The senator's remark created a sensation.

The Kentucky Republicans tomorrow may become involved in a hopeless wrangle with two conventions and two sets of delegates as the outcome.

There was all kinds of fight in the air after Senator Bradley had opened the convention, but failure by the committee on credentials to report tonight caused an adjournment of the convention until tomorrow without action being taken.

A stormy session was held tonight by the credentials committee over the various contests instituted by the Taft and Roosevelt factions. No announcement was made as to what the report will be.

While the entire organization effected today favors President Taft, Samuel J. Roberts, leader of the Taft forces from the Seventh district, said that in all probability the delegation from there will be split, giving the Roosevelt forces half the vote in the convention.

Predictions are that if the Taft forces throw out the Roosevelt forces tomorrow a separate convention will be held by the latter's friends.

As it now stands, three delegates will be sent to the national convention for Roosevelt and twenty-three for Taft, but the Roosevelt forces, with former State Chief Justice E. C. O'Rear as their council, are presenting testimony in every contest, of which there are nearly 1,000, and making a stenographic report of the evidence.

It is doubtful whether the committee will be through with its work when the convention assembles in the morning. The contests involve a third of the seats in the convention.

Calls O'Rear Not Honorable Gentleman.

Washington, April 10.—The White House today made public a telegram from former Senator De Boe of Kentucky to President Taft declaring Senator Dixon's charge of administration "vote stealing" in Kentucky was "a cowardly falsehood." The telegram concludes: "If E. C. O'Rear and Senator Dixon let this statement stand they are not honorable gentlemen."

DELEGATES ARE NOT INSTRUCTED

New York Republicans Satisfied
With Merely Indorsing Presi-
dent's Administration.

ROOT DEFENDS THE JUDICIARY

Senator's Speech Opposing Reforms
Advocated by Col. Roosevelt Is
Cheered at Convention.

CONVENTION ADJOURNS.

New York, April 10.—The plat-
form was adopted by a viva voce
vote this afternoon and the con-
vention adjourned. William A.
Prendergast, the Roosevelt dele-
gate from King's county, made a
brief speech opposing the resolu-
tions and declaring his belief that
President Taft could not be elect-
ed if nominated.

There was applause amid cries
of dissent which the speaker an-
swered by saying "Illinois is all
right, too."

Rochester, N. Y., April 10.—Senator
Elihu Root was enthusiastically
cheered by the delegates to the Repub-
lican state convention here today
when, in seconding the adoption of the
platform drafted by the committee on
resolutions, he defended the judiciary
as at present constituted and de-
nounced as dangerous any attempt to
introduce the principle of governing it
"by majorities." The early speeches
made it quite evident that the plat-
form would be adopted without oppo-
sition and that the delegates-at-large
agreed upon would be selected and the
convention adjourn without any seri-
ous clashes of any sort.

Platform Is Completed.

Early today the committee on reso-
lutions completed its draft of the
platform, in which the New York dele-
gation to the national convention was
urged to vote for the re-nomination of
President Taft.

While urging the delegates at large
to support President Taft, the resolu-
tion drafted does not specifically in-
struct the delegates to do so. This ac-
tion of the committee, which was al-
most unanimous, was taken to prevent
a fight on the floor over the question
as to whether or not the delegates
should be instructed.

The resolutions committee nominated
as delegates at large Senator Root,
Chairman Barnes, William Berri of
Brooklyn, and Edwin A. Merritt, Jr.,
speaker of the assembly.

The Leading Planks.

The principal planks in the platform
oppose the initiative, referendum and
recall as to judiciary and public offi-
cers; favor the creation of a national
reserve association as recommended
by the Aldrich monetary commission
and adherence to the principle of pro-
tection. A plank made public this
morning favors supplementing the
Sherman law by further legislation to
control and regulate monopolies.

Suffragists in Evidence.

Undaunted by the fact that the reso-
lutions committee did not place a wo-
man suffrage plank in the platform,
representatives of the movement for
the extension of the franchise today
distributed circulars advocating wo-
man's rights before the hour for re-as-
sembling. The convention was called
to order at 10:55 A. M.

Butler Made Chairman.

Temporary Chairman Butler was
made permanent chairman.

State Chairman Barnes read the plat-
form which was made public last night
after the committee had finished its
draft. The indorsement of 1,140 of
President Taft brought general ap-
plause.

Defends the Judiciary.

Senator Root seconded the resolution.
He said he would confine himself to a
single subject of the platform, the in-
terference with the independence of
the judiciary. We could change the
tariff laws, questions of general public
moment, he said, but the "eternal prin-
ciples of justice can never be changed
without degradation of the people."

The senator said the Republican
party had always set its face against
majorities who opposed judicial rights.
He pointed out the conditions of rebel-
lion in Mexico, which, he said, was
"one writhing, boiling, tumultuous
mob, devastating that fair land which
had taken so many forward steps of
law and order along the path of civil-
ization."

Stands by "Eternal Principles."

The speaker said the declarations of
eternal principles set up by the people
for their guidance were a covenant be-
tween arbitrary and overwhelming
power and the weakness of individuals.

"There is such a thing as justice that
is above majorities and independent of
popular will," said Senator Root.

Abraham Lincoln, in his first inaug-
ural he continued, had declared that
judicial restraints were necessary to
the majority and that its rejection
meant a despotism or anarchy of the
people. The convention broke into gen-
eral applause as Senator Root con-
cluded.

Judicial System Paramount.

Senator Root declared that all is-
sues were minor in importance to the
question of the judicial system now be-
fore the people.

Former Speaker James Wadsworth,
Jr., also seconded the platform.

OBEY PEOPLE'S WILL

Illinois Republican Convention In-
structs Delegates to Support Theo-
dore Roosevelt for Presidency.

Springfield, Ill., April 19.—Cheering
every mention of Theodore Roosevelt's
name, the Republican state convention
of Illinois today elected eight dele-
gates-at-large to the Republican na-
tional convention and instructed them
"to do everything in their power to
secure the nomination of the former
President at Chicago in June."

The proceedings were harmonious
throughout, with Governor Deneen and
his friends in control. Taft men threat-
ened for a time to make trouble, but
at the last minute submitted without
opposition.

It was the first state convention in
many years not attended by United
States Senator Shelby M. Cullom, Rep-
resentative Joseph G. Cannon, Repre-
sentative W. B. McKinley and United
States Senator Lorimer, who were ac-
tive supporters of President Taft.

The only excitement occurred when
State Senator Henry S. Magill, repre-
senting the Progressive faction, offered
a strong resolution favoring the initia-
tive and referendum, and was ruled
out of order by the chairman. Senator
Magill then appealed from the decision,
but the delegates sustained the ruling
of Chairman Doyle.

The committee on resolutions, 16 to
9, declined to insert a woman suffrage
plank in the platform, a summary of
which follows:

Indorsed Theodore Roosevelt for
President; indorsed President Taft's
administration and policies; commended
every feature of Governor Deneen's
administration; recommended amend-
ments to make the present anti-trust
laws more definite and easily under-
stood; indorsed the election of United
States senators by popular vote; in-
dorsed the principles of the system of
maximum and minimum tariff rates;
recommended a short ballot; recom-
mended the passage of an anti-pass
law for railroad and steamship lines
and anti-frank law for telegraph and
express companies; recommended the
passage of an effective corrupt practice
act; denounced control of the state
Legislature by "jackpot" and corrupt
bipartisan leaders.

The planks indorsing the administra-
tions of President Taft and former
President Roosevelt read in part as
follows:

We heartily indorse the administration of
President William H. Taft, both for its ju-
dicious progressiveness and for its remarkable
record of achievements. In his own way he
has carried out the policies of William Mc-
Kinley and Theodore Roosevelt, adding them
to his own and those measures in favor of
which the party has declared in its platform.

We heartily approve the great work done by
former President Theodore Roosevelt in arous-
ing the public conscience and mind to the
necessity for higher standards of public duty,
greater sense of public responsibility on the
part of the servants of the people, and the
necessity for protecting the people against
predatory business interests. We are heartily
in accord with his great work in bringing
the government of the people back into the
hands of the people, thereby restoring the true
ideal of democratic government.

RECALL OF DECISIONS.

On the point of how decisions shall be recalled the President has the better argument. Although in sympathy in general with Colonel Roosevelt's proposition that final authority rests with the people, and although believing that they can be trusted when acting under constituted forms of law, we have never been able to accept his proposition that decisions involving constitutional questions may properly be submitted to the verdict of the multitude. If decisions and laws and constitutional provisions are at variance with the popular desire, the better remedy is not through disregard of constitutional provisions and the abandonment of established and orderly forms by the substitution of popular expression at the polls. The remedy is further back than that, and the President is right when he says that there is a clear distinction between the approval by the people of general principles in a constitution and the interpretation by them of a statute and consideration of its probable operation in a particular case, together with its possible infringement of a general principle embodied in a constitutional provision.

The task of formulating general principles is delegated to representatives of the multitude, only the result being submitted to them for their approval or rejection.

When they find the courts, guided by the Constitution, are defeating what they wished to attain through the Constitution, the remedy is in eliminating from the Constitution the obstacle in the way. The trouble with constitutions often is that through a desire to insure to the people many rights and privileges the provisions of the Constitution become so many and so complicated as to afford shelter for unfavorable decisions. The simpler, the plainer, the clearer the Constitution the better, as states which have undertaken to legislate in their own constitutions will ultimately discover.

SHOCKS BOTH WAYS.

There is no denying the fact that a certain shock was felt when Colonel Roosevelt promulgated in his Columbus speech the unelaborated and unilluminated doctrine of the "recall of judicial decisions." Out of the discussion he has provoked has grown a clearer understanding of his meaning and since President Taft, in an address at Boston, advocated a plan which proposed by constitutional amendment to reach the same goal, though by a different route, a calmer and saner consideration of the subject is in progress over the country.

Since the supreme court decision in the now famous patent case—a decision, by the way, involving public interests to a vast degree and which was rendered by a minority of that court—people have been pondering this "recall" proposition and wondering whether a legislative enactment, dictated by public sentiment and practically reversing or nullifying a court decision, is not a recall after all.

Chief Justice White, in his dissenting opinion, says "the interests of the public are greater than a mere technical construction of the patent laws." If this is true, and it is true unquestionably, the interests of the public are greater than the "mere technical construction" of any law, patent or other kind. When the Chief Justice of the highest court, supported by Justices Hughes and Lamar, goes to the length of characterizing a decision of that court as "curtailing the rights of society and reaching into the home of every man," it is not astonishing if there is a shock to the public equal to that when Colonel Roosevelt made his utterance.

THE RECALL OF DECISIONS.

An article in the April Century from the pen of Prof. Edward Alsworth Ross furnishes striking evidence that Colonel Roosevelt is not alone and singular in his quest of some method of appealing from court decisions that nullify, on constitutional grounds alone, remedial principles demanded and secured by the people. Colonel Roosevelt has so restated and elucidated his views, since the Columbus speech, that he has made it clear that when he would "recall judicial decisions" he means that he would bring about an appeal to the people from these decisions which would seem to pass upon the policy of a law, in one case, or to say in another law that the will of the people, as expressed in the constitution, forbids it. He would have the people say whether they approved the principle and policy of the law in question or whether, in the constitution, they intended to forbid such legislation.

It matters very little whether Roosevelt is the pioneer in this line of thought. It is obvious that an article in a March magazine was prepared long before the Columbus speech and this is an extract from the article referred to:

It is possible, then, that democracy will take a fresh tack. The strong feeling against judges arises from their frequent overturning of hard-won remedial statutes on the ground of alleged unconstitutionality. Some Progressives propose that when one organ of government declares to be unconstitutional the act of a co-ordinate organ the issue thus made up shall go to the people, whose will the Constitution purports to embody. In a word, they would leave the court only the power to force any act of the Legislature deemed unconstitutional to a referendum.

Prof. Ross is a famous sociologist and economist and the author of several works which have become textbooks in the universities, besides a leading contributor to economical and sociological journals. It is plain that he and Colonel Roosevelt have directed their thoughts toward a common point and that the paths by which they reach it run in almost parallel lines.

Editorial

ST. P. Pioneer Press

Mon. Mar. 11, 1912

REPUBLICAN PARTY'S HANDICAP

The Solid South will have 181 votes in the next electoral college and these may be safely counted for the Democratic candidate for President. The next President of the United States will have to secure 266 votes in the electoral college.

Allowing the Democrats the 181 electoral votes in the South, their candidate would need but 85 votes in the North to make his election sure. The Republican candidate would have to capture 266 votes, all in the Northern States.

New York and New Jersey will have 59 votes in the electoral college and if these states are carried by the Democrats, their total would be 240, leaving but 26 more to be found in all the North, East and West. New York and New Jersey Republicans are already faction-torn, with bitter political hatreds growing more intense every day and the Democrats are making the best of the situation and confidently expecting to carry both states. Maine, New Hampshire, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Oregon, North Dakota and Nevada are admittedly debatable ground this year, and Massachusetts even may break away from the Republican column.

The political ice in the North offers dangerous skating for a divided party. The seriousness of the Republican handicap should impress the leaders who, while naturally anxious for victory, are encouraging the breach between the factions of the party.

SAYS RECALL IS NO REPUBLICAN TENET

Secretary Nagel Sees Danger to Republic in Political
"Nostrums."

HAVE GONE BRYAN ONE BETTER

Progressives, He Charges, Have Not Aided President in Fulfilling Party Pledges.

Indianapolis, Ind., March 11.—In a speech lauding President Taft's administration as a complete fulfillment of all the Republican platform pledges of 1908 and a strict continuation of the policies inaugurated by President Roosevelt, Secretary Nagel of the department of commerce and labor tonight made a vigorous attack upon the advocates of such governmental changes as the initiative, referendum and recall.

Secretary Nagel declared that the recall of judges "would make trimmers" and "deter men of independence and capacity from accepting positions of trust."

"It was conceivable fifty years ago that as a result of our internal strife there might have been two republics," he said. "It is conceivable today that if some of the suggestions impatiently put forward at this time are to prevail the question may arise whether or not there shall be one republic. Against such a contingency it behooves every citizen to set his face in absolute disregard of every other consideration personal or political."

Says Progressives Have Not Aided Taft.

The efforts of President Taft to carry out the pledges of the party, he said, had brought no aid from his Republican critics.

"For the last three years," said Secretary Nagel, "during a period of unflinching struggle to realize and bring into action every pledge that was made in the name of the Republican party there has been uttered scarcely a word of approval by them of these things accomplished. Scarcely a hand was raised to help lift the burden which the party by their consent and approval had assumed."

"Instead they have filled the air with nostrums, the acceptance of which they pronounce to be the sole test of the Progressive spirit. Instead of aiding to fulfill what has been solemnly promised in the name of the people, it is proclaimed that the initiative, the referendum and the recall of officials, including judges and of judicial decisions, shall from now on be the test of Progressive Republicanism."

Secretary Nagel denounced the charge that President Taft had abandoned the principles of the last administration. He declared that not one of those things for which critics of the administration were not contending had been embraced in the last Republican platform.

"If the recall of judges and decisions had been embodied in that platform," he said, "it is safe to say that there were men then, as there are men now, who could not stand upon such a plank and who could not support their favorite candidate upon such a platform because they would regard these principles as subversive of the fundamental principles of representative government."

Says Taft Fulfilled Pledges.

To President Roosevelt, said Secretary Nagel, belonged the credit for arousing the people to the full value of the laws to protect them against monopolies and combinations. Colonel Roosevelt first brought the interstate commerce laws into full effect, he said; and President Taft had devoted himself to carrying out the pledges and policies inaugurated by Mr. Roosevelt and indorsed in the national platform of 1908.

"Perhaps never in the history of the Republican party have so many distinct pledges of a platform been redeemed within one administration."

Further remedies were necessary, said Secretary Nagel, to make corporation control effective; but President Taft's critics were giving him no aid in getting such remedies.

"The initiative, referendum and recall are advocated by men who are ambitious for national office and generally avoided by men who have to do with local affairs. Each is busy making promises to which he cannot be successfully held," he said.

Sees Danger to Constitution.

"The adoption of these proposals," he said, "would mean that the Constitution to all intents and purposes, when its guarantees are most needed, is abolished."

"It means that the determination of what is right, and therefore what is constitutional, must be left to the author of the nostrum itself," said Secretary Nagel.

"It is one thing to make complaints; it is quite another thing to provide the relief. In the past we have never denied that there was much truth in Mr. Bryan's complaints; but we have denounced his remedies. Today we have to confess that critics in our own ranks have not only broadly accepted and enlarged upon his complaints, but have pre-empted and expanded the doctrine of his remedies."

KELLOGG OPPOSES JUDICIAL RECALL

An Admirer of Many of Roosevelt's Other Policies, He Criticises This One.

FRAUGHT WITH GRAVE DANGERS

Remedy for Unpopular Decisions, He Says, Lies in Constitutional Amendment.

Colonel Roosevelt's idea of judicial recall, or, as he expressed it at Columbus, recall of decisions, has provoked the opposition of a great many men who have followed him in most of the positions he has taken. Among those whose opinion with regard to the colonel's remedy for judicial mistakes and abuses is important, because of his relations to Mr. Roosevelt and because of his prominence as a lawyer, is Frank B. Kellogg of St. Paul.

After considerable urging Mr. Kellogg yesterday made the following statement:

Opposes Judicial Recall.

"Yes, I have read Colonel Roosevelt's Columbus speech and his Boston speech as they appeared in the newspapers. With most things he advocates I am in entire accord. The subject of the judicial recall, however, is one upon which I have taken a frequent and positive stand. I am opposed to it, and judging from the colonel's speeches, I do not think he really favors it. All that he wishes can be accomplished without the judicial recall or the plebiscite upon judicial decisions on constitutional questions. I am chairman of a committee of the American Bar association to oppose the principle by all proper means of education and public discussion. I conscientiously believe the doctrine of judicial recall to be fraught with grave danger to the people."

"I do not believe in the soundness or the wisdom of the decisions criticised by Colonel Roosevelt. Especially do I believe that the decision of the court of appeals in New York holding the workmen's compensation act unconstitutional was wrong in principle and restrictive of progressive legislation. But that is simply my view as a lawyer. I believe the remedy, however, lies not in providing for a vote to recall a judge or to pass upon the correctness of a judicial decision construing the Constitution, but rather in providing means for the amendment of the Constitution of the particular state so as to permit such legislation. The people make the Constitution, and they may undoubtedly change it, but I think they should preserve the constitutional government."

Protected by Bill of Rights.

"Centuries of human experience have shown that there must be checks upon arbitrary governmental power. For this purpose the American constitution containing the Bill of Rights was framed, and an independent judiciary provided to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of his personal and property rights and the privacy and sacredness of his home. This judiciary must of necessity stand between the legislative power and the citizen as well as between the executive power and the citizen, and decide disputes arising from day to day under our complex industrial system. It must protect the powerful against the weak. To make the judges subject to recall, or their decisions subject to review by popular vote will, in my judgment, take from them the independence necessary to the performance of the duties of their high office."

Amendment the Solution.

"No greater curse was ever inflicted upon a people than a corrupt and dependent judiciary. The judiciary of this country has been remarkably free from any taint of corruption, oppression and judicial scandals. On the other hand, I believe that the judges should be alive to the vital principles of human progress; that the people should reserve the right with reasonable facility to amend the constitution so as to permit enlightened progressive legislation. This can be easily accomplished by permitting the people to initiate (by petition, for instance) a constitutional amendment, and with reasonably speedy opportunity to vote upon its adoption. Of course safeguards should be provided so that constitutions cannot be changed by small minorities or as the result of momentary passions, but only by a sufficiently candid expression of public opinion to show that the change is really demanded. In this way the integrity of the judicial branch of the government is maintained. I have not time to go into the various arguments upon this question. I shall do so at some future opportunity."

WANTS THE HOUSE TO FAVOR PRIMARY

Norris Would Put Members on
Record for Plan Favored by
the Progressives.

BILL APPLIES TO WASHINGTON

But Measure Will Be Urged for Its
Effect on the Anti-Taft
Campaign.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, March 12.—An expression by the House on the subject of presidential preference primary laws is sought in a measure introduced today by Representative Norris of Nebraska, a Progressive who favors the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt as the Republican presidential candidate. Practically all of the House Progressives, including Roosevelt and La Follette men, will throw their support to the Norris bill, which has been referred to the committee on the District of Columbia.

The bill, drafted along the lines of the measure offered in the Senate some weeks ago by Senator Bristow of Kansas, provides for the establishment of the presidential preference primary system in the District of Columbia, which means, of course, in the city of Washington. While the bill itself applies only to the National Capital, Progressives believe it is of the highest importance in view of the fact that Messrs. Roosevelt and La Follette approve the principle involved, as contrasted with the alleged opposition of President Taft and his supporters, to secure an expression on the subject from the House of Representatives.

Believe House Will Pass It.

Present indications are that the Bristow bill will fail in the Senate if it is ever brought to a vote in that body. The Senate district committee reported the bill adversely. This action, in the opinion of Progressives, foreshadows its defeat by the Senate. The Progressives are of the opinion if the House is given an opportunity it will go on record in favor of presidential preference primary laws.

The Progressives believe a majority of the Democrats, whatever their convictions on the subject, would hesitate to vote against the idea of presidential primaries on the eve of a national election. On the other hand the Progressives contend that few Republicans would vote against the measure. In this connection it is pointed out that Representative McKinley of Illinois, director of the Taft bureau, soon may be given an opportunity to indicate where he stands personally on the question of popular presidential primaries.

It is the understanding that the fight to procure expression on presidential primaries was transferred to the House on the advice of Senator Dixon, the Roosevelt manager.

Put Members on Record.

Mr. Norris will make an effort to procure an early hearing on his bill before the committee. He would prefer a favorable report on the measure, of course, but will insist that the measure be reported in order that the House may be given an opportunity to pass on it. Mr. Norris and his fellow Progressives are determined that regulars, whether Republicans or Democrats, shall be forced to show their hands on the proposition.

Representative Johnson, Democrat, of Kentucky is chairman of the House committee on the District of Columbia. He is a regular and will probably use his influence with the committee to pigeonhole the bill. Representatives Prouty of Iowa and Cary of Wisconsin are the only Progressives on the committee. They will represent Mr. Norris. Representatives Lobeck of Nebraska, Adair of Indiana, König of Maryland, Aiken of South Carolina and Hamill of New Jersey, Democrats; Representative George of New York, Independent, and Representative Berger of Wisconsin, Socialist, are also said to be friendly to the bill.

Minnesotans Favor Bill.

The members of the Minnesota delegation in the House were generally in favor of the bill. Three of them, Republicans, Davis, Lindbergh and Volstead, announced themselves as supporters of the measure.

Representative Prouty of Iowa, who is a member of the committee which will consider the bill, said tonight:

"I am in favor of the abstract proposition of the presidential primary, and I believe that, while I have not examined the bill introduced by Representative Norris, I will support it. The people should have an opportunity to express their preference individually as to a candidate for President."

Representative Davis was enthusiastically in favor of the measure.

"The presidential primary is calculated to give the people an opportunity of expressing who they shall support in a presidential election," he said, "I am in favor of extending the primary everywhere and under all circumstances. The people of the District of Columbia should certainly be allowed to express their preference for President."

Representative Lindbergh was also strong in his comment on the Norris measure.

"There is no doubt in my mind," he said, "that the presidential primary is one of the most necessary reforms in political conditions. I favor any measure which will institute or extend it."

Representative Volstead said:

"While I am in favor of the presidential primary, I believe it should be forced on no one. If the people of the District of Columbia wish an opportunity to express their views for the presidential nomination, and an opportunity to definitely instruct their delegation, it should be given them."

Mr. Norris' View.

Discussing his bill Representative Norris said:

"I believe that the popular branch of Congress, more closely in touch with the great bulk of the people, should have an opportunity to express itself regarding the presidential primary issue. We are on the verge of a presidential election and for that reason, if for no other, the public should go on record on this proposition. I believe that an overwhelming majority of members of the House would favor the proposition if advanced on the floor, and I intend to exert every effort to force a vote upon the bill."

"Even if the Senate fails to act on the measure, as introduced by Senator Bristow, I believe it might respond to the popular will if expressed through the House."

PRIMARY BILL FIGHT

Indications Are Bad Feeling Will Be
Stirred Up in House Over
Norris Measure.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, March 13.—Present indications are that a good deal of bad feeling will be stirred up in the House over the Norris bill, which provides for the establishment of the system of presidential primaries in the District of Columbia. Representative Norris and his fellow Progressives intend to press the matter before the District of Columbia committee of which Representative Johnson of Kentucky is chairman. The indications are that the bill will be reported to the House, but whether favorably or adversely cannot now be determined.

It is understood that Representative Johnson has given assurances that so far as he is concerned the committee will give the Norris bill early consideration. Representative Norris believes this means the House soon will be given an opportunity to express itself on the subject of presidential primaries. Representative Kahn of California, a regular, is bitterly opposed to the Norris bill. He is a member of the committee.

"The primaries have already been held in the district," said Mr. Kahn. "I see no reason, therefore, why this measure should be passed. The Republicans of the district have gone on record as favoring the renomination of President Taft. To my mind this is nothing more or less than an effort to play to the galleries."

Representatives George of New York, Independent, and Redfield, New York, Democrat, said today they approved the principle of primaries and were in favor of a report on the Norris bill. Representative Lobeck of Nebraska, a Democrat, also indorsed the bill.

A canvass of the committee made today discloses that the committee is about evenly divided on the measure.

OPPOSITION TO THE PRIMARY.

The rejection of the primary system on the theory that it is not perfect will be regarded by many as a subterfuge. In the history of balloting, which is the secret registration of individual opinion, the primary of any character is comparatively new and the claim that it is perfect has never been advanced by its most ardent advocate. Some of the best features of our old, established voting system have been challenged as opening the way to fraud and error, but what would be the reception of a proposition to abolish, on that ground, the system itself?

As a matter of fact, nearly every thorough-going politician is opposed to the primary on political grounds. Former Congressman Tawney made a frank admission of this in a recent interview. He said in so many words that the primary was a menace to party integrity, meaning of course, that the opportunity for individual expression threatened party power in proportion as it exalted individual power.

There is something to think about in this. It is rash and probably untrue to say that opponents of the presidential preference primary are those only who believe that such an expression as a primary would develop would be against their partisan views. Probably it is nearer the truth to say that these opponents are far-seeing political statesmen who realize that the ascendancy of the individual in politics means the downfall of the power of the party organization. And they are right. Allegiance to an organization weakens in proportion to the assertion of the individual opinion. There is no escaping the significance of the slackness, if not weakness, of the tie which holds men within party lines today. Time was when men were for party, right or wrong; for party, when right, with enthusiasm; for party, when wrong, with regret. Time has changed and the change has tended to dissipate the sense of party obligation, right or wrong.

Ponder the objection, in notable quarters, to any extension of the primary and the conclusion is forced that it has a reason other than any difficulty in safeguarding the plan. It is the finger-hole in the dike of party solidarity.

THREE PLANS IN BRIEF.

"Kindly explain briefly the provisions of the initiative, referendum and recall."

It is not without significance that this request comes from a woman, who adds that her club in Brown's Valley had the matter up and in the discussion which followed it was made clear that the subjects were not well understood. It is interesting to know, and in the light of possibilities it is also important, that women are engaged in a discussion of governmental principles; therefore the duty of answering the question becomes a pleasure.

Confusion might follow anything like an elaborate and complicated description, therefore the simplest form and terms are employed in each case.

The initiative is a provision of the law by which a fixed percentage of the qualified electors—8 or 10 per cent is the popular figure—may propose or initiate any piece of legislation that is desired. So initiated, the proposed law must be passed without amendment by the Legislature, or, failing such passage, be submitted to the voters of the state. If approved by a majority vote it becomes a law without legislative action and is not subject to the veto of the governor.

The referendum means the submission to the vote of the people of any act of the Legislature, upon formal demand of a fixed percentage of qualified voters, from 5 to 10 per cent being the customary figure. The usual provision is that upon the legal demand made within ninety days after the passage of any law, or within a specified time after the adjournment of the Legislature, such law shall be submitted to the popular vote, to be ratified or annulled by the majority vote. It is what might be called a popular approval or veto of a proposed law. A law so referred to the voters and by them approved is not subject to executive veto. There are varying features in the several plans, some providing for referring only statute law and others including constitutional law as well.

The recall is a device for placing in the hands of the voters the power to impeach and remove an elective public officer. When a percentage—say, 20 or 25—sign a petition demanding the recall of an official, he must resign or contest his seat at a special election against a new candidate chosen by the petitioners, or chosen otherwise, as the plan may provide. Briefly, the recall subjects the affected official to a vote of confidence, and unless he receives this indorsement in the form of a majority of the vote he is unseated. The official impeached by a recall petition must stand or fall by the vote of the people.

Though not of necessity, the initiative and referendum are usually associated in government plans and the recall commonly is added, but any of the plans may be employed independently. Several cities have adopted the recall system without touching the lawmaking feature, the power having been granted by special charters. In most states constitutional changes would be necessary to permit the adoption of any of the trio of governmental plans.

PROMPT DECISION DESIRABLE.

The department of justice has a very interesting and important point to decide in the question put up to it by Congress whether the electoral college, which will elect the successor to President Taft, will consist of 490 members, as in 1908, or of 513 members, under the new reapportionment law. It is, however, entirely a question of when the law takes effect, the common belief being that March 4 next is the time. Under the law each state shall have as many presidential electors as it has senators and congressmen, and by the new apportionment the total will be 513; but if the change is not effective until March 4, when congressmen elected in November shall take their seats, the electoral representation will continue as at present.

Whatever may be the decision of the legal department of the government it will be without effect upon the coming conventions, representation in which is arbitrarily fixed by the several national committees. Minnesota, for example, will be entitled to twenty-four delegates to each of the national conventions, regardless of a decision which may hold her electoral vote to eleven instead of twelve; and the same is true of every state.

The decision should come, however, in time to govern the naming of electors in those states which gain by the reapportionment, in order to prevent confusion. The call for the Republican convention in Minnesota provides for the selection of twelve electors, whereas the state will be entitled to but eleven electoral votes if the new law is not effective until March 4. To avoid confusion and prevent the necessity of a recasting of electoral tickets all over the country the decision of the department of justice should expedite the handing down of the decision. It is rather remarkable that political proceedings should have reached their present stage without attention having been directed to this important point.

CAN EITHER SURVIVE?

To that large number of Americans who draw their political inspiration from the Republican party and whose political horizon is otherwise limited by close party affiliation, the Massachusetts speech of President Taft must come first as the forerunner of party tribulations innumerable. With the rest of the American people the sensations aroused by that address and the conception of the consequences will vary with the personal view or the political association.

The right must be conceded to President Taft to repel what he regards as an attack upon himself, his administration and his party policy and there can be no two opinions about the frankness and vigor with which he avails himself of that right. His reputation as a forceful platform orator was already established and will not suffer, in that respect, from the straight-from-the-shoulder energy with which he went to his own defense and passed to the attack upon his whilom friend, Colonel Roosevelt. It was inevitable that President Taft, as a candidate for renomination and the collateral vote of approval, must quit the defensive and assume the aggressive and the result is the broadside he delivered in Boston last night.

But what will be the next event in sequence. None can doubt the expedition with which Colonel Roosevelt will launch his counter-attack. To doubt would be to confess a lack of knowledge of the energetic and strenuous leader. He will return blow for blow and every atom of his virile and vigorous nature will be exerted to make his counter the stronger. To turn the other cheek is not one of his characteristics. His fighting blood will be up and his return to the charge will be with surcharged energy. No less will be expected of him.

Interesting reading as this conflict of the two great political champions will afford, the thoughtful of the people must be impressed with the seriousness of the consequences to both. This is the beginning of a battle without quarter. It is a duel to the death, in a political sense. It is doubtful whether either of these redoubtable champions can survive the wounds which will be inflicted before the combat terminates. Such an inflamed state of feeling will be established between President Taft and Colonel Roosevelt and their respective supporters that it looks like a hopeless task to undertake to unite them in support of either, should either prove the choice of the Chicago convention. Such a chasm will yawn between them that attempt at conciliation and a union in the battle with the forces of Democracy seem futile at this time.

There have already been vague intimations of a compromise candidate as necessary to party success. If the bitterness of feeling engendered prior to this time had been sufficient to suggest the expediency of a candidacy free from these troublesome associations, there is little room to doubt, after the Boston speech, that the suggestion will take added weight and cause thoughtful Republicans to look askance at the probability of electing either Roosevelt or Taft in the event either is chosen at the national assemblage at Chicago.

Weather—

Showers Sunday;
Monday Probably
Fair.

PRICE 5 CENTS

COLONEL AND TAFT WORRYING LEADERS

Republican Chiefs in Washington
Fear Duel of Words Will
React on Party.

MAKES DEMOCRATS HAPPY

Manager McKinley's Attacks on
Roosevelt Growing in Bitter-
ness Daily.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, April 27.—Political Washington is startled over the bitter duel of words in which President Taft and former President Roosevelt have engaged with a view to affect the Massachusetts primary election. Republican leaders are shocked over the bitter arraignment of Colonel Roosevelt by President Taft, and the equally bitter reply made by the colonel. The Democrats characterize the performance as "disgraceful" but nevertheless are happy in the thought that with the two big leaders of the opposition engaged in a war to the death, their candidate for President this year stands a better chance than ever of landing in the White House.

Opinions vary among Republicans as to the effect of the speeches made by the President and his predecessor. Friends of Mr. Taft declare that his attacks upon the colonel make certain a Taft victory in Massachusetts, and the triumphant renomination of the President. On the other hand, Progressives insist that the President's speech, while bitter in terms, was lacking in logic and argument and fell on deaf ears among the voters.

Widens Republican Split.

The fight between the President and the colonel has intensified the factional differences among the Republicans. Predictions are freely made here that in the event of the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt he will lose the support of practically all the conservative leaders of the party. This does not scare the Progressives. They aver that the nomination of Mr. Taft would be party suicide, and that if he is named Colonel Roosevelt would draw sufficient support from the Democrats to offset any Republican losses.

As a general proposition Republicans are chagrined over the personal campaign that is in progress. They declare that it is undignified on the part of the President to resort to the style of attack to which he has resorted, whatever the provocation, and that it undoubtedly will react on him as well as on the party as a whole. Many regulars, severe in their denunciation of Colonel Roosevelt for his arraignment of the President and the administration, are regretful that Mr. Taft felt it incumbent upon himself to plunge into a joint debate with Colonel Roosevelt.

Contentions of Progressives.

Mr. Roosevelt's denunciation of President Taft, in the speech at Worcester, Mass., last night is regarded by the Progressives as an effective reply to the attacks made on the colonel by Mr. Taft and his administration. Progressives declare that Mr. Taft's charge that Colonel Roosevelt always played in with the old guard as unfair, insisting that Mr. Roosevelt forced the regulars to uphold his hand on all legislation during his seven years' occupancy of the White House. They point out further that Mr. Taft was a part of the Roosevelt administration and that he must shoulder his share of the blame if fault is to be found with the failure to prosecute the harvester trust.

Progressives further point out, although more than three years have elapsed since Mr. Taft was inaugurated President, no proceedings have been filed against the harvester trust. They insist that, if the charge can in fairness be made that President Roosevelt refused or failed to move in the courts against the corporation because of friendliness with harvester officers, the same charge in fairness may be made against President Taft and his administration.

The publication of private letters by the President has saddened many regular supporters of the administration.

Bitter Fight in Massachusetts.

In the meantime the Massachusetts campaign, according to advices received at the respective headquarters, is being waged with great bitterness. Both sides are rushing funds and speakers to the front, and the fight will be continued up to the moment the primaries open on Tuesday. Director McKinley of the Taft forces and Senator Dixon, the Roosevelt manager, profess confidence in the outcome, but it is known that both of them are anxious. The Taft people admit privately that if the President is defeated in Massachusetts he might just as well get out of the race. Publicly they proclaim that if the President carries the Bay State it will be all over but the shouting, but privately they do not expect to see the issue joined for some time. Aside from Massachusetts twenty states have yet to elect Republican delegates in whole or in part.

Lindbergh to Stump for Colonel.

Representative Lindbergh of Minnesota was one of the Progressives who left for Massachusetts today to speak for Colonel Roosevelt. Formerly a supporter of Senator La Follette, Mr. Lindbergh, like Senator Clapp, who already has delivered many speeches in behalf of the colonel in Massachusetts has gone over to the support of the former President.

The Taft bureau here continues to hand out statements arraigning Colonel Roosevelt. As the campaign progresses Director McKinley's daily pronouncements grow in bitterness,

Over

RIVAL FIGURES DIFFER GREATLY

McKinley Estimates President Has
Within 79 of Enough Delegates
to Nominate Him.

DIXON SCOFFS AT THE CLAIM

Republicans Generally Discount the
Statements of Both Managers—
Gossip of the Campaign.

By John E. Monk.

Washington, May 2.—Basing his estimate on the returns from Massachusetts, Director McKinley of the Taft bureau claims that President Taft now has 461 delegates pledged or instructed for his renomination. He concedes Colonel Roosevelt only about half that number. "Mr. Taft lacks only seventy-nine votes of an actual majority in the Chicago convention," said Director McKinley, who added, "there remain yet to act the great Republican states of Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, South Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, California and Washington in every one of which President Taft will increase his lead over Mr. Roosevelt."

"In addition, Maryland, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas also have substantial contributions to make to the Taft column and the President cannot fail of an actual majority of more than 100 delegates at Chicago. President Taft will have an actual majority at Chicago of the Republican delegates from the East, the West and from the South, and he will have an actual majority of all instructed delegates and a large majority of all uninstructed delegates for his renomination."

Senator Dixon, the Roosevelt manager, scoffs at Director McKinley's figures. He estimates that Mr. Taft has about half the number claimed for him. As a matter of fact Republicans generally discount the claims made by Director McKinley as well as those made by Senator Dixon. They believe that there is a big "silent" among the delegates waiting to see who is to be in charge of the band wagon.

A prominent Republican, friendly to the cause of President Taft, was bemoaning the fact that Mr. Taft is unskilled in the ways of politics. This Republican eulogized the President as a statesman, and a patriot, and insisted that his administration would go down in history with a record for progressiveness that would compare with any that had gone before. "But Mr. Taft is an unfortunate man," he said. "He is constantly getting into trouble through no fault of his own. It is my deliberate judgment that if Mr. Taft was sent to Sing Sing to investigate the prison there, unconsciously he would sit down in the electric chair."

Democratic leaders believe that a mistake was made when the national committee decided that the party convention should meet on June 25, just eight days later than the assembling of the Republican convention. As things are now going Democratic leaders fear that the Republican convention may be prolonged, possibly for a week, and they do not relish the idea of proceeding with their deliberations while the opposition is going ahead with its work. Some weeks ago the suggestion was made by Senator Bacon of Georgia that the date of the Democratic convention should be moved ahead a week or two. This idea was given some consideration, but it was not acted upon. The Democrats realize that if a deadlock occurs in the Republican convention there is a fair prospect that the affair will lap over into the week that will be devoted by them to the task of nominating candidates and building a platform. They still are hopeful that when they meet in convention that the Republicans will have completed their work, thus giving the Democrats practically all the space in the newspapers.

A good story is going the rounds in Washington relative to Senator Clapp of Minnesota. It is based upon Mr. Clapp's alleged desertion of Senator La Follette for Colonel Roosevelt. According to those who tell the story, former Representative J. Adam Bede recently sent a dispatch to Senator Clapp reading as follows: "You have not come out for a new candidate for a month. Better get busy at once, or the folks at home will get the idea that you're a stand-patter."

"Political dope" was badly upset when Theodore Roosevelt made a killing in West Virginia. That state has a fine Republican organization whose leaders smiled disdainfully over claims made that Roosevelt had a chance to land the West Virginia delegates. Leaders in Washington familiar with conditions in West Virginia admitted that the colonel had a large personal following, but they declared that the old Elkins-Scott-Bowers machine would deliver the delegates as per schedule to President Taft. This was before Colonel Roosevelt invaded the state. Late returns received from West Virginia covering 55 counties in the state, show that Roosevelt has captured 700 delegates and Taft 222. The Roosevelt forces will control the state convention to be held on May 21 by an overwhelming vote. President Taft received a majority in only eight of the West Virginia counties, and carried only two counties solidly. In all other counties Roosevelt was triumphant by heavy majorities. Roosevelt's success in West Virginia is believed to mark the passing of Nathan Bay Scott, who has represented the state on the Republican committee for many years.

Despite the fact that Champ Clark, Speaker of the House, has picked up at least 150 delegates so far, and bids fair to become a contender for first honors in the Democratic national convention to be held in Baltimore in June, leaders do not believe that the Missourian will be nominated. Republicans generally, and scores of Democrats of national prominence, are of the opinion that notwithstanding the bright outlook for his party that the Speaker would probably be defeated at the polls. The impression seems to be quite general that with Clark opposing the Republican candidate, whoever he may be, would stand an excellent chance of election. Clark's affiliation with Hearst, it is charged, would prove hurtful. Years ago, in a speech delivered in the House, Mr. Clark compared Grover Cleveland with Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold. Cleveland is classified as a great patriot by many conservative Democrats who would never support the Speaker, it is claimed. Formerly Mr. Clark was one of the most garrulous members of the House. He spoke on all occasions, and was usually put to the fore in all partisan debates. He has built up a record in Congress, his opponents declare that would seriously embarrass him as a presidential candidate. His prediction made during the course of debate in the House a year ago that Canadian reciprocity was the first step in the direction of annexation is in consonance with intemperate and ill-timed remarks that have been made by him from time to time during his twenty years in public life, according to those who oppose his nomination. Nevertheless and notwithstanding Mr. Clark is a candidate, and just at this time he is running as fast as a Missouri "houn dawg."

In states where delegates are yet to be named Director McKinley declares Mr. Taft will obtain more than enough to win. Replying to Director McKinley, Senator Dixon declares that the figures of the Taft bureau should be discounted at least 25 per cent. Many delegates claimed for Taft are classified as "uninstructed" and "contested" by the Roosevelt managers.

and the terms "liar," "demagogue," "traitor to friendship" and "corruption," all applied to Colonel Roosevelt, are used with great frequency.

Senator Dixon today made public a statement telegraphed to him by Colonel Cecil Lyon of Texas that is self-explanatory. It reads as follows:

Lyon Gives Lie to McKinley.

"Things going well here. I have sent following telegram to McKinley which you are authorized and requested to publish:

"Director McKinley, Taft Bureau, Washington, D. C.: Your Sunday statement that I was ever interested directly or indirectly in any Mexican concession is a plain lie, as can be proven by records of the Mexican government.

"Your statement saying any influence I ever exercised in Indian affairs was improper is another lie, and can be proven by Congressman Campbell and Indian committee which examined me at my request.

"Your statement that I am begging or will accept election as a district delegate is another lie.

"I will hold you personally responsible for any others.

"Your predictions regarding Texas are on a par with those concerning other states. If I could not carry my own state, district, county, ward or precinct, I would certainly quit trying to run a presidential campaign."

Alabama Attack on Taft.

Senator Dixon also gave out an interview with Judge Oscar R. Handley, a Republican leader of Alabama who declared that, "to the people of the South, who know full well the hand played by the Taft officeholders and the President himself is seeking to control the Southern delegates, the statement made by President Taft 'That the influence of federal officeholders in the Chicago convention this year will be less effective for any one candidate than ever before in the history of the party, is extremely amusing.'"

Mr. Handley continued:

"So anxious has Mr. Taft been to secure the Southern delegates that he was a party directly and personally to the holding of a convention in the State of Alabama on the 31st day of August, 1911, at which delegates-at-large and alternates were elected and instructed for him. This convention was held more than four months before the national committee had made the formal call for the national convention. It was a snap convention pure and simple."

Dixon Quotes Taft.

Another broadside thrown at the Taft camp today by Senator Dixon was in the form of the article on Roosevelt that appeared in Collier's March 4, 1909 under the name of "William H. Taft. In statements recently made public by Director McKinley appear sneering references to observations made by Roosevelt's supporters comparing Roosevelt with Lincoln. In his Collier's article President Taft compared the former President with Washington and Lincoln as follows:

"When the fraction of the last few months shall be forgotten, when the mists of momentary irritation shall have disappeared, the greatness of Theodore Roosevelt as President and leader of men in one of the great moral movements of the country's history will become clear to every one, and he will take his place in history with Washington and Lincoln."

NORRIS WANTS FACTS

Nebraskan Seeks Basis for Charge Against Commerce Court Judge.

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, April 27.—President Taft will decide early next week whether he shall comply with the resolution introduced by Representative Norris of Nebraska calling for all papers in the Department of Justice bearing on the case of Judge Robert Archbald of the United States commerce court. It has been stated in a number of newspaper publications that serious charges involving the alleged relations of Judge Archbald with the Erie railroad have been made, and that these charges were inquired into by Attorney General Wickersham. It was to ascertain the facts as publicly reported that Representative Norris introduced his resolution.

The charges said to have been made against Judge Archbald are in regard to a business transaction he had with the Erie railroad. It is alleged that the judge bought a Culm pile in Pennsylvania from the Erie railroad for a nominal amount, and sold it for a comparatively large sum. An effort has been made to show that the transaction was in some respects an improper one on the part of the judge.

In a statement today Representative Norris said that if the supposed charges against Judge Archbald are found to be true that they should be made the ground for impeachment proceedings by the House. "I have no knowledge as to the truth of the charges in this case," said Mr. Norris. "They have been freely circulated in the press, however, and as the facts should be known to the House I introduced a resolution calling for the alleged facts. If the charges are true impeachment proceedings should be instituted. My understanding is that the Attorney General wishes to confer with the President before complying with the terms of the resolution."

There is a suspicion in Washington that there is politics in the fight against Judge Archbald.

INDIAN PROBE BEGUN

Heads of Schools for Reds in Northern Minnesota and Dakotas Ordered to Report Conditions.

Special to the Pioneer Press.

Fargo, N. D., April 27.—Preparator it is said, to a detailed investigation of conditions now prevailing on Indian reservations throughout the Northwest, Commissioner Valentine, in charge of the United States Indian department, tonight began an inquiry. The commissioner issued instructions to the superintendents of all Indian schools in Northern Minnesota and the Dakotas, asking an immediate report on general conditions.

The first report will be followed by a detailed statement of the number of Indians, if any, who have died or are dying of starvation; the number properly clothed and housed, the number of Indian children regularly in attendance at school, the number of cases of communicable disease, the number of infirm, blind and maimed and detailed statements concerning habits of living.

Information now in the hands of government officials is said to be responsible for the inquiry, which will be the most exhaustive ever made. It is stated that the information which officials have charges that numbers of Indians on reservations have been starved and frozen to death, and that many more are dying from disease.

HIGHBINDERS SLAY THEM.

Chinese Murderers and Murdered Salinas, Cal., Unidentified.

Salinas, Cal., April 27.—Five Highbinders broke into a room tonight where four Chinese were playing cards and shot three of them dead, wounded the fourth seriously and escaped. Murdered and murderers are unidentified. The wounded man would not make a statement.

THREE MEN AND THEIR COLLEGES.

The college man has an opportunity to prove himself in this campaign of 1912. For, for the first time in the history of this country, candidates for the chief office come from the chief universities and are distinctly associated in the public mind with colleges.

Wilson has been so recently connected with Princeton that he has not yet lost the academic air, in spite of the fact that his mind has less of the classic or the bound quality than the other men. Roosevelt, who hardly suggests the college man, notwithstanding his omnivorous intellectual curiosity, is an overseer of Harvard, and the universe knows his university affiliation. Taft, in spite of the fact that he left Yale to enter immediately upon political-official life, which we do not associate with collegians, has become somehow absolutely identified with Yale. Each of these three men is of his college, so distinctly of his college that each recalls the old story of the New Haven girl who said to a Harvard man, "You can always tell a Harvard man"—with the quick rejoinder, "But you can't tell him much."

The three men were born one, two, three; Wilson in '56, Taft in '57, Roosevelt in '58. And they graduated one, two, three; Taft in '78, Wilson in '79, Roosevelt in '80. Wilson is the eldest of the three, and he graduated later in life than either of the others; not, it is easily believed, because he had less of the scholar quality about him, but without question because he had to "make his way" more than the others. The three men faced life in the early '80s, which was the most formative time for young minds—up to this most formative time of today. Each one voted first for President in that Garfield-Hancock campaign of 1880, which contemporaries do not remember with much pride, a veritable "spoils" campaign.

But it is rather in their relations to their colleges that interest centers today. What will be the effect upon the active campaign of the Harvard, the Yale, the Princeton sentiment? For the alumni strength of these universities must be something to be considered. Harvard, with nearly three centuries to its credit, has a present enrollment of undergraduate men of more than four thousand, a roll of living alumni amounting to eighteen thousand. Yale, with a little more than two centuries to its credit, has nearly three thousand five hundred undergraduate men and fifteen thousand living alumni. Princeton, a century and a half in age, has an undergraduate population of fifteen hundred and living alumni voters amounting to about six thousand.

On the face of it, Roosevelt of Harvard has much the best of it. He may need that body of alumni voters, especially as these are particularly strong in the New England States, where he is supposed not to be strong; but the Harvard vote is not unanimously for Roosevelt. Taft of Yale, with a smaller alumni backing, has two advantages; Yale men have an almost pathetic loyalty to their own, and Yale men are more widespread through the country and can make their influence felt. Yale might almost counteract Harvard in Minnesota, where naturally Roosevelt is strong. Wilson of Princeton has the smallest backing, and much of this is to be found in the South, where he is strong anyway; but he makes an appeal, more than either Roosevelt or Taft, to the university men who are of none of these three schools.

What would the predecessors of these candidates think? John Adams, to be sure, was a graduate of Harvard, back in 1755, and James Madison of Princeton in 1771, Pierce of Bowdoin in 1824. But for the most part our presidents have been college men not at all, and the most distinguished had scant schooling. Ambitious candidates of today without diplomas, have the audacity to base their claim on such lack of education, such implied self-education. But, the United States has always liked the "little red schoolhouse," and it may like the college. We shall see which college has the national suffrage.

WOMEN AND THE PRESIDENT.

While the campaign managers are confining their arguments and appeals to the male voting population of the nation and will continue to do so until the polls are closed in November, it should not be forgotten the women are going to cut a very important figure in the selection of a President of the United States this year. It is quite possible that they may decide the election.

It is estimated that about 1,125,000 women will be entitled to vote in the presidential elections this year. This is about one-fourteenth of the probable vote for all the candidates. Women vote in California, Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah and Washington, states having 37 votes in the electoral college. Neither of these states is pivotal by any means, but all of them are debatable, and it is conceivable that in a closely contested election their votes may decide the issue. California alone has 672,000 women entitled to vote. In that state the fair sex predominates by large majority, a peculiar fact in the face of the general impression that women are scarce in the Far West.

There is a prospect, too, that three other states may be added to the list of those in which women may vote before the Ides of November. Oregon, Wisconsin and Kansas will vote on equal suffrage amendments in September, with a healthy prospect that all three states will vote for the enlargement of the franchise. These states have 27 electoral votes which added to the 37 in the five Western States would make a total of 64 votes in the college of 531 electors, or more than one-ninth. Presidents have been elected by very narrow margins in the electoral college, and it would seem that the campaign managers might do well to devote a little special attention to the woman vote this year.

REFUSES TO BE COMFORTED.

The American Economist, the official organ of the American Protective Tariff league, which is an organization of the manufacturers who for years have been reaping the benefits of the high protective tariff system, absolutely refuses to find any comfort in the political situation of the day. The sacred schedules are in danger and the Economist is worrying all day and seeing things at night.

The Economist is against Roosevelt because he "betrayed protection by bludgeoning the Cuban reciprocity agreement through Congress." It hesitates to support Mr. Taft because of "his downward revision and Canadian free-trade reciprocity treaty" and refuses utterly to stand for "Cummins, with his record of declaring that the protective tariff is responsible for more corruption, more extortion and more graft than can be found in the annals of life insurance since the world began; La Follette, with his record of tariff destroying propensities."

This apparently eliminates all of the active and prominent aspirants for the Republican presidential nomination at Chicago, but the Economist, while despondent, is resourceful and has a suggestion of its own that holds promise of peace and security and continued fancy profits for the trust-fattened beneficiaries of the high protective tariff. It says:

Would it not be a splendid thing if the party of protection should decide to go outside of this entire group of aspirants and nominate for the presidency a candidate who could and would stand on a sound, uncompromising protection platform, and who would, after his election, continue to stand on such a platform? The American Economist has no pet candidate, no favorite son. All it wants is to see protectionism once again put before the people squarely, definitely, and without apology, and a candidate nominated and elected on that issue. With such an issue, and a candidate who shall measure up to that issue, protection can surely win.

We fear the Economist is not wholly frank in declaring that it has no favorite candidate for the presidential nomination on the Republican ticket. We prefer to think it has several favorites and is troubled about making a choice among them. With Nelson W. Aldrich, Sereno Elisha Payne, Joseph Gurney Cannon, John Dalzell and James Schoolcraft Sherman still actively on guard over the cherished schedules, which they look upon as the bulwark of the nation and the keystone of the whole governmental structure, the Economist must have one or several favorite candidates. We suspect that the Economist will finally come up with a boom for "Funny Jim" Sherman.

A MUD-SLINGING CAMPAIGN.

The intelligent American voter who is considering candidates and honestly endeavoring to decide whom he will support in the ante-convention contests and at the polls in November is receiving little help from the candidates and their political managers, who are just now busily engaged in throwing mud instead of presenting arguments.

Colonel Bryan says he can prove by President Taft that Colonel Roosevelt should not be nominated and can prove by Colonel Roosevelt that President Taft should not be nominated. And that is just the beginning of the fight. Colonel Bryan has endeavored to prove that neither Governor Harmon nor Congressman Underwood should be nominated, and the Governor and the Congressman have advanced all sorts of reasons against the nomination of Colonel Bryan or any of his friends. Colonel Watterson has resorted to vituperation against Governor Wilson and Champ Clark has been slamming every head that shows.

The campaign managers and some of the candidates appear to have directed their efforts to prove that their opponents are falsifiers, lacking in integrity, traitors to good government and allied with evil influences and interests. There has practically been no safe and sane discussion of the merits of the various candidates and little offered that appeals to the thinking voter. The situation is not complimentary to the candidates or their managers and is little short of an insult to the voters.

THE EAST AND THE ELECTIONS.

Political statisticians and forecasters are discovering that the great growth of the cities and centers of population in the Eastern cities indicate that the election of this year will be decided by the votes east of the Mississippi river, in spite of the fact that the star of political empire has been traveling toward the West for a good many years.

In the presidential election in 1908, the total number of electors was 483. This year it will be 531—an increase of 48. What state gets most of this increase? New York, which, instead of 39 electors, will have 45. Pennsylvania, which, instead of 34 electors, will have 38 comes next. New Jersey gains 2 (from 12 to 14), and those three states, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, will gain more than any other group of states in the country.

In the "Middle West," Indiana makes no gain. Ohio and Michigan get 1 additional elector each; Illinois gains 2.

The fourteen states of the South gain collectively 7 electors. The booming and blooming Pacific Coast States gain 7, of which 3 are allotted to California. The Great West, once the prairie land of adventure and opportunity, shows little gain. Missouri shows and "is shown" none. Nebraska, Kansas and Iowa are stationary, with no more electoral votes than they had four years ago. Actually the population of Iowa is less than it was ten years ago, and Kansas and Nebraska, notwithstanding its eloquent insurgents, Republican and Democratic, have gained little.

Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Colorado and Minnesota each gain an elector. Wisconsin has the same electoral vote as it had four years ago—13. Wyoming has no gain. The increase of three electors in Oklahoma, still booming, is offset by three electors in staid New England, two in Massachusetts and one in Rhode Island.

No state loses any vote in the electoral college of 1912, but with an increase of 48 electors those states which have no increase are relatively going backward. On the surface indications, it would seem that the election in November would be decided by the votes of the Eastern States, but there are other factors to be considered. If there is a big victory for any candidate, the Eastern States will have the deciding vote and figure more largely in it, but in the case of a close contest, the Western States may cut a very decided figure in the electoral count. Washington, Oregon, California, the Dakotas and Colorado at least are debatable grounds in the coming campaign, much depending upon the candidates nominated for the presidency. Party ties rest very lightly these days on the voters of the entire West and Northwest and party discipline is almost a joke. None of the states named can be classed as safe by either party. The ballots will go to the candidate who can command the confidence of the voters, most of whom must be classed as independent.

REPUBLICAN PARTY MENACE.

Some of the Republican leaders in the Eastern States are becoming keenly concerned over what may be the effect on the election of the bitterness that is developing between the supporters of the administration and the advocates of Colonel Roosevelt. While all talk of the Progressive Republicans starting a third party movement in case of the renomination of President Taft has ceased, it is becoming more and more apparent every day that there must be heavy defections from the ranks in case of the nomination of either the President or the Colonel, unless there is a radical change in the methods now being used in their advocacy.

The New York Press has received written answers to something more than 10,000 letters sent to mail subscribers in New York State and New England asking their preference for the presidential nomination. The returns show that 313 voters out of every 1,000, thus far answering, favor the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt, and 238 votes out of every 1,000 favor the renomination of President Taft, while about one-third of the voters answering do not favor either the President or the Colonel. But the most significant feature of the poll is thus stated by the Press:

The facts are that 195 Republican voters out of every 1,000 thus far answering have declared that they would not vote at the polls for Mr. Taft if he were nominated in the convention. The facts are that 171 Republican voters out of every 1,000 thus far answering have declared that they would not vote for Colonel Roosevelt at the polls if he were nominated in the convention. Such a Republican defection as either 19½ or 17 per cent would make a mockery of the party at the polls.

This condition in New York and England is typical of the feeling in many other sections of the country. In every state and in every community there are many Republicans who openly declare they will not vote for Colonel Roosevelt if he is nominated, and perhaps as many or more others who are emphatic in their declaration of intent to vote the Democratic ticket if President Taft is renominated. The defection, in either event, promises to be large enough to menace success at the polls. Colonel Roosevelt, however, has one advantage over President Taft in respect to the threatened defection. Most of the President's loss of Republican votes will be a net, dead loss, while if Colonel Roosevelt is nominated it is generally conceded that he will draw many votes, perhaps enough to offset the Republican defection from Democrats and others who would hardly support Mr. Taft under any circumstances.

FRANKING PRIVILEGE ABUSE.

Apparently the people of the United States are to be taxed directly to pay the expenses of the literary bureaus of the political campaign, whether they like it or not. Colonel Roosevelt's "Charter of Democracy" speech is being sent throughout the country under the frank of Senator Clapp, whose frank is also carrying tons of La Follette literature and other printed matter in the interests of the Progressive cause. Senator Clapp is not alone in this work, although his activities are attracting the most attention just now, particularly in Minnesota and North Dakota. All of the active politicians in the House and Senate will soon be burdening the mails with franked political speeches and the people will have to pay the postal deficit.

The plan employed by the political campaign managers is simplicity itself. They take a prepared speech and ask some senator or representative to have it printed as a public document. There is never any opposition to such plans, as all the senators and representatives indulge in the practice and do not think of interfering with their own political schemes of this character. The work is then done at the government printing office and the literature sent out under the franks of some member of the Congress. Thousands of tons of this kind of literature are distributed throughout the country in every campaign, without expense or postage. A nominal charge is made by the government for additional copies of such documents, but the charge would not much more than pay for the ink. The government practically furnishes the paper, the labor, the cost of printing and the cost of carrying the political literature through the mails. The commercial printers of the country are thus deprived in every campaign of many thousands of dollars worth of work which should go to them and the people are taxed to pay the cost of the free transmission of this mass of literature through the mails.

It has been estimated by several experts and commissions that if the franking privilege were abolished, there would be no deficit in the postal revenues and that the way would be paved for a reduction of the letter postage rate to 1 cent. Whether that would be the result or not, it is nothing less than a scandal that the people should be taxed, through the abuse of the franking privilege, for the big share of the expenses of the political parties in a campaign.

St. P. Pioneer Press
Thurs. May 2, 1912.

HOW THE CANDIDATES STAND

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, May 1.—The standing of the presidential candidates, according to the latest information received from the respective headquarters was as follows:

Republicans.

Delegates in convention.....1,078
Necessary to choice..... 540
Instructed or pledged for Taft 448
Instructed or pledged for
Roosevelt 224
Instructed for La Follette.... 36
Instructed for Cummins..... 10

Democrats.

Delegates in convention.....1,092
Necessary to choice..... 728
Instructed for Clark..... 194
Instructed for Wilson..... 113
Instructed for Marshall..... 30
Instructed for Burke..... 10
Instructed for Underwood.... 24

Tues. May 7, 1912

HOW THE CANDIDATES STAND

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, May 6.—The standing of the presidential candidates, according to the latest information received from the respective headquarters was as follows:

Republicans.

Delegates in convention 1,078
Necessary to choice..... 540
Claimed to be instructed or
pledged for Taft 466
Claimed to be instructed or
pledged for Roosevelt..... 236
Instructed for La Follette.... 36
Instructed for Cummins 10

Democrats.

Delegates in convention..... 1,092
Necessary to choice..... 728
Instructed for Clark..... 154
Instructed for Wilson..... 121
Instructed for Marshall..... 30
Instructed for Burke..... 10
Instructed for Underwood.... 64
Instructed for Baldwin 14
Instructed for Foss 16
Uninstructed delegates 135

Fri. May 3, 1912.

HOW THE CANDIDATES STAND

Pioneer Press Washington Bureau.

Washington, May 2.—Following is the standing of the presidential candidates, according to the latest information received from the respective headquarters.

Republicans.

Delegates in convention, 1,078.
Necessary to choice, 540.
Instructed for Taft, 454.
Instructed for Roosevelt, 240.
Instructed for La Follette, 36.
Instructed for Cummins, 10.

Democrats.

Delegates in convention, 1,092.
Necessary to choice, 728.
Instructed for Clark, 182.
Instructed for Wilson, 113.
Instructed for Marshall, 30.
Instructed for Burke, 10.
Instructed for Underwood, 64.
Instructed for Harmon, 3.
Instructed for Baldwin, 14.

Sun. May 5, 1912

Standing of Candidates by States

Republican.

Claimed to be instructed or pledged for Taft:

Alabama	22	New Mexico....	6
Colorado	12	New York	83
Connecticut	14	North Carolina..	1
Delaware	6	Oklahoma	2
Florida	12	Pennsylvania ...	9
Georgia	28	Rhode Island....	10
Illinois	2	South Carolina..	18
Indiana	20	Tennessee	18
Iowa	16	Vermont	6
Kansas	2	Virginia	24
Kentucky	23	Hawaii	6
Louisiana	20	Alaska	2
Massachusetts..	26	Dist. of Col.	2
Michigan	20	Philippines	2
Mississippi	20	Porto Rico	2
Missouri	14		
New Hamp.	8	Total.....	456

Conceded to Roosevelt by Taft manager:

Illinois	56	New Mexico ...	2
Indiana	10	New York	7
Kansas	4	North Carolina .	1
Kentucky	3	Oklahoma	16
Maine	12	Oregon	10
Massachusetts .	10	Pennsylvania ...	67
Michigan	6	Vermont	2
Missouri	14		
Nebraska	16	Total	236

Instructed for La Follette.

North Dakota.. 10

Wisconsin

Total

Instructed for Cummins:

Iowa

Recapitulation:

For Taft	456	For La Follette 36
For Roosevelt 236		For Cummins .. 10
Total number of delegates in		
Republican convention	1,078	
Necessary to nominate	540	
Needed to give Taft majority....	34	
Needed to give Roosevelt a major-		
ity	304	
Delegates elected	744	
Number of delegates to be elect-		
ed	334	

Democratic.

Instructed for Clark:

Colorado	12	Oklahoma	10
Illinois	58	Wisconsin	6
Kansas	20		
Missouri	36	Total	154
Nebraska	12		

Instructed or pledged for Wilson:

Delaware	6	Wisconsin	19
Oklahoma	10		
Oregon	10	Total	121
Pennsylvania ..	76		

Instructed for Harmon:

Nebraska

Instructed for Marshall:

Indiana

Instructed for Underwood:

Alabama

Florida

Georgia

Instructed for Baldwin:

Connecticut

Instructed for Foss:

Massachusetts . 16

Recapitulation:

Total number of delegates in Dem-

ocratic convention

Necessary to nominate

Number of delegates selected to

date

Number of delegates to be selected. 544

Uninstructed delegates:

Alaska

Maine

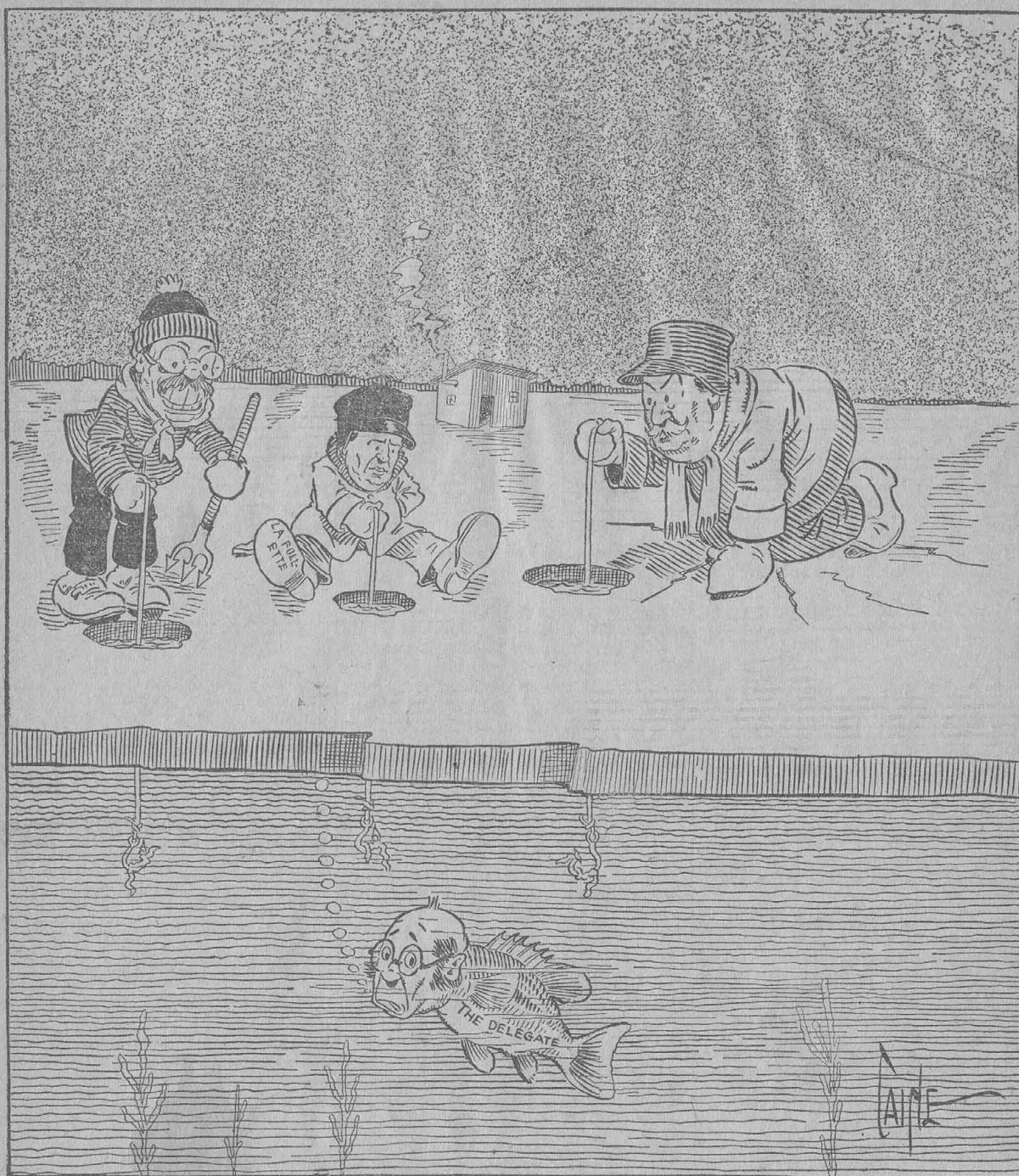
Massachusetts . 20

New York

CARTOONS



ROOSEVELT: "WELL, YOU DON'T CALL THIS FISHING, DO YOU?"



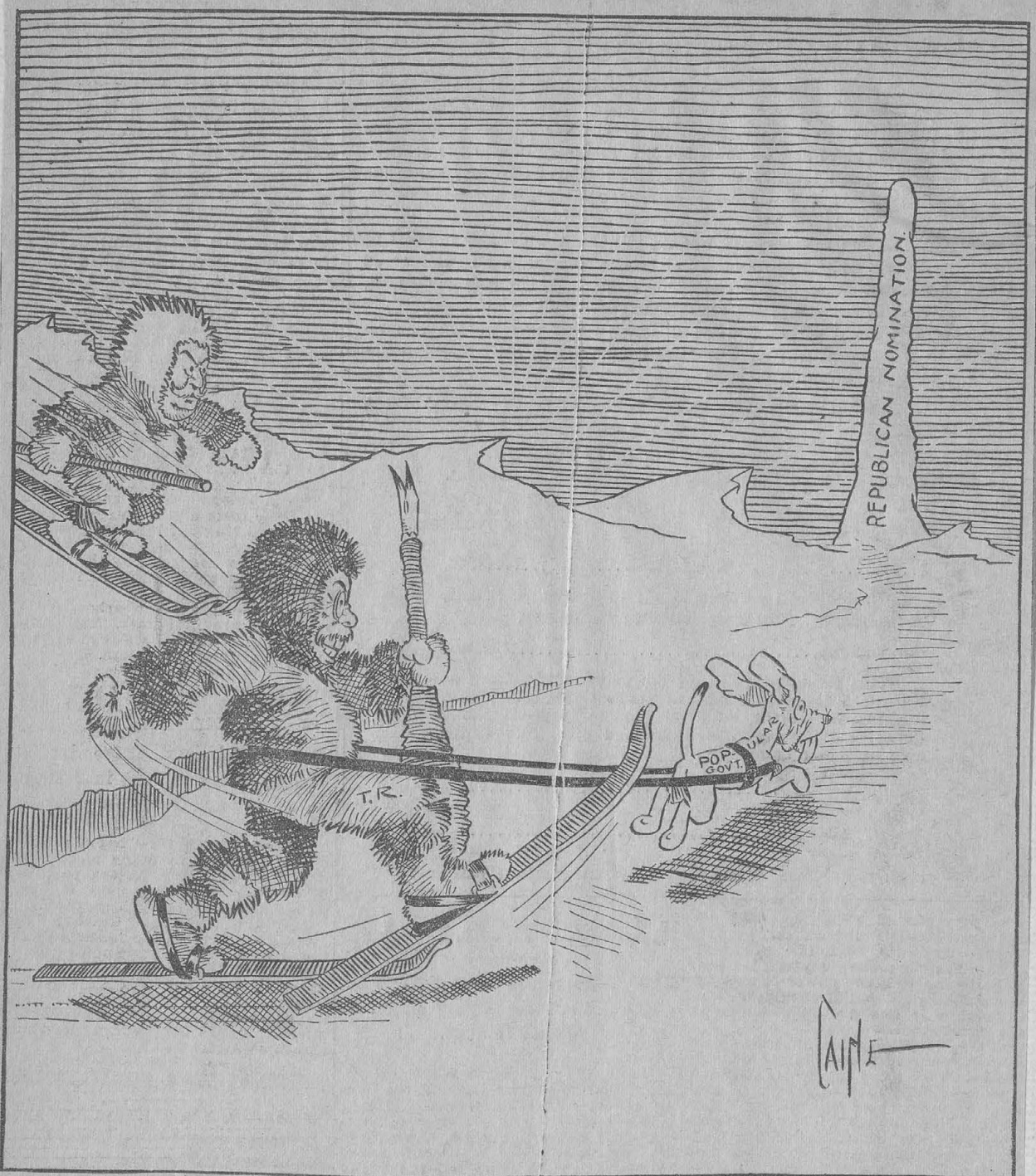
ALL AFTER THE SAME FISH.

St. P. Pioneer Press
Mon. Mar. 4, 1912



THE JEALOUS STARE.

St. P. Pioneer Press
Tues. Mar. 12, 1912.



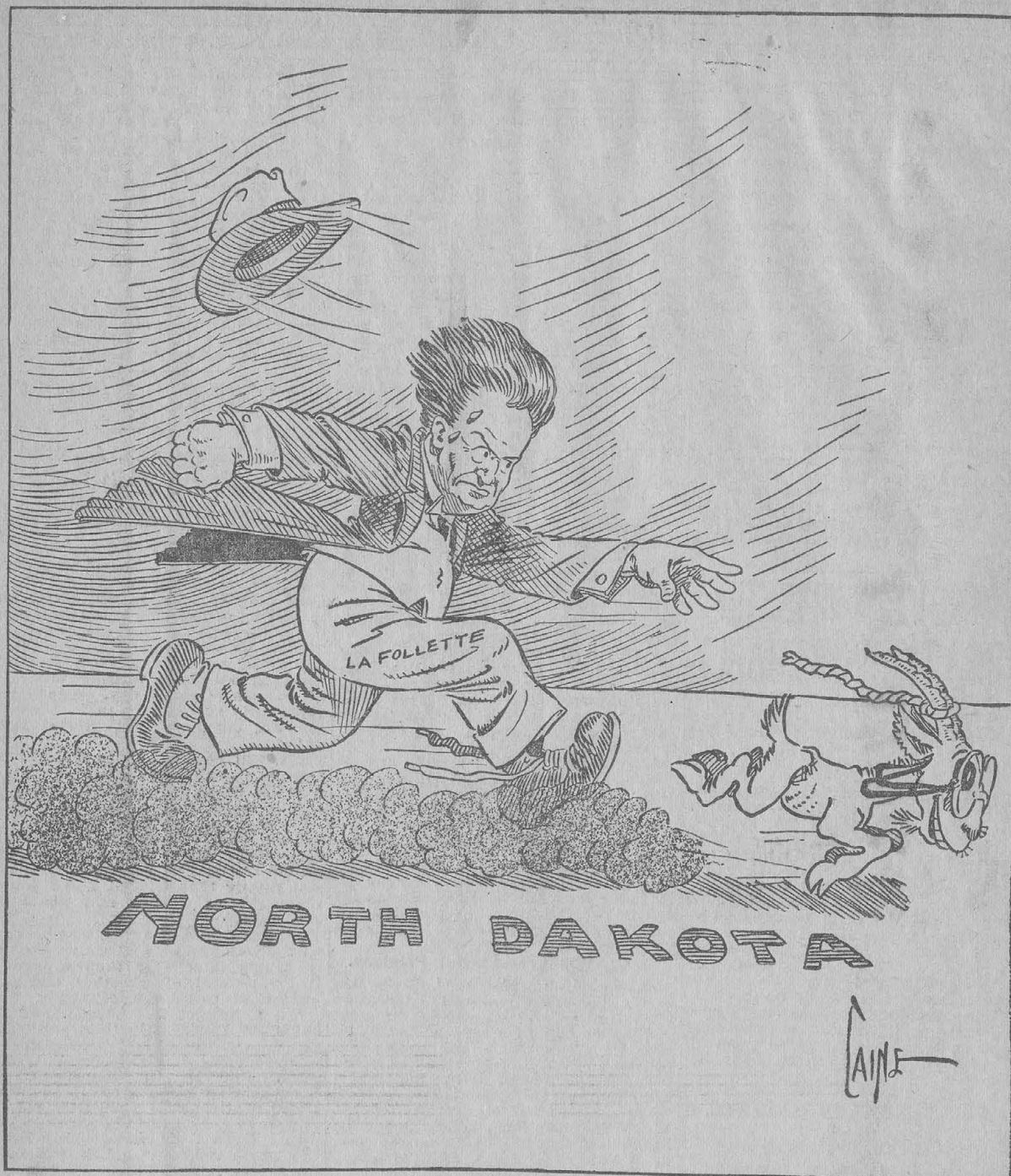
SKIS MIGHT HELP THEM. WHY NOT ADOPT AMUNDSEN'S SCHEME?

St. P. Pioneer Press
Thurs. Mar. 14, 1912.



SNARIN' THE FLICKERTAILS.

St. P. Pioneer Press
Fri. Mar. 15, 1912.



HE'S AFTER SOMEBODY'S GOAT.



FINDING OUT WHO'S WHO BEFORE CASTING HIS BALLOT.

ST. P. Pioneer Press
Tues. Mar. 19, 1912.



CRATING THE HOUN' FOR THE TRIP WEST.



HELLO! IS THAT
YOU DR. ROOSEVELT?
I HAD A FALL
LAST TUESDAY
AND HURT
MYSELF. CAN
YOU COME
YOURSELF?

WHAT'S THAT?
HAD A HARD
FALL? OH, I
SEE. YES, YES.
THAT'S ALL RIGHT.
I'LL CALL ABOUT
THE 28TH OR 29TH!

THE DOCTOR IS BADLY NEEDED.

ST. P. Pioneer Press
Sat. Mar. 23, 1912.

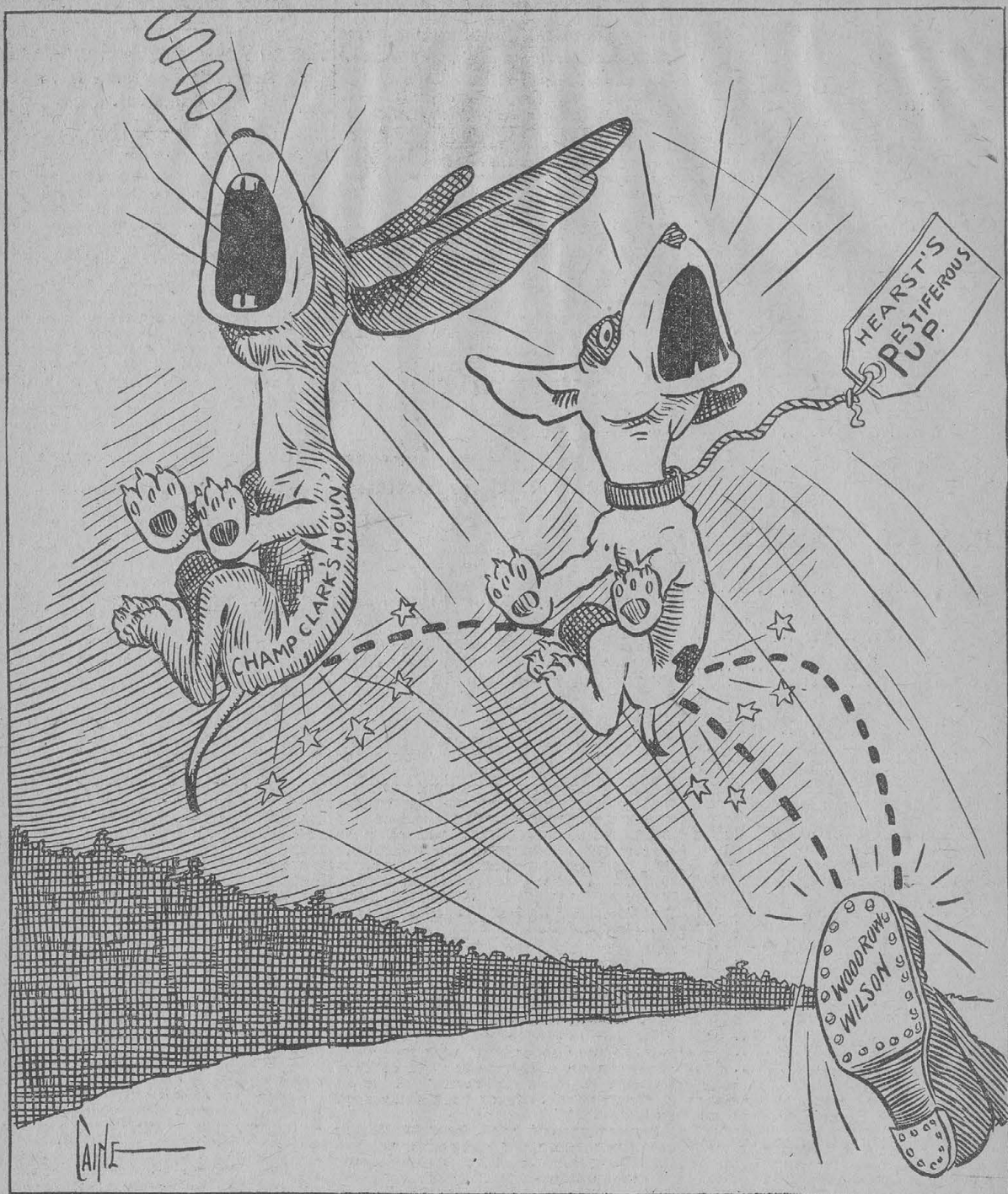


THRILLING SPORT IN NEWSPAPER OFFICES THESE DAYS—HUNTING FOR A POLITICAL CARTOON IDEA THAT IS NOT ABOUT T. R.—By H. T. Webster.



ST. P. Pioneer Press

SUNDAY, APRIL 7, 1912.—76 PAGES.



THE SCHOOLMASTER IS KICKIN' DAWGS AROUN' NOW.

UNQUALIFIED FALSEHOODS

By H. T. WEBSTER.



Col. Roosevelt made a friendly call on President Taft yesterday morning. It was a most affecting scene when the two old cronies threw their arms about one another and there was not a dry eye among the spectators. The Colonel remained for luncheon, and in the afternoon discussed the political situation with "Will," as he affectionately called the President. It is rumored that Mr. Taft will be a week-end guest at Sagamore Hill very soon.



Members of the Aldine club were astonished Tuesday evening to see Col. Harvey and Woodrow Wilson dining together. The political world is also at a loss to account for the sudden change in the policy of Harper's Weekly. The last three issues of that magazine contained nothing but eulogies of Mr. Wilson, although they were each illustrated with portraits of him.



The Louisville Courier-Journal will print on its editorial page tomorrow, over the name of Henry Watterson, a strong plea for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson. The Colonel uses strong "langwidge" in advocating his choice for the presidency, and the Wilson managers are more confident now than ever of the schoolmaster's nomination. Col. Watterson, at Mr. Wilson's request, will canvass Wall street for campaign funds.



Twenty-seven governors called on William Randolph Hearst yesterday and for five hours pleaded with him to throw his hat in the ring. Mr. Hearst, with his inherent modesty and unselfishness, refused absolutely to become a candidate, recommending in his stead Mayor Gaynor of New York. Mayor Gaynor wept bitterly when told of Mr. Hearst's decision.

SAINT PAUL PIONEER PRESS. WEDNESDAY, 'APRIL 17, 1912.



AND THE CUPBOARD WAS BARE!

SUNDAY, APRIL 21, 1912.—82 PAGES.



SEE WHO RAN OFF WITH THE CHICKENS FROM THE NEBRASKA COOP.

ST. P. Pioneer Press

NEER PRESS. SUNDAY, APRIL 21, 1912.

HIS MASTER'S VOICE.



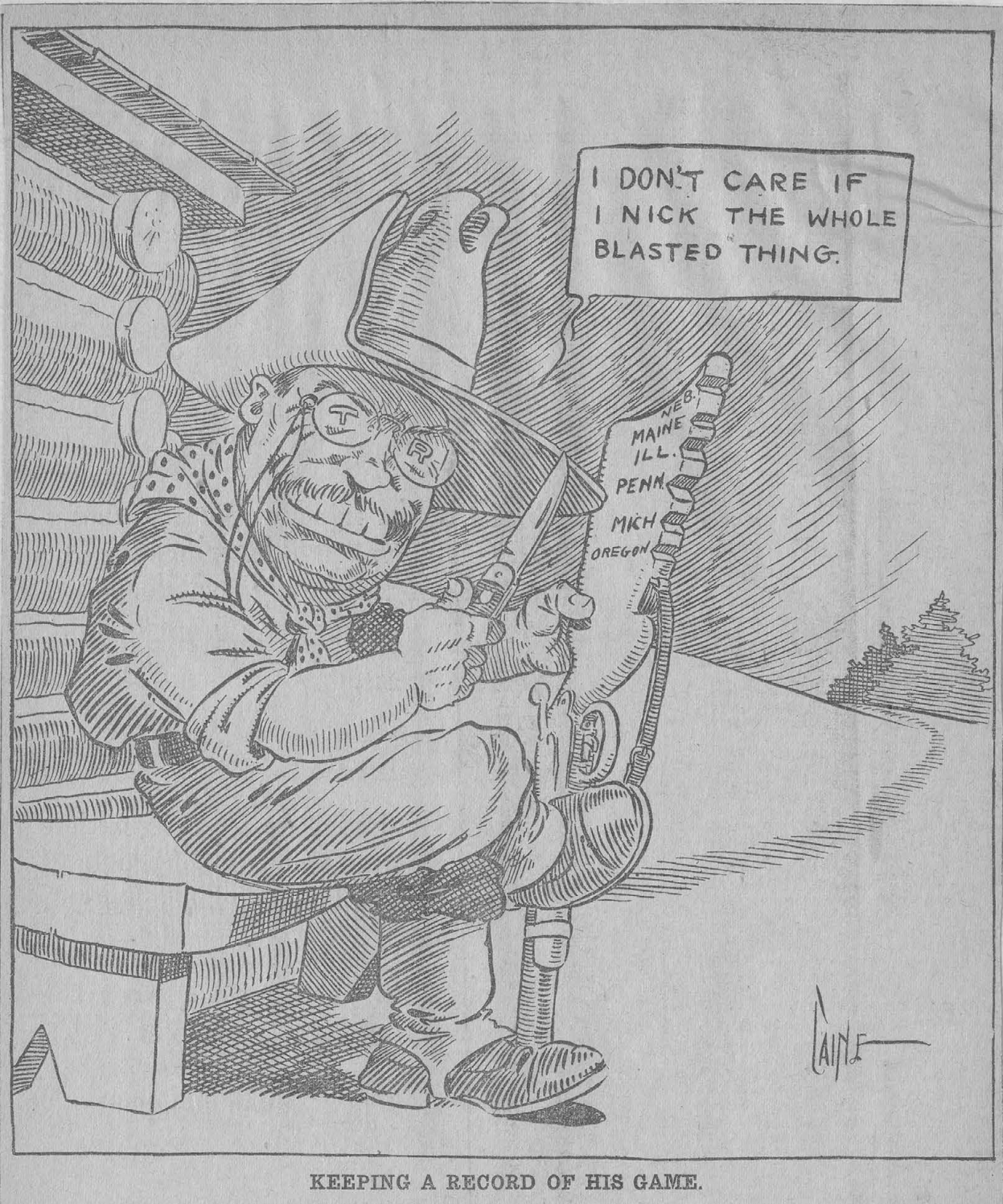
Drawn by Walter J. Enright in Collier's Weekly.

ST. P. Pioneer Press
Sun. April 21, 1912



They're Having Considerable Trouble With the Hired Help These Days.—By H. T. Webster.

St. P. Pioneer Press
Mon. April 22, 1912.



KEEPING A RECORD OF HIS GAME.

ST. P. Pioneer Press
Mon. April 22, 1912.





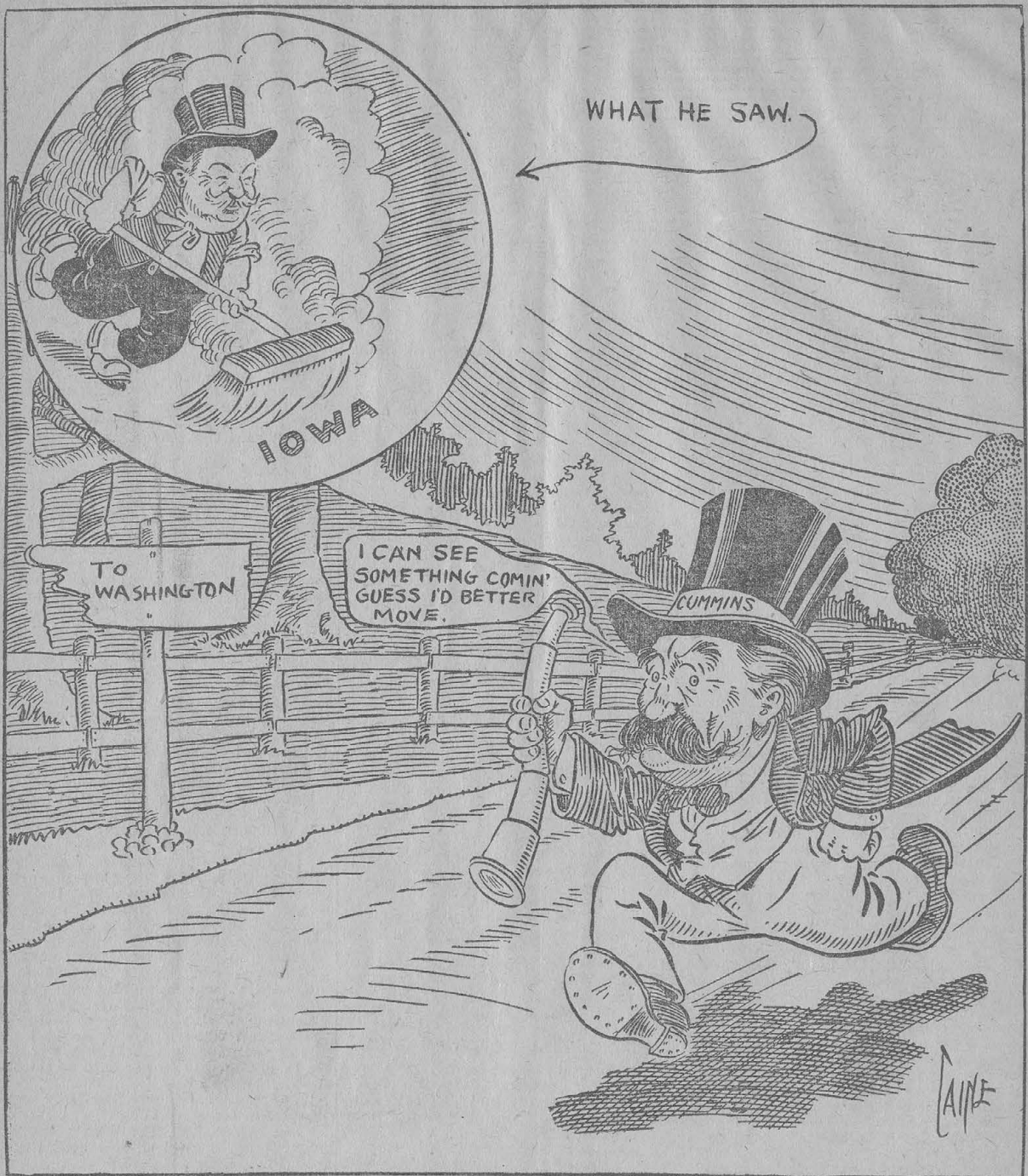
BOTH GRABBING FOR THE SAME PRIZE.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1912.

PRICE 1



GETTING TO LOOK MORE LIKE HIM EVERY DAY.



HE SAW IT COMIN'.

CAMPAIGNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY—AND A MEMORY.



J. A. J.

THROWING MUD—THAT'S ALL.



R. E. G.

—From the Pioneer Press in June, 1910.

WHEN BWANO TUMBO CAME FROM AFRICA.



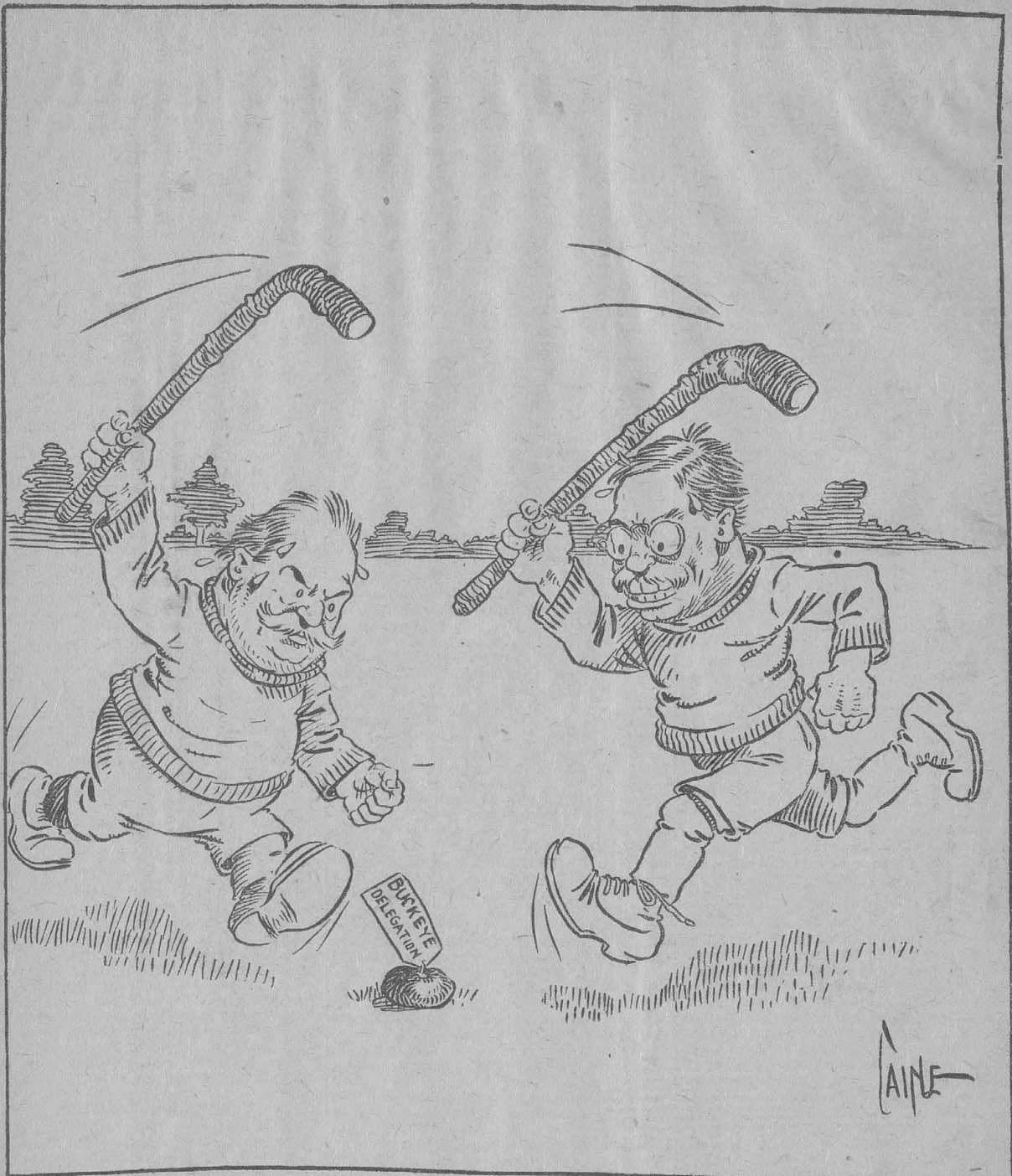
TIRED OF BEIN G A STRAW MAN.



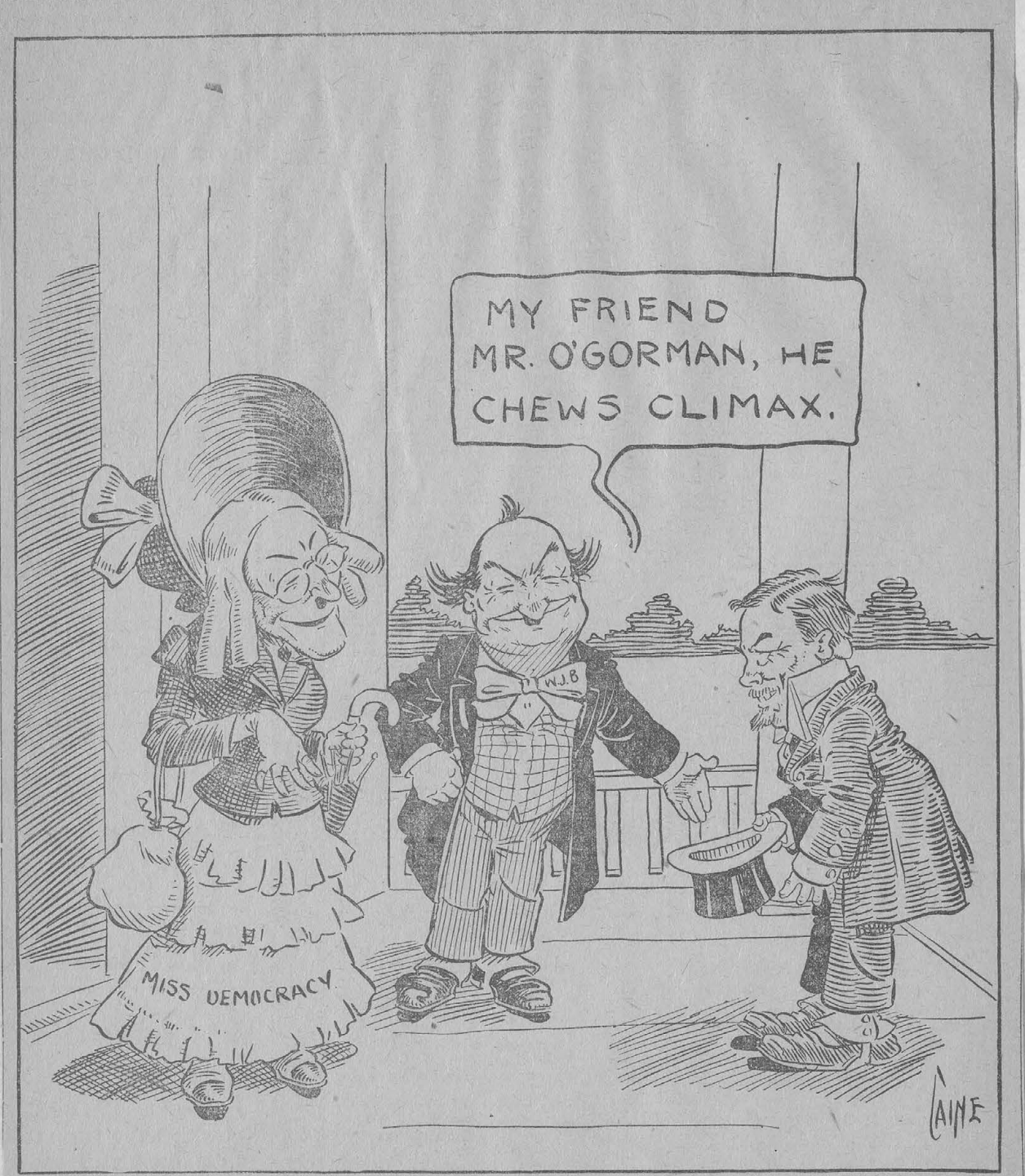
W. J. B.: "I THINK I CAN GET IN THERE."

St. P. Pioneer Press

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1912.



SHINNY ON YOUR OWN SIDE.





PIGS IS PIGS.

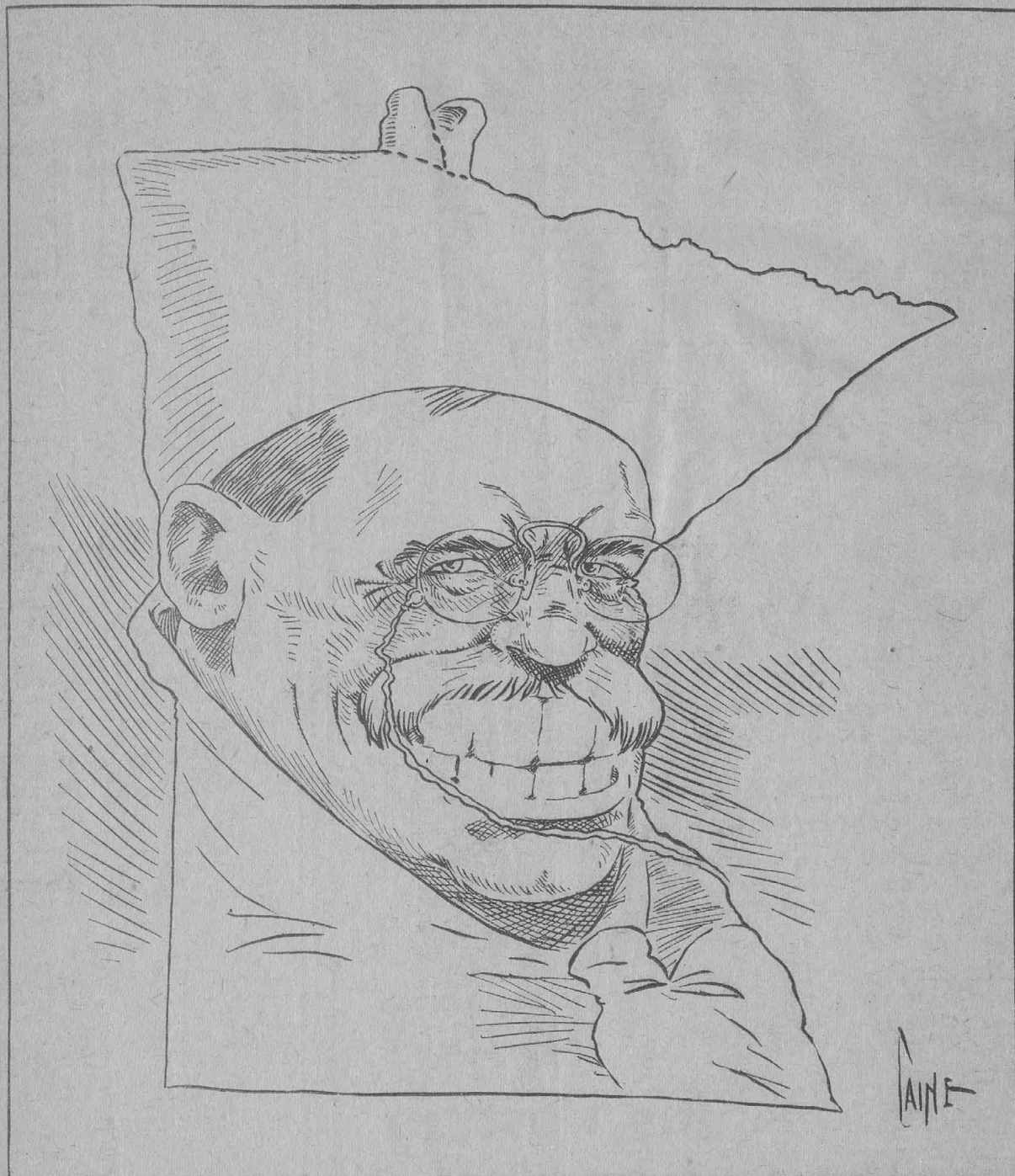


AND RIGHT IN HER OWN BACK YARD, TOO!



WHICH ONE WILL HE HANG UP?

THE LATEST MAP OF MINNESOTA.

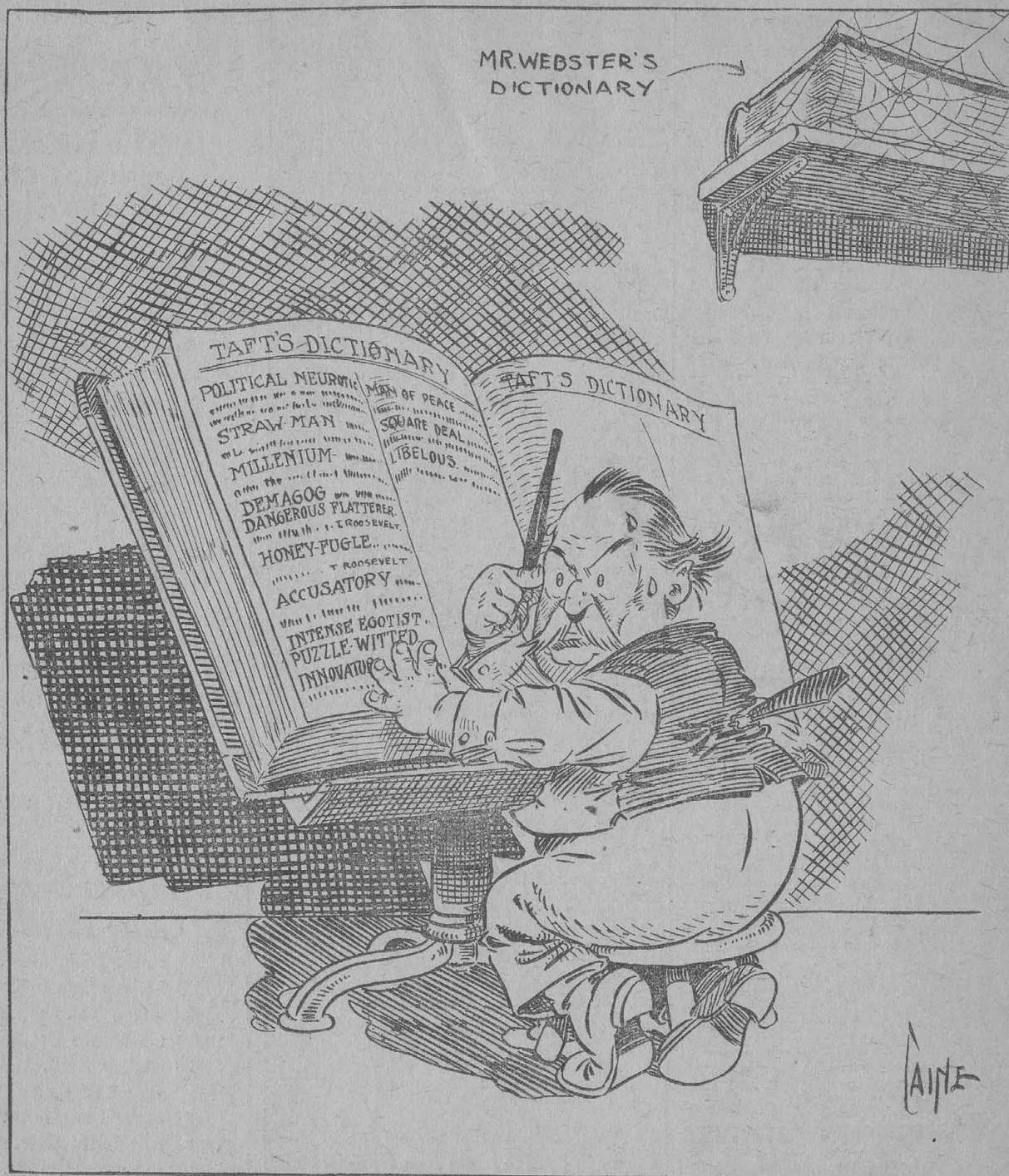


Compiled from the Presidential primary reports.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1912.

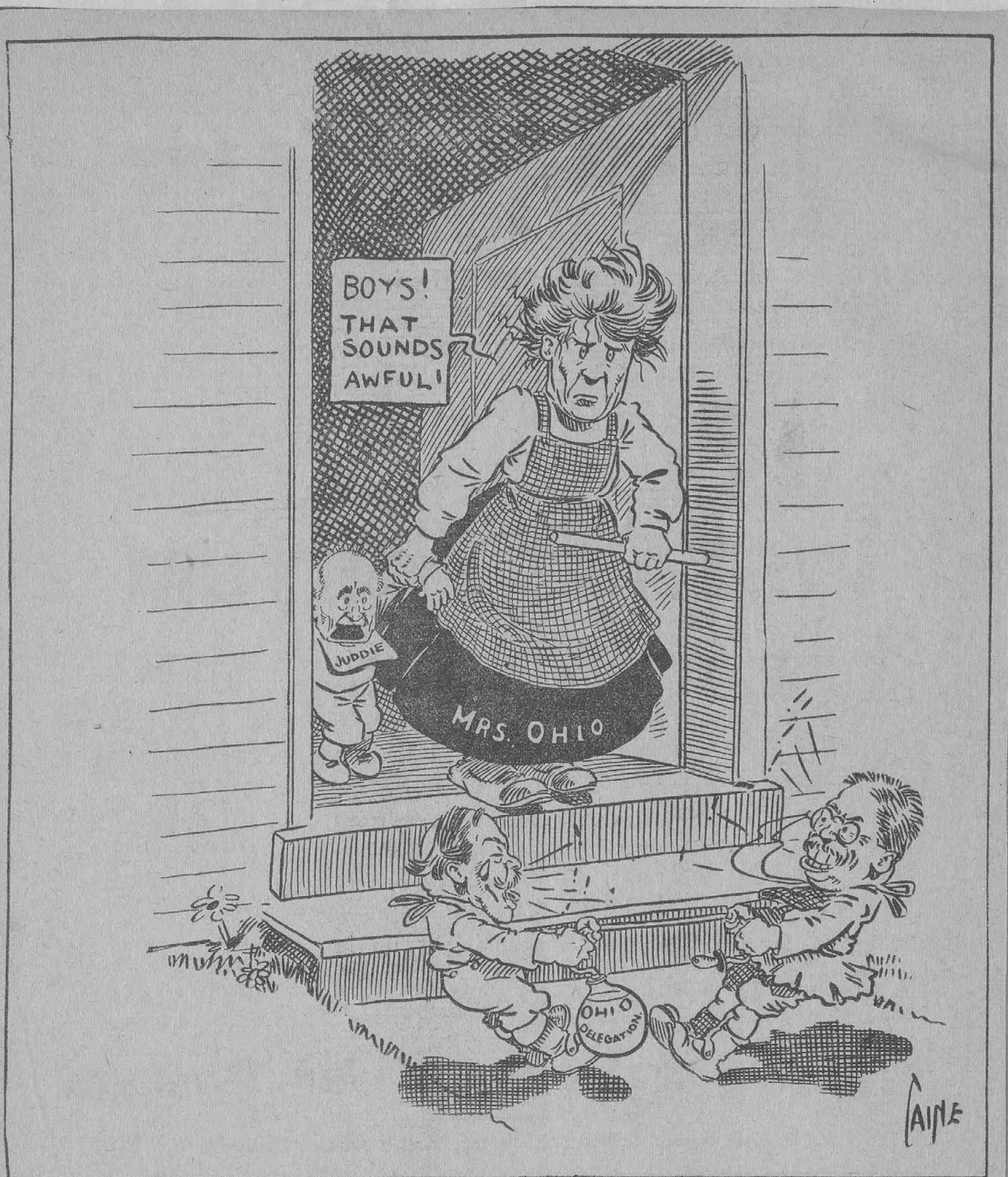
PRICE 1

THE NEW DICTIONARY.



W-H-T—Wonder if I've left anything out.

St. P. Pioneer Press
Thurs. May 16, 1912



WHAT DO THEY CARE?

MY, WHAT A DIFFERENCE!



ST. P. Pioneer Press
Sat. May 18, 1912.

HOW CAN A FELLOW SWIM IF HE DOESN'T GO NEAR THE WATER?



It Looks Fine.

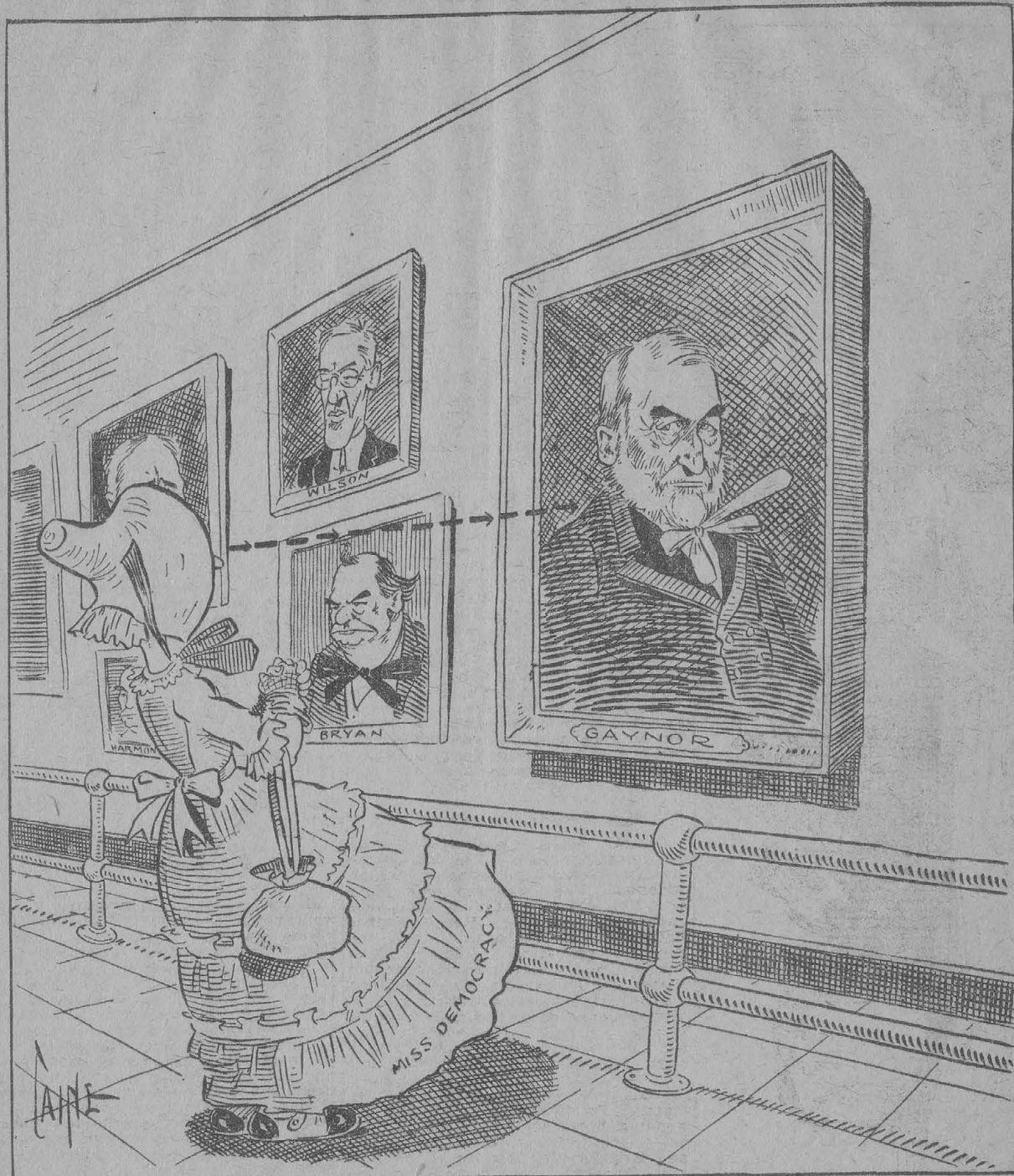
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WHAT A NICE MAN.