

has defined. Unless some one is authorized to say what reservations are acceptable and what are to be regarded as objectionable the treaty must be defended as the president laid it before the senate.

Senator Walsh secured an amendment over the protest of Chairman Glass and Secretary Colby. That permitted interpretative reservations, but this is also indefinite because no one tells what reservations are and what are not interpretative. Senator Walsh voted for ratification with the so-called "Lodge" reservations. Some might construe this amendment to justify the acceptance of these, although twenty Democratic senators voted against them on the ground that they were nullifying.

The treaty is therefore not an issue because the Republicans and Democrats of the senate were willing to accept it. The league of nations is not an issue because both the conventions declare for a league of nations (the Republicans call it an association of nations, but a league by any other name would smell as well.)

The real issue is whether the president should present to the allies a ratification of the treaty with reservations acceptable to a considerable majority of the senate (including thirty-four Republicans and twenty-three Democrats a total of fifty-seven or nine more than a majority of all the ninety-six members of the senate), or postpone our national entrance into the league until the senate agrees to such terms as the president sees fit to choose.

In other words, the American people are compelled to decide between presidential infallibility and the most fundamental Democratic principle, namely, the right of the people to rule. If this principle is sound it applies to representative bodies elected by the people, as well as to a direct vote of the people. Instead of presenting this issue direct and asking the people to decide it, the evaders have attempted to obscure and becloud the controversy.

The Republican convention gave us many opportunities. The Democratic convention neglected to improve these opportunities.

PRESIDENTIAL ROOMS IN HANDS OF OLD-TIME MACHINE LEADERS

San Francisco, July 5.—The man who invented the submarine must have gotten the idea at a national convention, for there is no place where the ship for which the candidate waits is more likely to be sunk by some hidden projectile that strikes before its coming is known. All sorts of stories are afloat and a candidate and his friends are kept busy denying them. But these do not give as much trouble as the plots of leaders. When a block of votes turns from one candidate to another the audience cheers the result without knowing the cause. They have little idea of the undercurrents that control a convention. Open nominations openly arrived at are badly needed. This article must be put upon the wire before the convention meets today and I cannot therefore discuss the balloting, but there is no indication of the unlocking of the deadlock, and the reasons for this situation are difficult to fathom. The Cox contingent is held together by several ties. First, the wets hail him as their logical chief. They think of him every time they are thirsty and their enthusiasm increases with the time between drinks. He is the shadow of a rock in a weary land. He is the residuary legatee of all the booms that had any degree of moisture in them.

He has also drawn into his ranks all the opposition to the President that is personal and his company has the benefit of skillful leadership—that is, the leadership of the men who are acquainted with old fashioned politics. Chas. Murphy is here as of old, except that some of his wax figures were melted when the unit rule was abolished. It is a strange sight to see the strength of the empire state broken up and each delegate blowing where he listeth. Mr. James Nugent, of New Jersey, a past master of machine politics, is with Cox. His power wanes in proportion as the liquor question is settled, but he still has a clamoring constituency for which he speaks.

Hon. Thomas Taggart of Indiana is probably the most adroit individually behind the Cox boom. He knows the politics of yesterday as few do and he has all the pass words necessary to admit him to the inner circle of the New York financiers. Mr. George Brennan, of

Illinois, successor to Roger Sullivan, is the dominant factor in the Illinois delegation. These men, having combined the political power of a decadent liquor traffic with an irritated group of big business men, are standing out for their man, and to all outward appearances are holding the line.

Mr. McAdoo represents a different element. The leaders of his forces are largely office holders, of whom there are a great many in this convention. He is being urged as the driest of the leading candidates, although a number of his leaders are on record against any mention of the liquor question in the platform.

Attorney General Palmer has all of the Federal brigade except those supporting McAdoo. There is a mystery about the division in the ranks of the administration men—some are for McAdoo and some for Palmer. There is even some animosity between the friends of the two candidates. If you could judge by the undertone of indignant criticisms. Why should federal officials, tracing their title to a common source be so unlike, the two hearts that beat as one?

Mr. Palmer says that Mr. McAdoo will not be nominated and he says it with as much determination in his tone as when he declares that Mr. Cox will not be nominated. Mr. McAdoo, "he says nothing but just lies low," while his friends try to nominate him in spite of his withdrawal. Some day, possibly in that "beautiful isle of somewhere," we shall know why this discord exists among those who would naturally be dwelling together in unity and drawing their salaries in peace.

Outside of these contending forces are the candidates with just a few votes—still hopeful, and the dark horses, increasing in number.

Secretary Colby is talked of but the mention of his name is generally accompanied by reference to his Democratic birth certificate, and the age of his democracy is inquired about as carefully as the politician inquires about the age of the children when campaigning. "How large for his age?"

Ambassador Davis has a boom, but it, too, seems in need of nourishment. The amount of time required to explain who he is and what he has done interferes with the rapidity of the movement. When it is remembered that Secretary Colby and Ambassador Davis are being mentioned in connection with the highest office within the gift of the people of the world, it does seem strange that it should take so long to make known their recommendations. The suddenness of their comet-like entrance into the political sky recalls a story used to illustrate immature ambition: At a ward caucus in the City of New York, a local politician placed a candidate in nomination for Alderman. An old resident rose to inquire about the individual named, saying, "I have lived in this ward for 20 years and I have never had the honor of meeting the gentleman." The sponsor of the aspiring candidate immediately explained by drawing from his pocket a letter with a European postmark and signed by the proposed candidate. It read something as follows: "My dear sir: I beg to say that if nominated and elected I will be there in time to qualify."

CONVENTION DEADLOCKED WHILE CERTAIN INTERESTS MANEUVER FOR ADVANTAGE

San Francisco, July 5.—I have seen the horns of two bucks so intertwined that they could not be separated. They told a pathetic story of a conflict which ended in a victory for neither, but in death for both. Such a conflict is almost impossible in a convention where the majority has the right to rule, for it nearly always ends in one side securing one or a few votes more than the other side; and a majority usually becomes two-thirds.

In this convention at the hour of this writing—the situation may change completely in a moment's time—the horns are seemingly locked, but a careful inspection of the horns reveals that there are three pairs instead of two. The White House, Wall street, and the wets have locked horns and neither element has thus far been able to get even a majority. There are three distinct groups in this convention. The largest and most influential group is made up of those who boast that they represent the President and unto whom not only his word but his wish is law. The second group in size is composed of the wets. Their number can be accurately determined; because they had a roll

call and 356 delegates walked up to the wet line and made obeisance to a beer barrel.

It would be difficult to bring the Wall street crowd up to a line so distinctly drawn. The Wall street group, the least of the three, is uncertain in number and not united in action. The most of them are with Governor Cox, who has wisely entrusted this part of his campaign to Ex-Governor Harmon, who was the Wall street candidate for president at Baltimore eight years ago, but Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Palmer have some supporters among this element, but a man who is really under the control of the financiers is moved from candidate to candidate as a pawn on a checker-board is moved from square to square. According to the plan of the one who is playing the game.

The ideal candidate, measured by the standards of this convention, is a man who will let the president direct him on every question excepting finance and liquor, and who, on these two questions, will submit his views to the liquor interests and Wall street for revision. In other words, the convention requires a bond with three conditions and so far has not been able to secure more than two. Can they find a man who exactly fits into this situation? If so, he can have the place for the asking.

There have been many attempts at compromise. Ambassador Davis is the one most spoken of. He has been represented as satisfactory to the President, but the office-holder friends of Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Palmer are not yet willing to give up hope of their respective candidates. Mr. Davis has received a Wall street indorsement of no little value in the support given him by the New York Times. The Times would not knowingly propose a man unacceptable to the financiers, and it would not be likely to make a mistake in its judgment of men, measured by this test. In this case we know that it has made no mistake because its wisdom has been indorsed by Mr. Littleton and Mr. Beck. Geometrical calculation will show that the agreement of the Times, Mr. Littleton, and Mr. Beck on this subject WOULD make a mistake almost impossible. If Mr. Davis is big enough to be president, his failure to throw the weight of so great an influence on the side of great reform, would be difficult to explain before popular audiences. A little man might excuse inactivity on the ground of modesty, but great intellects and great hearts are assumed to have a courage commensurate with the opportunities presented.

Mr. Davis is represented as dry; if he is his influence has not yet been felt on that side of the question in this convention. His delegation voted no on both the dry and the wet plank, and unless misrepresented by his delegation he is left in the twilight zone that envelops just a little more than half of this convention.

Secretary Colby is another dark horse that, according to rumor, is being groomed in the administration stable. He is, of course, satisfactory to the President, since he accepted the position in the cabinet after the President had declared that he desired some one whose mind would run along willingly with his. If Mr. Colby's mind does not keep up with the President's, the impediment will be purely physical, for the new secretary will try hard enough to trail immediately behind the President.

He will also be entirely satisfactory to the wets. He comes from New Jersey and unless the secretary is grossly misrepresented, even Governor Edwards himself is no more jealous than he his of the inalienable right of the individual to drink himself and communicate alcoholism to others.

Whether Mr. Colby would be acceptable to the Wall street interests remains to be seen. The fact that he was a follower of Col. Roosevelt would not be decisive on this subject because the late ex-president had a way of attaching to himself antagonistic groups of men. One group represented Wall street, and another protested against Wall street. Mr. Perkins, who was probably the closest political friend Mr. Roosevelt had, was identified with a very influential element in Wall street finance, and I would not venture upon information so far at hand to classify Mr. Colby.

The objection most frequently heard to Secretary Colby is that his conversion to the Democratic party is recent, but that objection, serious as it might be in normal times, would have less force now than usual. First, party lines are less strictly drawn now than ever before in fifty years; there is more independent voting