

than we have seen in this country since the civil war; second, necessity knows no law, and they may feel that it is necessary to take anyone upon whom the three elements can agree.

Vice President Marshall probably has more personal friends and admirers in the convention than any other candidate. He is a likable fellow and holds a position which has been used as a stepping-stone to the presidency. Jefferson was vice president and so was Roosevelt, but Marshall's weakness is that he doesn't quite suit either element. He has been as loyal to the President as any member of his cabinet, and yet he is suspected of having convictions of his own which might control him if he were in the principal place instead of in a subordinate position.

The wets applaud when he chews the rag about national prohibition and belches out a little lava occasionally against a principle which is abhorrent to him, but they know that he is a conscientious man and will live up to his oath of office. That means that the wets could not count on him to accept a position as president ex-officio of the united law-breakers if he becomes president and took an oath to support the constitution and the laws.

Neither is Wall street quite willing to accept him, although he quickens the blood of financiers a little when he arraigns all innovations. Even with his short platform, "Old-fashioned democracy, nothing new since the flood," he makes the plutocrats nervous by careless remarks that indicate a tendency to interpret his platform in such a way as to annoy the plunderbund.

If the convention continues in deadlock, it may be worth while to discuss other dark horses later.

FORCES THAT WORK IN THE DARK AND AVOID OPEN ISSUES

San Francisco, July 6.—"If I had but served my God with half the zeal I have served my king," is an exclamation that will be often repeated by several candidates in this convention. With the exception of Senator Owen, not a single candidate seemed interested in the platform. Mr. McAdoo was confidentially presented as a dry, and yet in the fight on prohibition in committee and on the floor, the advocates of prohibition had no help from him. As far as he was concerned, it seemed a matter of indifference to him what the convention did. Some of his strongest delegations, like Texas, for instance, voted against the dry plank. They were expecting to have a chance to vote later on a weaker plank, but the opportunity never came. They stand on record opposed to a dry plank. In the resolutions committee it was announced that the sub-committee stood five to four against any plank at all. Senator Glass, chairman of the sub-committee, stated that to be the policy preferred—in fact, it was understood that the President thought it best that the platform should be silent on the subject, and the full committee—the word "full" being used in its ordinary sense and not as a reflection on the members—voted 36 to 12 against reporting any plank on this subject.

Mr. Cox was supposed to be wet—this fact is borne out by the manner in which all the wets flocked to his standard. He did not urge the adoption of a wet plank; hence there was no direct issue made between him and Mr. McAdoo. If Mr. McAdoo had come out squarely in favor of a dry plank he would have made it difficult for the delegates from the dry states to support any candidate less outspoken for prohibition than himself. But he did as candidates usually do; gave his entire thought to the nomination and no attention to the platform.

Attorney General Palmer is in the same position. Not a word of support given to the dry cause, and his delegation made up of wets and dries indiscriminately mixed. A considerable majority of his delegates voted against the dry plank, and quite a number of them voted for the wet plank. If he had come out and made a fight for the platform instead of confining his efforts to the promotion of his own candidacy he would have compelled the delegates to support him or someone else as strongly committed to the people's side of the various propositions submitted. He is described as a "fighting Quaker," and yet he gave no support to the effort to declare against universal compulsory military training. He knows of the profiteering

that is going on, and yet neither he nor his representatives showed any interest in securing a definite and specific plank on this subject. And so with other questions before the convention. The platform seemed to the candidates a negligible quantity, all interests being centered in glorifying the personality of candidates.

Governor Cox could hardly be expected to be as bold in presenting his case as the others. He represents a side that works in the dark, and avoids open issues. The wets don't do their campaigning with frank statement of the issues and as Governor Cox seems to represent more than any other candidate, though not exclusively, what is known as big business, he could not be expected to be very definite on the questions in which big business is especially interested. If either McAdoo or Cox had allowed it to be known that they preferred a good platform to the nomination, clearly outlined the issues as they saw them and announced the position that they thought the party ought to take, we would have had a very different convention, but the wet president has tried to run a dry convention on a straddling policy and the same evasion has characterized the other important issues. We have not improved the opportunity presented to us by the Republican convention, and we go before the country appealing only to partisans and they are less in number today proportionately than they have been for decades. Aside from the other causes that have contributed to independence we must remember that some four millions of young men have been mingling together as soldiers. It will never be possible for them to draw a party line between themselves and those who shared the risks and dangers of war with them—at least, not to the same extent that could have been done if there had been no comradeship in arms.

The personal element cannot be considered until the nominations are made but as I have remarked before, the personal element is greatly overestimated. The platform controls many where the personality of the candidate influences one. We had a chance to espouse the people's side on several important issues; instead of doing so we have run from the most important of these issues, and even on the issue declared paramount we draw no distinct line between the friends of the League of Nations and the opponents of a league. We invite the voters to entangle themselves in the discussion of reservations that are difficult to distinguish one from another.

SURRENDER TO REACTIONARIES ON LIQUOR AND FINANCE

San Francisco, July 6.—The nomination of Governor Cox signalizes the surrender of the Democratic party into the hands of the reactionaries on both the liquor question and financial question generally. A candidate, like an individual, is to be judged by the company he keeps, and Governor Cox's company leaves no doubt as to the view entertained of him by those interested in the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxicating liquor, and by those who represent big business. But while the two most dangerous elements in the country have taken control of the party for this campaign, it does not seem that either element will support the ticket. The Republicans have nominated a wet candidate on a wet platform, although the wet element in their convention was not so noisy or impudent as it was at San Francisco. Big business will not be interested in electing the Democratic candidate; it was simply interested in preventing the nomination of anyone who could wage a campaign against its interests. Wall street will do this year as it did in 1904, viz.: throw our candidate overboard and support the Republican ticket.

When the dry Democrats ran away from their greatest moral victory and allowed the convention to dodge the issue, it invited just such a nomination as has been made. With a dry nomination as has been made. With a dry nomination we would have eliminated all wet candidates and then would have proceeded to select the most available man among the dry candidates. It remains to be seen what position the candidate takes on the treaty question. Not having received the support of the administration, Mr. Cox may not give to the platform the same interpretation that the President or some of his intimate friends would have given. Now that the fight is over the defeated

candidates will have an opportunity to review the past and note the mistakes made.

A PRESIDENT WHO "SOWS THE WIND"

San Francisco, July 6.—This article has to be placed upon the wire before the nomination of the candidate for vice president, but it may be assumed that the "tail will go with the hide," or, "in other words, that those who own the ship will furnish the crew." The vice presidential candidate ought to be in harmony with the presidential candidate. The head of the ticket may very properly be challenged to debate with rival candidates, but he ought not to be expected to hold a joint discussion with his running mate.

I have long since reached the conclusion that the vice president should have a large part in our government. In the first issue of my paper, nineteen years ago last January, I presented an argument in favor of making the vice president ex-officio a member of the cabinet, so that he could be fully informed as to the work of the administration. We give a president about four months in which to prepare for his work after he is elected. A vice president may be called upon to assume the duties of the chief executive at a moment's notice. But while this reform seems to be so wise and necessary that it ought to be accepted as a self-evident truth, it seems as far from accomplishment as ever. The convention usually makes the nomination in haste during the closing hours, when the successful element of the convention is too exultant to think and the disappointed delegates are too much irritated to care what is done.

Looking back over this very unusual convention I am reminded of some Bible passage quoted, which when applied to the present situation reads:

"A president who sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind."

The president felt it his duty and I doubt not that he was conscientious in the feeling that he should direct the course of this convention. If not he has been very much misrepresented by those whose assume to speak for him. It was announced in advance that he had approved the so-called Virginia platform and his representatives acted on the assumption that change in the wording would be regarded as evidence of personal antagonism to the president. I have never known a convention in which the spirit of intolerance was so dominant and unconcealed. The organization of the convention was a purely personal matter. Every prominent official was picked out in advance. Chairman Cummings was selected to sound the keynote. Senator Glass was chosen to head the committee on resolutions. There was one seeming concession to the convention. Senator Robinson was substituted for Secretary Colby as permanent chairman and I can bear witness to his fairness and ability as a presiding officer.

The sub-committee appointed to draft the platform, or rather approve of the previously prepared platform, was selected in total disregard of all parliamentary usage. I presume that the members were duly impressed with the necessity of accepting it as it was presented to them. I know that the full committee seemed to understand that no change was expected to be made by the committee.

The discussions were purely formal with the exception of a few cases, the Armenian plank, which was smuggled in language calculated to deceive, was laid bare and surged of the mandate idea by a vote of 30 to 10.

I succeeded in getting the word "only" after the word "revenue" in the tariff plank and in striking out from the soldiers' plank words that would in my judgment have offended the service men. With the aid of Mr. McCormick, late chairman of the Democratic national committee, I came within one vote of getting a favorable report on the national bulletin plan, but the steam roller ran over my other planks without slackening speed and it did not have a silent Knight engine, either. The convention followed the theory brought from the white house, namely, that difference of opinion was treasonable and they laughed down the amendment upon which there was no roll call. We were told that a plank against universal compulsory military training would be regarded as a rebuke to the president, because his secretary of war favored it. We could rebuke the 106 Democratic members who defeated the compulsory system in the house and we could rebuke the Democratic senators who