

William H. Taft on Future of the Republican Party

In the Saturday Evening Post is an important article contributed by former President William Howard Taft on "The Future of the Republican Party." In this article Mr. Taft very carefully discusses the reasons that contributed to the election of President Wilson, the formation of the progressive party, and the outlook for the three great political organizations. Roosevelt he sums up in the following terse language:

"Those of us who believe that Mr. Roosevelt's new theories of government will seriously impair that which we hold essential to the maintenance of liberty regulated by law—and who at the same time know that he is a man of the greatest mental activity; of wonderfully attractive personality; of lightning quickness of apprehension; of exceptional facility for picturesque and forcible statement; and the making of phrases that seize the public attention; of remarkable skill in selecting means of publicity; of extraordinary power to ignore the arguments and statements of facts of his adversaries; of still more extraordinary power to induce his followers to do so, and of indomitable courage to carry out his many theories by the exercise of governmental power, should he acquire it—are justified in thinking that the most important thing to the country is to defeat the progressive party in presidential elections."

The republican party thus has an opportunity for usefulness to the people of this country that never has been exceeded, even in the crisis of the civil war or in the free silver campaign of 1896.

"It may take longer than a decade to work out the real issue to be decided so that it shall be seen and understood of all men, because the present situation is clouded with much irrelevancy."

Discusses the Republican Party.

Following this, Mr. Taft discusses some of the policies and achievements of the republican party, the causes of popular discontent, and concludes his article with a rational and optimistic summary of the party's prospects. He says:

The abuses of the last two decades, arising from corporate influence in politics and the undue privileges that in one way or another, through legislative and municipal corruption, unprincipled corporate managers were able to obtain from public sources, finally roused the electorate to the necessity for reform; and that movement toward better and more honest conditions has been most successful. It has had the full sympathy of the republican party, so far as practical legislation can aid it; but it is now reaching an extreme, based on the theory that the corruption which existed was due to the fact that the people did not have sufficient direct control of the government, and that the representative system was at fault.

Defects in Machinery.

The defect was not in the character of the representative system as governmental machinery. This very kind of government, under the proper impulses of the people, has proved entirely efficacious to accomplish the needed reforms. All that was necessary to make representative government what it ought to be was to rouse the people to a proper activity; and the new forms of government proposed—or, rather, the old forms, for they are forms that have proved successful in history—are not any more likely to prevent abuses, because they require three times as much political activity from the people as does the representative system.

What the Party Favors.

Another difficulty the republican party will have to face is in the peculiar political conditions that now prevail. The purposes of the progressive party are multifarious and confused, and its destination toward which its dominant groups are moving is not as yet clearly seen. Political theories, the necessary outcome of which is not understood, are united with altruistic and most commendable practical plans for the promotion of the welfare of the poor, the relief of the oppressed and the use of government aid for those purposes. A party that insists on a limitation of paternalism, as once said by its advocates to be hostile to the stimulation of the brotherly instinct and the contribution of effort and of money to the general improvement of conditions. It is charged with being reactionary and in love with existing evil.

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Need Not Destroy.

Nor need the republican party, in order to prove that it is in favor of the rule of the people and the promotion of individual happiness, favor legislation or constitutional amendments destroying representative government, undermining the power of the judiciary and subjecting them to the control of the popular passion of the moment, or of making amendment of the federal constitution so easy that a single election may wipe out the security of personal rights and the right of property, and all the other incidents of civil liberty.

This people should be made to have a clear perception of this distinction between really progressive legislation and

that which is proclaimed as such, but is unsound and destructive of stable popular government. That is the future work of the republican party in the politics of this country.

The necessary trend of the platform of the progressive party—the essential tendency of the arguments that are made by leaders to stir up antagonism against capital and the men who control it—is to implant in the minds of men who are moved by such appeals a desire for confiscation and distribution, and that is the essence of socialism. It makes no difference how sincere Mr. Roosevelt is in his protest that he is opposed to socialism. With the doctrines he advocates and the attitude he occupies and the promises he makes, he is moving toward socialism as certainly as water runs down hill. No man and no party in the history of the country have done so much to destroy the confidence of the people in the justice of the courts and in the existence of any possible independent judiciary as have Mr. Roosevelt and the progressive party.

Exceeds Wildest Dreams.

This is the great charge he will have to meet when brought before the bar of history. In all the remedies that have heretofore ever been proposed by the wildest dreamer no proposition has been so absurd and so utterly destructive of the administration of any kind of justice as the proposition of the recall of judicial decisions. The subjecting to a popular vote of the question whether a man's vital rights have been affected by governmental action in violation of his constitutional protection, would utterly eliminate justice as a principle in government. It would leave to an irresponsible and necessarily uninformed majority, or in most cases a minority plurality of the electorate, a question that it would be prone to decide in accordance with its own interest and to gratify its own desires.

Whenever the question should arise involving property there would be no restraint or limitation on the decision. The voting plurality would be the judges in their own case and we should ultimately have a socialistic state as certainly as the remedy was adopted. That is the bald, naked issue that is forming and which a decade will disclose. In preparation for it the republican party should gird on its armor and fit itself for a campaign to convince the people that such a socialistic democracy does not mean liberty, but tyranny—a despotism of the majority; not freedom, but slavery; not equality of opportunity, but an equality between shiftlessness and laziness on the one hand, and industry on the other, with no profit for saving, no stimulus to improvement and no progress—but only dead stagnation.

Return Can Be Accomplished.

I quite agree that the conditions which prevail today are so different from those which prevailed in the early part of the republic that rights and duties may change, due to the present greater interdependence of one class on another; and that needed collectivist legislation may somewhat qualify the right of liberty, contract, and even of property. Such legislative or, it may be, constitutional changes may be properly called progressive, as adapted to new conditions and supplying new wants; but all these can be effected without substantial impairment of individual rights, or of their judiciary and their preservation against the unjust aggression of a majority or minority plurality of the electorate.

Office Not Essential to Party.

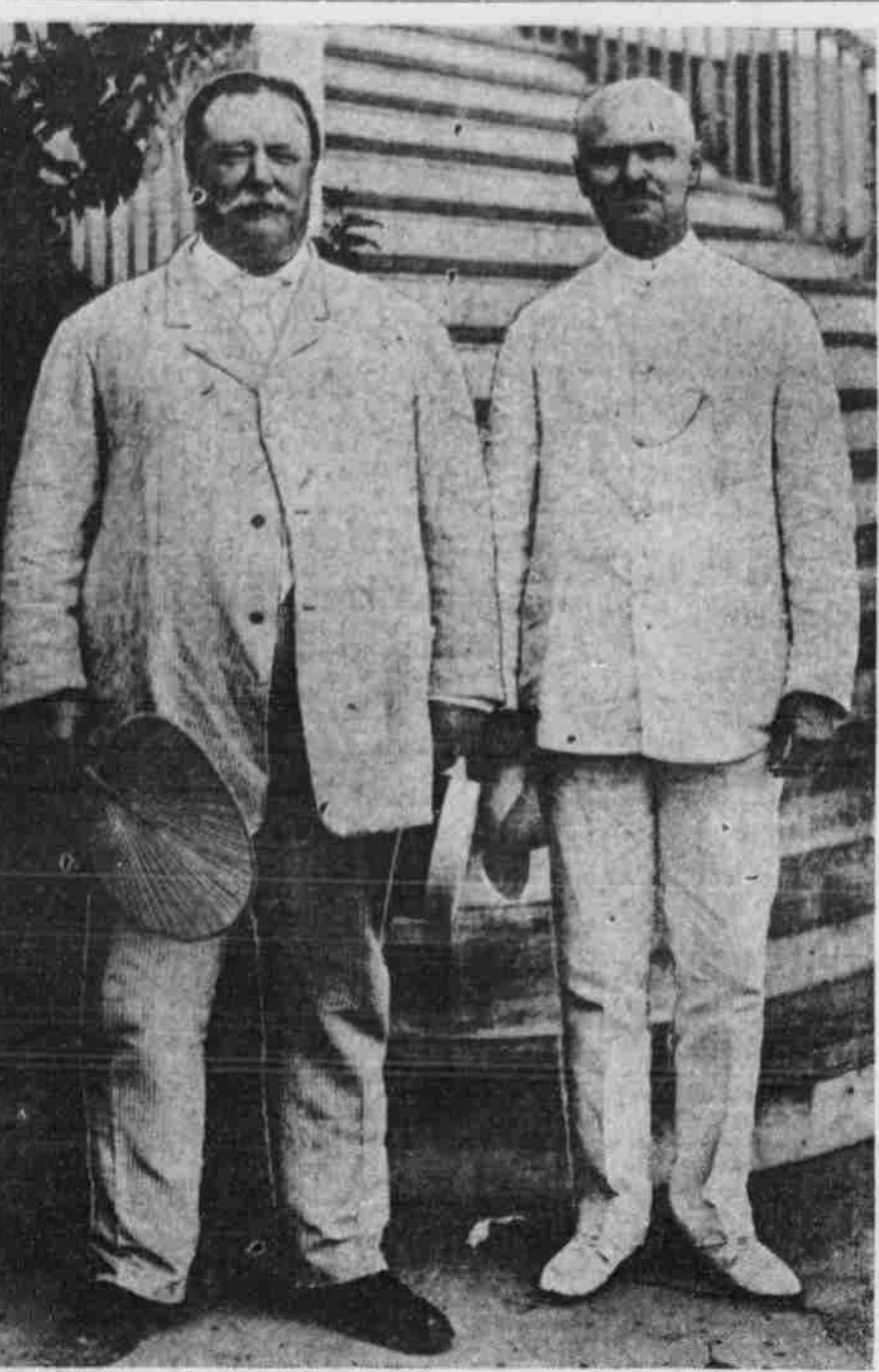
We can stand temporary defeat. Office is not essential to our party's existence; but if we concede the principles that are essential to the maintenance of our present government; if we seem to yield to any socialistic proposition; if we abate a jot of our firmness with reference to the independence of the judiciary, and if we accept as our leaders men who are not sound in regard to these things—we shall destroy our power for usefulness and our right to exist.

It will be said, however, that our mission, thus described, is negative and defensive only, and that the future of a successful party should be affirmative

and constructive. The republican party in the past can hardly be criticized as a party of mere negation, and yet its platform in 1890 was negative and defensive in the same sense. It was resistance to the wave and preservation of the union. The life of the country was threatened and the party's mission was to save what had been handed down to us by our fathers. From 1893 to 1896 its chief mission was to save the country from dishonorable repudiation threatened by the advocates of the issue of fiat money. In 1896 its chief mission was to prevent the scaling of debts and the destruction of national credit, threatened by the advocates of the free coinage of silver.

Work Ahead of Organization.

We must direct our energies toward the amendment of the present banking and currency act that shall furnish an elastic medium automatically adjusting itself to the needs of business, without giving too arbitrary control to the government; a wise system for conservation of our national resources; the reform of judicial procedure, eliminating its delays and reducing its cost; the greater supervision of the business of and issue of securities by corporations in interstate business, and the continued enforcement of the anti-trust law; laws providing workmen's compensation for interstate railroad companies and regulating the relations between them and their employees, to prevent strikes, so far as possible, and to secure safety in operation for the public and the employees; the taking of all local, federal officers and all but department heads and under-secretaries out of politics by putting them in the classified service; the improvement of rivers and harbors by a completed plan, and a levee system for the Mississippi; the enactment of model laws for the District of Columbia, as to the control of public utilities; the maintenance of the public health, on the use of child labor, the regulation of tenement-house construction, investigation and arbitration of labor disputes, and the conduct of vocational education, of playgrounds, and of charitable and penal institutions; the enlargement of the Bureau of Education into a means of publishing to the world the exact condition of education in every state, with a view to stimulating much-needed progress in thorough primary and vocational training; the stimulation of the merchant marine; the creation and maintenance of a permanent tariff commission, with adequate power to report the facts as to the operation of the tariff; the adoption of a budget system and a plan for making government administration economical and efficient; the maintenance of an adequate army and navy; the conferring on the federal government power to perform our treaty obligations to aliens by



TAFT AND GOETHALS AT ANCON IN 1913.

ment of individual rights, or of their judiciary and their preservation against the unjust aggression of a majority or minority plurality of the electorate.

These principles should form the platform of the republican party in the years and decades to come. If they do, and if the party conducts a campaign of education from one election to another, and is not daunted by defeat or apparent popular distrust—if it continues to tell the people the truth and does not pursue the plan of fawning or flattery—it will ultimately succeed with them, and by their will the heresies that now threaten the cause of popular government will be stamped out. Such a policy in the end will be the highest compliment the party can pay to the intelligence of the American people, and the strongest evidence of its confidence in

the wisdom and honesty of their ultimate judgment, and of its faith in popular government.

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punishing those who violate them; the adoption and pursuit of a foreign policy that shall give us influence to aid China and our American neighbors in maintaining just and peaceful governments. These are some of the constructive reforms to which the republican party will address itself when it shall secure again the mandate of the people; but before and of higher importance than all of these is the rescue of the country from the serious danger to which it is exposed in this attempted undermining of our stable civil liberty.

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The DOCTOR'S ADVICE
By Dr. Lewis Baker

The questions answered below are general in character, the symptoms or diseases are given and the answers should apply to any case of similar nature.

Those wishing further advice, free, may address Dr. Lewis Baker, College, College-Blood Sts., Dayton, O., enclosing self-addressed stamped envelope for reply. Full name and address must be given, but only initials or fictitious name will be used in my answers. The prescriptions can be filled at any well-stocked drug store. Any druggist can order of wholesaler.

"Anxious Wife"—Give 10 to 15 drops of the following in water 1 hour before each meal and your child will soon be controlled from bedwetting: Comp. fluid balmwort, 1 oz.; tincture cubeba, 1 dram; tincture chus-aromatic, 2 drams.

"La Rue" writes: "For many years I have suffered with stomach and bowel trouble which has been caused by a severe case of catarrh. My blood is also in poor condition. What can be done for me?"

Answer: If you follow the directions given below you should be well and strong again. Obtain the following from any well stocked drug store and mix by shaking well, then take a teaspoonful four times daily: Syrup sarsaparilla, 4 oz.; one comp. fluid balmwort, 1 oz.; fluid ext. buchu, 1 oz. Use in connection with the following local treatment: Get 2 oz. package of antiseptic saline powder and make a catarrh balm by mixing one ounce of lard or vaseline with a level teaspoonful of the powder and use in the nostrils daily. Also make a wash of one pint of warm water and one-half teaspoonful of viano powder and use two or three times a day until the nostrils are thoroughly cleaned and your trouble should soon be gone.

"Elsie M." writes: "I have such short, stringy, straggling hair and my scalp is full of dandruff. Please advise what to do."

Answer: The best advice I can offer is simple. Get at a well stocked drug store a 4 oz. jar of plain yellow mayol, directions accompanying, and use it regularly. It promotes a healthy, vigorous growth of hair and abates dandruff, itching scalp, lustreless hair and stops falling hair. If the hair is harsh and straggling it restores a soft, fluffy appearance, and brings back the intense natural color.

"Hazel" says: "I would certainly appreciate something that would increase my weight and take away that lanced feeling which I am subject to most of the time. My blood is weak and watery and my appetite is poor."

Answer: Your condition is very easily overcome if you will follow the directions given below. Ask your druggist for 3-grain hypo-nuclease tablets and take according to the directions and your weight should increase. These tablets promote assimilation, absorption and aid digestion, transform the complexion and figure. They are prescribed by physicians and are perfectly good. They should be taken regularly for several months and you should depend upon gaining flesh and that languid feeling will vanish completely.

D. E. G. writes: "My rheumatism is getting worse all the time, am getting so stiff that it makes it very hard for me to get around."

Answer: Do not worry about your rheumatism, as this can be very easily controlled by using the following: Get at the drug store the ingredients named mix thoroughly and take a teaspoonful at mealtime and again at bedtime and you should soon be entirely relieved of that disagreeable disease. Rheumatism. Purchase 2 drams of iodide of potassium; 1 oz. of wine of colchicum; 4 drams of

"Musician" asks: "Can you tell me how to overcome a bronchial trouble which manifests itself after singing a hearty tickling in the throat, hoarseness and a slight cough?"

Answer: Obtain a bottle of essence menthacola from any drug store, or make into a cough syrup by mixing with ordinary granulated sugar syrup or honey. Directions for use and how to make accompany the package. It makes a full pint of effective, pleasant cough syrup and is excellent for all throat and bronchial trouble.

"Mrs. G. B." writes: "I suffer a great deal with stomach disorders, heart palpitation after eating, heart palpitation, wind and gas on stomach, etc. Am restless and irritable. Advise what to take."

Answer: The neglect of constipation and indigestion is the most frequent cause of appendicitis. It is better to prevent than to cure by an operation. I advise that you obtain menthacola and take according to directions accompanying sealed carton. They are pink, white and blue, to be taken morning, noon and night, respectively. I think many cases of appendicitis could be prevented by using tripeptine intelligently.

"Candid" writes: "Can you advise me how to cure a very bad case of nervous breakdown, my eyes are blood shot, irritated or worried. Have aching in back of neck, dizzy spells, and seem wholly unable to get strong and energetic as I was at one time. Cold hands and feet bother me, too."

Answer:—A good vitalizing tonic such as 3-grain cadomene tablets is advised. Splendid effects are obtained by hundreds from this treatment.

"Alice M." writes: "Something seems to be wrong with my system and I don't know what it is. I have huge puffs under my eyes, my eyes are blood shot in the morning and my feet and ankles are swollen. Sometimes I have chills and feel weak and tired most of the time."

Answer: Your eliminating organs such as liver and kidneys are in need of treatment. Begin taking balmwort tablets at once. Get them in sealed tubes with full directions of any well stocked druggist.

"K. K. K." asks: "I am growing more stout as I get older and weigh 90 pounds too much now. I am alarmed and want to reduce. Please advise what to take."

Answer: You need not be alarmed if you will begin taking 3-grain arbolone tablets. These tablets reduce usually at the rate of a pound a day after the first few days. Any druggist can supply them in sealed tubes with full directions.

"Poor H." writes: "My health is very poor on account of a long-standing constipation. I have to use pills or something all the time. Can you prescribe something to take that will cure chronic constipation?"

Answer: Constipation is probably the cause of more illness than any other trouble. Most remedies only aggravate the trouble and never cure it. Always purchase 3-grain sulphur tablets (not sulphur tablets), and have found them most reliable and gradually curative. They act pleasantly and tone up the bowels and liver while purifying the blood.

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