



THE LITERARY DIGEST



PUBLIC OPINION (New York) combined with THE LITERARY DIGEST

Published by Funk & Wagnalls Company (Isaac K. Funk, Pres.; Adam W. Wagnalls, Vice-Pres.; Robert J. Cuddihy, Treas.; Robert Scott, Sec'y), 44-60 E. 23d St., New York

VOL. XLIV., No. 14

NEW YORK, APRIL 6, 1912

WHOLE NUMBER 1146



TOPICS OF THE DAY



THE VERDICT OF NEW YORK AND INDIANA

WHILE THE COLLAPSE of the Roosevelt boom and assurance of the President's renomination are the facts that most of the political experts appear to deduce from the victories of the Taft forces last week in the New York primaries and the Indiana and Colorado State conventions, other results predicted are an increased demand for a compromise Republican candidate to unite the warring factions in the party, the formation of a third and independent ticket, headed by Theodore Roosevelt, and victory for the Democrats in November. "As New York and Indiana go, so goes the nation," says Representative McKinley, manager of the Taft boom, quoting a time-honored campaign slogan; and he predicts that the result in these two States "will conclusively demonstrate to the Republicans of the country the futility of further opposition to the renomination of President Taft." "Mr. Roosevelt, in fact, has done the most effective work of his lifetime in assuring the nomination of Mr. Taft at the Republican convention, without the possibility of a competitor," remarks *The Wall Street Journal* (Fin.), which evidently shares the opinion of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* (Ind.) that "the Columbus speech, the Massachusetts address, the Carnegie Hall outburst, have removed Mr. Roosevelt as a peril." "The farther the canvass goes on, the clearer becomes the intention of the Republican voters to give the President the renomination to which his public services so amply entitle him," says the *New York Tribune* (Rep.), and the *Jersey City Journal* (Ind. Rep.) remarks that "Taft's renomination appears to be as good as accomplished."



WILLIAM BARNES, JR.

The Republican "boss" denounced by Colonel Roosevelt for swinging his home State into the Taft column.

As to Colonel Roosevelt's third-term candidacy, "New York ends it," say his opponents, recalling not only the moral and numerical effect of New York's verdict on the Chicago convention, but also remembering that no candidate is regarded as politically available who can not carry his home State. In this case, the *Brooklyn Eagle* (Ind. Dem.) remarks, "the Call of the People was almost inaudible." The events of last week, thinks the *New York Evening Post* (Ind.), "reduce Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy to the absurd." This consistent opponent of the Colonel goes on to say:

"It can no longer be pretended that he has the ghost of a chance to get a majority in the Convention. The mathematics of the situation are fatal to him. With New York against him, with Indiana against him, with Colorado four to one against him, without a delegate from Iowa or Wisconsin, where is he to turn? The plain fact is that little is left of his campaign but anger, wrath, malice, and all uncharitableness. His managers shout 'fraud' and 'larceny.' He himself cries 'farce' and 'outrage.' To such wild charges and to rump conventions and 'contests' in every possible district, the glorious Roosevelt candidacy has now come down. It was going to sweep the country; it is, in fact, everywhere making a showing which is pitiful and humiliating."

"The whole spectacle which he presents to-day is pathetic in the extreme; and for the sake of his own fame, and in order that his brilliant career may not go out like a lamp with a bad smell, his true friends ought from this moment to make every effort to induce him to withdraw from a contest where, it is now painfully evident, he has nothing to gain and everything to lose."

And in another independent paper which has opposed the

TERMS: \$3 a year, in advance; four months, \$1; single copy, 10 cents; postage to Canada 85 cents a year, other foreign postage \$1.50 a year. **RECEIPT** of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on address label; subscription including the month named. Instructions for **RENEWAL**, **DISCONTINUANCE**, or **CHANGE OF ADDRESS** should be sent two weeks before the date they are to go into effect. Both old and new addresses must always be given. **DISCONTINUANCE:** We find that many of our subscribers prefer not to have their subscriptions interrupted and their files broken in case they fail to remit before expiration. Nevertheless, it is not

assumed that continuous service is desired, but subscribers are expected to notify us with reasonable promptness to stop if the paper is no longer required. **PRESENTATION COPIES:** Many persons subscribe for friends, intending that the paper shall stop at the end of the year. If instructions are given to this effect, they will receive attention at the proper time.

Published weekly by Funk & Wagnalls Company, 44-60 East Twenty-third Street, New York, and Salisbury Square, London, E. C.

Entered at the New York Post-office as Second-class Matter.

Roosevelt candidacy from the beginning, the Springfield *Republican*, we read:

"Sober-minded observers can see clearly enough that the signs of the collapse of his candidacy are conclusive. New York, Indiana, North Dakota, and Colorado have lately spoken as with one voice in rejecting him. Not one of these four States will have him. Yet they are all States which Mr. Roosevelt carried by enormous pluralities in 1904. They represent nearly all sections of the country, outside of the South.

"Mr. Roosevelt, however, has gone West electioneering for his 'third cup of coffee,' and denouncing 'treacherous political methods' all the way from New York to Chicago. Because of his unwillingness to admit that he deceived himself concerning the public mind, he seems fated to rush from one excess to another in the dismal effort to save his prestige. There must be hundreds of thousands of people without distinction of party who wish that the country might be spared the distressing spectacle of our former President thus plunging insensate to his political doom."

In the New York Republican primaries of March 26 about 46,000 votes were cast, of which 15,000, in round numbers, were counted for the Colonel, and 31,000 for President Taft. Of the State's 90 delegates to the national convention, Colonel Roosevelt is conceded 7, the President 83. In Indiana on the same day the Taft forces controlled the Republican State convention which indorsed the Administration and elected 4 Taft delegates. An Indianapolis dispatch to the New York *Times* estimates that the final division in Indiana will show 18 of the State's 30 delegates for President Taft, and 12 for Colonel Roosevelt. In Colorado on March 27 the Republican State convention elected 8 delegates-at-large and instructed them for the President.

In what he announced in advance would be a "fighting speech" Colonel Roosevelt told a Chicago audience that the primary contest in New York was "not only a farce, but a criminal farce"; and that in Indiana and Colorado also "our opponents have shown that they wished to win by any means, no matter how foul, and that they will not abide by the will of the people." To quote more fully his account of what happened in these three States:

"In New York the election machinery was used as unscrupulously as in the days of Tweed; names of Roosevelt delegates were left off the ballots, ballots were misprinted, were folded in such a way as to feaze voters, and in numerous instances were not delivered to polling-places until four or five hours after the polls had opened, and in some instances not before twenty minutes or an hour before closing. Our election inspectors were removed whenever it was thought they were not with the 'machine.'

'As I have said, such a primary contest is not merely a farce,

but a criminal farce. The men nominally elected as its result, men like Mr. Parsons, Mr. Griseom, and the rest, can not, if they wish to preserve their reputations as honorable men, consent to accept positions as delegates. The results in such a primary are in no shape or way representative of the Republican Party, and have no binding force whatever on the Republican Party. . . .

"What was done in New York is substantially what was done in Indiana and in Colorado. Against all the money, all the patronage, all the efforts of the Keeling machine in Indiana, with nothing but the plain people of the State to rely upon, we carried the State convention handsomely, and then by fraudulent action, which can only be called brutal in its utter defiance of decency, nearly two hundred delegates were thrown out, and the will of the people reversed.

"The same thing was done in Colorado by the Guggenheim-Evans machine. Outside of Denver, in spite of every species of attempted trickery and foul play, we carried a majority of the delegates, but we were beaten by the most outrageous methods in Denver itself by the

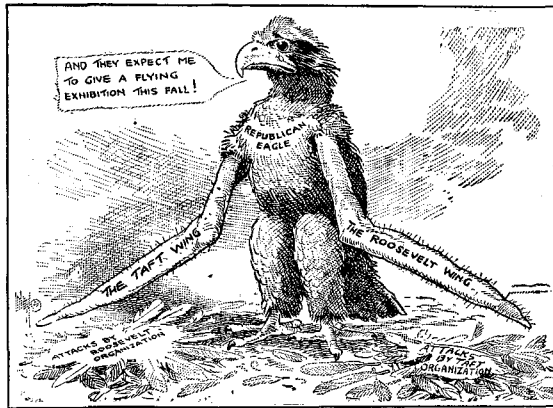
Guggenheim-Evans machine."

In the course of the same speech Colonel Roosevelt said that in many parts of the country the Taft forces were counting for success on "methods which I can only characterize as infamous." After referring to President Taft's [doctrine of the rule of the people by "a representative part of the people," he proceeded to the following roll-call of the bosses acting as President Taft's lieutenants in the contest for renomination:

"In pursuit of this theory of government, the President's political fortunes are now committed to the political machines in the various States, which are led and controlled by men like Mr. Tawney in Minnesota, Mr. Keeling in Indiana, Mr. Penrose in Pennsylvania; Ballinger in Washington; Messrs. Barnes and Koenig in New York; Mr. Gallinger in New Hampshire; Messrs. Guggenheim and Evans in Colorado; Mr. Cox in Ohio, and Mr. Lorimer in Illinois. These are the men who, when his theory is translated into actual practise, actually appear as that 'representative part' of the people which is to govern all the rest of the people."

The anti-Roosevelt New York *World* (Dem.), while admitting that "the primaries in this city were a farce," thinks that nevertheless "so far as the returns go, they are conclusive proof of the local weakness of Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy." The equally hostile *Sun* (Ind.) suggests that "the farce has not been the primary election, but rather the campaign of Colonel Roosevelt himself," and in another issue indulges in the following burst of bitter derision:

"To Theodore Roosevelt, so long the spoiled child of good fortune, much has had to be forgiven; and now the ruthless superman, instead of gaining the end for which he has overridden antique illusions of the weak, such as friendship and honor, sprawls in the mire, shaking his fist impotently and howling his rage, a spectacle to mankind.
"Sorrowfully the American people might contemplate this



THE WINGS OF THE PARTY.
Ireland in the Columbus Dispatch.



"STAND UP, YOU MOLLYCODDLE!"
Minor in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

now the ruthless superman, instead of gaining the end for which he has overridden antique illusions of the weak, such as friendship and honor, sprawls in the mire, shaking his fist impotently and howling his rage, a spectacle to mankind.

"Sorrowfully the American people might contemplate this

shrieking victim who started out to victimize, if anything of tragic splendor elung to him; they might wrap him in their own dignity and pity as he lies naked to the world. But to betray a friend only to be betrayed to public scorn, the superman mouthing like a clown, Cæsar cursing like a very drab, why, laughter irresistible, and only laughter, is what he stirs."

But that Colonel Roosevelt's reverses have not yet sufficed to drive the insurgent Republican editors back into the Taft ranks is evidenced by such editorials as the following, which appears in the New York *Evening Mail* (Ind. Rep.), charging against the Taft managers a "nation-wide conspiracy to suppress the choice of the people who constitute the Republican party, and to renominate Mr. Taft for the presidency":

"The manipulation of the primary elections in this State and city, presenting a record of careful preparation, of deliberate laying of plans to hamper and frustrate the expression of the popular choice, through a kind of cooperation between the machines of the two old parties; the stealing of the State Republican convention of Indiana by means so barefaced that the man who had been selected to serve as temporary chairman refused to perform the reckless work, and gave way to a man of 'iron nerve,' who hesitated at nothing; the wholesale dictation of the selection of delegates in the Southern States, the nature and purpose of which was proved by President Taft's act in withdrawing the nomination of twelve postmasters in North Carolina, tho the appointments of these men were already before the committee of the Senate in due course, as soon as it was discovered that the State was likely to choose Roosevelt delegates to Chicago; these and other things of a like nature, joined with a steady refusal everywhere to permit a free popular expression, justify the conclusion that the attempt to renominate President Taft is of the nature of a plot to obtain an end 'by fair means or foul,' and without regard for the rights of the people."

"Is the Republican party prepared to place at its head a man who is willing to profit by such political chicanery and oppression?"

This irreconcilable attitude of the Taft and Roosevelt forces naturally increases the talk of a compromise Republican candidate, and Washington correspondents report that at the capital "the Hughes talk persists, and apparently will persist until after the convention makes a nomination."

More sensational is the rumor that Colonel Roosevelt will bolt the Chicago convention and lead a third party. James R. Garfield, Colonel Roosevelt's lieutenant in Ohio, is quoted as saying that "if both the great parties are to be dominated by the same old crowds, a realignment resulting in a third party is not unlikely."

This suggestion is seriously discust by the Washington *Post* (Ind.), New York *Times*, New York *Commercial* (Fin.), and Springfield *Republican*. The Springfield paper remarks: "Where the Colonel will 'get off' only a prophet can tell; the Colonel can't."

ACQUITTAL OF THE PACKERS

ADMIRERS of our great trust system, who regard it as the framework of American industry, and who believe the trust-hunters will ruin us all, see a burst of sunshine in the collapse of the Government's nine-years' legal war against the meat-packers. They take the jury's verdict of "not guilty" as evidence of the underlying sanity and justice of the American people, and as proof that "the light of reason is shining through the fogs of politics, and prosperity approaches."

But in spite of the fact that some editors praise the work of the jury, and rejoice with the New York *Sun* over one more sign that "the fury against corporations has largely exhausted itself," the verdict can not be described as a popular one. Nor is its unpopularity lessened, as the Springfield *Republican* remarks, by the prompt rise in the price of meat.

The story of the last battle in this war is briefly as follows: On December 6, 1911, District Judge G. A. Carpenter began the trial of the ten Chicago packers, accused by the Government of violating the criminal section of the Sherman Antitrust Law. The Government contended that prior to 1902 prices were fixt, shipments regulated, and territory divided by the old beef pool, which met weekly; that after the dissolution of the pool in 1902 the packers achieved the [same ends by secret meetings in each other's homes; that the National Packing Company, after its organization in 1903, had been used as a clearing-house for the alleged combination; and that the violation of the Sherman Law by the packers has been continuous since 1898. The individual defendants were liable, if found guilty, to either a fine of \$5,000 each, or imprisonment

for one year, or both penalties. The Government put forty-nine witnesses on the stand, and introduced 1,488 documents in evidence. It is estimated that the trial cost the packers \$500,000, and the Government \$100,000.

The whole record of the Government's nine-years' war against the Beef Trust is thus set down chronologically in the Chicago dispatches:

- July 1, 1903—Injunction issued by Judge Grosseup restraining the packers from entering into a combination.
- February 20, 1905.—Investigation begun.
- July 1, 1905—Sixteen packers and four corporations indicted.
- December 31, 1905—Cases called for trial.
- March 21, 1906—Judge Humphreys renders the immunity-bath decision, freeing the indicted packers.
- December 20, 1906—Investigation taken up by Federal Grand Jury, but soon discontinued without indictments.
- December 15, 1909—Federal Grand Jury probe resumed.
- March 21, 1910—Indictments returned against the National Packing Company and ten subsidiary concerns, and bill in equity filed asking that the company be dissolved.
- June 24, 1910—Indictments against the National Packing



ENOCH ARDEN.

"Now when the dead man come to life beheld
His wife his wife no more, and saw the babe
Hers, yet not his, upon the father's knee,
And all the warmth, the peace, the happiness"—
GEE! IT WAS TOUGH!

—Barclay in the *Baltimore Sun*.