

WILL THEY COMPROMISE ON JUSTICE HUGHES?

President Taft's Campaign for Renomination, Trouble Made by Roosevelt and the Talk of a Third Candidate

It calls for little political discernment to perceive that there are three Republican Presidential possibilities this year. They are President Taft, former President Theodore Roosevelt and Associate Justice Charles Evans Hughes of the Supreme Court of the United States, formerly Governor of the State of New York. Only the most sanguine of Senator La Follette's adherents believe that he has even the slightest chance of capturing the nomination.

The situation concerning Taft, Roosevelt and Hughes has become more pronounced within the last few days, and especially has it become a subject for serious consideration on the part of Republicans who believe their party to be of vastly more importance than any man in it, no matter how exalted his station, and who place party loyalty above personal animosity. These Republicans declare that they will take any reasonable step which would seem to insure their party's victory at the polls in November next.

The Republicans who expressed these views are believers in season and out of season in the policies of their party. Among this class of Republicans are merchants, importers, business men generally, and professional men and the rank and file of small Republican shopkeepers and workmen. Supporting their views are thousands of Federal officeholders, and to these may be added prospective candidates for Governors of States, United States Senators, Congressmen, minor State officers, candidates for municipal offices, Assemblymen, State Senators, supervisors, board keepers and all who desire to hold public office and who hope to have the strongest Republican named for President for the effect he will have on their own political fortunes.

This article is built up on hundreds of conversations with all sorts and conditions of Republicans in Washington, New York and elsewhere throughout the country. It is merely intended as a pertinent reflection of these conversations. It isn't intended to boom any Republican for the Presidential nomination, neither is it intended to decry the qualifications of any candidate. It is written only for the purpose of disclosing in no dogmatic phrases the exact situation to-day in the Republican national camp.

Several months ago influential Republicans, some of them very close to President Taft, declared beneath their breath that the President if renominated could not be reelected. While expressing this opinion they hadn't the remotest shadow of a doubt that the President through the power of the Federal patronage could force his own renomination after the fashion of Grover Cleveland in 1888, Benjamin Harrison in 1892 and Theodore Roosevelt in his first nomination in 1904. William McKinley's nomination in 1900 was not disputed by a single Republican of note. The renomination came to McKinley as a just reward from his party for the successful culmination of the Spanish-American war and from a universal belief in the McKinley Administration's policies and from a genuine affection for the man. Taft's nomination in 1908 came largely through the use of the Federal patronage controlled by President Roosevelt.

With the fact clearly understood then that the President can compel his own renomination the vital problem for a number of months, even among Republicans very close to him, has concerned the chances of his reelection. The discussions concerning this matter have taken many forms, the most important of which probably has related to the affirmation of the Aldrich-Payne tariff law.

It is an indisputable fact recorded in

political history, especially in our own times, that tariff policies and tariff laws have been quixotic and stumbling blocks and hazardous experiments for both parties and for Presidents advocating them. Cleveland went on the rocks in 1888 because of his support of the Mills tariff bill. Harrison went to pieces in 1892 principally because of the McKinley tariff law passed two years before. Cleveland's second Administration was almost wrecked by the Wilson tariff law. McKinley got along fairly well after the passage of the Dingley tariff law, but almost with his dying breath at Buffalo he admonished his party that the policy of high protection had gone to extremes, and in that notable speech delivered the day before he was shot, he called a halt.

Roosevelt on his accession to the Presidency declared that he would call together Congress in extraordinary session to bring about a revision of the Dingley tariff law. He was dissuaded from that course. On his election in 1901 he took no steps whatever to revise the Dingley tariff law.

The Republican national platform of 1908 called for an immediate extraordinary session of Congress, in the event of Taft's election, to revise the tariff. In obedience to his party's platform President Taft called the extraordinary session of Congress, which produced the Aldrich-Payne law, and the President's troubles and his party's complications have grown and become more entangled from the day he signed that law. That law gave the progressives, headed by La Follette, Cummins, Bristow, Stubbs and others, substantial footing for their opposition to the Taft Administration and afforded them grounds to go before the people on the question. In addition there have been a myriad other troublesome complications, all intended to weaken the President and to bring about bitter discord in the ranks of his party, and this discord has been fomented from within as well as from without.

It has been this discord, these complications, that have led Republicans entirely friendly to the President to declare that while he could force his own renomination it was exceedingly doubtful if he could be reelected.

Especially have these comments become insistent since the State elections of 1910, when Ohio reelected Gov. Harmon, New York elected Gov. Dix, Massachusetts elected Gov. Foss, New Jersey elected Gov. Wilson, Connecticut elected Gov. Baldwin and Maine elected Gov. Plaisted. And these Democratic victories were accompanied by the election of a Democratic House of Representatives, the first Democratic House since Cleveland's second administration, and in addition by a material reduction in the Republican majority in the United States Senate. There have been many causes assigned for the Republican defeats of 1910. Chief among them were the Aldrich-Payne tariff law and the continued agitation by a Republican administration of the Sherman anti-trust law.

With the assembling of Congress in Washington in December last the declarations that the President could not be reelected if renominated took on a more emphatic tone. This was nearly three months before ex-President Roosevelt formally said, "I will accept the nomination for President if it is tendered to me." Since the ex-President thus publicly announced his position, and has followed it by frequent speeches, most of them containing severe personal criticisms of if not open attacks upon President Taft, and especially since Roosevelt's speech at Columbus, O., in which he

demanding the recall of judicial decisions, President Taft's old-time popularity has been revived to a certain extent. This resuscitation, however, according to the general testimony, has been due entirely to Roosevelt's attacks and Roosevelt's conduct, and there is no doubt that the attitude of the ex-President

out that the Democrats had 162 votes in the Electoral College of 1904 and must have 206 votes in the next Electoral College in order to win. Roosevelt's popularity in 1904 was 2,545,515. McKinley's popularity in 1900 was 849,790, and in 1896 it was 601,854. In 1892, Cleveland's Democratic landslide year, Cleveland's

popularity was only 380,810; and yet he had a popular plurality of only 98,017 to overcome from the previous election. The President's friends firmly believe that the States of Indiana, New York, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, Iowa and Illinois, with a total electoral vote of 147, would again cast their electoral vote for Taft. They base their assertions on the fact that in 1908 Taft had a popular plurality in the States mentioned: Indiana, 10,731; New York, 202,602; Ohio, 69,591; New Jersey, 82,759; Connecticut, 41,660; Iowa, 74,489; and Illinois, 179,122.

While the President's advisers sanguinely cite for your edification and pos-

Reasons Why Some Republicans Turn to Justice Hughes in the Hope of Making Victory Certain Next November

on the part of Republicans who desire their part to win at the approaching national election for the various reasons enumerated at the beginning of this article. Several months ago the name of Associate Justice Hughes began to be mentioned in high Republican circles as a possible compromise candidate for the Presidential nomination. Justice Hughes at the time publicly announced that he would not be a candidate for the nomination as long as President Taft was a candidate. This public utterance was emphasized later when Justice Hughes declared to his personal friends in Washington and elsewhere that he would never again enter the political arena, that he was harassed and disturbed and at times fretted beyond measure by his daily associations as Governor of the State of New York, and besides he was utterly content and happy in his present place. But the name of Hughes became insistent on the lips of many national Republicans.

At the same time these Republicans remembered the familiar story of President Lincoln as to the danger of swapping horses while crossing a stream. Should Justice Hughes be accepted finally as the compromise candidate for President these Republicans would be in a quandary as to how they should go before the people and explain, defend or affirm the policies of President Taft's Administration.

It should be remembered that the Republicans who have given serious consideration to Justice Hughes as a compromise candidate do not believe for an instant that Roosevelt can capture the nomination. Neither do they care to discuss the probable strength of Roosevelt in the approaching convention at Chicago, whether Roosevelt is to have 100 delegates out of the 1074, or whether he is to have 200 or 300. They believe, though, that Roosevelt at heart is an irreconcilable and that his followers are irreconcilable, so far as Taft is concerned; and it is for this reason that Justice Hughes, especially within the last few days, has come in for more prominent mention than ever before as the possible compromise candidate for the Presidency.

There are Taft Republicans and Roosevelt Republicans who candidly declare that the only Republican who can win the Presidency next fall is Justice Hughes. They recount that as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States he has been far removed from the factional disputes of his party. They believe that with Justice Hughes nominated the Taft men and the Roosevelt men and most of the progressives headed by La Follette and his friends can come together on a common ground for harmonious action at the polls in November.

The Republicans who make these comments concerning Justice Hughes recall that as Governor of New York State in 1908 he made a great reputation for himself as a campaign orator for Taft, speaking under the auspices of the Republican national committee in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia and Maryland. After election day in that year Republicans in the New York State committee not friendly to Gov. Hughes at the time sought to minimize the effects of his speeches in that campaign. They put an interpretation of their own on Gov. Hughes's speeches from a vote getting standard by calling attention to the fact that in New York State Gov. Hughes, nominated for reelection, ran 135,000 votes behind Taft, and from 28,000 to 79,000 votes behind his associates on the State ticket.

Speaking specifically of the real results of Gov. Hughes's campaign outside of New York State, they pointed out that

Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas and Michigan remained in the Republican column, but that the pluralities in those States were greatly reduced from those of 1904. Concerning Gov. Hughes's visit to Wisconsin his Old Guard critics in New York State recalled that Roosevelt carried Wisconsin in 1904 by 86,682, while Bryan carried it in 1908 by 3,955, and the Democrats elected their Governor. Concerning Gov. Hughes's speeches in Indiana it was pointed out that Roosevelt carried the State in 1904 by 93,944, while Taft carried it in 1908 by only 10,641, and the Democrats elected their Governor by 14,906.

Going further into Gov. Hughes's itinerary in the national campaign of 1908, the Old Guard commentators pointed out that Ohio, which Roosevelt carried in 1904 by 255,421, and the Democrats elected by only 6,591, and the Democrats elected by 19,372; that Missouri, which was carried by Roosevelt by 25,137, Taft carried by 47,629. As for Illinois, which was carried by Roosevelt in 1901 by 335,030, Taft carried the State by 178,739, and the Democrats came within 21,622 votes of electing their Governor, whereas Deneen was elected in 1904 by 300,149.

Only recently these figures were presented to Arthur I. Vorys, Republican national committeeman for Ohio, and one of President Taft's stoutest supporters for renomination, and Mr. Vorys said:

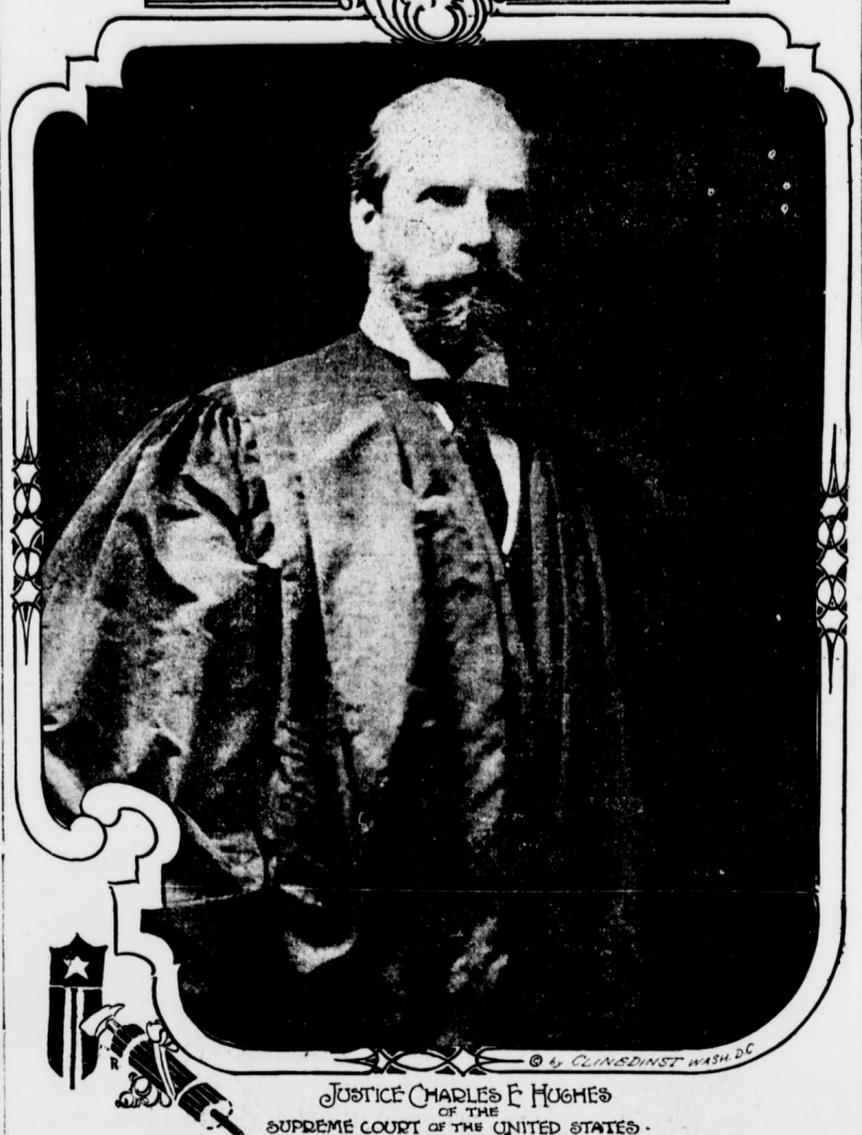
"I had the honor directly to judge Justice Hughes to make the opening speech of the 1908 campaign in Ohio, and the national committee subsequently was rejoined when Gov. Hughes consented to make the speeches in the other States. The argument concerning the figures, or rather the reduced pluralities, in the States where Gov. Hughes spoke, is utterly and ridiculously fallacious, for I cannot help thinking how much more, perhaps, those pluralities would have been reduced if Gov. Hughes had not made those speeches."

Not a few experienced publicists and political experts have publicly declared that the reduced pluralities for Taft in 1908 were directly due to the fact that the country had become tired, if not actually apprehensive of Rooseveltism and the fear that Roosevelt so dominated his party that there would be a continuance of these policies in the event of Taft's election. Also there has been competent political testimony that Roosevelt's excessive pluralities in 1904 were due directly to the fact that the Bryan wing of the Democratic party did not adequately support Judge Alton B. Parker.

Justice Hughes will be 50 years old on April 11. He defeated William R. Hearst for Governor of New York in 1906, and Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler in 1908. He is a mighty independent Republican Governor. At the solicitation of President Taft he resigned the Governorship in November, 1910, to take his place on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Gov. Horace White of Syracuse.

During his occupancy of the Governorship he manifested a keen liking for the average practical politician connected with the State organization. He quarreled with his party organization over direct nominations, was instrumental in forcing the passage of the anti-racket legislation, and most of his acts were characterized by a strong and determined individuality. It may be considered a very interesting fact, however, that not a few of the more pronounced Republican critics of Hughes as Governor of the State of New York have remarked within the last few days:

"He didn't like us, and we didn't like him very much; but he's the only Republican in sight who can carry the party to victory in the national election next November."



JUSTICE CHARLES E. HUGHES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

loward President Taft has tended to solidify the business interests of the country in favor of Taft. But the problem is, have these attacks removed in the minds of the rank and file of the voters the fundamental objections to Taft and his Administration as recorded in the elections of 1910?

The President's friends, those who intimately advise with him as to the daily progress of the campaign for his renomination, say that in 1908 Taft had a popular plurality of 1,269,804; that this plurality will have to overcome if a Democratic President is elected next fall. It means a change of more than 600,000 votes. Continuing, the President's friends point

popular plurality was only 380,810; and yet he had a popular plurality of only 98,017 to overcome from the previous election. The President's friends firmly believe that the States of Indiana, New York, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, Iowa and Illinois, with a total electoral vote of 147, would again cast their electoral vote for Taft. They base their assertions on the fact that in 1908 Taft had a popular plurality in the States mentioned: Indiana, 10,731; New York, 202,602; Ohio, 69,591; New Jersey, 82,759; Connecticut, 41,660; Iowa, 74,489; and Illinois, 179,122.

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means of knowing, the real strength of Roosevelt in many quarters. What they do know and what they do frankly admit is that the former President's conduct has stirred depths in the Republican party which endanger Taft's reelection. They recall that Roosevelt has gone to extremes, that he has put himself beyond the pale, as it were, of political reconciliation, and although he has said that he would support the candidate of his party, they ask whether, even though he should sincerely desire to keep his promise in that respect, he could insure the same support on the part of his personal following. That is a matter which is receiving the gravest consideration

HOW GEN. PHIL KEARNY'S PLUCKY DAUGHTER MADE GOOD

"I am not sure," said a thoughtful woman recently, "that the women who are struggling for the ballot are doing any more for their sisters than are the ones who are opening up new and paying vocations for women, especially vocations in which the domestic activities for which women are particularly fitted may be turned to commercial account. In my opinion helping women to find their own work and to earn a living at it is more important just now than teaching them how to vote."

This woman would have rejoiced to hear of the splendid enterprise and success that have marked the work of Mrs. J. Russell Selfridge, whose model hand laundry located on the country hillsides of Mount Kisco, just outside of New York city, is a monument to woman's practical ability and a beacon to other women who may wish to go and do likewise.

Mrs. Selfridge is one of the progressive women of the day who believe that industrial education and the industrial training along the line of the household arts and sciences will help to solve the problem of many a woman who must support herself but who is totally unfitted for teaching or other professional work.

"There are many women who would be utterly out of place in office life," said Mrs. Selfridge, "women who have no leaning toward the various artistic callings followed by so many women to-day, and no talent for dressmaking or millinery; women, in fact, whose special skill and training have equipped them for domestic work pure and simple—cooking, perhaps, or laundering, or the more comprehensive work of household economics. For years women with splendid practical qualifications like these have been virtually restricted to the dismal drudgery of keeping a boarding house, a business which has scant possibility of growth or of producing anything beyond a mere living. They would gladly put their specialized domestic knowledge upon a commercial basis were it not for the fact that as yet these more prosaic occupations have not been given the recognized standing that has been granted in other fields of women's work. They are gentlewomen, well educated and refined; and they naturally shrink from entering occupations which lack such recognition. We must therefore busy ourselves and establish a standing for these workaday forms of women's work."

Mrs. Selfridge is a woman of wide cul-

ture, a member of a notable family having position and prestige, who has deliberately chosen this humblest branch of domestic science, not merely for her own support but to make it easier for other women to undertake similar work with dignity and profit. She is a daughter of Gen. Phil Kearny, a distinguished Federal officer whose remains are shortly to be removed to Arlington and buried with full military honors. Her husband, Capt. J. Russell Selfridge, a member of the family of that name which has for generations been prominent in naval circles, died a number of years ago.

"When I found affairs were in such shape that it would be necessary for me to take up some sort of remunerative work, I cast a speculative eye over the whole field of opportunities open to women. I had a firm conviction that many of the activities pertaining to the household which are now conducted by men could be much more effectively handled by women. Moreover, I believed that such enterprises would pay vastly better than most of the vocations chosen by women, because they represent necessities rather than luxuries. They lie distinctly in woman's domain and she ought to be deriving a generous income from them, instead of leaving such profits wholly to the men.

"One by one I considered these practical possibilities. Finally the unsatisfactory status of the fine laundry problem impressed me. The means of women friends whose delicate lingerie came home week after week in shreds echoed in my ears. Visions of masculine shirts with faded sleeves and frayed cuffs rose before me. Table linen worn thin by strong washing powders, napped sheets and badly folded towels came to my mind. I knew the reason for most of these troubles. City people living in crowded tenement houses are practically debarred from having their washing done at home. Even when it is done at home the clothes must be dried on the roof, where they are speedily turned gray with smoke or grimed over with dust blown from the streets. The laundries suffer from this same condition, consequently most of the city's clothes are washed, dried and ironed indoors, without ever having one saving breath of fresh air. Then, too, if clothes are not whitened by the machine they must be whitened artificially; and the washing powders which make them snowy eat them out in a few weeks, so there you are,

"I saw at once that there was a crying need for a laundry far away from the city's dirt and odors, and I determined to see if a woman's insight and ingenuity could not meet this need in a novel, attractive and remunerative way. Here was woman's work, and there was dire need of a woman's hand in it. It appealed to me strongly, too. What woman does not enjoy the sight of fresh clean garments, sweet with sun and air, and crisply ironed, with little frillinesses and dainty pleatings?"

"Now I realized that if I was going to do this laundry work I must go at it thoroughly and scientifically. I wanted to turn out the most perfect and exquisite work possible, and I knew I must learn

commercial basis, unless they acquire expert knowledge, employ the most efficient methods, and have the executive ability to follow out their ideas. It is not easy; it demands hard work. It is not enough for them to know what the results should be; they must know how to get them. Even if they retire to a managerial position later, they must in the beginning be able to perform every detail of the work themselves. They must know how to direct their workers, no matter how expert those workers may be. And they must be always on the lookout for new ideas, better ways of doing things."

"When I had finished my study I set out to equip a model laundry in a model loca-

road station. There is an acre of sunny drying ground. I have the same delight in the piles of snowy clothes I send in by express every day that I would have if they were my own."

A visit to Mrs. Selfridge's country place proves that it is all as good as it sounds. The ride out on the train puts one into a serene country mood, and after dropping off at the pretty station, where stylish traps and automobiles are waiting for the city folk, there is a brisk drive of a mile or more out a curving country road, edged with meadows. Presently an attractive sign attached to a tree announces the country laundry, and one makes swift mental contrast with the stuffy buildings in town and the heated driers in dark

ply!" exclaims the visitor. This is not mere prosaic matter of fact business; it is woman's domestic instinct, backed up by an ideal which lends it beauty and interest and then made to yield her a profitable income. The barn is painted pale gray, and all four of its walls have been thrown into wide windows. The inside is finished in wood, and the most spotless cleanliness prevails. All around the room, which is flooded with sunshine, are rows of women dressed in white bending over their specially devised ironing boards and turning out fluffy mounds of crisp white clothes smelling deliciously of the hot irons. Each girl looks up with a smile as Mrs. Selfridge passes; they are evidently happy. Katherine, an expert shirt ironer whose work would make any man heave a sigh of content, bows her head pleasantly at the visitor. Helen and Annie, sisters who hail from Sweden, are entrusted with the fine lingerie and delicate lace. At another table a laughing, dark eyed girl, Jennie Marchesi, is polishing off the heavy napery and monogrammed towels.

Work is very different to these girls from what it would be if they were laundry drudges in town. Each worker is specially praised and pointed out; she is given recognition for her skill; she is introduced to visitors. All this is part of Mrs. Selfridge's plan to dignify women's so-called menial work in their own eyes. Other thoughtfulnesses make this laundry "different" in various ways.

"At 10 o'clock every morning I have them stop work and sit down for fifteen or twenty minutes, while hot tea and plenty of bread and butter are served to them. The morning is long and they are constantly on their feet. In the house they have their own dining room and a spacious dormitory where each has her comfortable white bed and a chiffonier. There is a huge fireplace in this dormitory, and on Sundays I let them have a big open fire all day and evening. You can not imagine how they delight in this fire. They gather around it, one reading aloud while the others rest or perform little tasks connected with their wardrobes; and every Sunday evening they have a spread up there—making coffee, toasting bread before the fire and making candy. I never go near them at these times. Sunday is their day, and they are in their own home, where they can do as they like."

Near the house is a pretty little building, painted gray like the barn. It is used to

be the woodshed. "We call it the House of the Disciples' now," laughs Mrs. Selfridge, "because our two men, James and John, have their quarters there."

Every week great wicker hamper covered with patent leather castors brought by train from the city or by motor from neighboring country estates to this model laundry, to be sent home three days' some garments, in tissue wrapping. Wealthy patrons have deluged the new establishment. Mrs. Selfridge's venture in behalf of women's work has back of it the sympathy and interest of the Hon. and Mrs. Seth Low, Mrs. John Henry Hammond, Miss Caroline Choate, Miss Grace Dodge, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. Frederick Pearson, Mr. and Mrs. Rudolph Schirmer and Richard Harding Davis.

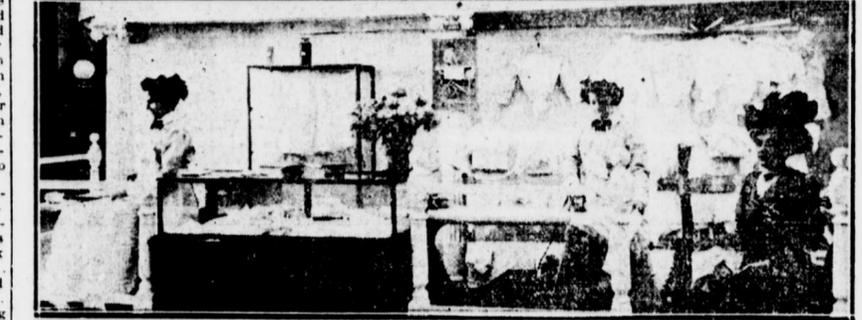
"As to any social stigma attaching itself to women who enter these practical occupations, that is quite absurd," declared Mrs. Selfridge. "In fact, so widespread is the movement toward women's work that the women who are 'doing things' are actually received with additional interest. When I merrily exclaimed to one of my patronesses who had invited me to a tea, 'Why, I'm your washerwoman, you know!' I was laughingly assured that I was lots more interesting on that account. Women must invest these prosaic vocations with enough novelty, charm and dignity to lift them out of the commonplace into the unusual. Women can fix as high a standing for such branches of work as for the artistic callings."

At the Woman's Industrial Exhibition last week there was a constant throng of onlookers in front of Mrs. Selfridge's immaculate white and blue enclosure, where Annie and Jennie, in blue dresses with white cuffs and collars, aprons and mob caps, busily ironed the lingerie and dress shirts of some of New York's best known folk. Mrs. Henry, directress of the exhibition, stated that she exhibited it one of the most significant examples shown as indicating the advance in scope and efficiency of women's work.

Exhibiting the Wolf He Whipped.

Fort William correspondent Toronto Globe.

Just outside of Nepean on Saturday night John Fanneneh, a Finlander, was attacked by a pack of wolves and, armed with only a club, he beat them off, killing one and maiming another. The latter was captured and muzzled and the man is exhibiting it now.



INTERIOR OF THE MODEL LAUNDRY.

how myself so that I could train my employees. So I went out to Teachers College, at Columbia University, and took the full course in laundering, studied the chemical properties of soaps, blues and starches. I learned the best methods of washing and rinsing, the most deft ways of handling the irons, the newest devices and labor saving schemes. I found out injurious practices and how to detect them. Washboards and ironing boards were new and strange to me, but I plunged into the work with vigor, determined to master every detail of it. Women must not think that they can carry on industries of this sort, on a competing

tion. Of course the ideal environment for a laundry is the farm itself, where the clothes may swing all day in the sunshine, and be blown by breezes which scatter apple blossoms instead of patches of soot. So presently I secured a country place out at Mount Kisco, being urgedly invited, there by many friends who had great country estates near by. Even on such an estate the laundry problem is present, for it demands a large staff of special servants and my patrons are tremendously relieved at getting rid of the whole paraphernalia which having their clothes laundered in the fresh country air. I am forty miles from New York and a mile from the rail-

back rooms. A slender, bright faced little woman comes down the steps with a cordial greeting and takes one in for a cup of hot tea. The old farm house is big and rambling, "a perfect mine of possibilities," says Mrs. Selfridge, enthusiastically, having a normal modern woman's delight in remodeling an old place. It has enormous rooms, enclosing piazzas, and is surrounded by fine old trees.

Then she leads the way across the grass to the laundry itself, which turns out to be a transformation of the huge old barn. The clever ingenuity of it appeals woman from one end to the other. "Isn't this