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The President Explains One of His Fourteen Principles to Senator Simmons.

The first manifestation of anxiety in the White House to allay the apprehensions now naturally excited throughout the country by Mr. Wilson's partisan pronouncement of Friday last appeared yesterday in the form of a letter from the President to Senator Simmons.

The President now tells Senator Simmons that his call for "the removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions" meant only that any tariff established by any nation "should apply equally to all foreign nations; that there should be no discrimination against some nations that did not apply to others."

That is to say, if we understand him, he meant only that there must be no punitive tariff legislation against the nations which are now our enemies. He denounces the construction which has been put upon this item of his fourteen principles as a partisan attempt "to inject the bogey of free trade, which is not involved at all."

This explanation or qualification of the Fourteen Principles address would be more impressive if it were not coupled with the extraordinary statement that he, the President, "of course meant to suggest no restriction upon the free determination by any nation of its own economic policy."

Free determination! The Americans who do not agree with President Wilson in his known views on the subject of the tariff will dwell with curious if not with scornful interest upon the words "free determination" as used here by him.

For only three days ago he told them, in substance, that there must be no free election of members of the great legislative body charged by the Constitution with the nation's self-determination of its tariff policy, for the reason that such self-determination, if it went against his partisan views, would tend and comfort to the enemy—that is to say, would be treason!

The Kaiser's Republic. We have no means of verifying the interesting prognostications made by the *Austrian Daily Express* as to the plans of WILHELM II., but the programme attributed to the Kaiser appeals to the imagination:

"He is not about to abdicate, but rather to become the hereditary President of a German republic under a constitution similar to those of Britain, Belgium and Italy."

In the United Kingdom an irresponsible Crown exercises its theoretical powers through a responsible Ministry selected from the members of the party which has a majority in the House of Commons.

In Belgium every royal act must be counter-signed by a Minister responsible to the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.

In Italy, where the King never vetoes a bill passed by Parliament, the cabinet is directly responsible to the Chamber of Deputies.

These three countries are republics in all but name. It is noteworthy that the Kaiser is not reported as asking for the powers granted to, or assumed by, the head of the largest of all the nominal republics. It is easy to imagine freedom yet remove the Hohenzollern name listening to WILHELM's plea for his retention as the figurehead of a constitutional and democratic government. But suppose the Kaiser said to the Germans: "Strip me, if you will, of the titles of King of Prussia and German Emperor. Make me your President and grant me the powers now wielded by the President of the United States. If you will not make

my office for life and hereditary, then permit me to exercise, while President, the right publicity to proclaim as disloyal—according to my own notions of loyalty—any political party that attempts to maintain a Constitutional interest in the conduct of the nation's affairs."

What would the answer be from HARDEN and LIEBKNECHT and other yearners for freedom?

The Truth From Mr. Wilson's Partisan Appeal.

In his address at Carnegie Hall last evening THEODORE ROOSEVELT dealt with absolute precision the meaning of President WILSON'S phrase "the leaders of the minority, although unquestionably pro-war, have been anti-Administration," as used in Mr. WILSON'S letter of last Friday, Colonel ROOSEVELT said:

"Now, what does Mr. WILSON mean when he speaks of these leaders as being, although 'pro-war,' yet 'anti-Administration'?"

"He means that when the War Department was administered with utter inefficiency they investigated the matter and insisted upon efficiency."

"He means that when they found that nothing effective was being done in shipbuilding they insisted that the work be speeded up."

"He means that when they found that \$600,000,000 had been spent for airplanes and yet that not an airplane had reached our soldiers at the front they insisted that our soldiers should get the airplanes for which the people had paid."

"The entire offence of the Republican leaders in Mr. Wilson's eyes is that they have demanded that inefficiency, waste and extravagance be remedied. Such a demand he treats as 'anti-Administration.' In other words, the attitude which patriotic people regard as pro-United States he regards as anti-Administration."

Nobody else has exposed with greater clearness or more convincing particularity the exact significance of Woodrow Wilson's words than did THEODORE ROOSEVELT in these unimpeachable sentences; and few Americans, tortured through thousands of them are by their consciences, have the courage THEODORE ROOSEVELT displayed at this time in uttering these unassailable truths.

Mr. Ford's Candidacy.

In behalf of HENRY FORD, a candidate for the Senate on the Democratic ticket in Michigan, it is urged that he is a successful manufacturer who has accumulated a great fortune, that he has supported the Government loyally since the United States decided to defend itself against German aggression, and that President Wilson wants him in the Senate.

So far as Mr. Wilson's preferences are concerned, it may be said with entire respect and propriety that the members of the Senate should be chosen to represent the States from which they come, and not the Executive Department of the United States Government, or any individual officeholder thereunder. Michigan, not Woodrow Wilson, should speak and vote through the Senator to be elected in that State on November 5. Failure to bear this fact in mind may lead to serious consequences; it is apparent that if the President's desires are to dominate Michigan, they may likewise dominate other States, until the Senate is reduced to the condition of a personal appendage to the Executive. Were there merit in the argument that Mr. Ford should be elected because Mr. Wilson wants him in the Senate, it would obviously be in order to institute the process of ejecting from the Senate members whom the President does not want there.

Mr. Ford has supported the Government loyally since we entered the war. That is granted. But does that fact constitute a valid reason for sending him in the Senate? If it does, the Senate should be enlarged to accommodate all the other business and professional men who have supported the Government loyally; that is to say, all American business and professional men except that infinitesimal number who have proved disloyal. Mr. Ford has done as much as thousands of other men to make his loyalty effective, but there are thousands who have done more. Mr. Ford has put his plant at the service of the Government, but he has offered no blood to the war. The mobilization of industries that has been effected does not depend on Mr. Ford. Had there been no HENRY FORD it would have been put in operation. Had HENRY FORD refused or neglected to contribute to it, he would have been compelled to contribute to it. In this operation HENRY FORD has received an unfair amount of praise, compared with that which has been bestowed on less persistently advertised American patriots, whose sons as well as whose factories are now serving the American people.

There are many other manufacturers in America who started life with nothing more than Mr. Ford had and have accumulated fortunes, but nobody thinks those facts entitle them to seats in the Senate. Everybody knows, in fact, that this test would be indignantly repudiated, if an effort were made to incorporate it into our political system. Success in business does not and never will afford a standard by which to estimate a man's suitability for political office.

In short, no sound reason is advanced why Mr. Ford should be elected to the Senate from Michigan.

Against Mr. Ford as a candidate for the Senate there is one supreme and overwhelming fact that cannot be ignored. Amiable and generous though Mr. Ford is, he has given proof in his own conduct in public affairs that he is densely ignorant of history, completely uninformed as to the processes

and purposes of our political institutions, singularly inept in his judgment of men and measures, and without stability. His peace mission to Europe comprehensively exposed his lack of understanding, not because of his object, but because of the means he adopted to accomplish that object. He reduced a respectable ambition to the dimensions of a willful folly, and entrusted the execution of a vision to mountebanks, pretenders, parasites, ignoramuses, and even less attractive agents. The record of that sad adventure indelibly stamps him as unfit for responsible public office. It prepared the country for the extraordinary outgivings which have come from Mr. Ford on political subjects, such, for example, as his astonishing declaration, "There are a number of great problems . . . which I would much like to help the President and Congress solve." In this sentence Mr. Ford clearly sets up an ideal of government consisting of the President, the Congress, and HENRY FORD, which betrays at once his amazing ignorance of the duties and the obligations of the office he seeks.

Mr. Ford should stay at home, where he is a useful citizen. He might prove to be worse than a useless Senator of the United States.

"From Hamburg and Bremen, to Hoboken; the Tirpitz and the Zeppelin."

We know what America thinks of Germany. We know, or fancy we know, what Germany thinks of America. A not entirely academic question, one which has a bearing on the future relations of the two nations, is this: Does Germany know exactly what the outer world, and specifically the people of this country, think of the Germany that has revealed itself in the last fifty months?

It is the obvious answer to say that Germany must know; that she has undoubtedly been able to obtain, through the American newspapers reaching neutral European countries, a sharply outlined picture of the abhorrence which Americans feel toward the German violations of the written laws of nations and the sometimes unwritten laws of humanity; toward, for instance, the creators of the hideous policy of frightfulness at sea; toward the bombing of unfortified towns. With this concept of what Germany ought to understand, crediting her, if not with being well informed, at least with normal ability to make a guess at what reaction has occurred in civilized countries, let us examine a paragraph from an article contributed by F. R. HARRIS to the conservative monthly the *Nineteenth Century and After*. The title of the article is "Germany's Bid for Sea Power" and it is compiled from evidently authentic sources. The paragraph which bears on the question we have raised is as follows:

"A glance at her shipbuilding programme will show the scale upon which Germany is working, and the various types of vessel may indicate her intentions. The Hamburg-America Line is building the Bismarck (54,000 tons), which will be the largest liner in the world; the Tirpitz, a turbine steamer of 32,000 tons; and three other vessels, each of 22,000 tons. The North German Lloyd placed orders at Danzig for two steamers each of 32,000 tons, but only one of these is available; the München and the Zeppelin are each 16,000 tons, and twelve other vessels of 12,000 tons are already in various stages of completion."

What can be the state of a German mind that sees coming up the North River, to dock in the stream where once the Lusitania lay, a ship named after the father of German naval piracy and murder? What can be in the cell of a German brain that visualizes the welcome, in any port of civilization, a vessel named after the aerial engine that slaughtered the women and children of little English towns?

Is it entirely that Germany does not, cannot understand civilization and its attitude toward her villainies? Or is it that she does understand us and that we do not understand her; that we do not realize that she is still shameless and defiant, even in defeat, still glorying in the black triumphs of an unquenchable hate?

Officially announced as returning home, five Generals, BUNDY, MACMAHON, EDWARDS, CAMERON and Beck, deserve and will get the heartfelt gratitude of the nation for their distinguished services; one of them, OMAR BUNDY, especially, for working our internal democracy. American soldiers would understand the order to retreat. This will rank in our history with PEARLY'S "We have met the enemy and they are ours," and the "We have just begun to fight" of JONES.

The Kaiser seems perfectly resigned to the fate of becoming a President when Germany is a republic. Perhaps he has been studying recent aspects of American politics.

Going east seems to be as popular with the German soldier as with the mighty strategists of the great German General Staff.

W. S. S.—WILHELM SHALL SUFFER!

Captain Cuttle and His Watch.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: What's all this talk of the damage done to the mechanism of watches and clocks by turning them back? And we are told that this is true by those who should know too. How the art of making timepieces deteriorated in the past seventy years? Dickens in "Dombey and Son" tells of old Captain Cuttle and his ponderous silver watch. The Captain boasted, "Ter set her ahead fifteen minutes every morn' and back twenty every night and she keeps time with the best of 'em." I chanced to run across this and have followed Captain Cuttle's sage advice, "When found, make note of." T. P.

New York, October 28.

THE PEOPLE'S ANSWER TO MR. WILSON'S PARTISAN APPEAL.

Is This an American War, or a Wilson-Democratic War?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: The whole American people are committed to a stupendous war in the support of which they are called upon to make great sacrifices. More than 60,000 men from all parts of the country, from all parties and all occupations, have suffered death or wounds in battle. More than 2,000,000 men are in the army and sea to fight, and millions more are called. Twenty-five millions of America's citizens have loaned their money to the Government. Millions of men and women have turned from their homes and their families to the service of the Government and help it in the life and death matter of winning the war.

Yet the President of all these citizens proclaims to the nation and to the world that he does not trust and cannot work with the representatives of more than half of the citizens of the United States and therefore does not wish these citizens in the next election to send their representatives to Congress!

He asks that America's great war for justice and popular government be turned over to the hands of a party which has its own political party, which for many years has been the minority party of the nation, and that he alone be the supreme dictator of war methods and policies, and the sole judge of the time and the conditions of peace.

The President admits that the Republican members of Congress have been pro-war, but he claims that they have been anti-Administration. He might add another antithesis: they have been anti-American and anti-German.

This vital and all commanding fact must be kept to the front in weighing the importance of the President's complaint that they have been anti-Administration. It is not a matter of mere words for the protection and honor of America have been anti-Administration. In none of the things that have been aimed straight at the defeat and the unconditional surrender of Germany have they been anti-Administration. In none of the things which have been planned and directed to speeding up the war and gaining greater efficiency in the conduct of the war work in all its departments, have they been anti-Administration. They have been anti-Administration because they have been the supreme business of the nation during the present Congress, and will continue to be so for more than the life of the next Congress.

It is conceivable that our allies would not be so well pleased if some of our strong American hearts and brains, and power of action hitherto suppressed in this nation for political reasons, were to find opportunity for larger exercise in meeting the great problems of the present and the future.

It is conceivable that the Imperial German Government might regret, even more than our Democratic President, any check upon his dialectic leadership, or any spur upon his progress toward breaking into the world his own country's demand for the unconditional surrender of Germany.

It is conceivable that the peoples and the Governments over seas would interpret a change in the complexion of the American Congress in precisely the same way that our ourselves would interpret it—as dissatisfaction with protracted negotiations with the enemy with whom we have declared we would have no more negotiations—as determination to break into the world his own power, and lasting victory rather than as a desire to lessen the blows against the enemy—as a pronouncement to all the world of America's unyielding purpose to insist upon unconditional surrender of the enemy, and upon his most thorough and far-reaching terms.

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which it was the principal aim of the founders of the nation to avert. For he demands a Democratic Congress in order that he may have a servile Congress, a Congress that will not use those checks and controls upon his power which the Constitution distinctly provides, and without which it is absolutely impossible for liberty to survive.

What a pity that in the name and in behalf of freedom we must, in so hour like this, castigate the alarming arrogance of the head of the nation! But we must, as we have not in the old stuff and fibre of independence.

WILLIAM L. BULLIVAN. New York, October 28.

Safe for a Democratic Democracy!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: Make the United States safe for the Democratic party.

If no Republican Congressman, why not elect the Republicans and draft for the army and navy to Democrats?

So with munition workers and shipbuilders. Can Republicans be trusted in any of these places if Republicans cannot in Congress? WYNN KIRKMAN. New York, October 28.

An Opinion From the Naval Service.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: It was my pleasure to read the editorial article in *The Sun* of Saturday.

It would seem to me that President Wilson has trodden our battle cry of "Over the top to make the world safe for democracy" into the mud of politics.

The men in the service of Uncle Sam are fighting to keep our country a nation of the people, by the people and for the people, and to help other countries to establish a like government.

It is in the mind of the writer, a wall-top on the chin when Mr. Wilson attempts to dictate to the citizens of the United States how they should cast their ballots which under American institutions should be cast as they see fit.

The naval service of this country, of which I am a small factor, is doing everything in its power to back up the President. We are not all Democrats but we have all put aside our political affiliations as well as our individual thoughts as a means of bringing this war to a speedy and victorious ending.

We will continue to back the Administration to our utmost, but we shall accept the challenge of Mr. Wilson and vote as we see fit. IN THE SERVICE. New York, October 28.

What Abraham Lincoln Did.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: The noblest leaders of the present day are very fond of eulogizing Abraham Lincoln and trying to make the public believe that they are doing to-day what Lincoln would do.

It is interesting, therefore, in view of the existing conditions, to know what Lincoln did in a similar case according to his own mind.

On June 20, 1864, according to Nicolay and Hay's "Life of Abraham Lincoln," President Lincoln called the postmaster of Philadelphia before him. The facts had been placed before Lincoln to the effect that the Philadelphia Postal Service was in a state of chaos.

Lincoln said to him that complaint had been made of this character, and that he wished the postmaster to know that his action was contrary to Lincoln's policy.

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It is going to be a big job, entrenched as he is with so much power as the result of the needs of the country in war time. N. New York, October 28.

Wilson First, Constitution and Government Nowhere.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: Can you compel scrutiny of Mr. Wilson's latest appeals to the people from all angles before judgment be entered.

I say appeals, for his letter to Mr. Hennessey is an undignified appeal to New Jersey to defeat Senator Baird because the latter opposed the woman suffrage bill, which Mr. Wilson considers an essential war measure.

This following his request for a dictatorship, justifies the plural. Perhaps Mr. Baird does not consider woman suffrage a war measure. A good many people do not. But Mr. Wilson is entirely consistent and undignified.

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is fighting and dying for him and the rest of us on this side. J. For one, if I live until and can get to the polling booth on November 5, shall give my answer to Wilson's desperate partisan appeal. I have a lot of congenial company—by voting for the Republican candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives from top to bottom, thereby doing my utmost to put Kitchin and his kind where they can do no further harm to the country. G. B. ALDRICH. New York, N. Y., October 28.

Are We a Nation Made Up of Democrats and Traitors?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: Good morning; are you a Democrat or are you a traitor? STILL A REPUBLICAN. New York, October 28.

Search for a Precedent!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: The President's frantic political appeal to Republicans to change their normal vote manifestly propose and undignified. It only confirms me in my life long adherence to Republican principles, especially when a Democratic vote means a vote for a sectional and jealous Kitchin.

Secretary Tumulty, in a letter to a certain Republican committee, refers glowingly to appeals of Messrs. Roosevelt, Harrison, Lodge, Penrose and Foraker, as well as to certain newspapers of 1898, to uphold President McKinley in his prompt though unpopular entrance into the Spanish-American war.

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