

T. R. DANGEROUS, DECLINES TAFT

Colonel Paving Way to Be President for Life, Says Executive.

SQUARE DEAL MADE ISSUE

Letters Quoted Showing Taft Was Against Lorimer and That Rough Rider Knew It—Campaign Methods Are Upheld.

(Continued From First Page.)

By excerpts from my speeches Mr. Roosevelt has sought to show and has charged that I am one who has publicly announced that I am in favor of an aristocracy of political bosses and that I am linked with political bosses in seeking my re-nomination. He charges that the patronage of the Government is being shamelessly used to secure my renomination and that in the conventions and primaries which have been held fraud and violence have been systematically used to defeat the will of the people and to secure delegates for me. He says I am not a progressive but a reactionary; that I was nominated by progressives and after election joined the ranks of those who opposed me for nomination and he intimates that I have not the spirit of the progressive or the imagination of the clear headed purpose essential to the makeup of such a person. He says that I am a friend of the interests and an upholder of special privileges and that a vote for me is a vote for the interests and against the people. He minimizes and flouts the importance of the laws enacted and the executive action taken during my Administration.

Personal Factor Nothing.

"If in my contest there were at stake only my own reputation or the satisfaction of my ambition, I would without the slightest qualm and without care as to the result, continue my silence under these unjust attacks. I would do so because of the personal relations that have existed between Mr. Roosevelt and me, my debt of gratitude to him, and my inclination, because of the office I hold, not to indulge in personal controversy. I would hope that the future, near or distant, facts would disclose themselves showing the injustice of the course he is pursuing toward me and the merciless truth concerning his motives and his sincerity of statement and purpose.

But I am presented with this difficulty. I represent a cause. I stand for wise progress in Governmental affairs and in the improvement in condition of all the people that the Republican party stands for. I am the titular leader of that movement and the substantial and same legislation of my Administration vindicates its existence and continuance.

Administration Must Be Defended.

"The supporters of this cause look to me to see to it that it is not seriously injured by unjust, unfounded charges against me and by the appeals to discontent and class hatred that Mr. Roosevelt is now making to the public. They feel that by such charges and appeals Mr. Roosevelt has avoided the real and critical issues of the campaign and has misled a great many good and patriotic people of the country to his support because no one has answered them as they ought to be answered.

They think I am the only one whose position is such as to make an answer effective: that as the President whose Administration is being attacked, as the titular head of the Republican party whose integrity is threatened, and as the man whose character is aspersed I must meet Mr. Roosevelt's attacks, however unpleasant may be a personal controversy with one whom in the past I have greatly admired and loved and whose present change of attitude is the source of the saddest disappointment.

"Square Deal" Questioned.

"Mr. Roosevelt prides himself on being a true sportsman and he likes to take from the rules and language of sport matches to be applied to life in general. The maxim which he has exalted above all others, to which he has given currency the country over and which he, himself, in his conduct of life wishes to have thought he exemplifies, is that every man is entitled to a square deal. I propose to examine the charges he makes against me and to ask you whether in making them he is giving me a square deal."

In detail Mr. Taft dealt first with the statement by Colonel Roosevelt in his Carnegie Hall address, in which the Colonel said:

"Mr. Taft fairly defines the issue when he says that our Government is and should be a Government of all the people by a representative part of the people. That is an excellent and moderate description of an oligarchy. It defines our Government as a Government of all the people by a few of the people."

Excerpt is Garbled.

In reply Mr. Taft said: "The excerpt which Mr. Roosevelt uses is taken from my speech at Toledo. It is garbled. I did not say this 'should be' a Government of all the people by a representative part of the people. I said it is this Government that ours is a Government of all the people by a representative part of the people, and it is. The context shows clearly what I meant. I had pointed out that the Government was by popular vote, that the voters did not include the women and children; that in number the voters were less than one-fourth of all the people and that their action was the action of their majority; so that the Government was controlled not by all the people, but by a representative part of the people, to wit, a majority of the adult males. Does Mr. Roosevelt deny this fact? I pointed out the fact that this popular Government of ours is a Government by the adult voting males in order to show the necessity for constitutional restrictions to protect the non-voters among the people against the possible injustice and aggression of the majority of the voters.

Roosevelt's Fairness Assailed.

"Was it honest, was it fair, of Theodore Roosevelt to seize one sentence from a speech, to garble it, and then to give it meaning which he knew from the context it could not bear? Do the just people of Massachusetts approve such method of warfare? Do they think that in carrying it on Mr. Roose-

TWO SNAPSHOTS OF THE PRESIDENT IN CHARACTERISTIC SPEAKING ATTITUDES.



—Copy right by George Grantham Bain. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

with the disapproval of the Senate.

But I want the movement to oust him to succeed. I have urged different Senators to read the record carefully and after a talk with Roosevelt and Burton and Knute Nelson and Crawford and some others, I believe we are going to line up a good many of the regular Republicans on the side of what I consider decency and honesty in politics.

Taft Stands For Decency.

"It has leaked out that I have been taking some interest in the matter and I fear it has not aided the situation generally because of that strong feeling of clubdom in the Senate and resentment against outside interference which nobody who is not intimately acquainted with the situation can understand. The weight of my speaking with Borah this morning. I have consulted a good deal with him on the subject, and he and I agree that it would be unwise either for you or for me to come out now against Lorimer and in favor of his being ousted, that it would enable those who are determined to keep him in, especially the Democrats, Bailey and others, to use an argument against outside interference that would move a number of Democrats and would get by a representation of the full facts on the floor of the Senate from the Senate itself. Root is going to make a speech in the Senate, and I believe that Lodge will do the same thing. Now, nothing would have stronger weight than speeches from them, whereas if you or I came out and attack it would enable the friends of Lorimer to shift the subject from the tainted character of his seat to the independence of the Senate, and the judge of the qualifications of its own members.

Colonel Asked to Delay.

"I suggest, therefore, that if you have an article on this subject, you hold it until after the issue is made more plain by speeches from the floor of the body, in which the contest is to be won. I want to win. So do you. This is my excuse for writing you. Sincerely yours, 'WILLIAM H. TAFT.'"

"P. S.—Of course I may be mistaken as to your purpose in this matter. Since dictating the above I have had the telephone conversation with you. Mr. Taft added that by the telephone conversation and by subsequent correspondence which he would not publish unless Mr. Roosevelt desired, he learned that no such article was contemplated, but that Mr. Roosevelt indicated that he would assist in the matter in two ways:

"I have never given Mr. Roosevelt nor anyone else the slightest reason to suppose that I had changed my attitude."

T. R. Favored Reciprocity.

Mr. Taft charged that Mr. Roosevelt was now seeking to take advantage of the supposed feeling among the farmers of the country against reciprocity with Canada. He said he would not object to giving the impression that he consulted Mr. Roosevelt ten days before he made the agreement with Canada and that the latter approved the agreement in the most enthusiastic terms. Mr. Taft quoted a letter from Colonel Roosevelt dated January 12, 1911, in which he said:

"Dear Mr. President: It seems to me that what you propose to do with Canada is admirable from every standpoint. I firmly believe in reciprocal trade with Canada for both economic and political reasons. As you say, labor conditions are substantially the same in both countries, so you are amply justified by the platform. Whether Canada will accept such reciprocity I don't know, but it is greatly to your credit to make the effort. It may damage the Republican party for a while, but it will surely benefit the party in the end and especially if you take wool, cotton, etc., as you propose. Ever yours, 'THEODORE ROOSEVELT.'"

Square Deal Again Violated.

The President added: "Now in the exigency of his contest for the nomination and with the purpose of accentuating the supreme feeling of the farmers against me, he recants his approval of the agreement on the ground that it would not have been a square deal for the farmers, a circumstance which, he intimates, escaped him when he, in a desire to support my Administration, had approved the Administration's submission of the Roosevelt course on reciprocity is not in accord with the square deal."

President Against Lorimer.

Mr. Taft then read a letter he wrote to Colonel Roosevelt on January 6, 1911, in which he said he wanted the movement to oust Senator Lorimer to succeed.

The letter marked "personal" follows:

"The White House, Washington, January 6, 1911. 'My Dear Theodore: It comes to me perhaps without foundation that you are going to write a strong article on the Lorimer case and publish it in the Outlook. I have been doing everything I could legitimately to have the closest examination made into the Lorimer case. I have read as much of the evidence as I could get at and am convinced that there was a mass and mass of corruption upon which his election was founded that ought to be stamped

had profited "by the use of dirty instruments" to secure delegates. "No instance," said the President, "has been brought to my attention in which specifications of fraud have been sustained by any evidence whatever. The charges made by Senator Dixon as to Kentucky, in an hysterical and insulting open letter to me, were shown to be wholly without foundation in the Kentucky convention and by the statement of Senator Deboe."

T. R. Has Chance in Courts.

Mr. Taft said that if there had been fraud in the New York primaries, the courts were open to the Roosevelt supporters for redress. If they failed, he said, to take advantage of this fact, he inferred from this that the charges of fraud elsewhere had no real foundation. It was the policy of the Roosevelt campaign, Mr. Taft said, to claim everything and then to meet the reports of reverses by charges of fraud and the bringing of "trumped-up" charges.

As to Mr. Roosevelt's charges of the "shamelessness" of Federal patronage by the President, Mr. Taft said that 79 per cent of the Federal officeholders now in the service were appointees of Mr. Roosevelt and as a natural and inevitable result of the large percentage of them favored the ex-President for renomination. No man, he said, had been dismissed because he favored Mr. Roosevelt and there was every indication that at the Chicago convention the influence of the Federal officeholders would be less effective for any one candidate than ever before in the history of the party.

Colonel Enjoys Patronage.

Mr. Taft said Mr. Roosevelt was not only enjoying the support of many of the Federal officeholders but the patronage of a number of state Governors, which was being used for his "businesslike manipulation that lacks nothing in effectiveness." He said the patronage of Governor Hadley, of Missouri; Governor Stubbs, in Kansas; Governor Glasscock, in West Virginia; Governor Osborn, in Michigan, and Governor Johnson, in California, all was being used to support Mr. Roosevelt.

Dealing with Mr. Roosevelt's charges that in his Administration Mr. Taft had deserted the progressives and become a reactionary, the President said it was Mr. Roosevelt's advice that he had his first meeting with Speaker Cannon.

"I had been afraid that Mr. Cannon might oppose a revision of the tariff and I had been afraid that he would not secure votes enough in the caucus to elect another Speaker. I found that Mr. Cannon had agreed with Mr. Roosevelt in which he agreed he would help redeem the promises of the Republican platform."

Party's Welfare Considered.

Speaking of the Payne tariff bill, Mr. Taft again defended his course in that regard. He declared that he had vetoed it because he believed it would have broken up the Republican party.

Has Mr. Roosevelt ever condemned the Payne bill? he asked. "Does he say he would not have signed it if it had been presented to him under conditions that I had to meet? He has never said that, as far as I know, and the New York platform of 1910, adopted by the convention of which he was a part, indorsed the pending bill and approved its passage. It is a square deal, therefore, for him to charge me with not being a progressive when all that I did was to deal with the party as I saw it."

Administration Record Cited.

"With characteristic boldness and lack of facts or evidence, and resting on his false and distorted construction of my language as to government by a representative part of the people, Mr. Roosevelt charges that I stand for the so-called interests and support privileges. If nothing else would serve, the record of my Administration as to suits against railroads to stop increase of rates and suits against trusts of all kinds to dissolve them and to punish their directors must show a fair-minded public that this Administration has no favorites among law-breakers or those seeking special privileges.

"One of the real reasons why Mr. Roosevelt ought not to be selected as a candidate of any party is the natural distrust that the whole business community will have in respect to the measures which Mr. Roosevelt will propose in order to effect a revolution in the interest of social justice which he advocates so strongly and defines so vaguely."

"Mr. Roosevelt ought not to be nominated in Chicago, because in such a nomination the Republican party will violate our most useful and necessary Governmental tradition—that no one shall be permitted to hold a third Presidential term."

Mr. Taft quoted from Mr. Roosevelt's statement in November, 1904, the following: "The wise custom, which limits the President to two terms, regards the substance and not the form; and under no circumstances will I be a candidate or accept another nomination."

"He now says, although his language does not bear such a construction that he meant, he would not accept a nomination for a consecutive third term."

"The important fact is that his declaration was the statement of a principle essential to the welfare of the Republic."

Towing of Rafts Not Prohibited.

OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, Washington, April 25.—Representative Humphrey today appeared before the committee on merchant marine and fisheries and, after considerable argument, succeeded in having struck from the seaman's bill the clause which prohibited the towing of log rafts at sea.



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Court under the present Administration.

Mr. Taft continued: "Now I find Mr. Roosevelt coming the other way, denouncing the anti-trust law and denouncing prosecutions under it. He says that the decision in the Standard Oil Company is ineffective; that the price of the stock has gone up and in some way or other I am responsible for the fact that the price did go up and that my Administration is to be condemned because that decree was confirmed in the Supreme Court. The truth is that the decree was finally entered and enforced was drawn exactly as Mr. Roosevelt's Attorney-General, in the bill which by direction of Mr. Roosevelt, he filed against the Standard Oil Company, had asked that it be drawn."

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T. R.'s Example Followed.

"In all Mr. Roosevelt's history he never failed to use as instruments for his purpose those whom he found in power. I knowed through his life he defended that course as the only sensible course to pursue. I have merely followed his example and don't hesitate to point with satisfaction to the legislation which has been enacted in my three years."

Mr. Taft referred to the strengthening of the interstate commerce act and approved its passage. In a square deal, therefore, for him to charge me with not being a progressive when all that I did was to deal with the party as I saw it."

Colonel's Attitude Changed.

Taking up Mr. Roosevelt's anti-trust record, Mr. Taft said he had warmly approved it on the stump for the ex-President. He said Mr. Roosevelt had instituted the proceedings against the Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company, and they had been carried to a successful conclusion in the Supreme

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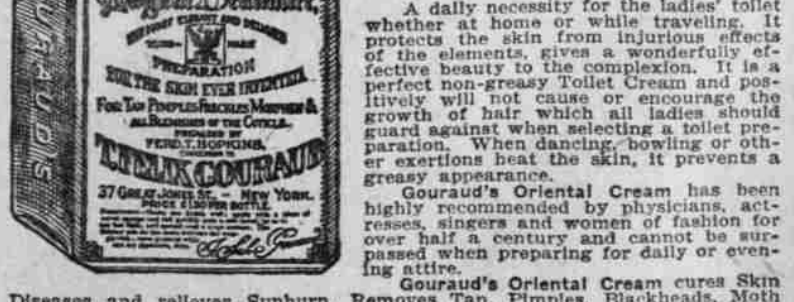
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