

Hughes and Fairbanks, Roosevelt and Parker.

First Two Nominated by Republicans at Chicago for President and Vice President; Last Two Nominated by Progressives. Roosevelt Declines Provisionally.

THE THREE BALLOTS.

	1st	2nd	3rd
Hughes	253 3/4	328 1/4	949 1/4
Roosevelt	103	81 1/2	12 1/2
Fairbanks	105	79	3
Weeks	77 1/4	76 1/2	7
Burton	65	59 1/2	5
Cummins	55	55	3
DuPont	12	13	5
Sherman	10	10	3
LaFollette	25	25	3
Brumbaugh	29	29	3
Ford	32	32	3
Knox	36	36	3
Taft	14	14	3
Borah	7	7	3
Wills	4	4	3
McCall	1	1	3
Wanamaker	1	1	3
Wood	1	1	3
Harding	1	1	3
Lodge	1	1	3
Not voting	2 1/2	2	1

Chicago, June 10.—The Progressive National Convention, after four days of tumult, with but one purpose in view, today nominated Colonel Theodore Roosevelt for President, and Colonel John M. Parker, of Louisiana, for Vice President. A few hours later the delegates listened without protest to a message from Oyster Bay saying that Roosevelt would not "accept at this time." The convention adjourned at 4.58 p. m.

Colonel Roosevelt's declaration was conditional and it was placed in the hands of the Progressive National Committee, to be held until such time as statements to be made by Justice Hughes, the nominee of the Republican party, "shall satisfy the committee that it is for the best interest of the country that he be elected."

The delegates never had wavered in allegiance or cast a passing glance upon another man. Three minutes before the convention adjourned Chairman Raymond Robins read to them the brief message from Oyster Bay, in which Colonel Roosevelt declined to accept the nomination. Few of the thousands in the vast auditorium, some of whom had seen the Colonel named in an even wilder burst of enthusiasm four years ago, realized when the chairman rapped his gavel and declared the convention adjourned sine die that in a few hours or a few weeks they might be a party without the one leader to whom they had come to Chicago to give the pledge of loyalty and faith.

The significance of Colonel Roosevelt's message, with its announcement that if the Progressive National Committee found the subsequent statements of Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican standard bearer, to its liking, his non-acceptance of the Progressive nomination should stand as his last word, was lost in that throng, worn out by its own enthusiasm, by long delays over peace parleys with the Republicans and by the discussion of a platform, on which it must go into the field, if at all, against both the forces of Democracy and Republicanism.

None of the feeling that some of them later betrayed when they had opportunity to digest the Colonel's statement had time to flare out when the gavel fell. They trooped out into Chicago's streets for home, while the band played faintly and the flags that had flaunted so proudly through all the stormy sessions were folded and the banners put away.

Before they left the hall the delegates remembered one of the essentials of a campaign. In response to the spur of the leaders they promised more than \$80,000 to carry on the fight. It was pledged in enthusiasm and the contributions tumbled in almost as fast as they could be recorded.

The Colonel is out of politics. Oyster Bay, N. Y., June 11.—Theodore Roosevelt reiterated tonight that he is "out of politics."

"I want to tell you newspapermen," he said, "that it's of no use for you to come up here to see me. I will have nothing to say. I will answer no questions, so please don't ask me to come out of politics."

If the former President has any plans for the immediate future other than to continue his literary work, he has not made them public. His secretary, John W. McGrath, is expected to arrive here with a detailed report of the happenings at both the Republican and Progressive conventions.

Colonel Roosevelt attended church services in the village this morning in seclusion at Sagamore Hill the rest of the day. The telegraph wires last night and today brought a flood of messages to Colonel Roosevelt. It was announced that most of them approved his action in declining to become a candidate upon the Progressive ticket.

While Colonel Roosevelt would not discuss the question today his intimates considered it altogether unlikely that he would reconsider his conditional refusal to head a third ticket. He has not yet made it clear whether or not he will support the candidacy of Mr. Hughes.

Canadians, Mexicans, and south Americans have been inclined to dispute the claim of residents of the United States to the name American. To escape the difficulty by providing a simple and euphonious term, some one has coined the word "Usonian," based on the initials U. S. This suggestion has set the word-mints at work. Correspondents of The Nation propose "Usarians" (from U. S. A.), "Ustians," "Usonans" and "Unians." The last is tendered by Professor Charles W. Super, of Athens, O., who thinks it is neither right nor polite for us to monopolize the entire Western Hemisphere.

Different Now.

Mrs. A.—How marriage changes a man.

Mrs. B.—Doesn't it? Take my husband. He used to offer me a penny for my thoughts and now he offers me \$50 to shut up.—Boston Transcript.

ice, along lines of efficiency and economy are necessary."

"Officials should be bonafide residents of the territory they represent."

"We pledge our support to the enforcement of all laws passed for the protection of labor."

"The Republican party favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

"We believe in a careful, unobtrusive, unobnoxious husbandry of our natural resources."

"The reorganization of civil service."

[Concluded at bottom of next column.]

WILL THERE BE A "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE?"

Last week the "Watchman" published an article on preparedness by president Hibben, of Princeton University. On page 1 of this issue will be found an interview with Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, under the title "The United States of Europe." It is a wonderfully interesting presentation of the views of a man who has gone deep into the subject and we would advise you to read it.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, firmly believes that the organization of such a federation will be the outcome, soon or late, of a situation built up through years of European failure to adjust government to the growth of civilization.

He thinks it possible that the ending of the present war may see the rising of the new sun of Democracy to light a day of freedom for our transatlantic neighbors.

He tells me that thinking men in all the contending nations are beginning vividly to consider such a contingency, to argue for it or against it; in other words, to regard it as an undoubted possibility.

Dr. Butler's acquaintance among those thinking men of all shades of political belief is probably wider than that of any other American, and it is significant of the startling importance of what he says that by far the greater number of his European friends, the men upon whose views he has largely, directly or indirectly, based his conclusions, are not of the socialist or of any other revolutionary or semi-revolutionary groups, but are among the most conservative and most important figures in European political, literary and educational life.

This being unquestionably true, it is by no means improbable that in the interview which follows, fruit of two evenings in Dr. Butler's library, may be seen the most important speculative utterances yet to appear in relation to the general European war.

Dr. Butler's estimate of the place which the United States now holds upon the stage of the theatre of world progress and his forecast of the tremendously momentous role which she is destined to play there must make every American's heart first swell with pride and then thrill with a realization of responsibility.

The United States of Europe, modeled after and instructed by the United States of America! The thought is stimulating.

Said Dr. Butler: "The European cataclysm puts the people of the United States in a unique and tremendously important position. As neutrals we are able to observe events and to learn the lesson of their teaching. If we learn rightly we shall gain for ourselves and be able to confer upon others benefits far more important than any of the material advantages which may come to us through a shrewd handling of the new possibilities in international trade."

"I hesitate to discuss any phase of the great conflict now raging in Europe. By today's mail, for example, I received long, personal letters from Lord Haldane, from Lord Morley, from Lord Weardeale, and from Lord Bryce. Another has just come from Prof. Schiemann, of Berlin, perhaps the Emperor's most intimate adviser; another, from Prof. Lammassch, of Austria, who was the Presiding Judge in relation to the Newfoundland fisheries a few years ago, and who is a member of the Austrian House of Peers. Still others are from M. Ribot, Minister of Finance in France, and M. d'Estournelles de Constant. These confidential letters give a wealth of information as to the intellectual and political forces that are behind the conflict."

"You will understand, then, that without disloyalty to my many friends in Europe, I could not discuss with freedom the causes or the progress of the war, or speculate in detail about the future of the European problem. My friends in Germany, France, and England all write to me with the utmost freedom and not for the uttermost eye; so you see that my great difficulty, when you ask me to talk about the meaning of the struggle, arises from the obligation that I am under to preserve a proper personal reserve regarding the great figures behind the vast intellectual and political changes which are really in the background of the war."

"If such reserve is necessary in my case, it seems to me that it also is necessary for the country as a whole. The attitude of the President has been impeccable. That of the whole American press and people should be the same.

"Especially is it true that all Americans, in hoping to have influence, in shaping the events which will follow the war, must avoid any expression which even might be tortured into an avowal of partisanship or final judgment.

"Even the free expression of views criticizing particular details of the war, which might, in fact, deserve criticism, may destroy one's chance of future possible usefulness. A statement which might be unquestionably true may also be remembered to the damage of some important cause later on.

"There are reasons why my position is, perhaps, more difficult than that of some others. Talking is often a hazardous practice, and never more so than now.

"The world is at the crossroads, and everything may depend upon the United States, which has been thrust by events into a unique position of moral leadership. Whether the march of the future is to be to the right or to the left, uphill or down, after the war is over, may well depend upon the course this nation shall then take, and upon the influence which it shall exercise.

"If we keep our heads clear there are two things that we can bring insistently to the attention of Europe—each of vast import at such a time

as that which will follow the ending of the war.

The first of these is the fact that race antagonisms tend to die away and disappear under the influence of liberal and enlightened political institutions. This has been proved in the United States.

"We have huge Celtic, Latin, Teutonic and Slavic populations all living here at peace and in harmony; and, as years pass, they tend to merge, creating new and homogeneous types. The Old World antagonisms have become memories. This proves that such antagonisms are not mysterious attributes of geography or climate, but that they are the outgrowth principally of social and political conditions. Here a man can do about what he likes, so long as he does not violate the law; he may pray as he pleases or not at all, and he may speak any language that he chooses."

"The United States is itself proof that most of the contentions of Europeans as to race antagonisms are ill-founded. We have demonstrated that racial antagonisms need not necessarily become the basis of permanent hatred and an excuse for war."

"If human beings are given the chance they will make the most of themselves, and, by living happily—which means by living at peace—they will avoid conflict. The hyphen tends to disappear from American terminology. The German-American, the Italo-American, the Irish-American all become Americans."

"So, by and large our institutions have proved their capacity to amalgamate and to free every type of human being which thus far has come under our flag. There is in this a lesson which may well be taken seriously to heart by the leaders of opinion in Europe when this war ends."

"The second thing which we may, with propriety, press upon the attention of the people of Europe after peace comes to them, is the fact that we are not only the great exponents, but the great example, of the success of the principle of federation in its application to unity of political life regardless of local, economic and racial differences."

"If our fathers had attempted to organize this country upon the basis of a single, closely unified State, it would have gone to smash almost at the outset, wrecked by clashing economic and personal interests. Indeed, this nearly happened in the civil war, which was more economic than political in its origin."

"But, though we had our difficulties, we did find a way to make a unified nation of a hundred million people and forty-eight commonwealths, all bound together in unity and in loyalty to a common political ideal and a common political purpose."

"Just as certainly as we sit here this must and will be the future of Europe. There will be a federation into the United States of Europe."

"When one nation sets out to assert itself by force against the will, or even the wish, of its neighbors, disaster must inevitably come. Disaster would have come here if, in 1789, New York had endeavored to assert itself against New England or Pennsylvania."

"As a matter of fact certain inhabitants of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania did try something of the sort after the Federal Government had been formed, but, fortunately, their effort was a failure."

"The leaders of our national life had established such a flexible and admirable plan of government that it was soon apparent that each State would retain its identity, forming its own ideals, and shaping its own progress, and still remain a loyal part of the whole; that each State could make a place for itself in the new federation and not be destroyed thereby."

"There is no reason why each nation in Europe should not make a place for itself in the sun of unity which I am sure is rising there beyond the war clouds. Europe's stupendous economic loss, which already has been appalling, and will soon be incalculable, will give us an opportunity to press this argument home."

"True internationalism is not the enemy of the nationalistic principle. On the contrary, it helps true nationalism to thrive. The Vermonter is more a Vermonter because he is an American, and there is no reason why Hungarians, for example, should not be more than ever before Hungarian after it becomes a member of the United States of Europe."

"Europe, of course, is not without examples of the successful application of the principle of federation within itself. It so happens that the federated State next greatest to our own is the German Empire. It is only forty-three years old, but there the federation has been notably successful. So the idea of federation is familiar to German publicists."

"It is familiar, also, to the English and has lately been pressed there as the probable final solution of the Irish question."

"It has insistently suggested itself as a solution of the Balkan problem.

"In a lesser way it already is represented in the structure of Austria-Hungary."

"This principle of nation building, of international building through federation, certainly has in it the seeds of the world's next great development—and we Americans are in a position both to expound the theory and to illustrate the practice. It seems to me that this is the greatest work which America will have to do at the end of this war."

"These are the things which I am writing to my European correspondents in the several belligerent countries by every mail."

"The cataclysm is so awful that it is quite within the bounds of truth to say that on July 31 the sun went down upon a world which never will be seen again."

"This conflict is the birth-throe of a new European order of things. The man who attempts to judge the future by the old standards or to force the future back to them will be found to be hopelessly out of date. The world will have no use for him. The world has left behind forever the international policies of Palmerston and of Beaconsfield and even those of Bismarck, which were far more powerful.

"When the war ends, conditions will

be such that a new kind of imagination and a new kind of statesmanship will be required. This war will prove to be the most effective education of 500,000,000 people which could possibly have been thought of, although it is the most costly and most terrible means which could have been chosen. The results of this education will be shown, I think, in the process of general reconstruction which will follow.

"All the talk of which we hear so much about the peril from the Slav or from the Teuton or from the Celt is unworthy of serious attention. It would be quite as reasonable to discuss seriously the red-headed peril of the six-footer peril."

"There is no peril to the world in the Slav, the Teuton, the Celt or any other race, provided the people of that race have an opportunity to develop as social and economic units, and are not bottled up so that an explosion must come."

"It is my firm belief that nowhere in the world, from this time on, will any form of government be tolerated which does not set men free to develop in this fashion."

I asked Dr. Butler to make some prognostication of what the United States of Europe, which he so confidently expects, will be. He answered: "I can say only this: The international organization of the world already has progressed much farther than is ordinarily understood. Ever since the Franco-Prussian war and the Geneva Arbitration, both landmarks in modern history, this has advanced inconspicuously, but by leaps and bounds."

"The postal service of the world has been internationalized in its control for years. The several Postal Conventions have given evidences of an international administrative organization of the highest order."

"Europe abounds in illustrations of the international administration of large things. The very laws of war, which are at present the subject of so much and such bitter discussion, are the result of international organization."

"They were not adopted by a Congress, a Parliament, or a Reichstag. They were agreed to by many and divergent peoples, who sent representatives to meet for their discussion and determination."

"In the admiralty law we have a most striking example of uniformity of practice in all parts of the world. If a ship is captured or harmed in the Far East and taken into Yokohama or Nagasaki, damages will be assessed and collected precisely as they would be in New York or Liverpool."

"The world is gradually developing a code for international legal procedure. Special arbitral tribunals have tended to merge and grow into the international court at The Hague, and that, in turn, will develop until it becomes a real supreme judicial tribunal."

"Of course the analogy with the federated State fails at some points, but I believe the time will come when each nation will deposit in a world federation some portion of its sovereignty."

"When this occurs we shall be able to establish an international executive and an international police, both devised for the especial purpose of enforcing the decisions of the international court."

"Here, again we offer a perfect object lesson. Our central Government is one of limited and defined powers. Our history can show Europe how such limitations and definitions can be established and interpreted, and how they can be modified and amended when necessary to meet new conditions."

"My colleague, Prof. John Bassett Moore, is now preparing and publishing a series of annotated reports of the decisions of the several international arbitration tribunals, in order that the Governments and jurists of the world may have at hand, as they have in the United States Supreme Court reports, a record of decided cases, which, when the time comes, may be referred to as precedents."

"It will be through gradual processes such as this that the great end will be accomplished. Beginning with such annotated reports as a basis for precedents, each new case tried before this tribunal will add a further precedent, and, presently, a complete international code will be in existence. It was in this way that the English common law was built, and such has been the history of the admirable work done by our own judicial system."

"The study of such problems as these is at this time infinitely more important than the consideration of how large a fine shall be inflicted by the victors upon the vanquished."

"There is the probability of some dislocation of territory and some shifting of sovereignty after the war ends, but these will be of comparatively minor importance. The important result of this great war will be the stimulation of international organization along some lines as I have suggested."

"Dislocation of territory and the shifting of sovereignties as the result of international disagreements are medieval practices. After this war the world will want to solve its problems in terms of the future, not in those of the outgrown past."

"Conventional diplomacy and conventional statesmanship have very evidently broken down in Europe. They have made a disastrous failure of the work with which they were entrusted. They did not and could not prevent the war because they knew and used only old formulas. They had no tools for a job like this."

"A new type of international statesman is certain to arise, who will have a grasp of new tendencies, a new outlook upon life. Bismarck used to say that it would pay any nation to wear the clean linen of a civilized State. The truth of this must be taught to those nations of the world which are weakest in morale, and it can only be done, I suppose, as similar work is accomplished with individuals. Courts, not killings, have accomplished it with individuals."

"One more point ought to be remembered. We sometimes hear it said that nationalism, the desire for national expression by each individual nation, makes the permanent peace

and good order of the world impossible.

"To me it seems absurd to believe that this is any truer of nations than it is of individuals. It is not each nation's desire for national expression which makes peace possible; it is the fact that thus far in the world's history such desire has been bound up with militarism."

"The nation whose frontier bristles with bayonets and with forts is like the individual with a magazine pistol in his pocket. Both make for murder. Both in their hearts really mean murder."

"The world will be better when the nations invite the judgment of their neighbors and are influenced by it."

"When John Hay said that the Golden Rule and the Open Door should guide our new diplomacy, he said something which should be applicable to the new diplomacy of the whole world. The Golden Rule and a free chance are all that any man ought to want or ought to have, and they are all that any nation ought to want or ought to have."

"One of the controlling principles of a democratic State is that its military and naval establishments must be completely subservient to the civil power. They should form the police, and not be the dominant factor of any national life."

"As soon as they go beyond this simple function in any nation, then that nation is afflicted with militarism."

"It is difficult to make predictions of the war's effect on us. As I see it, our position will depend a good deal upon the outcome of the conflict, and what that will be no one at present knows."

"If a new map of Europe follows the war, its permanence will depend upon whether or not the changes are such as will permit nationalities to organize as nations."

"The world should have learned through the lessons of the past that it is impossible permanently and peacefully to submerge large bodies of aliens if they are treated as aliens. That is the opposite of the mixing process which is so successfully building a nation out of varied nationalities in the United States."

"The old Romans understood this. They permitted their outlying vassal nations to speak any language they chose and to worship whatever god they chose, so long as they recognized the sovereignty of Rome. When a conquering nation goes beyond that, and begins to suppress religions, languages, and customs, it begins, at that very moment, to sow the seeds of insurrection and revolution."

"My old teacher and colleague, Professor Burgess, once defined a nation as an ethnographic unit inhabiting a geographic unit. If a nation is not an ethnographic unit, it tries to become one by oppressing or amalgamating the weaker portions of its people. If it is not a geographic unit, it tries to become one by reaching out to a mountain chain or to the sea—to something which will serve as a real dividing line between it and its next neighbors."

"The accuracy of this definition can hardly be denied, and we all know what the violations of this principle have been in Europe. It is unnecessary for me to point them out."

"Races rarely have been successfully mixed by conquest. The military winner of a war is not always the real conquerer in the long run. The Normans conquered Saxon England, but Saxon law and Saxon institutions worked up through the new power and have dominated England's later history. The Teutonic tribes conquered Rome, but Roman civilization, by a sort of capillary attraction, went up into the mass above and presently dominated the Teutons."

"The persistency of a civilization may well be superior in tenacity to mere military conquest and control."

"The smallness of the number of instances in which conquering nations have been able successfully to deal with alien peoples is extraordinary. The Romans were usually successful, and England has been successful with all but the Irish, but perhaps no other peoples have been successful in high degree in an effort to hold alien populations as vassals and to make them really happy and comfortable as such."

"One of the war's chief effects on us will be to change our point of view. Europe will be more vivid to us from now on. There are many public men who have never thought much about Europe, and who have been far from a realization of its actual importance to us. It has been a place to which to go for a Summer holiday."

"But, suddenly, they find they cannot sell their cotton there or their copper, that they cannot market their stocks and bonds there, that they cannot send money to their families who are traveling there, because there is a war. To such men the war must have made it apparent that interdependence among nations is more than a mere phrase."

"All our trade and all our economic and social policies must recognize this. The world has discovered that money without credit means little. One cannot use money if one cannot use one's credit to draw it whenever and wherever needed. Credit is intangible and volatile, and may be destroyed over night."

"I saw this in Venice."

"On July 31 I could have drawn every cent that my letter of credit called for up to the time the banks closed. At ten o'clock in the morning on August 1 I could not draw the value of a postage stamp."

"Yet the banker in New York who issued my letter of credit had not failed. His standing was as good as ever it had been. But the world's system of international exchange of credit had suffered a stroke of paralysis over night."

"This realization of international interdependence, I hope, will elevate and refine our patriotism by teaching men a wider sympathy and a deeper understanding of our peoples, nations, and languages. I sincerely hope, will educate us up to what I have called 'The International Mind.'"

"When Joseph Chamberlain began his campaign after returning from South Africa, his keynote was, 'Learn to think imperially.' I think

[Continued on page 3, Col. 4.]