

had to do with "the principles which are to-day blazoned high"—only now it was on the banners of the Democratic party.

It was a long time before he was able to begin; then his voice rose with astonishing power, high, shrill, like an old woman's. Perhaps he saw Great-Grandfather's sick, disappointed face in the crowd, and, pitying him, wished to make amends for his cheating; perhaps he did not know what he said. Half a century

of rage seemed to flame out in one mad taunt, uncontrollable, heroic. An Israelite lingering in hated Babylon might have spoken similarly. He screamed at them, defied them, mocked them, tearing the colors from his coat.

"I did not fight for you!" he shouted. "I fought against you, cursed rebels that you are!" And then, in a shriller, madder voice, he cried, "God save the King! God save the King!"

THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF OUR EX-PRESIDENTS

BY CONKLIN MANN

"WHAT shall we do with our ex-Presidents?" is a question often asked by those who have never considered the past long enough to appreciate what American ex-Presidents have done for their country.

It is not surprising to find, considering their training and success, that the main interest of the "senior citizens of the Nation" has always been political. It follows normally that strong Executives after leaving office remain prominent figures, exerting powerful political influence.

A retiring Executive, using precedent as a staff to steady his course, would have great difficulty in choosing his road, for the ways of his predecessors are as varied as their personal characteristics. No rules but the dictates of conscience have bound them, from first to last. Many stayed strict party men; one became the country's greatest independent; several discontinued active work in partisan politics, but freely gave political counsel; others threw themselves into hot campaigns; a fair percentage sought office; a smaller percentage refused it.

From among the twenty Presidents who have retired from the White House, Polk and Arthur died so soon after leaving office that they had little opportunity to show their later worth. Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan were lost in that battle of giants which raged for twenty

years before the Civil War. Tyler died in the Confederate Congress as a member from Virginia, a States' rights man to the end. In the heat of the slavery contest Fillmore, four years after retiring, again entered the lists as a Presidential candidate, and ran on a platform which did not even mention the all-absorbing question; with Pierce and Buchanan, he remained a Union man when war came, although the Presidential policy of all had been Southern. Later on Hayes and Benjamin Harrison sank into political oblivion.

As Washington's second term drew to a close, he gave his friends to understand that he intended to retire. He made no public declaration against taking a third term until the Farewell Address. He welcomed retirement as men with their spurs to win welcome public office. He seems, nevertheless, to have considered that it might be necessary for him to hold over another term if trouble with France became too acute. He believed that usefulness as President increased with service, a sentiment echoed in the Farewell Address when, after mentioning the "farewell" prepared at the end of his first term and the pressing circumstances which caused his acceptance of a second term, he wrote:

"I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination

incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire."

The Federalist party had been built up in support of Washington's Administration, though he consistently refused to be classed as a partisan. Once out of office, he came out frankly as a Federalist. At Mount Vernon he kept in close touch with active members of the party, and followed, or rather anticipated, political events. One cannot think of him as doing otherwise. His party continued to look at him, unconsciously one might say, as its head, instead of at Adams, who lacked personal popularity and the support of Hamilton.

The year after his retirement matters with France came to such a head that Congress voted to raise a provisional army of ten thousand men. Adams immediately asked Washington to assume command. He accepted on condition that his commanding officers were men of whom he approved, and that he should not be called into the field unless it were necessary. He insisted that Hamilton be second in command. Adams, much disgusted, tried to avoid this appointment, but Washington was firm and Adams yielded. It was the only occasion of friction between Washington and his successor, but also the only time when Washington's close personal interests were involved. For the remaining year and a half of his life Washington carried on an enormous correspondence with his generals, and from Mount Vernon supervised the raising of the troops.

Just as Washington upheld Adams, so did he look upon the work of Jefferson and his party with distrust. He wrote to the President that officers in the new army should be of "sound politics," and appears to have believed that the Anti-Federalists would betray the country either in Congress or the army.

Clouds were everywhere in the closing year of his life, when again friends urged him toward a third term. They argued that he would bring harmony to the Federalists, now torn asunder. In his refusal to do this, he said that in the election

personal influence would have no effect, as the opposition would vote *in toto* for a broomstick if it were called a true son of liberty—a Jefferson man. He said that he felt unequal to the task if elected, and couldn't draw a single vote from the opposition anyway. If he could accomplish a great public good by running, he would do so, but felt certain "that principle, not men, is now and will be the object of contention," and therefore that another Federalist would run as well.

The careers of John Adams and Grover Cleveland as ex-Presidents may well be considered together. Each retired out of favor with a majority of his party; the opposition came into power with their retirement, and the party policy which each had stood for was swept away when the Federalists went under the control of Hamilton and the Democrats under that of Bryan. It was some years before either came to be looked upon in a kindly way by old supporters, though both finally attained high places in the public esteem.

John Adams, disappointed and bitter, upon reaching home set about to answer the attacks of Hamilton, but never finished the work. When the younger Adams, repudiating the Federalists, supported Jefferson's embargo policy, the older man came out with what sounded greatly like a defense of the Administration. Old enemies attacked him, and for the next three years the columns of a Boston newspaper were filled with his own defense of his action. In old age he and Jefferson renewed their earlier friendship.

When James Monroe was re-elected, John Adams was a Presidential elector for him. Eight years later Monroe refused to return the compliment by serving as an elector for the younger Adams. At eighty-five John Adams, as a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, strove vainly to win acknowledgment of equal political and religious rights for all men, regardless of faith.

Parton wrote that the inauguration of Madison did little but change the signature on public documents, so great was the harmony between Jefferson and his successor. Madison consulted him on every important subject, and referred all live questions to him. The letters of the

two seem to bear out this statement, and show that Jefferson's influence was of the strongest. His own Administration had ended in gloom; he had lost Congress, but had held a great personal following to his standard, as, it has been said, only a war hero could be expected to do. Jefferson virtually dictated Madison's election, after being his chief for years. The two were close personal friends, and with Monroe formed a trio of ex-Presidents who, growing old together almost as neighbors, met frequently and were closely in touch with each other.

When Jefferson retired, he sought to become a political philosopher and chief counsel for his party. He succeeded. The hundreds of visitors at Monticello also made him much of an active man of the world. For a time after reaching home his letters to Madison were frequent in the extreme, but the rising grumble that the President was but the mouthpiece of his predecessor checked their activities. Jefferson fell into the habit of spending a few weeks with Madison when the President was home in the summer. At such times the two would talk over the policy of the Administration.

In 1812 close friends went to Jefferson and, pleading that the country was in need of a more forceful Executive than Madison, asked him to try for the Presidency again. Declining, he pleaded advanced age and Washington's example. Soon after this Madison requested him to become Secretary of State, but this, too, the former President refused to do. He had already played the part of the dove of peace when the Cabinet became involved in unpleasantness. With the passing of the Missouri Compromise, Jefferson felt trouble ahead, but could not see what it was. Though opposed to slavery as an institution, he believed that by spreading it through the West it would be weakened and its final abolition made easier.

The second and third decades of the past century formed a golden age for a school of philosophic-theoretic Presidents who in and out of office shared each other's burdens as no other men in a similar position have since done. An active Executive freely wrote to his two intimates, and they answered as freely from

their Virginia plantations. It might be said that Jefferson was much more than a Cabinet officer to Madison, and that both had great power in the two administrations of Monroe, who was exceedingly susceptible to their advice. Thus the brains of three men worked in harmony over such problems as the second English war, the Hartford Convention, the tariff, and the Monroe Doctrine. These men as retired Presidents were not active in political campaigns, since the field was all their own; for after the English war no party worth mentioning opposed them, and all their effort was expended in working out the Government policy.

Like all other Presidents having influence with their successors, Madison was besieged with office-seekers after leaving Washington. To such he sent a circular letter to the effect that, because of his personal friendship with the President, he did not care to impose upon the latter's good will, as "such an abuse of his disposition toward me" would transform him (Madison) "from the character of a friend to that of an unreasonable and troublesome solicitant." He therefore begged to be excused.

Jefferson and Madison did much to bring about Monroe's election, but later, as ex-Presidents, Madison and Monroe became the first to stand entirely aloof from certain phases of partisan politics, namely, selections.

In 1829 Madison and Monroe were elected to the Virginian Constitutional Convention. Monroe tried in vain to persuade Madison to become the president. Young blood did most of the work, but gave the older men respectful attention. Once Madison voted alone, for he was aging. Though poor as a speaker, he wrote vigorously. In his old age he spent much time in figuring how to get rid of slavery. He was much distressed by the nullification movement in South Carolina, being a Unionist. When he died, a paper, "Advice to My Country," was found. In it he said in part:

"As this advice, if it ever see the light, will not do it till I am no more, it may be considered as coming from the tomb, where the truth alone can be refuted and the happiness of man alone consulted. . . . The advice nearest to my heart and deep-

est in my convictions is that the Union of the States be cherished and perpetuated. Let the open enemy to it be regarded as a Pandora with her box opened, and the disguised one as the serpent creeping with his deadly wiles into Paradise."

Monroe, who had often consulted with Jefferson and Madison, never got a chance to give advice to any great degree to his successor. Soon after leaving the White House he received a suggestion that he accept a mission to the South American Republics, then playing a prominent part in the world's politics. After telling of his friendly feeling for the writer, he continues:

"I view also the suggestion which you make of my accepting employment under the Executive in a mission to our Southern neighbors in the same light, and am far from thinking that a person who has held the office from which I lately retired should either be precluded from the acceptance, or should decline the call of his government, to any other in which it might be thought that he would be able to render essential service, provided he could do it without serious injury and distress to himself."

His wife's illness and financial matters were his excuse for declining. Later he became a local magistrate.

In Gilman's life of Monroe, Judge E. R. Watson, a friend, gives this sketch of the ex-President:

"One striking peculiarity about Mr. Monroe was his sensitiveness, his timidity in reference to public sentiment. I do not mean as it respected his past public life. . . . But in retirement his great care seemed to be to do and say nothing unbecoming in an ex-President of the United States. He thought it incumbent on him to have nothing to do with party politics. This was beneath the dignity of an ex-President, and it was unjust to the people, who had so highly honored him, to seek to throw the weight of his name and character on either side of any contest between them. Hence Mr. Monroe, after retiring from office, rarely, if ever, expressed his opinions of public men or measures except confidentially."

Judge Watson had heard him in private discuss Jackson, Calhoun, Clay, and others, but adds:

"I cannot recall more than a single

instance in which, in company, he expressed any opinion as to the character or conduct of prominent public men, excepting in so far as he could approve and commend them. On one occasion John Randolph of Roanoke was the subject of discussion among several gentlemen present, who differed widely in their estimates of his character and services.

"Finally Mr. Monroe was appealed to for his opinion by one of Mr. Randolph's admirers, in a way which indicated that the party addressing him scarcely expected any direct answer. Very promptly, however, Mr. Monroe replied: 'Well, Mr. Randolph is, I think, a capital hand to pull down, but I am not aware that he has ever exhibited much skill as a builder.'"

But men followed who were not afraid to come down from the heights of Olympus. These men led the multitude, not from the clouds, but from the floor of the Capitol and the stump. They were on the same democratic level on which their fellow-citizens stood. Moral issues took the place of political philosophy, and, just as Jefferson and his friends had done a great work in winning the early battles for popular government, so did these later champions become the warriors for the whole people, one putting all white men on an equal plane, a second battling for the negro and civilization against slavery, and a third becoming a champion of moral issues which, though he longed for a return to the White House, he would not cast aside when tempted. To push their purposes these men fought desperately in hot political campaigns, for party lines had again been formed when John Quincy Adams, Jackson, and Van Buren were ex-Presidents. No other former Executives ever threw themselves back into active work as did these men: Adams as a Representative in Congress for sixteen years, Van Buren thrice struggling for a second term yet playing the game as he had never played it before, and Jackson a dictator of Democratic policies and candidates for eight years. These men worked shoulder to shoulder with others who had not won their spurs; they went back into the ranks. Through it all Adams and Jackson kept up their feud until the end. One question vitally affected the ex-Presidential careers

of all three—the annexation of Texas. That question gave Adams his stimulus, represented Jackson's fondest dream, and proved the complete undoing of Van Buren.

No other ex-President has done as much hard work as John Quincy Adams did. He was dominated by a passion for moral ideas. In fighting his political battles after leaving the Presidency he called into play not only the highest moral courage, but also a physical courage in the face of dangers which threatened him as personal danger has threatened few American statesmen. He fought the battle of the slave, and fought it in Congress as that body's first great agitator of the question. He knew the value of agitation in battling against such odds in such a cause. It may be said that the best in him came out after he left the White House. He felt, when he retired from the Presidency, that after a life spent in the public service he had proved a failure, unable to win a second term as the Nation's head. Some one suggested that he go to Congress from the Plymouth district, remarking at the time that the step would not degrade the ex-President but would elevate the representative tone. Adams replied:

"No person could be degraded by serving the people as a representative in Congress. Nor, in my opinion, could an ex-President of the United States be degraded by serving as a selectman of his town, if elected by the people."

He won an election and entered as a National Republican or Whig, but from the first declared that he would respect no partisan lines. He looked for no personal advancement, and, working independently, proved a thorn in the side of slavery, for he was dedicated to checking the system. The final call found him a minority leader in his seat in Congress. He had then won many of his points.

As a Representative he was poor in friends but rich in enemies. He fought Jackson's Administration, and his diary is rich in denunciation of his great rival and the Southern element. Once or twice he supported the President when Jackson was in sad need of such support. In commenting on this he wrote that he got in return only "insult, indignity, and slan-

der." Of him Jackson in turn wrote at a later day: "How degrading the scenes in the House of Representatives! It is painful that an old man, who must be deranged or superlatively wicked, should be permitted to disgrace our country by such behavior; his constituents ought to call him home, and the House at once should censure him and proceed with business; and if he again misbehaves, expel him." Nevertheless, despite the fierce opposition of financial interests, and of the "aristocracy," or at least that portion which was in sympathy with the South, despite the bitter hatred of the slavery men, and the disgust of Boston, the sturdy old Puritan farmers of Plymouth gave Adams their confidence, believing as he did, and returned him term after term. Often Adams dared his enemies to expel him. Well he knew his strength. Adams looked upon himself as a servant of the entire country, and argued that as an ex-President his responsibilities in this line were greater than those of other men.

Adams's great work as the champion of anti-slavery petitions did not begin when he first entered the House. More violent against nullification than Jackson, he became thoroughly alarmed when the annexation of Texas was proposed, for it meant another slave State. He speedily developed into a mouthpiece in Congress for the abolition element. The petitions asking for the abolition of slavery which came to him were numbered by hundreds, and so well did he champion them that the title "Old Man Eloquent" was given him; yet his only claim as an orator in that day was that he had something to say worth listening to.

Few enjoyed debating with him. Perhaps the greatest student of American politics of his time, he was also the master of the bitterest tongue in the mouth of any public man. It was a lash, a firebrand, and a sword in one. Of his work in the House it is impossible to speak here in detail. He was chairman of important committees, and once, at the time of the organization of the Twenty-sixth Congress, saved the House from chaos. The clerk had refused to call the roll past a contested delegation from New Jersey, and, acting as temporary Chairman, had also refused to put any motions.

Three days had been spent in wrangling, when Adams addressed the House, called upon it "to organize itself," moved that the clerk be instructed to call the roll, and then put the question himself.

Jackson retired from the White House more popular than when he entered, after naming his successor, as he thought for two terms. His parting commands to his friends were to annex Texas and look out for the Oregon boundary. In the boundary dispute he wished the country to get "54-40 or fight." Leaving Washington, he said he washed his hands of politics. But back in Tennessee they gave him a dinner at which he told Mrs. Polk, according to her story, that the Presidential scepter would soon return to Tennessee and her own fair self should be the queen. Jackson corresponded much with Van Buren, and seemed pleased with his administration, so that after three years he forced Van Buren's renomination, in the face of no little opposition. Jackson took the stump for his candidate in the West and worked hard, but it cannot be said wisely. When the Whigs under Harrison carried the election, Jackson took his medicine and began to lay pipes for the next election. He was an old man, in the poorest of health, but his spirit and popularity were of the greatest, and Democrats in North and South looked upon him as capable of making or breaking a candidate. Now came sharp work inside the party. Van Buren, up to his defeat by Harrison, had been able to count on Jackson's support. But it became known that he did not favor the immediate annexation of Texas, Jackson's pet scheme, and the New York man's enemies set about to destroy him on this issue. There is little doubt about Jackson's part in this contest. Slavery men obtained from him a letter favoring the immediate annexation of Texas. They put it aside for use later. Gradually they drew from Van Buren a public letter against the Texas resolution. Van Buren made his position clear, and then the Jackson letter was produced. Apparently disgusted with the trick which had been played on him, Jackson hastened to write a second letter in which he said that he thought so much of Van Buren that the Texas question would make no difference between them: Nev-

ertheless, he failed to mention the Presidency, and the public saw the old allies seemingly at odds, politically if not personally. From this and other points, there is good reason to believe that Jackson did not consider Van Buren a desirable candidate in 1844.

Van Buren never pursued a braver course than when he made no effort to dodge the Texas issue, even though it was apparent that his position as accentuated by Jackson's letter would cost him the nomination. He was the choice of a majority of the delegates at the Convention, but could not overcome the two-thirds rule. Polk, whom admirers called "a whole-hogged Democrat," was nominated and elected. Polk consulted Jackson, but not Van Buren, about his Cabinet selections. Jackson did not approve of Buchanan as Secretary of State. Polk recalled that Jackson had sent Buchanan as Minister to Russia.

"Yes, I did," shouted the General. "It was as far as I could send him out of sight, and where he would do the least harm. I would have sent him to the North Pole if we had had a Minister there." Which went to show the frankness with which Jackson addressed one President, and what he thought about a later Executive. Jackson died that summer, after Polk's inauguration. It was said that hard campaigning killed him.

Jackson's last letter was written to Polk, who mentions it in his diary as a "confidential letter of friendship communicating information touching on the official conduct of a person high in office, in reference to which General Jackson in his dying moments thought it proper to put me on my guard." So the "Old Hero" stood by until the end.

Van Buren's last battle was as the Free Soil candidate for President in 1848. Polk's coming into power marked the downfall of the Unionist Democrats of the Van Buren type of the early Jacksonian epoch. The slavery wing or Separatists had taken command of the party. Jackson died too soon to see the significance of this victory which he had done much to bring about, and which in reality elevated the very men he had fought against for so long, for he was a strong Unionist. The Free Soil platform opposed

the extension of slavery, and it worked out its purpose to some extent, for the votes for Van Buren defeated General Cass, the Democratic candidate. Had Van Buren not then hesitated, he would undoubtedly have gone down in history alongside of John Quincy Adams; but after defeating Cass and elevating the Whigs he once more swung back into the Democratic party and voted against the Republican candidates and for slavery men in later elections. Thus he lost his great opportunity to pursue consistently the slavery question. Perhaps old age caused this faltering when a great opportunity was before him, for twice had he proved his courage on this issue.

Andrew Johnson, after leaving the White House, engaged in a long struggle to regain control of Tennessee, and, following several defeats, was elected to the United States Senate, only to die soon afterward, though not before he had made a bitter attack on General Grant. General Grant's activity as an ex-President was confined to the unsuccessful efforts of his friends to put him into office a third time. Never a statesman, and with only great personal popularity to back him, he came so near winning that only a compromise candidate of his great rivals succeeded in defeating him.

Thus we find that, taking as a precedent the activity of Washington, who in the closing years of his life resumed service under the Government, and even expressed the willingness, should a great emergency arise, to re-enter public office, many of his successors during the next seventy-five years continued to keep up an active interest in politics. Either by counseling the officers of the Government or by personal work among the people, they gave to their country the benefit of their experience and broad knowledge. These ex-Presidents believed it their duty to accept service under the Government when called upon, and to keep in close touch with National affairs—a course that up to the present time has had its fullest and noblest development in the later career of John Quincy Adams, who, dedi-

cating his life to his country, fought his brave fight in the interests of progress and humanity. Though his position as ex-President was the most honored private position in the land, he put it aside, and submitted to all manner of abuse and great physical danger in order to work for the right and the light as he saw them.

So, too, in a smaller and more selfish way, fought Martin Van Buren, though in old age he wavered and failed to reach the heights for which it would seem he once aimed. There is also the example of Andrew Jackson struggling as ex-President for Texas and Oregon, so active in campaigning for his party and in furthering his own plans for the Nation's betterment that his feeble body was brought to the grave, but not before he had given his parting advice to the President for whose election he had worked so hard. Theirs was the method of the present made necessary under a greatly broadened suffrage. Before them the great republicans from Virginia had worked for the people, but not from among the people. It was for Jackson and those coming after him to raise their voices both from among the people and for the people.

Because former Presidents Hayes and Benjamin Harrison were inactive after leaving the White House, and the voice of Grover Cleveland was seldom heard on matters of state, many have come to look upon a life of "honorable retirement free from political cares" as the natural sequel to service in the Executive Mansion. Accounts of the lives of retired Presidents do not bear out such a conclusion, for they set forth that, without exception, the greatest of our Executives have retained active interest in and have exerted powerful influence upon the Nation's political policies after leaving office.¹

¹ Those who wish to consider this subject in greater detail may consult with advantage Stanwood's "History of the Presidency;" McClure's "Our Presidents and How We Make Them;" the "American Statesmen Series," edited by John T. Morse; McMaster's "History of the People of the United States;" J. Q. Adams's "Memoirs" and his "Life of John Adams;" Parton's "Jefferson" and "Jackson;" Buel's "Jackson." These volumes will suggest a still fuller bibliography, including the many editions of the writings of the various Presidents.

FATALISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL

BY EVERETT P. WHEELER

A VERY wise and thoughtful woman has recently said:
"As we scan the great crises of historic change, the part of the free individual dwindles, and a Necessity, usually economic in origin, stands forth as the protagonist to whose secret Will all must conform."

Indeed, it seems to be one of the standard arguments of advocates of modern Socialism to insist upon the dominant influence of the spirit and tendencies of each age, and to belittle the force of leadership. This harmonizes well with their general scheme for reconstructing society. It is a comfortable doctrine, and if the New England conscience would allow us to believe it, there would be relief from the stress of benevolent activity. We need only to drift with the stream of our time and all will go well.

In all discussion of this sort it is of vital importance to avoid *a priori* reasoning and to submit every theory, however plausible, to the test of facts. That great scientist, Wolcott Gibbs, taught his classes that a theory is only a convenient method of classifying facts. Certainly the facts must be carefully examined. We need a wide induction. But if, after full and accurate investigation, the theory and the facts do not coincide, we must revise the theory. That was what happened to the old Ptolemaic theory of the movements of the heavenly bodies. To all outward appearance the sun revolved around the earth. For many centuries this proposition was firmly believed. But the observations of Copernicus and Galileo brought facts to light entirely inconsistent with this theory, and finally, with great reluctance, it was abandoned. None of us believe in it now. It behooves us, then, to test the comfortable theory that has been referred to, by the facts of history.

At the outset, however, we freely admit that there is such a thing as the *Zeit-*

geist. Shakespeare expresses it in the familiar quotation:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to
fortune."

But the point which every one should be interested in is whether the individual does not still continue to play an essential part in navigation. The instance that is put forward by the counselor whom we have quoted is our own Civil War. It is admitted that Lincoln played an important part in the conduct of our affairs. But it is said that if he had died in infancy "the course of events would have been essentially the same." Can this proposition be substantiated? On the one side, it is obviously fallacious to infer that one thing is necessarily the cause of another because the latter succeeds the former. But is it not equally an assumption to say dogmatically that it is *not* the cause? Clearly it is necessary to analyze the sequence of events, and from this to judge of the connection. Bearing this in mind, let us refer to one very important crisis in the Civil War, that which grew out of Commodore Wilkes's seizure of Mason and Slidell. The country generally thought Wilkes was right. When he came into port, he was received with great enthusiasm. The Northern newspapers, almost without exception, rang with applause. It was very difficult for a President to overrule Wilkes in the face of this popular enthusiasm. We know now from the remarkable diary of Mr. Welles, as well as from many other sources, that it required all Lincoln's force of character and strength of will to overrule the Commodore and restore the Confederate envoys. Yet, if anything which has not actually happened can possibly be clear, it is that if Lincoln had not restored them there would have been war between Great Britain and the Northern States. The fleet of England would have broken the blockade, and the success of the North would have been impossible. That certainly would have made a difference in the history of the

¹ See editorial in this issue entitled "Liberty Under Law."—THE EDITORS.