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THE PRESIDENTS  
OF THE UNITED STATES

VOLUME IV









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*Woodrow Wilson*

# THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

1789-1914

BY

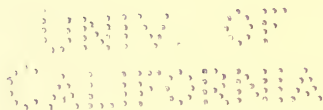
JOHN FISKE, CARL SCHURZ, ROBERT C. WINTHROP,  
GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS, GEORGE BANCROFT,  
JOHN HAY, AND MANY OTHERS

EDITED BY

JAMES GRANT WILSON

*ILLUSTRATED*

VOLUME IV



NEW YORK  
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TO THE  
ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE  
FIFTY-FIFTH



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**BENJAMIN HARRISON**

**BY**

**WILLIAM P. FISHBACK**



## BENJAMIN HARRISON.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, twenty-third president of the United States, born in North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833; died in Indianapolis, Ind., March 13, 1901. He was the third son of John Scott Harrison (who was a son of President Harrison). It has been stated that his lineage can be traced to Harrison the regicide. He came directly from the Virginia Harrisons, who were distinguished in the early history of that colony; his great-grandfather, Benjamin Harrison, was one of the seven Virginia delegates to the congress which made the Declaration of Independence.\* The Harrisons owned large landed estates on the bank of the Ohio near the mouth of the Big Miami. Benjamin assisted in the work on his father's farm, which contained about four hundred acres. The products of the

\* The descent of Benjamin Harrison from Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan, is outlined in a recent work by Wyndham Robinson, entitled "Pocahontas and her Descendants through her Marriage at Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614, with John Rolfe, Gentleman." It may also be mentioned that he is among the eight presidents who have been of Welsh descent—John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, William Henry Harrison, James A. Garfield, and Benjamin Harrison.—EDITOR.

## 4 LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS

farm were annually shipped in flat boats to New Orleans, and his father usually went with the cargo, the crew being composed of men from the neighborhood who were familiar with the perils of transportation on the Mississippi river. His first studies were prosecuted in the log school-house, and at the age of fifteen he went to Farmers (now Belmont) College, at College Hill, a suburb of Cincinnati. After a two years' stay there he became a student at Miami University, Oxford, where an acquaintance formed at College Hill ripened into a permanent attachment for Miss Caroline L. Scott, who afterward became his wife. The young lady had faith in his star, and did not hesitate to ally her fortunes with his. They were married while he was yet a law student and before he had attained his majority. He graduated fourth in his class in 1852, Milton Saylor taking first honors and David Swing standing second. As a boy he distinguished himself as an off-hand debater in the Union Literary Society.

From the first he showed an aptitude for thinking on his legs, and a gift of utterance which enabled him to express himself in apt words. At a town meeting, where an abolitionist abused Webster and Clay for the part they took in the Compromise measures of 1850, the citizens were amazed to see a slender, tow-headed boy of seventeen mount a bench and make a vigorous speech in vin-

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dication of the great statesmen. He studied law with Storer & Gwynne, of Cincinnati, and in 1853 married and was admitted to the bar. In 1854 he put up his sign as attorney at law in Indianapolis, where he kept his residence ever after. It was not long before his ability became known. His first effort at the bar was in prosecuting a man charged with burglary. He received a few dollars by acting as crier for the United States Court, and was glad to take a five-dollar fee now and then for a case before a country justice, though one half of the fee was necessary to pay for the hire of a horse to take him to the place of trial. Whoever employed him could count on his doing his very best, whether the interests involved were small or great. Promptness and thoroughness are characteristics which have been manifest in his whole career, professional and political. In 1855 he formed a partnership with William Wallace, and when that gentleman was elected county clerk in 1861 he formed a partnership with W. P. Fishback, which was interrupted by his enlisting in the army in 1862, but the connection was resumed again in 1865, when the firm became Porter, Harrison & Fishback, and so continued until 1870, when Mr. Fishback retired, Judge Hines taking his place. Gov. Porter retiring, W. H. H. Miller became a partner in the firm, and upon Judge Hines retiring, Mr. John B. Elam became a member of the firm of Harrison,

Miller & Elam, which continued until it was dissolved by Gen. Harrison's election to the presidency in 1888. While not always the senior in years, he was the senior in fact in every firm of which he was a member; such is the ungrudging testimony of all those who have been his partners.

Though breaking the chronological order of events somewhat, it is as well to complete here the sketch of his professional career. He has been concerned in the most important litigation in Indiana for nearly thirty years. He was employed in all sorts of cases, such as came to attorneys engaged in general practice before the era of professional specialists. The panorama of human life with all its disappointments and successes is unrolled before the busy lawyer who has such a practice. The executive devotion to special branches makes men strong in their lines; it narrows them also, and the lawyer whose work has a wider range acquires greater breadth of view, a happy versatility, and a flexibility of mind which enable him to pass from one subject to another without weariness and without distraction. Benjamin Harrison has amazed his associates in professional and official life by the ease and ability with which he despatches so much important business in a masterly style. For the exigencies of high station the discipline of his professional life was an excellent preparation. As a lawyer he was thorough in the preparation and



study of his cases, in the preliminary statement he was clear and exhaustive, putting court and jury in full possession of his theory of the case; as an examiner of witnesses he had no rival; and as an advocate his performances were characterized by clearness, cogency, and completeness which left nothing further to be said on his side of the case. It often happened that his colleagues who had prepared to assist in the argument threw away their notes and rested the case upon his single speech. As a cross-examiner he was unsurpassed. No rascally witness escaped him. No trumped-up story or false alibi could pass muster under his searching scrutiny.

In a case where Gov. Hendricks was defending a man in the Federal Court against a charge of conspiring to violate the election laws, the Governor injudiciously put his client in the witness box. He denied his participation in the crime in the most positive manner; but little by little under Harrison's cross-examination he was driven to admit fact after fact, the cumulative force of which drove him at last to a practical confession of his guilt. In the celebrated Clem murder case several alibis, fabricated for the principal actor in the conspiracy, were pulverized by his cross-examination. It was not his plan to confuse or persecute a witness, but to quietly, persistently, and courteously press for a full disclosure of the facts. He never

attempted to brow-beat a witness, never excited the sympathy of a jury for a witness by any show of unfairness. His skill as a *nisi prius* lawyer was surpassed by his power before the higher and appellate courts. He put himself on paper admirably, and his briefs are models of strength and conciseness. He was deferential to the courts, courteous to his opponents, generous to his colleagues. He showed no fussy fear that he would be shouldered to the rear. It was not necessary. It soon became evident to his opponents and associates that he was the conspicuous figure in the fight. Unlike many able attorneys, he cared more for success than for an exhibition of his own powers. Lawyers who had never met him were sometimes led to think that his abilities had been overrated; no lawyer who ever encountered him in a forensic fight came out of it with such an opinion. His commanding abilities as a lawyer stood him in good stead in his political career, which began with the organization of the Republican party.

He became conspicuous in Indiana politics in 1860, when, as a candidate for the office of reporter of the Supreme Court, he made a thorough canvass of the State. His first debate with Gov. Hendricks was in that year. By some mistake of the campaign committees he and Hendricks were announced to speak the same day in Rockville. Hendricks was then the Democratic candidate for

governor, and was in the zenith of his fame as stump speaker. He courteously invited Harrison to divide time with him and made the opening speech. The local Republican managers were amazed at the temerity of a stripling who dared to measure strength with the Goliath of the Indiana Democracy, and showed their distrust of his ability by leaving the courthouse. Harrison, who had been seasoned and warmed for the work by speaking every day for weeks, assumed the aggressive, and as his few political friends began to show their appreciation by applause, the audience increased until the courtroom was packed with enthusiastic Republicans, who crowded about the speaker when he closed and showered their congratulations upon him. Mr. Voorhees was present, and, feeling the force of the impression made by Harrison, arose when the speech was finished and said he would answer the speech that night in the same place.

Since 1860 he has taken an active part in every political canvass in Indiana. In that year he was elected reporter of the Supreme Court, and his official work may be found in ten volumes of the Indiana reports. His official and professional labors were onerous, but the tasks were lightened by the thought that he was paying for the modest cottage home which he had bought on credit. Then came the war, and Gov. Morton's call upon him to raise a regiment of volunteers. He enlisted, and in a few

## 10 LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS

weeks was commissioned colonel of the 70th Indiana infantry. He made arrangements to have the duties of his office of reporter performed in his absence, several of his professional brethren undertaking to do the work without cost to him, so that his home could be paid for. The Democrats put the name of a candidate for the office on their State ticket in 1862. The Republicans, supposing that Harrison would be allowed to serve out his term, made no nomination. No votes were cast except for the Democrat, and in a mandamus suit brought by him to compel the clerk to give him the manuscript opinions of the judges, the Supreme Court, composed of Democrats, decided that Harrison's enlistment vacated the office, and that the Democrat who was elected by default should fill it for the unexpired term. At the next election, in 1864, while Harrison was still in the field, he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, and after the close of the war assumed the office and served out his full term.

The following is a brief summary of his military record: Benjamin Harrison was mustered into service as colonel of the 70th regiment of Indiana infantry volunteers with the field and staff of that regiment at Indianapolis, Ind., to date from August 7, 1862, to serve three years. The following remarks appear opposite his name on the muster-in roll of the field and staff: "Mustered into service

as 2d lieutenant, July 14, 1862; as captain, July 22, 1862; and as colonel, August 7, 1862." He was in command of his regiment from date of muster-in to August 20, 1863; of the brigade, 3d division, reserve corps, to about September 20, 1863; of his regiment to January 9, 1864; of the 1st brigade, 1st division, 11th army corps, to April 18, 1864; of his regiment to June 29, 1864; and of the 1st brigade, 3d division, 20th army corps, to September 23, 1864, when he was detailed for special duty in the State of Indiana. The exact date that he returned to duty in the field is not shown; but on November 12, 1864, he was directed to report in person to the general commanding at Nashville, Tenn., and subsequently commanded the 1st brigade, provisional division, army of the Cumberland, to January 16, 1865, when, upon his own application, he was relieved and directed to rejoin his proper command for duty in Gen. Sherman's army at Savannah, Ga. On his way *via* New York to rejoin his command at Savannah, he was stricken down with a severe fever and lay for several weeks at Narrowsburg, N. Y. When able to leave his bed he started for Savannah, but arrived too late to join Gen. Sherman, and was assigned to command the camp of convalescents and recruits at Blair's Landing, S. C., on the Pocotaligo river, and soon after joined Gen. Sherman's army at Raleigh. He resumed command of the 1st brigade,

3d division, 20th army corps, April 21, 1865; was relieved therefrom June 8, 1865, upon the discontinuance of the brigade by reason of the muster out of the troops composing it; and on the same date, June 8, 1865, was mustered out and honorably discharged as colonel with the field and staff of his regiment, near Washington, D. C. He was brevetted brigadier-general of volunteers January 23, 1865, "for ability and manifest energy and gallantry in command of brigade." As a regimental commander he was in action at Russellville, Ky., September 30, 1862; in the Atlanta campaign, at Resaca, Ga., May 14-15, 1864; at Cassville, Ga., May 24, 1864; at New Hope, Ga., May 25, 1864; at Dallas, Ga., May 27-28, 1864; and at Kenesaw Mountain, Ga., June 10-28, 1864. As a brigade commander he participated in the operations at Kenesaw Mountain, Ga., June 29 to July 3, 1864; in the battle of Peach Tree creek, Ga., July 20, 1864; in the siege of Atlanta, Ga., July 21 to September 2, 1864; and in the battle of Nashville, Tenn., December 15-16, 1864; and was present at the surrender of Gen. Johnston's army at Durham's Station, N. C., April 26, 1865.

At the close of his term of office as reporter of the Supreme Court he resumed the law practice and soon had his hands full of work, being retained in almost every important case in the Federal and State courts at Indianapolis. In 1876 Godlove S.

Orth, the Republican candidate for governor, withdrew from the canvass while Gen. Harrison was taking a vacation on the north shore of Lake Superior. Without consulting him, his name was put upon the ticket as candidate for governor, and when he arrived from the North an enthusiastic crowd met him at the station and escorted him to his home. The trading of horses while crossing the river did not work well, and though Gen. Harrison made a splendid canvass, running two thousand ahead of his ticket, the popularity of Gov. Hendricks, who was on the National ticket, pulled the whole Democratic State ticket through by a plurality of three thousand. The gallant fight made by Gen. Harrison in that losing battle imposed a debt of gratitude upon his party which has not been forgotten. In 1879 President Hayes appointed him a member of the Mississippi River Commission. In 1880 he was chairman of the Indiana delegation in the convention which nominated James A. Garfield. Some of his friends presented his name for the nomination in that convention, but he insisted that it should be withdrawn. His canvass of Indiana and other States during the campaign of 1880 was brilliant and effective.

President Garfield offered him a place in his cabinet, which he declined. He was chosen United States senator in 1881, and served until 1887. His course in the senate was such as to win the esteem

and friendship of his Republican colleagues and to command the respect of his political opponents. This was his first experience in a legislative body, but he soon took rank among the foremost debaters of the senate. Chairman of the Committee on Territories, he was persistent in his demand for the admission to statehood of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Idaho, and, though not succeeding at the time, he had the pleasure afterward of putting his presidential signature to the laws making them all States of the Union. In his speeches in the senate he criticised Mr. Cleveland's vetoes of the pension bills, voted and spoke in favor of an increase of the navy, the reform of the civil service, a judicious tariff reform; he favored every measure of public policy which had received the approval of his party. He had always been a strong partisan, and had believed and acted in the belief that since the Republican party was organized it has done nothing of which Republicans should be ashamed, or at least nothing to justify a change of allegiance from it to the Democratic party. From one point of view, such a course in a public man may be criticised. It may be doubted, however, if any Indiana Republican who has been confronted with the type of Democrats which have dominated that party for the last thirty years is to be censured for standing by his own party.

The Republican party leaders saw in 1888 that



EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
WASHINGTON

Nov 8, 1872

My dear Genl.

I have your most  
kind letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> inst, and the  
second volume of the History of  
New York which you have done me  
the favor to dedicate to me.  
For all this I am your grateful  
debtor.

Very sincerely yours

Benjamin Harrison



the only hope of winning against Cleveland was to put up a candidate who could carry some of the doubtful States. Early in the year the Republican leaders in Indiana and almost the entire Republican press of the State pronounced in favor of Harrison, and his name was presented by the solid delegation to the convention at Chicago. On the first ballot he received 83 votes, standing fifth on the list, John Sherman standing first with 225. Seven more ballots were taken, during which Chauncey M. Depew withdrew and his supporters went to Harrison, giving him the nomination on the eighth ballot by a vote of 544.

There was great rejoicing on the part of his friends in Indiana, and as soon as the result was known there began a series of demonstrations which are without parallel in the history of presidential campaigns. On the day of the nomination a large delegation came to Indianapolis from Hendricks county in a special train and proceeded at once to Gen. Harrison's residence and called him out for a speech, and from that day until the election delegations kept coming from different parts of Indiana, from Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Kansas, Illinois, Iowa, and other States, all of which were received and welcomed by him in impromptu speeches which, by their appropriateness, variety, force, and elegance of style, won the approval of our best literary critics as well as of the public. In

these ninety-four speeches he made no slip. He said nothing that needed apology or explanation from his friends. Verbatim reports of the addresses were printed from day to day in all the leading papers of the country, and he never in anything he said gave his political opponents ground for unfriendly criticism. It is an open secret that some of the members of the National Republican committee were terrified when they learned that the "Hoosier" candidate had commenced the campaign by these free-spoken, off-hand talks with his neighbors. They proposed that some one should go to Indianapolis and put a stop to the business. A gentleman who knew Gen. Harrison's ability told them not to be alarmed, and at the end of a week the fearful gentlemen had changed their minds and said that if they would allow Gen. Harrison to go on in that way he would elect himself in spite of any blundering of the committee or campaign managers.

A few extracts from some of these speeches may give an idea of their quality. To the California delegation the day after the nomination he said: "I feel sure, too, my fellow-citizens, that we have joined now a contest of great principles, and that the armies which are to fight out this great contest before the American people will encamp upon the high plains of principle and not in the low swamps of personal defamation or detraction." To a num-

ber of veterans of the Union army: "We went not as partisans but patriots into the strife which involved the national life. . . . The army was great in its assembling. It came with an impulse that was majestic and terrible. It was as great in its muster out as in the brilliant work which it had done in the field. . . . When the war was over . . . every man had in some humble place a chair by some fireside where he was loved and toward which his heart went forward with a quick step." To the Tippecanoe club, composed of men who had voted for his grandfather in 1840: "I came among you with the heritage, I trust, of a good name, such as all of you enjoy. It is the only inheritance that has been transmitted in our family."

Gen. Harrison was not in the habit of boasting of his lineage, of which he had reason to be proud. If it was ever the subject of conversation in his presence he never introduced it. To a delegation of farmers: "The law throws the ægis of its protection over us all. It stands sentinel about your country homes; . . . it comes into our more thickly populated community and speaks its mandate for individual security and public order. There is an open avenue through the ballot for the modification or repeal of laws which are unjust or oppressive. To the law we bow with reverence. It is the one king that commands our allegiance." To a delegation of railway employees: "Heroism has been

found at the throttle and brake as well as upon the battlefield, and as well worthy of song and marble. The trainman crushed between the platforms, who used his last breath not for prayer or messages of love, but to say to the panic-stricken who gathered around him, 'Put out the red light for the other train,' inscribed his name very high upon the shaft where the names of the faithful and brave are written." To an Illinois delegation: "It was on the soil of Illinois that Lovejoy died, a martyr to free speech. . . . Another great epoch in the march of liberty found on the soil of Illinois the theatre of its most influential event. I refer to that high debate in the presence of your people, but before the world, in which Douglas won the senatorship and Lincoln the presidency and immortal fame. . . . The wise work of our fathers in constituting this Government will stand all tests of internal dissension and revolution and all tests of external assault, if we can only preserve a pure, free ballot."

To a delegation of coal-miners: "I do not care now to deal with statistics. One fact is enough for me. The tide of emigration from all European countries has been and is toward our shores. The gates of Castle Garden swing inward; they do not swing outward to any American laborer seeking a better country than this. . . . Here there are better conditions, wider and more hopeful prospects for workmen than in any other land. . . . The more

work there is to do in this country the higher the wages that will be paid for the doing of it. . . . A policy which will transfer work from our mines and our factories to foreign mines and foreign factories inevitably tends to a depression of wages here. These are truths that do not require profound study." To an Indiana delegation: "I hope the time is coming, and has even now arrived, when the great sense of justice which possesses our people will teach men of all parties that party success is not to be promoted at the expense of an injustice to any of our citizens." As early as July 31, 1888, he said: "But we do not mean to be content with our own market; we should seek to promote closer and more friendly commercial relations with the Central and South American states, . . . those friendly political and commercial relations which shall promote their interests equally with ours." Addressing a company of survivors of his own regiment, he said: "It is no time now to use an apothecary's scale to weigh the rewards of the men who saved the country." To a club of railroad employees: "The laboring men of this land may safely trust every just reform in which they are interested to public discussion and to the tests of reason; they may surely hope upon these lines, which are open to them, to accomplish, under our American institutions, all those right things they have conceived to be necessary to their highest suc-

cess and well-being." Addressing a meeting on the day of Sheridan's funeral: "He was one of those great commanders who, upon the field of battle, towered a very god of war. . . . He rested and refreshed his command with the wine of victory, and found recuperation in the dispersion of the enemy that confronted him." To a delegation of farmers: "I congratulate you not so much upon the rich farms of your country as upon your virtuous and happy homes. The home is the best, as it is the first, school of citizenship."

All these campaign speeches, with a description of the circumstances of their delivery, are collected in a volume published by Lovell & Co., of New York. But more remarkable than these are the one hundred and forty addresses delivered during his trip to the Pacific coast and back—a journey of 10,000 miles, which was accomplished in thirty-one days, from April 15 to May 15, 1890, without the variation of one minute from the prearranged schedule for arriving and departing from the hundreds of stations on the way. These addresses were non-political, and breathe throughout a spirit of high patriotism and a call to the high responsibilities of citizenship. In a letter to an American friend who had sent him the volume containing these speeches, the late Lord Coleridge says: "The speeches give me a very high idea of Mr. Harrison. We know very little here of your politicians, and



it is pleasant to be brought face to face with any one so manly and high-minded as Mr. Harrison shows himself in the book you sent me. The perpetual demand which American customs make upon anyone of the least position in the way of speech-making must be very trying. In a degree (not within 1,000 miles of the president) I found it so myself when I was in America. But a private foreigner may say what he likes; a president, of course, must watch his words."

It was assumed that with Mr. Blaine in the cabinet President Harrison would be a very inconspicuous and unimportant person in the administration. It is one of the marked characteristics of the man that when he is assigned to a place he assumes all its responsibilities. As a lawyer he never shouldered himself to the front, but when placed in the lead he was the leader. The simple fact is, he was not for a moment overshadowed by any member of his cabinet. He insisted upon knowing what was going on in each department and maintained an intelligent supervision of them all. Nor is it detracting from the just fame of Mr. Blaine to say that by reason of that gentleman's failing health the work of the State Department was much more than usual the work of the president. Those who have known him long did not fail to see his hand in the discussion of the legal rights of aliens domiciled here, contained in the dignified note to the Italian gov-

ernment concerning the New Orleans massacre. The statement of the basis of our liability for wrong inflicted upon the subjects of friendly nations when they are the result of dereliction of duty by the local authorities was masterly, and the dignified manner in which that government was informed that the United States would be just, but would not be forced to a hasty decision, was admirable. In the Chile affair, in which that government denied its responsibility for the assaults upon our sailors at Santiago and refused safe conduct to some of the members of the Balmaceda administration who had taken refuge at the United States legation, President Harrison was earnest and persistent in his demands, and, as the correspondence shows, after waiting patiently for a response, and becoming weary at last of the vacillating conduct of the Chilian government, made a peremptory request, which was promptly and satisfactorily answered. It is due to the republic of Chile to say that during the whole of the controversy the rival parties in that country kept it in a state of constant revolution. The evidence in the case showed that our sailors were outraged because they belonged to the U. S. navy, and that the authorities of Chile permitted, if they did not connive at it. In such a case it would have been pusillanimous on the part of the Government to have failed to demand reparation.

The Bering sea controversy, now happily in settlement by arbitration, was full of difficulty when Mr. Blaine's sudden illness threw the burden of the matter for a time upon President Harrison. Lord Salisbury was delaying, the season for pelagic sealing was coming on, no *modus vivendi* had been agreed upon. President Harrison took measures for intercepting the Canadian sealers, and it was not long until the terms of the treaty were arranged. The statement of the "five points" submitted to the arbitrators by the treaty is a good specimen of President Harrison's thorough and comprehensive work. Eastern journals that were not friendly to President Harrison have generously united in endorsing the conduct of the State Department during his administration, and have especially commended it for being thoroughly patriotic and American. And it may be said from the time of his nomination until he retired from the presidential office he sustained himself with a dignity and ability commensurate with the responsibilities of his exalted station. His policy in regard to the tariff has been censured, but he simply maintained the views held by the majority of the Republican party, with which he has always been in sympathy. He is what may properly be called an out-and-out protectionist. His firm stand in favor of honest money gave confidence to the business interests of the country when they were imperilled by

the wild schemes of the advocates of free-silver coinage. He was renominated for the presidency by the Republican national convention at Minneapolis without serious opposition. He failed of re-election.

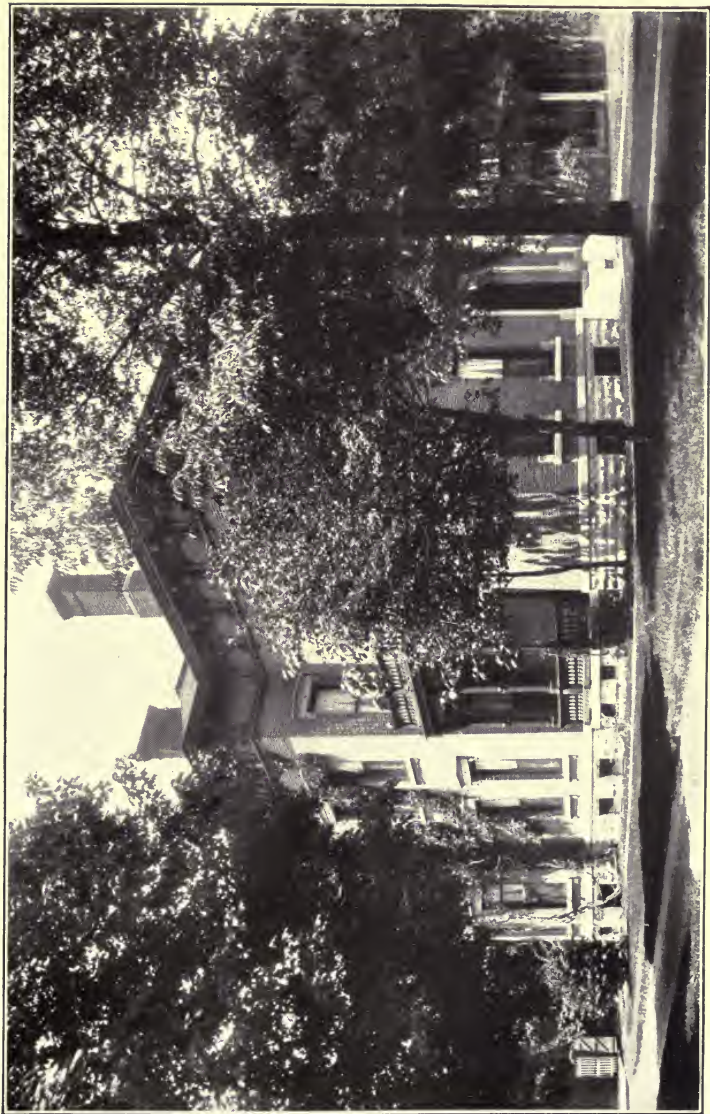
Public opinion has been much divided as to the causes of this result. It was certainly not on account of any failure upon the part of President Harrison to carry out the policy of his party, or to realize the expectation of his friends in the ability shown by him in performing the duties of his station. The fatal illness of Mrs. Harrison, and her death a few days before the election, cast a shadow over the closing months of his official life. His administration as a whole was business-like in its management of our domestic affairs, dignified, firm, and patriotic in its foreign policy, promoting the prosperity of our people at home and keeping peace with all nations. In his last message to congress, on December 6, 1892, after giving a summary of the operations of the different departments, he said: "This exhibit of the work of the executive departments is submitted to congress and to the public in the hope that there will be found in it a due sense of responsibility, and an earnest purpose to maintain the national honor and to promote the happiness and prosperity of all our people. And this brief exhibit of the growth and prosperity of the country will give us a level from which

to note the increase or decadence that new legislative policies may bring to us. There is no reason why the national influence, power, and prosperity should not observe the same rates of increase that have characterized the past thirty years. We carry the great impulse and increase of these years into the future. There is no reason why, in many lines of production, we should not surpass all other nations, as we have already done in some. There are no near frontiers to our possible development. Retrogression would be a crime."

Upon retiring from the presidency, Gen. Harrison was engaged by the late Senator Stanford, to deliver a course of lectures at the Leland Stanford, Jr., university, in California, on constitutional law. These were delivered during the early months of 1894. Foreigners who have studied our institutions have expressed regrets that in America no provision is made for the dignified retirement of our ex-presidents, and they have suggested that some office with a life tenure be bestowed upon them with a suitable provision for their support out of the public treasury. The temper of our people and the genius of our institutions are not in accord with any such desire. The great volunteer generals of the war came back to the ranks and took their places with their fellow-citizens in the walks of private life. So our great political leaders, from the senate and from the presidency, when

their term of office is over, come back to their homes and ordinary pursuits without any impairment of their dignity or their self-respect. In his retirement from the labors of his official station Gen. Harrison realized the truth of what he said in a speech on the day of his nomination in 1888: "Kings sometimes bestow decorations upon those whom they desire to honor, but that man is most highly decorated who has the affectionate regard of his neighbors and friends." This he had in full measure. Judged by the standards of a few unprincipled and disappointed politicians who expected to thrive on the use and abuse of public patronage, Gen. Harrison was a cold-blooded man. But it is possible that such men are not as well qualified to judge of the temperature of a man's blood as his friends and intimates who have seen him in all the vicissitudes of his daily life, ministering with sympathy and self-sacrifice to relatives and friends who, overtaken by some great calamity, have found his heart as tender as a child's. The country takes little note of the petulant criticisms of its public servants, but it will hold at their true worth the great and useful virtues of ability, wisdom, integrity, courage, and patriotism whenever they are exhibited by men in high official station.

In April, 1896, the ex-president married Mrs. Mary Scott Lord Dimmock, and three years later he appeared as counsel in the Anglo-Venezuelan



THE HOME OF BENJAMIN HARRISON, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.





boundary arbitration commission, concluding his argument in Paris September 27, 1899. He is the author of "This Country of Ours" (New York, 1897). His life was written by Gen. Lewis Wallace (Philadelphia, 1888). A selection of Gen. Harrison's speeches, edited by Charles Hedges, appeared in 1888, and another collection was published four years later. He died in Indianapolis March 13, 1901.

His wife, CAROLINE LAVINIA SCOTT, born in Oxford, Ohio, October 1, 1832; died in Washington, D. C., October 25, 1892, was the daughter of John W. Scott, who was a professor in Miami university at the time of her birth, and afterward became president of the seminary in Oxford. She was graduated at the seminary in 1852, the same year that Gen. Harrison took his degree at the university, and was married to him on October 20, 1853. She was a musician, and was also devoted to painting, besides which she was a diligent reader, and gave part of her time to literary clubs, of several of which she was a member. Mrs. Harrison was a manager of the orphan asylum in Indianapolis and a member of the Presbyterian church in that city, and until her removal to Washington taught a class in Sunday-school. They had two children. The son, Russell, was graduated at Lafayette in 1877 as a mining engineer, and served in Cuba in the war

with Spain with the rank of major in the volunteers. The daughter, Mary, married James R. McKee, a prosperous merchant of Indianapolis, Ind., who has since removed to New York.

WILLIAM McKINLEY

BY

JOSEPH P. SMITH



## WILLIAM McKINLEY

WILLIAM McKINLEY, twenty-fourth president of the United States, was born in Niles, Trumbull county, Ohio, January 29, 1843. On his father's side his ancestry is Scotch-Irish; his forefathers came to America one hundred and fifty years ago. Authentic records trace the McKinlays in Scotland back to 1547, and it is claimed by students that James McKinlay, "the trooper," was one of William's ancestors. About 1743 one of the Scotch-Irish McKinleys settled in Chanceford township, York county, Pa., where his son David, great-grandfather of the president, was born in May, 1755. After serving in the revolution David resided in Pennsylvania until 1814, when he went to Ohio, where he died in 1840, at the age of eighty-five. James McKinley, son of David, moved to Columbiana county, Ohio, in 1809, when William, father of the president, was not yet two years old. The grandmother of the president, Mary Rose, came from a Puritan family that fled from England to Holland and emigrated to Pennsylvania with William Penn. William McKinley, Sr., fa-

ther of the president, born in Pine township, Mercer county, Pa., in 1807, married in 1829 Nancy Campbell Allison, of Columbiana county, Ohio, whose father, Abner Allison, was of English extraction, and her mother, Ann Campbell, of Scotch-German. Three of their nine children are now living, William being the seventh. Both the grandfather and the father of the president were iron manufacturers, or furnace men. His father was a devout Methodist, a staunch whig and republican, and an ardent advocate of a protective tariff. He died during William's first term as governor of Ohio, in November, 1892. The mother of the president died in December, 1897, at the age of eighty-nine.

William received his first education in the public schools of Niles, but when he was nine years old the family removed to Poland, Mahoning county, Ohio, where he was at once admitted into Union seminary and pursued his studies until he was seventeen. He excelled in mathematics and the languages, and was the best equipped of all the students in debate. In 1860 he entered the junior class of Allegheny college, Meadowville, Pa., where he would have been graduated in the following year but for the failure of his health, owing to which, as soon as he was able, he sought a change by engaging as a teacher in the public schools. He was fond of athletic sports, and was a good horseman. At



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the age of sixteen he became a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, and was noted for his diligent study of the Bible. When the civil war broke out, in the spring of 1861, he was a clerk in the Poland post-office. Young McKinley volunteered, and, going with the recruits to Columbus, was there enlisted as a private in Company E, of the 23d Ohio volunteer infantry, June 11, 1861. This regiment is one of the most famous of Ohio organizations, including an unusually large number of noted men, among them Gen. W. S. Rosecrans and President Hayes. He participated in all the early engagements in West Virginia, the first being at Carnifex Ferry, September 10, 1861, and in the winter's camp at Fayetteville he earned and received his first promotion, commissary sergeant, April 15, 1862. "Young as McKinley was," said ex-President Hayes at Lakeside in 1891, "we soon found that in business and executive ability he was of rare capacity, of unusual and surpassing capacity, for a boy of his age. When battles were fought or a service to be performed in warlike things, he always took his place." At Antietam Sergeant McKinley, when in charge of the commissary department of his brigade, filled two wagons with coffee and other supplies, and in the midst of the desperate fight hurried them to his dispirited comrades, who took new courage after the refreshment. For this service he was promoted

from sergeant to lieutenant, his commission dating from September 24, 1862.

While at Camp Piatt he was promoted to 1st lieutenant February 7, 1863, and under his leadership his company was first to scramble over the enemy's fortifications and silence their guns. Later, in the retreat that began on June 19, near Lynchburg, and continued until June 27, the 23d marched 180 miles, fighting nearly all the time, with scarcely any rest or food. Lieut. McKinley conducted himself with gallantry in every emergency, and at Winchester won additional honors. The 13th West Virginia regiment failed to retire when the rest of Hayes's brigade fell back, and was in imminent danger of capture. McKinley was directed to go and bring it away, if it had not already fallen, and did so safely, after riding through a heavy fire. "He was greeted by a cheer," says a witness of the incident, "for all of us felt and knew one of the most gallant acts of the war had been performed." During the retreat they came upon a battery of four guns which had been left in the way, an easy capture for the enemy. McKinley asked permission to bring it off, but his superior officers thought it impossible, owing to the exhausted condition of the men. "The 23d will do it," said McKinley, and, at his call for volunteers, every man of his company stepped out, and the guns were hauled off to a place of safety. The

next day, July 25, 1864, at the age of twenty-one, McKinley was promoted to the rank of captain. The brigade continued its fighting up and down the Shenandoah valley. At Berryville, September 3, 1864, Capt. McKinley's horse was shot under him.

After service on Gen. Crook's staff and that of Gen. Hancock, McKinley was assigned as acting assistant adjutant-general on the staff of Gen. Samuel S. Carroll, commanding the veteran reserve corps at Washington; where he remained through that exciting period which included the surrender of Lee to Grant at Appomattox and the assassination of Lincoln. Just a month before this tragedy, or on March 14, 1865, he had received from the president a commission as major by brevet in the volunteer U. S. army, "for gallant and meritorious service at the battles of Opequan, Cedar Creek, and Fisher's Hill." At the close of the war he was urged to remain in the army, but, deferring to the judgment of his father, he was mustered out with his regiment, July 26, 1865, and returned to Poland. He had never been absent a day from his command on sick leave, had only one short furlough in his four years of service, never asked or sought promotion, and was present and active in every engagement in which his regiment participated. On his return to Poland with his old company, a complimentary dinner was given them, and

he was selected to respond to the welcoming address, which he did with great acceptability.

He at once began the study of law under the preceptorship of Judge Charles E. Glidden and his partner, David M. Wilson, of Youngstown, Ohio, and after a year of drill completed his course at the law-school in Albany, N. Y. In March, 1867, he was admitted to the bar at Warren, Ohio. On the advice of his elder sister, Anna, he settled in Canton, Ohio, where she was then and for many years after a teacher in the public schools. He was already an ardent republican, and did not forsake his party because he was now a resident of an opposition county. On the contrary, in the autumn of 1867 he made his first political speeches in favor of negro suffrage, a most unpopular doctrine throughout the state. Nominations on the republican ticket in Stark county were considered empty honors; but when, in 1869, he was placed on the ticket for prosecuting attorney he made so energetic a canvass that he was elected. He discharged the duties of his trust with fidelity and fearlessness, but in 1871 he failed of re-election by 45 votes. He thereupon resumed his increasing private practice, but continued his interest in politics, and his services as a speaker were eagerly sought. In the gubernatorial campaign between Hayes and Allen, in 1875, at the height of the greenback craze, he made numerous effective speeches in favor of honest

money and the resumption of specie payments. Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, spoke at Canton that autumn, and on his return to Columbus Mr. Woodford made it a point to see the state committee and urge them to put McKinley upon their list of speakers. They had not heard of him before, but they put him on the list, and he was never taken off it after. The next year, 1876, McKinley was nominated for congress over several older competitors, on the first ballot, and was elected in October over Leslie L. Lanborn by 3,300 majority. During the progress of the canvass, while visiting the centennial exposition in Philadelphia, he was introduced by James G. Blaine to a great audience which Blaine had been addressing at the Union league club, and scored so signal a success that he was at once in demand throughout the country.

Entering congress on the day when his old colonel assumed the presidency, and in high favor with him, McKinley was not without influence even during his first term. On April 15, 1878, he made a speech in opposition to what was known as "the Wood tariff bill," from its author, Fernando Wood, of New York. His speech was published and widely circulated by the republican congressional committee, and otherwise attracted much attention.

In 1877 Ohio went strongly democratic, and the legislature gerrymandered the state, so that McKinley found himself confronted by 2,580 adverse majority in a new district. His opponent was Gen. Aquila Wiley, who had lost a leg in the national army, and was competent and worthy. Not deterred, McKinley entered the canvass with great energy, and after a thorough discussion of the issues in every part of the district, was re-elected to the 46th congress by 1,234 majority. At the extra session, April 18, 1879, he opposed the repeal of the federal election laws in a speech that was issued as a campaign document by the republican national committee of that and the following year. As chairman of the republican state convention of Ohio, of 1880, he made another address devoted principally to the same issue. Speaker Randall gave him a place on the judiciary committee, and in December, 1880, appointed him to succeed President Garfield as a member of the ways and means committee. The same congress made him one of the house committee of visitors to West Point military academy,\* and he was also chairman of the com-

\* Conversing with Congressman McKinley at West Point when they were members of the Board of Visitors in June, 1880, the writer mentioned that Gen. Winfield Scott was six feet four inches, just Lincoln's height, but almost a hundred pounds heavier, and McKinley remarked: "Lincoln, Washington, Jefferson and Jackson, all over six feet, were, I believe, in the order named, our four tallest Presidents, while I think Madison and Van Buren were the two shortest," adding, "John Adams lived the longest of any of our chief magistrates, having died in his ninety-first year."—EDITOR.

mittee having in charge the Garfield memorial exercises in the house in 1881.

The Ohio legislature of 1880 restored his old congressional district, and he was unanimously nominated to the 47th congress. His election was assured, but he made a vigorous canvass, and was chosen over Leroy D. Thoman by 3,571 majority. He was chosen by the Chicago convention as the Ohio member of the republican national committee, and accompanied Gen. Garfield on his tour through New York, speaking also in Maine, Indiana, Illinois, and other states.

The 47th congress was republican, and, acting on the recommendation of President Arthur, it proceeded to revise the tariff. After much discussion it was agreed to constitute a commission who should prepare such bill or bills as were necessary and report at the next session. In the debate on this project McKinley delivered an interesting speech, April 6, 1882, in which, while not giving his unqualified approval to the creation of a commission, he insisted that a protective policy should never for an instant be abandoned or impaired.

The elections of 1882 occurred while the tariff commission was still holding its sessions, and the republicans were everywhere most disastrously defeated. The democracy carried Ohio by 19,000, and elected 13 of the 21 congressmen. McKinley had been nominated, after a sharp contest for a

fourth term, and was elected in October by the narrow margin of eight votes over his democratic competitor, Jonathan H. Wallace. At the short session an exhaustive report by the tariff commission was submitted, and from this the ways and means committee framed and promptly introduced a bill reducing existing duties, on an average, about 20 per cent. McKinley supported this measure in an explanatory and argumentative speech of some length January 27, 1883, but it was evident from the start that it could not become a law, and the senate substitute was enacted instead. Although his seat in the 48th congress was contested, he continued to serve in the house until well toward the close of the long session. In this interval he delivered his speech on the Morrison tariff bill, April 30, 1884, which was everywhere accepted as the strongest and most effective argument made against it. At the conclusion of the general debate, May 6, 41 democrats, under the leadership of Mr. Randall, voted with the republicans to defeat the bill.

At the Ohio republican state convention of that year, 1884, McKinley presided, and he was unanimously elected a delegate at large to the national convention. He was an avowed and well-known supporter of Mr. Blaine for the presidency, and did much to further his nomination. Several delegates gave him their votes in the balloting for the



presidential nomination. In the campaign he was equally active. The democrats had carried the Ohio legislature in 1883, and he was again gerrymandered into a district supposed to be strongly against him. He accepted a renomination, made a diligent canvass, and was again elected, defeating David R. Paige, then in congress, by 2,000 majority. But his energies were by no means confined to his own district. He accompanied Mr. Blaine on his celebrated western tour, and afterward spoke in the states of West Virginia and New York.

In the Ohio gubernatorial canvass of 1885 Major McKinley was equally active. His district had been restored in 1886, and he was elected by 2,550 majority over Wallace H. Phelps, the democratic candidate. In the state campaigns of 1881, 1883, and 1885, and again in 1887, he was on the stump in all parts of Ohio. In the 49th congress, April 2, 1886, he made a notable speech on arbitration as the best means of settling labor disputes. He spoke at this session on the payment of pensions and the surplus in the treasury, and both speeches merit attention as forcible statements of the position of his party on those questions.

Major McKinley delivered a memorial address on the presentation to congress of a statue of Garfield, January 19, 1886. He also advocated the passage of the so-called dependent pension bill, February 24, over the president's veto, as a "simple

act of justice," and "the instinct of a decent humanity and our Christian civilization."

In accordance with Mr. Cleveland's third annual message, December 6, 1887, which attacked the protective tariff laws, a bill was prepared and introduced in the house by Mr. Mills, embodying the president's views and policy, and the two parties were arrayed in support or opposition. Then occurred one of the most remarkable debates, under the inspiration and encouragement of the presidential canvass already pending, in the history of congress. It may be classed as the opportunity of McKinley's congressional life, and never was such an opportunity more splendidly improved. Absenting himself from congress a few days, he returned to Canton December 13, 1887, and delivered a masterly address before the Ohio state grange on "The American farmer," in which he declared against alien landholding, and advised his hearers to remain true to their faith in protection. He also went to Boston and discussed before the Home market club, February 9, 1888, the question of "free raw material," upon which the majority in the house counted so confidently to divide their republican opponents, with such breadth and force that the doctrine was abandoned in New England, where it was supposed to be strongest.

On February 29 he addressed the house on the bill to regulate the purchase of government bonds,

not so much in opposition to the measure, as because he believed that the president and the secretary of the treasury had been "piling up a surplus" of \$60,000,000 in the treasury, without retiring any of the bonds, "for the purpose of creating a condition of things in the country which would get up a scare and stampede against the protective system."

On April 2 he presented to the house the views of the minority of the ways and means committee on the Mills tariff bill. On May 18, the day the general debate was to close, McKinley delivered what was described at the time as "the most effective and eloquent tariff speech ever heard in congress." The scenes attending its delivery were full of dramatic interest. The speaker who immediately preceded him was Samuel J. Randall, who had insisted on being brought from what proved his deathbed to protest against the passage of the proposed law. He spoke slowly and with great difficulty, and his time expiring before his argument was concluded, McKinley yielded to Randall from his own time all that he needed to finish his speech. It was a graceful act, and the speech that followed fully justified the high expectations that the incident naturally aroused. In it he showed that no single interest or individual anywhere was suffering either from high taxes or high prices, but that all who tried to be were busy and thrifty in the general prosperity of the times. In a well-turned illus-

tration, at the expense of his colleague, Mr. Morse, of Boston, he showed, by exhibiting to the house a suit of clothes purchased at the latter's store, that the claims of Mills as to the prices of woollens were absurd. His refutation of some current theories concerning "the world's markets" and the effect of protective laws upon trusts was widely applauded. He held that protection was from first to last a contention for labor. Both congress and the country heartily applauded this speech. The press of the country gave it unusual attention, republican committees scattered millions of copies of it, and it everywhere became a text-book of the campaign.

McKinley was a delegate at large to the republican national convention of this year, and took an active part in its proceedings, as chairman of the committee on resolutions. He was the choice of many delegates for president, and when it was definitely ascertained that Mr. Blaine would not accept the nomination, a movement in his favor began that would doubtless have been successful had he permitted it to be encouraged. When during the balloting it was evident that sentiment was rapidly centering upon him, McKinley rose and said: "I can not with honorable fidelity to John Sherman, who has trusted me in his cause and with his cause; I can not consistently with my own views of personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this

convention. . . . I do not request, I demand, that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me." The effect on the convention was as he intended. His labors for Sherman were incessant and effective, but while he could not accomplish his friend's nomination, he did preserve his own integrity and increase the general respect and confidence of the people in himself.

He was for the seventh time nominated and elected to congress in the following November, defeating George P. Ikert by 4,100 votes. At the organization of the 51st congress he was a candidate for speaker, but, although strongly supported, he was beaten on the third ballot in the republican caucus by Thomas B. Reed. He resumed his place on the ways and means committee, and on the death of Judge Kelley, soon afterward, became its chairman. Thus devolved upon him, at a most critical juncture, the leadership of the house, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, his party having only a nominal majority, and it requiring always hearty concord and co-operation to pass any important measure. The minority had resolved upon a policy of obstruction and delay, but Major McKinley supported Speaker Reed with his usual effectiveness, and the speaker himself heartily thanked him for his great and timely assistance. On April 24, 1890, he spoke in favor of sustaining the civil-service law, to which there was decided opposition.

“The republican party,” said he, “must take no step backward. The merit system is here, and it is here to stay.”

On December 17, 1889, he introduced the first important tariff measure of the session—a bill “to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.” The bill passed the house March 5, and the senate, as amended, March 20, went to a conference committee, who agreed upon a report that was concurred in, and was approved June 10, 1890. It is known as the “customs administration bill,” is similar in its provisions to a bill introduced in the 50th congress, as the outgrowth of a careful, non-partisan investigation by the senate committee on finance, and has proved a wise and salutary law. Meanwhile (April 16, 1890) he introduced the general tariff measure that has since borne his name, and that for four months had been under constant consideration by the ways and means committee. His speech in support of the measure, May 7, fully sustained his high reputation as an orator. Seldom, if ever, in the annals of congress, has such hearty applause been given to any leader as that which greeted him at the conclusion of this address. The bill was passed by the house on May 21, but was debated for months in the senate, that body finally passing it on September 11, with some changes, notably the reciprocity amendment, which McKinley had unavailingly supported before the

house committee. The bill, having received the approval of the president, became a law October 6, 1890.

The passage of the bill was hardly effected before the general election occurred, and in this the republicans were, as anticipated, badly defeated. His own district had been gerrymandered again, so that he had 3,000 majority to overcome. Never was a congressional campaign more fiercely fought, the contest attracting attention everywhere. His competitor was John G. Warwick, recently lieutenant-governor, a wealthy merchant and coal operator of his own county. McKinley ran largely ahead of his ticket, but was defeated by 300 votes. No republican had ever received nearly so many votes in the counties composing the district, his vote exceeding by 1,250 that of Harrison in the previous presidential campaign. Immediately after the election a popular movement began in Ohio for his nomination for governor, and the state convention in June, 1891, made him its candidate by acclamation. Meanwhile in congress he spoke and voted for the eight-hour law; he advocated efficient antitrust and antiopium laws; he supported the direct-tax refunding law in an argument that abounds with pertinent information; and he presented and advised the adoption of a resolution declaring that nothing in the new tariff law should be held to invalidate our treaty with Hawaii. On the occasion of the seven-

tieth anniversary of the birth of Judge Thurman, at Columbus, in November, 1890, Mr. Cleveland spoke upon "American citizenship," and "made cheapness the theme of his discourse, counting it one of the highest aspirations of American life." Major McKinley, replying to this address at the Lincoln banquet in Toledo February 12, 1891, to the contrary held that such a boon as "cheap coats" meant inevitably "cheap men."

At Niles, on August 22, he opened the Ohio campaign. In this speech, as in every other of the 134 made by him in that wonderful canvass, he declared his unalterable opposition both to free trade and free silver. The campaign was earnest and spirited; both he and his opponent, Gov. Campbell, made a thorough canvass, and met once in joint debate at Ada, Hardin county, in September. McKinley won a decisive victory, polling the largest vote so far cast for governor in the history of Ohio. Campbell had been elected in 1889 by 11,000 plurality in a vote of 775,000; McKinley now defeated him by 21,500 in a total of 795,000. His inaugural address, January 11, 1892, was devoted exclusively to state topics, except in its reference to congressional redistricting, in which he advised that "partisanship should be avoided."

Soon after his inauguration as governor the presidential campaign began, and when importuned by friends to allow the use of his name as a candi-



date, he promptly replied that he believed Gen. Harrison justly entitled to another term. He was again elected a delegate at large from Ohio to the national convention, and was by it selected permanent chairman. He asked his friends not to vote for him, but urged them to support Harrison. Still, when the ballot was taken many persisted in voting for him, though his name had not been formally presented, the Ohio delegation responding 44 to 2 for him. He at once challenged this vote, from the chair, and put himself on record for Harrison, who on the entire roll call received 535 votes; Blaine, 182; McKinley, 182; Reed, 4; and Lincoln, 1. Leaving the chair, he moved to make the nomination unanimous, and it prevailed without objection. He was chairman of the committee to notify the president of his renomination June 20, and from that time until the campaign closed was more busily engaged than perhaps any other national leader of the republican party. After the loss of the fight he gave up neither courage nor confidence. He had no apologies or excuses to offer. In responding to the toast "The republican party," at the Lincoln banquet in Columbus, in 1893, he again manifested the same high spirit.

In his first annual message, January 3, 1893, Gov. McKinley called attention to the financial condition of the state, and enjoined economy in appropriations. His sympathy with laboring men

is apparent in his recommendation of additional protection to steam and electric railroad employees, and his interest in the problems of municipal government by his approval of what is called the "federal plan" of administration. At the republican convention in Ohio he was unanimously renominated for governor, and he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, the greatest ever recorded, with a single exception during the war, for any candidate up to that time in the history of the state—his vote aggregating 433,000 and his plurality 80,995. His competitor was Lawrence T. Neal. The issues discussed were national, and McKinley's voice was again heard in every locality in the state in earnest condemnation of "those twin heresies, free trade and free silver." The country viewed this result as indicative of the next national election, and he was everywhere hailed as the most prominent republican aspirant for president. In his second annual message Gov. McKinley recommended biennial sessions of the legislature; suggested a revision of the tax laws by a commission created for the purpose; and condemned any increase of local taxation and indebtedness.

On February 22, 1894, McKinley delivered an address on the life and public services of George Washington, under the auspices of the Union league club, Chicago, which gave much gratification to his friends and admirers. Beginning at

Bangor, Me., September 8, and continuing through the next two months, he was constantly on the platform. The Wilson-Gorman tariff law had just been enacted, and to this he devoted his chief attention. After returning to Ohio to open the state campaign at Findlay, Gov. McKinley set out for the west. Travelling in special trains, under the auspices of state committees, his meetings began at daybreak and continued until nightfall or later from his car, or from adjacent platforms. For over eight weeks he averaged seven speeches a day, ranging in length from ten minutes to an hour; and in this time he travelled over 16,000 miles and addressed fully 2,000,000 people.

During the ensuing winter there was great distress in the mining districts of the Hocking valley. Gov. McKinley, by appeals to the generous people of the state, raised sufficient funds and provisions to meet every case of actual privation, the bulk of the work being done under his personal direction at Columbus. Several serious outbreaks occurred during his administration, at one time requiring the presence of 3,000 of the national guard in the field. On three occasions prisoners were saved from mobs and safely incarcerated in the state prison. His declaration that "lynchings must not be tolerated in Ohio" was literally made good for the first time in any state administration.

On the expiration of his term as governor he re-

turned to his old home at Canton. Already throughout the country had begun a movement in his favor that proved most irresistible in every popular convention. State after state and district after district declared for him, until, when at length the national convention assembled, he was the choice of more than two thirds of the delegates for president. In the republican national convention held in St. Louis in June, 1896, he was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 661½ out of 922 votes, and in the ensuing election he received a popular vote of 7,104,779, a plurality of 601,854 over his principal opponent, William J. Bryan. In the electoral college McKinley received 271 votes, against 176 for Bryan. The prominent issues in the canvass were the questions of free coinage of silver and restoration of the protective tariff system. Early in the contest he announced his determination not to engage in the speaking campaign. Realizing that they could not induce him to set out on what he thought an undignified vote-seeking tour of the country, the people immediately began to flock by the thousand to Canton, and here from his doorstep he welcomed and spoke to them. In this manner more than 300 speeches were made from June 19 to November 2, 1896, to more than 750,000 strangers from all parts of the country. Nothing like it was ever before known in the United States.

Besides the pilgrimages to Canton already men-



THE HOME OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY, CANTON, OHIO



tioned, the canvass was marked by the fact that Major McKinley's chief opponent, Mr. Bryan, was the nominee of both the democratic and the populist parties, and by the widespread revolt in the democratic party caused by this alliance. Within ten days after the adoption of the democratic platform more than 100 daily papers that had been accustomed to support the nominees of the democratic party announced their opposition to both ticket and platform, and Major McKinley was vigorously supported by many who disagreed totally with him on the tariff question. The campaign was in some respects more thoroughly one of education than any that had been known, and its closing weeks were filled with activity and excitement, being especially marked by the display of the national flag. Chairman Hanna, of the republican national committee, recommended that on the Saturday preceding election day the flag should be displayed by all friends of sound finance and good government, and the democratic committee, unwilling to seem less patriotic, issued a similar recommendation. Thus a special "flag day" was generally observed, and political parades of unusual size added to the excitement. The result of the contest was breathlessly awaited and received with unusual demonstrations of joy.

On March 4, 1897, Major McKinley took the oath of office at Washington in the presence of an

unusually large number of people and with great military and civic display. Immediately afterward he sent to the senate the names of the following persons to constitute his cabinet, and they were promptly confirmed by that body: Secretary of state, John Sherman, of Ohio; secretary of the treasury, Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois; secretary of war, Gen. Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; attorney-general, Joseph McKenna, of California; postmaster-general, James A. Gary, of Maryland; secretary of the navy, John D. Long, of Massachusetts; secretary of the interior, Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York; secretary of agriculture, James Wilson, of Iowa. Mr. Sherman was subsequently succeeded by William R. Day, of Ohio, and John Hay, of the District of Columbia; Elihu Root, of New York, was appointed secretary of war, to succeed Gen. Alger; John W. Griggs, of New Jersey, became the successor of Mr. McKenna in the office of attorney-general; Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania, followed Mr. Gary as postmaster-general; Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of Missouri, was appointed to take the place of Mr. Bliss.

On March 6 the president issued a proclamation calling an extra session of congress for March 15. On that date both branches met and listened to a special presidential message on the subject of the tariff. The result was the drafting of the bill called "The Dingley bill," after Chairman Nelson



Dingley of the ways and means committee, and in the course of the summer this passed both branches of congress, and by the signature of the president became a law.

It was expected that the election of President McKinley would put an end to the hard times that had prevailed for many years in the country, which, as was believed, were due to the tariff policy of the Democratic party and to apprehension regarding the possible adoption of free coinage of silver. After the passage of the Dingley tariff bill there was a decided revival of prosperity. Many mills that had been closed resumed work, and there were other indications of returning confidence in the business world. On May 17 the president sent to congress a special message, asking for an appropriation for the aid of suffering Americans in Cuba, and in accordance therewith the sum of \$50,000 was appropriated for that humane purpose.

The policy of the new administration toward Spain on the Cuban question had been a matter of much speculation, and there were those who expected that it would be aggressive. But it soon became evident that it was to be marked by calmness and moderation. The president retained in office Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee, who had been appointed to his post by President Cleveland, although he sent a commissioner to Cuba to report to him on special cases; and the policy of the govern-

ment in relation to the suppression of filibustering remained unchanged. Gen. Stewart L. Woodford, the new minister to Spain, was instructed to deliver to the Spanish government a message in which the United States expressed its desire that an end should be put to the disastrous conflict in Cuba, and tendered its good offices toward the accomplishment of such a result. To this message the Spanish government returned a conciliatory reply, to the effect that it had ordered administrative reforms to be carried out on the island, and expected soon to put an end to the unfortunate war, at the same time begging the United States to renew its efforts for the suppression of filibustering.

As was generally expected, the opening of the administration was marked by a fresh agitation of the question of Hawaiian annexation. A new treaty of annexation was negotiated and sent by the president to the senate, but action upon it was postponed. Meanwhile the Japanese government lodged a remonstrance against any such action on the part of the United States as might be deemed to prejudice the permanent rights alleged in favor of the Japanese under the terms of the treaty between Japan and the republic of Hawaii or adversely affect the settlement of the diplomatic dispute then pending in regard to the charged violation by Hawaii of the provisions of that treaty. The Japanese minister having disclaimed any ul-

WILLIAM MC KINLEY  
CANTON OHIO

Dec 28 1896.

Dear Senator:

I have learned with much pleasure that you are going abroad to have some consultations about the practicability of International Arbitration, I hope you will be able to get the information you seek and that you will very much in good to the cause for which we stand pledged as a party, I am sure our representatives in the countries you visit will accord you every courtesy to facilitate your inquiry, wishing you a safe journey and an early return.

I am very faithfully

Wm McKinley

Senator Wolcott

U.S.S.



terior unfriendly purpose of Japan, either in respect to the dispute or to the proposed annexation, the good offices of the United States were successfully employed with the Hawaiian republic to compose the controversy by the payment of a money indemnity to Japan, which amicably closed the incident before the final annexation of the islands to the United States. This was effected on August 12, 1898, by the act of the Hawaiian president in yielding up to the representative of the government of the United States the sovereignty and property of the Hawaiian islands, in accordance with the terms of a joint resolution of congress, approved July 7, 1898, whereby the purpose of the annexation treaty was accomplished by statutory acceptance of the offered cession and incorporation of the ceded territory into the Union.

A prominent incident in foreign affairs was a despatch sent by Secretary Sherman to Ambassador Hay regarding the Bering sea seal question, which was criticised because of the recital of the facts of the preceding award of the Paris Bering sea commission and the discussion which followed in order to show that Great Britain stood committed to a revision of the Paris rules for the regulation of seal-catching. On July 15 it was announced that Great Britain had finally consented to take part, with the United States, Russia, and Japan, in a sealing conference in Washington in

the autumn of 1897; but later Lord Salisbury declared that he had been misunderstood, and the conference convened in November without British delegates, although Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian premier, was present unofficially. The passing misunderstanding was speedily assuaged by the course of the administration in sending a special ambassador to Great Britain on the occasion of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. For this purpose the president selected Whitelaw Reid.

In the summer following the president's inauguration the reports of great gold discoveries on the Klondike river in British territory near the Alaskan boundary caused much excitement, recalling especially on the Pacific coast the days of the early California gold fever. So many expeditions set off almost at once for the north that the administration found it necessary to warn persons of the danger of visiting the arctic regions except at the proper season and with careful preparation; and to preserve order in Alaskan territory near the scene of the discoveries the president at once established a military post on the upper Yukon river. On April 7, in response to a message from the president asking relief for the sufferers by flood in the Mississippi valley, both houses of congress voted to appropriate the sum of \$200,000 for this purpose. Much favorable comment was caused at the beginning of the administration by President McKinley's evi-

dent desire to make himself accessible to the public. On April 27, accompanied by his cabinet, he attended the ceremonies connected with the dedication of the Grant monument in Riverside park, New York. Immediately afterward he was present at the dedication of the Washington monument in Philadelphia.

President Cleveland, in his last annual message, had stated plainly the position of the United States on the Cuban question, saying that the suppression of the insurrection was essentially a matter for Spain, that this country would not fail to make every effort to prevent filibustering expeditions and unlawful aid of any kind for the rebels, but adding the warning note that there might come a time when intervention would be demanded in the name of humanity, and that it behooved Spain to end the struggle before this should become necessary. This was hardly a statement of party policy, but rather the expression of the sentiment of the whole country, and after the close of the first year of the new administration it was seen that its policy had been much along these lines. In his note of September 23, 1897, Gen. Woodford had assured the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, the Duke of Tetuan, that all the United States asked was that some lasting settlement might be found which Spain could accept with self-respect, and to this end the United States offered its kindly offices, hoping that during

the coming month Spain might be able to formulate some proposal under which this tender of good offices might become effective, or else that she might give satisfactory assurances that the insurrection would be promptly and finally put down.

A change in ministry took place in Spain, and the liberals succeeded to power. The new foreign minister, Señor Gullon, replied to the American note on October 23, suggesting more stringent application of the neutrality laws on the part of the United States, and asserting that conditions in the island would change for the better when the new autonomous institutions could go into effect. This measure of self-government was proclaimed by Spain on November 23, 1897. The insurgents rejected it in advance; the Spanish Cubans who upheld Weyler's policy were equally vigorous in denouncing it; the remainder of the population was inclined to accept it, as it was in lieu of anything better, although it fell far short of what they had been led to hope for. It stipulated, among other things, that no law might be enacted by the new legislature without the approval of the governor-general; Spain was to fix the amount to be paid by Cuba for the maintenance of the rights of the crown, nor could the Cuban chamber discuss the estimates for the colonial budget until this sum had been voted first; furthermore, perpetual preferential duties in favor of Spanish trade and manufac-



tures were provided for. The formal inauguration of the system took place in the beginning of January, 1898, but from the first it was evident that there were irreconcilable differences between the members of the ministry as well as between their followers, although there was manifested a certain well-wishing toward the new measure on the part of the insurgent party, many of them returning from the United States or coming from the field of hostilities to submit themselves under Marshal Blanco's proclamation of amnesty; yet early in January, 1898, the Spanish party broke out in such serious demonstrations and rioting against the autonomists and the Americans in Cuba that Consul-General Lee was induced to recommend the sending of an American man-of-war to Havana, as much for the moral effect of its presence as for the protection of American property there in the imminent and unfortunate contingency of disturbance.

The tone of the press in the United States had been growing more serious. The failure of the autonomous constitution was evident, the military situation was growing worse, the loss of life on the part of the helpless non-combatants caused by the reconcentration policy of Weyler was daily growing more appalling; it was clear that the whole situation was nearing a crisis. Señor Canalejas, the editor of a Madrid paper, made a journey to Cuba at this time to see the actual position with his own

eyes. On his way he stopped in the United States, called on his friend Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish minister at Washington, and then went on to Havana. Soon after the departure of Canalejas, de Lôme wrote him a private letter, in which he criticised severely the policy of the president in regard to the Cuban question, and characterized him as a vacillating and time-serving politician.

The letter was surreptitiously secured, and published widely in the press on February 8; later the original letter was communicated to the department of state. The following day, the 9th, Señor de Lôme admitted the genuineness of the letter in a personal conference with Assistant Secretary Day, stating that he recognized the impossibility of continuing to hold official relations with this government after the unfortunate disclosures, and adding that he had on the evening of the 8th, and again on the morning of the 9th, telegraphed to his government asking to be relieved of his mission. Immediately after this conference a telegraphic instruction was sent to Gen. Woodford to inform the government of Spain that the publication in question had ended the Spanish minister's usefulness, and expressing the president's expectation that he would be immediately recalled. Before Gen. Woodford could present this instruction, however, the cabinet had accepted the minister's resignation, putting the legation in charge of the secretary;

Three days later Gen. Woodford telegraphed to the department a communication from the minister of state expressing the sincere regret of his government and entire disauthorization of the act of its representative. On February 17 Señor Polo y Bernabe was appointed to succeed Señor Dupuy de Lôme as the Spanish minister to the United States.

The excitement caused in the United States by this incident was still fresh when it was quickened into deeper and graver feeling by the destruction of the U. S. battle-ship "Maine" in the harbor of Havana. After the riots in January, 1898, Consul-General Lee had, as already stated, asked for an American man-of-war to protect the interests of this country. The Spanish authorities were advised that the government intended to resume friendly naval visits to Cuban ports; they replied, acknowledging the courtesy, and announcing their intention of sending in return Spanish vessels to the principal ports of the United States. The "Maine" reached Havana on January 25, and was anchored to a buoy assigned by the authorities of the harbor. She lay there for three weeks. Her officers received the usual formal courtesies from the Spanish authorities; Consul-General Lee tendered them a dinner. The sailors of the "Maine" were not given shore liberty owing to the ill-disguised aversion shown to the few officers who went

ashore. The treatment of officers and crew by the Spanish authorities was perfectly proper outwardly, although no effusive cordiality was shown them.

At forty minutes past nine o'clock on the evening of February 15, while the greater part of the crew was asleep, a double explosion occurred forward, rending the ship in two and causing her to sink instantly. Out of a complement of 355 officers and men, 2 officers and 258 men were drowned or killed and 58 were taken out wounded. Capt. Sigsbee telegraphed a report of the occurrence to Washington, and asked that public opinion be suspended until further details were known. Marshal Blanco informed Madrid that the explosion was due to an accident caused by the bursting of a dynamo engine, or combustion in the coal-bunkers. The Queen Regent expressed her sympathy to Gen. Woodford, and the civil authorities of Havana sent messages of condolence, but no official expression of regret was then made by the Spanish government. When the naval court of inquiry reached Havana the local naval authorities offered to act with them in investigating the explosion, but the offer was declined. Thereupon Spain made an independent investigation. The conclusions of the American court of inquiry were that the explosion was not due to the officers or crew, but that it was caused by a submarine mine underneath the port

side of the ship. The court found no evidence fixing the responsibility upon any person or persons. It was not until several weeks later, when the findings of the American court had been announced, and the heat of popular sentiment made war inevitable, that the Spanish government protested to Gen. Woodford against our *ex parte* investigation, alleging that a verdict so rendered was unfriendly, and asked that a joint investigation or else a neutral examination by expert arbitrators should be made to determine whether the explosion was due to internal or external causes. This proposal was declined by President McKinley. The investigation conducted independently by the Spanish government found that the explosion on the "Maine" was accidental and internal.

War was now only a question of time. On March 7 two new regiments of artillery were authorized by congress, and on March 9 \$50,000,000 for national defence, to be expended at his discretion, was placed at the disposal of the president. This spectacle was remarkable, almost unique, was hailed with enthusiasm throughout the country and commanded widespread attention and admiration abroad. The speeches of Senator Proctor and others who had visited Cuba carried great weight. The president asked for a bill providing a contingent increase of the army to 100,000 men, which was passed at once. Spain on her part put forth

every effort to re-enforce the army in Cuba and to strengthen the navy. On March 23, after the president had received the report of the naval court of inquiry, Gen. Woodford presented a formal note to the Spanish minister warning him that unless an agreement assuring permanent, immediate, and honorable peace in Cuba was reached within a few days the president would feel constrained to submit the whole question to Congress. Various other notes were passed in the next few days, but they were regarded by the president as dilatory and entirely unsatisfactory.

On April 7 the ambassadors or envoys of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Russia called on the president and addressed to him a joint note expressing the hope that humanity and moderation might mark the course of the United States government and people, and that further negotiations would lead to an agreement which, while assuring the maintenance of peace, would afford all necessary guarantees for the re-establishment of order in Cuba. The president, in response, said that he shared the hope the envoys had expressed that peace might be preserved in a manner to terminate the chronic condition of disturbance in Cuba so injurious and menacing to our interests and tranquillity as well as shocking to our sentiments of humanity, and while appreciating the humanitarian and disinterested character of the com-

munication they had made on behalf of the powers, stated the confidence of this government for its part, that equal appreciation would be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfil a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which had become insufferable.

The Queen Regent directed that Gen. Blanco should be authorized to grant a suspension of hostilities, the form and duration being left to his discretion, to enable the insurgents to submit and confer as to the measure of autonomy to be granted to them. This was a very different thing from assent to the president's demand for an armistice from April to October, with an assurance that negotiations for independence should be opened with the insurgents. No real armistice being offered them, there was nothing for the Cubans to decline. It was this evasive outcome of the labors of the president for the past two months that caused him to abandon all hope of an adequate settlement by negotiation and to send in his message of April 11, which reviewed at length the negotiations and ended by leaving the issue with congress.

On April 13 a resolution was passed by the house authorizing the president to intervene to pacify Cuba. On April 16 the senate amended the house resolution by striking out all except the number, and substituting a resolution recognizing Cuba's independence. April 19 these two resolutions were

combined in a joint resolution which was adopted by both houses, after a bitter struggle. This resolution was approved by the executive on the next day. Spain assumed to treat the joint resolution of April 20 as a declaration of war, and sent Gen. Woodford his passports about seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, before he could communicate the demands of the resolution. In the United States it was assumed that by dismissing Gen. Woodford Spain initiated actual war, wherefore congress, by an act approved April 25, declared "that war exists and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, A.D. 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain." In like manner the Spanish decree of April 23 simply recites in article one "the state of war existing between Spain and the United States," without assigning a date for its beginning. The president's proclamation of April 26 coincided with the Spanish decree of April 23 in adopting for the war the maritime rules of the declaration of Paris.

By the end of the month the troops called for under the act of April 23, authorizing the president to call for 125,000 volunteers, had begun to concentrate at Tampa, Fla. On April 30 congress authorized a bond issue of \$200,000,000, and a circular was issued the same day inviting subscriptions. The total of subscriptions of \$500 and less was



\$100,444,560, and the total in greater amounts than \$500, including certain proposals guaranteeing the loan, amounted in the aggregate to more than \$1,400,000,000.

The navy took the first steps in actual hostilities; orders for a blockade of Cuba were issued on April 21, and the blockade was established and proclaimed on April 22; in his proclamation of April 26 the president set forth at length the principles that would govern the conduct of the government with regard to the rights of neutrals and the other points of naval warfare. The nation had scarcely felt a realizing sense of the existence of war before there came news of Dewey's magnificent victory at Manila. This event, coming at a comparatively early date in the war, fired the national heart with great enthusiasm, and added immensely to the prestige of our navy abroad. The country's elation over such an unprecedented victory caused the people to wait with eager expectation for news from the operations in Cuban waters. On May 4 Admiral Sampson's squadron sailed from Key West; on the 12th it engaged the forts at San Juan de Puerto Rico. This was but a reconnoissance to discover whether or not the fleet under Admiral Cervera was in port; for the main object of the navy was to engage and destroy the Spanish fleet, which had left the Cape Verde islands on April 29. On May 19 Commodore Schley's flying squadron

sailed from Key West for Cienfuegos. On the same day the navy department was informed of Cervera's presence at Santiago, and this information was transmitted to Commodore Schley at Cienfuegos through Admiral Sampson. Commodore Schley then proceeded to Santiago. Sampson joined Schley on June 1, and assumed command of the entire fleet.

Naval operations against Santiago had as a prelude the landing on June 10 of 600 marines, who intrenched themselves near the harbor of Guantanamo, and successfully repulsed repeated attacks by the Spaniards. The army that had been collecting at Tampa was now ready for action, and on June 14 Gen. Shafter with 16,000 men embarked for Cuba, under escort of 11 war-ships. The troops arrived off Guantanamo Bay on the 20th, and began landing on the 22d at Daiquiri, 17 miles east of Santiago, the entire army being disembarked by the 23d with only two casualties. The forward movement was begun at once; after a sharp action near La Quasima on the 24th, in which the Americans under Gen. Wheeler lost 16 killed and 52 wounded, came on July 1 the storming of the heights of El Caney and San Juan near Santiago. In the two days' fighting at this point the loss for the U. S. troops was 230 killed, 1,284 wounded, and 79 missing. Gen. Shafter found Santiago so well defended that he feared he could

take it only with a serious loss of life; he must have re-enforcements. The situation rested thus on the morning of July 3, but by night of the same day it had changed completely. On that morning Cervera, after peremptory orders from Gen. Blanco, ordered his fleet to sea from its sheltered position in the harbor. The blockading vessels closed in upon the Spanish ships immediately upon their appearance, following them closely as they turned in flight to the west, and by evening had sunk or disabled every one of them, losing but 1 man killed and 10 wounded, as compared with a loss to the enemy of about 350 killed and 1,670 prisoners.

On the morning of the 3d Gen. Shafter sent a flag of truce into Santiago, demanding immediate surrender on pain of bombardment. This was refused, but at the request of the foreign consuls Shafter agreed to postpone bombardment until ten o'clock on July 5. On the 5th, at a conference with Capt. Chadwick, representing Admiral Sampson, it was agreed that the army and navy should make a joint attack on the city at noon of the 9th. A truce was arranged until that date, when Gen. Shafter repeated his demand and the threat of bombardment. Unconditional surrender was refused, which the president demanded.

On the 10th and 11th firing went on from the trenches and the ships, and by evening of the latter day all the Spanish artillery had been silenced. A

truce was arranged as a preliminary to surrender. Gen. Miles arrived at Gen. Shafter's headquarters on the 12th. Terms were finally settled on the 17th, when the U. S. troops took possession of the city. On the 21st Gen. Miles sailed with an expedition to Puerto Rico, where he landed on the 25th. His progress through the island met with little resistance, the inhabitants turning out to welcome the invading troops as deliverers. In less than three weeks the forces of the United States rendered untenable every Spanish position outside of San Juan; the Spaniards were defeated in six engagements, with a loss to the invaders of only 3 killed and 40 wounded, about one-tenth of the Spanish loss.

After the fall of Santiago it was evident at Madrid that further resistance was useless, and that a prolongation of the war would mean only more severe terms. On July 26 Jules Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, was requested to inquire if peace negotiations might be opened. President McKinley replied to the note on the 30th, stating the preliminary conditions that the United States would insist upon as a basis of negotiations. A protocol of agreement was signed on August 12 by Secretary Day and Ambassador Cambon, in which the stipulations were embodied in six articles, fixing, besides, a term of evacuation for the West Indian islands, and settling October 1 following

as the date of meeting of commissioners to settle the terms of peace between this country and Spain.

Now that the war was practically over, it became necessary to withdraw as many of the U. S. troops as possible from the unhealthy situation in Cuba. A camp was hastily provided at Montauk Point, Long Island, and hither the troops were hurried from Cuba. Suffering could not be avoided, of course, and from Camp Wikoff at Montauk Point, and from the twelve other chief army camps as well as the smaller ones, went up a cry that the troops were not receiving the careful attention they deserved. President McKinley made a personal visit to Montauk Point in August to satisfy himself as to the actual state of affairs. In September he appointed a commission to investigate the charges of criminal neglect of the soldiers in camp, field, hospital, and transport, and to examine the administration of the war department in all its branches. The commission met first on September 27, sat in many places, and heard witnesses in city and camp. Gen. Miles, in his testimony, described the beef furnished the troops as "embalmed," and in reply on January 12, 1899, Commissary-Gen. Eagan denied the charge, and made such a bitter personal attack upon Gen. Miles that the president ordered his trial by court-martial, with the result that he was found guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and sentenced to dismissal from the army.

This was commuted by the president on February 7 to suspension for six years. The commission made its report on February 8, and on February 9 an army court of inquiry was appointed by the president to investigate the charges of Gen. Miles in relation to the beef-supply. The court found that the allegations were not sustained.

On August 26 President McKinley appointed William R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, Whitelaw Reid, and George Gray as peace commissioners. John Bassett Moore was appointed secretary and counsel. The commissioners met the Spanish commissioners in Paris on October 1. Negotiations continued until December 10, when the treaty was signed. It provided for the relinquishment by Spain of all claims of sovereignty over and title to Cuba; the cession of all other Spanish West India islands, and of Guam in the Ladrone group; the cession of the Philippines to the United States, and the payment to Spain by the United States of \$20,000,000 within three months after the exchange of ratifications of the treaty; Spanish soldiers were to be repatriated at the expense of the United States. Other details settling property rights were also included; ratifications were to be exchanged at Washington within six months, or earlier, if possible. The commissioners returned to the United States late in December, and submitted the official text of the treaty to the president, who retained it

for consideration until January 4, 1899, and then transmitted it to the senate, where it was at once referred to the committee on foreign relations. In his annual message to congress on December 5 the president had contented himself largely with a simple narrative of events that led up to the war, suggesting his own theory as to its causes, and deferring all discussion of the future government of the new territories until after the ratification of the treaty of peace. The President recommended also careful consideration of the provisions suggested by Secretary Alger and Mr. Hull, chairman of the house committee on military affairs, for the enlargement of the regular army. The president was given opportunity to impress his views upon the country less formally, but none the less effectively, in his speeches and addresses on his trip to the Omaha Exposition in October and visit to the Atlanta peace jubilee during December, 1898. Nevertheless, there were anxious weeks of waiting after the treaty had been given to the senate for consideration, weeks in which little was certain, except that there was a strong, forceful opposition in that body to its ratification, urged on by various motives, but nevertheless united sufficiently to make the friends of the treaty anxious for its fate, and, to the relief of the president and the country, the treaty was duly ratified. It is not probable that the war in the Philippines, precipitated by the night

attacks of the insurgents upon the U. S. forces on February 4, had any great weight in influencing the voting upon the treaty; there can be little doubt, however, that the insurgent leaders, ignorant of the real feelings of the people at large, did draw encouragement for themselves from the reports of opposition to the treaty.

The question of peace with Spain once settled, the outbreak in the Philippines opened a new problem to the president. Anxious for information on the situation in those islands, he had appointed in January a commission of five, consisting of Admiral Dewey, Gen. Otis, President J. G. Schurman, of Cornell, Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan, and Col. Charles Denby, for many years U. S. minister to China, to study the general situation in the Philippines and to act in an advisory capacity. In this step the president had shown his desire to act only upon ample information. When actual hostilities broke out, however, there was left to him but one thing to do: the insurrection must be put down. For this reason he gave Gen. Otis, in his policy of vigorous action, all the support possible.

Another difficulty for his solution arose in the condition of affairs in the Samoan islands. After the death in 1898 of Malietoa, King of Samoa, a struggle for the succession took place in the islands between the followers of Mataafa and of young



Malietoa. For ten years Germany, Great Britain, and the United States had exercised joint control over the islands. This position of the three powers, coupled with the continuous fighting among the natives, seemed to promise a serious problem for the president, but by perfect coolness and uniform good judgment he brought the matter to a satisfactory issue. On the proposal of Germany, each of the three powers appointed one member of a commission to visit the islands and to investigate the entire question, beginning with the return of Mataafa and the election of 1898. Bartlett Tripp was appointed by the United States, Baron Speck von Sternberg by Germany, and C. N. E. Eliot by Great Britain. The commission unanimously recommended the abolition of the kingship and radical changes in the administration of Samoa. The three powers, however, recognizing the inexpediency of continuing any tripartite government of the islands, agreed upon an arrangement by which England retired from Samoa in view of compensation made by Germany in other quarters, and both powers renounced in favor of the United States all their rights and claims to the islands east of  $171^{\circ}$ , including Tutuila, with the fine harbor of Pago-Pago.

The president's appointments for the delegation to represent the United States at the peace conference called by the czar of Russia in 1898, which as-

sembled at The Hague in May, 1899, were most favorably received. The delegation consisted of Andrew D. White, ambassador at Berlin; Stanford Newel, minister to Holland; Seth Low, president of Columbia university; Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, U. S. navy (retired); and Capt. William Crozier, U. S. army. Frederick W. Holls, of New York, was appointed secretary.

Of domestic events in the latter months of the first half of 1899 one of the most important was the order of May 29, in which the president withdrew a number of places in the civil service of the government from the operation of the system of appointment on the result of examinations conducted by the civil service commission. The president found a strong supporter and defender in the secretary of the treasury, who contended that the order was a beneficial step for the reform of the civil service; that only those positions had been exempted that experience had shown could be filled best without examination, and that the change had not been made in the slightest degree at the instance of the spoilsmen. The president and Mrs. McKinley spent the summers of 1897 and 1899 at a popular resort on Lake Champlain, and in August of the latter year the president made an eloquent address at the Catholic summer school, Cliff Haven, N. Y., in the course of which, referring to the condition of affairs in the Philippine islands, he said:

“Rebellion may delay, but it can never defeat the American flag’s blessed mission of liberty and humanity.” Later, at the Ocean Grove Assembly, New Jersey, McKinley remarked: “There has been doubt expressed in some quarters as to the purpose of the government respecting the Philippines. I can see no harm in stating it in this presence. Peace first, then, with charity for all, the establishment of a government of law and order, protecting life and property, and occupation for the well-being of the people, in which they will participate under the Stars and Stripes.” The president’s message to congress in December, 1899, was cordially received and very generally commended throughout the country.

During the year 1900 the volume of currency per capita was the greatest in the history of the nation; the total money of the country on September 1 amounted to over two billions and ninety-six millions of dollars. Industrial and agricultural conditions advanced in prosperity in every section of the United States. Under these benign conditions the nation had also become a money-lending instead of a money-borrowing country. The national and international questions which arose during the year were of a most serious nature, but were solved by President McKinley and his cabinet with unusual sagacity, and with results of the highest importance to the United States and to the world at large.

The original Philippine commission, headed by President Jacob G. Schurman, submitted its full report on January 31, 1900. On February 6 President McKinley selected Judge William H. Taft to head a new commission, which was completed by March 16, and reached Manila on June 3. The laborious endeavors of the Taft commission began to bear fruit, and on September 1, under its direction, civil government was inaugurated in the archipelago. A vital death-stroke was dealt the insurrectionists by the capture of the rebel dictator, Aguinaldo, in March, 1901, by Gen. Funston and a small band of men, who achieved success through stratagem and disguise.

Early in the summer of 1900 the civilized world was startled by news that the foreign legations at Peking, China, were besieged by an angry horde of celestials. A secret society, commonly known as "Boxers," determined upon the extermination of all foreigners in the Chinese empire. For a time wild reports were current that the entire legations and their charges had been massacred. On July 20 the first official news to the contrary was received at Washington from United States Minister Conger. Europe doubted its authenticity, but further developments showed it to be genuine. The events which began with the destruction of the forts at Taku and ended with the capture of Peking by the allied forces of Europe and the United States in

August are a matter of contemporary history, in the making of which President McKinley and the United States played a conspicuous part. The president's moral influence for justice and fairness to China in her difficulties, resulting from the rashness of her misguided rulers and people, has been second to none among the leaders of the world's great nations.

Among the more important measures which Mr. McKinley forwarded during 1900 and early in 1901 the following may be mentioned: An established government for Porto Rico and the Philippines; the redemption of the pledge of the United States to Cuba for the inauguration of independent civil rule in the island; a reorganization of the army of the United States; extension of the American merchant marine; the construction of the Nicaragua Canal; and the signing of reciprocity treaties with various European powers.

At the Republican National Convention which was held in Philadelphia in June, 1900, President McKinley was unanimously renominated for a second term, and Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, was likewise nominated unanimously for the vice-presidency. Their Democratic opponents were, respectively, William Jennings Bryan and Adlai E. Stevenson. At the election on November 6 the Republican candidates were elected,

having carried twenty-eight states with 292 electoral votes. Their plurality of the popular vote was nearly a quarter of a million greater than in 1896. The members of the cabinet were all reappointed, but in March, 1901, Mr. Griggs resigned, and was succeeded by Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania as attorney-general. On April 29, accompanied by Mrs. McKinley, his cabinet, and other officials, the president left Washington on an excursion to the Pacific coast *via* New Orleans. On the day following, speaking at Memphis, Mr. McKinley said:

“What a mighty, resistless power for good is a united nation of free men! It makes for peace and prestige, for progress and liberty. It conserves the rights of the people and strengthens the pillars of the government, and is a fulfillment of that more perfect union for which our Revolutionary fathers strove, and for which the constitution was made. No citizen of the republic rejoices more than I do at this happy state, and none will do more within his sphere to continue and strengthen it. Our past has gone into history. No brighter one adorns the annals of mankind. Our task is for the future. We leave the old century behind us, holding on to its achievements and cherishing its memories, and turn with hope to the new, with its opportunities and obligations. These we must meet, men of the South, men of the North, with high purpose and

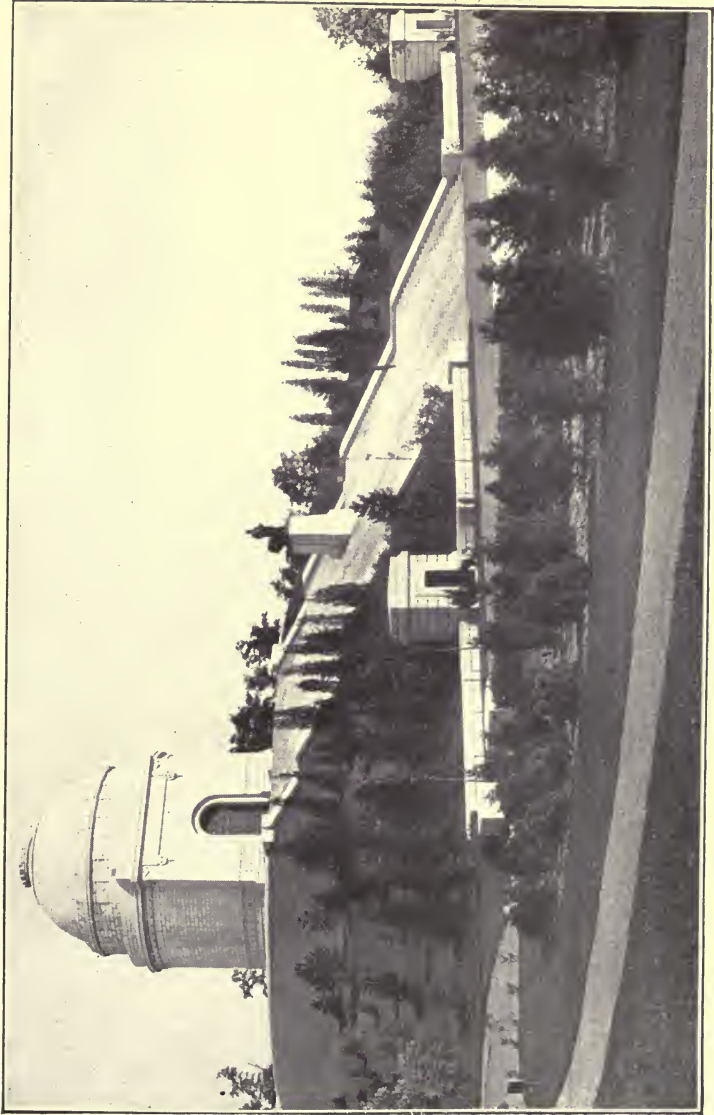
resolution. Without internal troubles to distract us or jealousies to disturb our judgment, we will solve the problems which confront us untrammled by the past, and wisely and courageously pursue a policy of right and justice in all things, making the future, under God, even more glorious than the past."

Early in the autumn of 1901 the president, accompanied by Mrs. McKinley and several members of his cabinet, visited the Buffalo (N. Y.) exposition. On Thursday, September 5, he delivered an address embodying the ripest wisdom of his long and prosperous political career. It gathered together the experience of his many years of service to the country, and announced in clear, strong language the policy which was to guide him in the future, and which his successor afterward publicly adopted as his own. The speech is not merely an expression of the personal views of the president, however statesmanlike these may be; it is more than that; it is a sound statement of the actual problems involved in the new position which, under his own wise guidance, our country has assumed in the world. It is in a sense Mr. McKinley's legacy to his native land, and as such it should be appreciated and preserved by every patriotic American. On Friday afternoon, in the music hall of the exposition, while receiving his fellow-citizens, he was twice shot by an assassin, who was executed for the

crime during the following month. The president lingered until early on Saturday morning, September 14. Funeral services were held in Buffalo, and on Thursday, September 19, which was by President Roosevelt appointed a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States. On that day the body lay in state in the national Capitol, and was followed by a public funeral. At the same time unprecedented honors were paid to the memory of McKinley in St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, London, as well as in other parts of the Old World. The dead president's body was temporarily laid to rest in Canton, Ohio, where his widow resided. Probably none of his predecessors during their terms of office enjoyed as great popularity as William McKinley, and it may be safely asserted that the death of no other president was more universally mourned among his countrymen. A noble national monument was erected to his memory in Canton September 30, 1907, and was dedicated in the presence of President Roosevelt and several members of his cabinet.\* See "Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley," compiled by Joseph P. Smith (New York, 1893); the "Life of Major McKinley," by Robert P. Porter (Cleveland, 1896); and

\* The author of the original article, who was chosen by President McKinley, having died in February, 1898, the additions covering the period after that date and some earlier were made by the editor of this work.





*Charles Henry Nicholas, Sculptor*

MEMORIAL TO WILLIAM MCKINLEY, CANTON, OHIO. DEDICATED SEPTEMBER 30, 1907



“Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley, from 1897 to 1901” (New York, 1900).

Major McKinley married, January 25, 1871, Miss Ida Saxton, daughter of James A. and Catherine Dewalt Saxton. Her grandparents were among the founders of Canton; her father was a banker, who, after giving his eldest daughter many advantages of education and travel, began her business training as cashier in his bank, that she might be fitted for any change in fortune. Two daughters were born to them, but both died in early childhood. Mrs. McKinley's health, not robust at any time, never completely rallied from these deaths in quick succession. Although not strong, she successfully discharged the social obligations demanded by her position and her husband's prominence in public affairs. She died May 26, 1907.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

BY

OWEN WISTER





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*Theodore Roosevelt*





# THEODORE ROOSEVELT

## I

Until the inauguration of THEODORE ROOSEVELT, forty-seven was the age of our youngest president, General Grant. With the further exceptions of Polk, Pierce, Garfield, and Cleveland, no other had been under fifty. Roosevelt was not quite forty-three. Of twenty-seven presidents, he was the fifth whom death, instead of election, placed in the White House.

Theodore Roosevelt was born October 27, 1858, in his father's house, which was No. 28 East 20th Street, New York city. Like most of his predecessors in office, he comes of a family which has been American since early colonial times. For two hundred and fifty years New York has been the native soil of the Roosevelts. Since they made their beginnings in the colonies, they have been plentifully represented in public life and in good works; and a study of former Roosevelts shows them to have attained distinction as fighters, as writers, in politics, and in philanthropy. It would seem that President Roosevelt drew from all these ancestral sources the qualities that have so forcibly marked his career.

His boyhood was passed chiefly in the city of his birth, and it was here that he received his early schooling. In that day the health of his body seems to have been fragile; the ordinary games of boys were beyond his strength. But it is evident there could have been no weakness in the health of his mind. Perceiving the necessity for a vigorous constitution, he set himself to the getting of one. From this purpose he seems never to have swerved, and by the time he was ready to enter Harvard College he had begun to be robust.

His four years of college life show his character and tendencies as completely as does any period which has followed them. His energies were directed to bodily exercise, to study, and to all the social advantages that Boston afforded him. Although conspicuous in no single athletic sport, he was energetic in a variety, sparring and horsemanship being among them. His knowledge of sparring, besides the general benefit that it was to him, proved at least upon one later occasion in the West of particular service, and enabled him most successfully to surprise a typical saloon bully who had attempted to take liberties with him. As a student, he was as attentive and energetic as in muscular exercise; and here also, though not conspicuous in any one branch, he devoted himself with industry to several, political history being perhaps the chief of these. He read "The Federalist" with especial

interest and attention, and his mind evidently turned as by instinct to such questions and problems as our republic has solved already, or has still to solve. During his college course he was an editor of the "Harvard Advocate," in whose columns he made his first appearances in print. Besides political history, he continued an interest in natural history, which had been begun in those boyhood days when he was in search of health, and studied the birds of his country neighborhood near Oyster Bay. He was graduated in 1880, a student of sufficiently high rank to make him a member of the Phi Beta Kappa society.

Upon leaving college he traveled in Europe, and here also his time may be said to have been divided between study and hard physical exercise. This latter was mainly in Switzerland, where he climbed, among other peaks, the Matterhorn. Upon his return from Europe, where he had been absent for about a year, he studied law for a time in the office of his uncle, Robert B. Roosevelt. This was in the year 1881, which saw him attend his first primary and also write his first book, "A History of the War of 1812." The book was the beginning of an eminent literary career, as the primary was the beginning of a political career still more eminent.

It is said that applause was the only result of Roosevelt's first political speech, somewhat to his

surprise. His entire inexperience led him to mistake the clapping of hands for a conversion of morals; but the approval was only a good-natured and half-ironic encouragement to a young beginner who seemed in his innocence to be advocating reform, and it went no further—the morals and the votes remained as if Mr. Roosevelt had not existed. Nevertheless, he had made an impression. Very soon after this first attempt there was a revolt in his district, the Twenty-first. Dissatisfaction with some of the leaders led to a split, and the party in revolt chose Roosevelt as their candidate to the assembly.

The close of 1881 saw Theodore Roosevelt a member of the New York Assembly from the Twenty-first district, and identified so closely with the cause of decent politics, and so plainly a type of clean patriot, as to win from his opponents, the routine politicians, the men with no creed save their pocket, the name of Silk Stockings.

With such a name the politicians of the pocket expected that the young reformer's career would be short-lived. To their somewhat limited vision he had everything against him. He was highly educated; he came of a line of forefathers who had been well-to-do, and also public spirited for the sake of the common welfare instead of for their own; and he belonged to what is called Society. These were heavy odds, in their opinion, against a

man being useful to his country and harmful to themselves, and so they dismissed him with the term Silk Stocking. But they reckoned without the American people, who, when it comes to the point, are fond of honesty. The young reformer had a strong equipment. He had made himself physically vigorous. His determination was implacable. He had studied government with all the earnestness of his character. He had visited foreign places and returned possessing a knowledge of other countries, and hence, through power to make practical comparisons, the key to a proper understanding of his own. And to this very rich equipment he added the true spirit of democracy, recognizing merit wherever he met it. Such a man was Theodore Roosevelt when he went to Albany at the age of twenty-three, the youngest assemblyman in New York. To the surprise and distaste of the purse politicians he was twice re-elected to the legislature, serving the terms of 1882, 1883, and 1884, and coming to be the leader of the minority.

One of the chief measures for cleanliness in which he played a leading part was abolishing the fees in the office of the register and county clerk. Through the investigation which he then originated, it came to light that the county clerk took \$82,000 a year in fees, and that the sheriff pocketed about \$100,000. These traditional thefts were ended

through Mr. Roosevelt's agency. Through him was abolished the power of the New York board of aldermen to confirm or reject the mayor's appointments. He also secured the passage of the civil-service reform law of 1884. Besides these achievements he put through the anti-tenement cigar-factory bill. A police investigation would have been instituted under his inspiration had he longer remained an assemblyman. Such an activity as this naturally got him many enemies among the purse politicians; nevertheless, in 1884, he had made such strong friends that he was sent to the republican national convention. It was as a supporter of Mr. Edmunds in opposition to Mr. Blaine that he went to Chicago.

In this same year of 1884 he joined the National Guard of New York, beginning as lieutenant in the Eighth regiment, and ending as captain. His service in the militia somewhat exceeded four years in duration, and was most useful to him as a preparation for his more important activity in the Spanish war of 1898.

Also in the year of 1884 came a crisis in Mr. Roosevelt's career. Upon Mr. Blaine's becoming the republican candidate for president, those friends of Mr. Roosevelt whose faith in him had been based upon his political independence were turned against him because of his adherence to his party's choice. Although he has been known to

say that he does not count party allegiance among the Ten Commandments, it is nevertheless his belief that breaking with one's party should be a step of the last resort; that in nine cases out of ten more effective good can be rendered by remaining with one's party even while not in total agreement with it. Mr. Roosevelt declined to join that movement of republicans which elected Mr. Cleveland. The enmity from former friends which he incurred by this has been as bitter, and sometimes almost as harmful, as the enmity which he has always had from purse politicians.

Before this time Roosevelt had traveled in the West. He now returned there and became a ranchman at Medora on the Little Missouri. Of his experiences in the Rocky Mountains much has been said; it is enough to say here that they made a picturesque episode in Roosevelt's life, added to his knowledge and his love of the American people and to their knowledge and love of him. From these years he also drew the inspiration and the material for his books about western life, which were the first complete picture of this life that had appeared in literature. Mr. Roosevelt returned East in 1886.

He was now again called into the world of politics, and became a candidate for mayor of New York. He had accepted an independent nomination, and upon this was indorsed by the republican

party. He was defeated by Mr. Hewitt, but he polled relatively a larger vote than any republican candidate had done up to that time. As usual, no activities, whether those of a wilderness hunter or those of a republican candidate for office, caused his pen to be idle. In this year he wrote his "Life of Thomas H. Benton," and in the following year his "Life of Gouverneur Morris." As to his literary style, it should perhaps be remarked that the themes which he has usually chosen do not call for all the resources of expression that he has at command. Force, simplicity, clearness, and, when necessary, incisive satire, are the qualities which his historic, political, and critical writings reveal; but besides these characteristics he can use, when he needs it, considerable poetic subtlety. No man who had not in him somewhere a strain of the artist could have made the remark which he did about the Western Bad Lands, that they resembled in appearance the sound of the language used by Edgar Allan Poe.

After his contest for the mayoralty of New York, though he was to be nine years in the public service, no elective office was offered him until he ran for governor of the state. In 1889 he was appointed by President Harrison a member of the United States civil service commission.

As his life had been at Albany, so it now was in Washington—a struggle for honesty against the purse politicians. His methods here were the same



as those which had surprised and dismayed the legislatures of New York. They were (as they have always been) characterized by a directness and candor which on the face of them appeared to be based upon inexperience or ignorance, but which were in reality based upon extremely shrewd and adroit observation. Mr. Roosevelt added twenty thousand places to the scope of the reform law, and so admirable was his work altogether that President Harrison has said of it: "If he had no other record than his service as an employee of the civil service commission, he would be deserving of the nation's gratitude and confidence." Mr. Cleveland, upon succeeding Mr. Harrison as president, retained Roosevelt, and thus his work continued for two years more, until May 1, 1895, when he resigned to become president of the Police board of New York city.

Besides his other labors, while in Washington, he had begun what he considers his most important literary work, "The Winning of the West," and had also written many fugitive articles upon the subjects of natural history and politics.

For nearly two years he was president of the Police board of New York city, where, as usual, he set himself to the cleaning of the corruption and the blackmail with which he found the entire department rotten. His measures produced the natural outcry of rage from the politicians with

whose pockets he began materially to interfere, and his enforcement of the excise law was for a while unfavorably looked upon by many of his friends. But he was of President Grant's opinion, that if you desire the repealing of a bad law you had better enforce it; and enforce the excise law he did. But his new ways, which so disgusted the politicians, delighted the policemen, who soon recognized in him their best friend. His midnight visits to all sorts of streets and haunts in a sort of incognito, in order that he might be able to see with his own eyes how his orders were being carried out, came to be liked more than they were feared; while his instant recognition and rewarding of any bravery shown by a policeman while in the course of duty still more endeared him to the force. It is recorded that until Roosevelt's time if any policeman happened to ruin his clothes through the process of making an arrest the price of a new suit came out of his own pocket. Roosevelt remedied this injustice, and a new suit was furnished at the public expense.

On April 6, 1897, he was again called to Washington, this time to serve as assistant secretary of the navy. In this office he spent just one year and one month. To his immense energy and intelligent knowledge of what was required to make a navy efficient in time of war are largely due the successes which attended our captains in 1898. In that

WHITE HOUSE,  
WASHINGTON.

Nov 25<sup>th</sup> 1901

My dear General Wilson,

Thanks for  
your kind note. When  
you are next in  
Washington be sure to  
let me see you.

With regard,

sincerely yours  
Theodore Roosevelt

[ Fac-simile letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Gen. James Grant Wilson ]

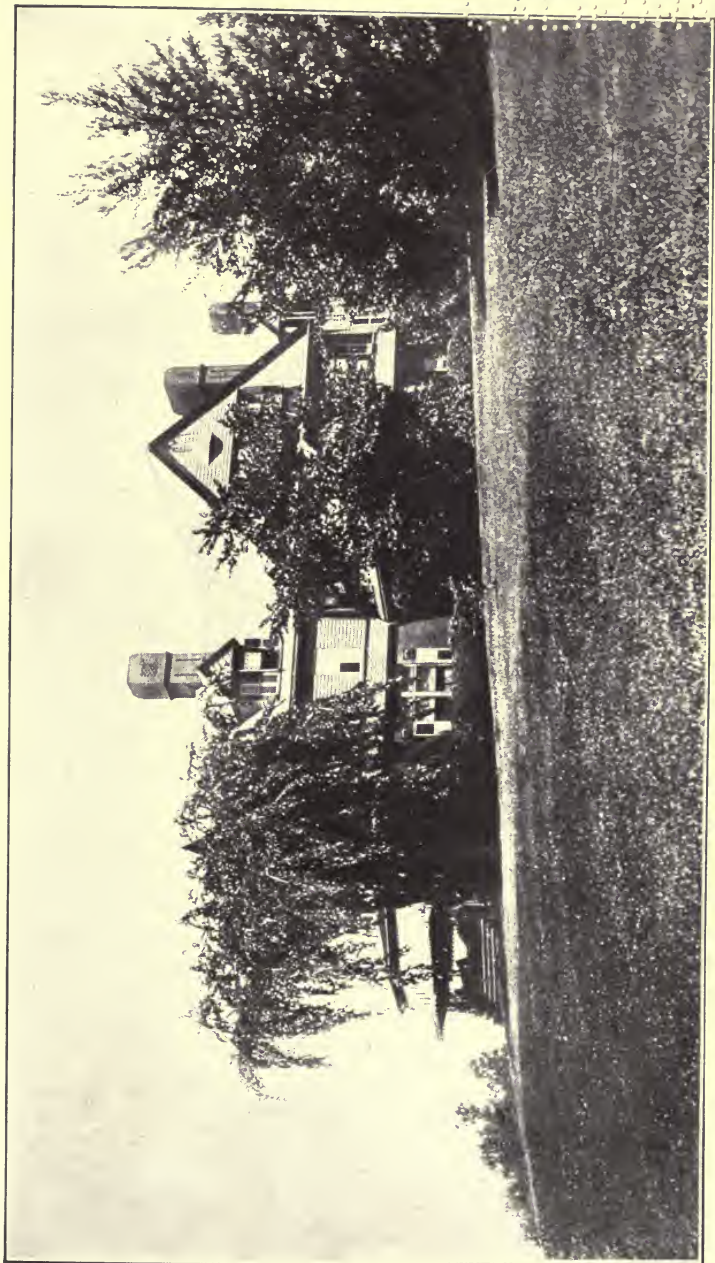


year, and on May 6, Theodore Roosevelt resigned his position as assistant secretary of the navy. War had been declared against Spain, and for every reason he was moved to take a personal part in the contest. He felt that any man who had talked so much and written so much about the duty and the necessity of defending one's country should make good his words by deeds.

His apprenticeship in the New York militia now served him in good stead. With Leonard Wood as colonel and himself as lieutenant-colonel the first cavalry regiment of United States volunteers was organized. Owing partly to the unusual and picturesque *personnel* of the enlisted men, comprising young fellows from Newport and cowboys from the West, united in a brotherhood of patriotism and adventure, each discovering that one was as good as the other, and also partly owing to the personality and the capabilities of Roosevelt and Wood, this regiment became undoubtedly one of the popular heroes of the Spanish war. Even the name of Dewey will hardly live more upon the lips and in the hearts of the people than the name of the Rough Riders. Their part at San Juan was an unusually brilliant one for a volunteer regiment in its first campaign; and when the war was over Mr. Roosevelt found himself a national figure, and also the center of popular enthusiasm in his own state. It was not possible for his political enemies

to stand up against the fervor which the name of Roosevelt instantly aroused upon any occasion; and, little to the relish of these politicians, they were obliged to accept him as the candidate of the republican party for governor of New York. In the fall of 1898, at the age of thirty-nine, Theodore Roosevelt was chosen to this office. It is singular to contemplate his two kinds of enemies. These were, on the one hand, the rabble of dishonesty and ring politics that he had been successfully fighting and thwarting since the beginning of his career, and, on the other, certain supercivilized citizens of Boston and New York, whose inflamed consciences had developed into tumors. The "New York Journal" and the "Evening Post" have at various times denounced Mr. Roosevelt with equal bitterness, concealing as much as possible his successes and exaggerating as much as possible his failures.

No one knew better than the governor that his work in the cause of honesty in New York was scarcely begun in the spring of 1900. Some things he had certainly accomplished, and in some efforts he had distinctly failed. These events draw too near the present time to demand recapitulation. But it must be stated by way of reminder how greatly he deprecated the notion of being taken from his work in New York for any reason whatever. Events, however, are stronger than any man's opinion; and in looking back upon the popu-



SAGAMORE HILL, OYSTER BAY, LONG ISLAND, THE HOME OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

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lar determination that Theodore Roosevelt should be the next vice-president, the religious mind is tempted to see in this the hand of a foreseeing and guiding Providence. The attention of our country has too often been careless in the choice of a vice-president. Totally against his will, therefore, but entirely beyond his control, the sweep of his popularity brought him the republican nomination.

On March 4, 1901, Theodore Roosevelt became Vice-President of the United States. He held this office six months and ten days. On Friday, September 6, 1901, President McKinley was shot at Buffalo; he died on Saturday, the 14th of the same month. This tragedy brought upon Roosevelt suddenly the greatest responsibilities which a man's shoulders can be called upon to bear. At Buffalo, upon that day, at the residence of Mr. Wilcox, Elihu Root, the secretary of war, requested, for reasons of weight connected with the administration of the government, that Mr. Roosevelt take the oath as president at once. Mr. Roosevelt replied: "I shall take the oath of office in obedience to your request, sir, and in doing so it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley, which has given peace, prosperity, and honor to our beloved country." These words were not long in spreading far and wide, and their effect produced at once a confidence as far and wide. In the presence of all the cabinet, save

the secretary of state and the secretary of the navy, the oath was taken, Judge Hazel of the United States District Court administering it. The new president hereupon said: "In order to help me keep the promise I have taken, I would ask all the cabinet to retain their positions at least for some months to come. I shall rely upon you, gentlemen, upon your loyalty and fidelity to help me." The sentiment of these words also produced a happy effect upon the nation; and a few days later, in Washington, President Roosevelt made clear his desire that no changes should occur in the cabinet. The members of it were John Hay, secretary of state; Lyman J. Gage, secretary of the treasury; Elihu Root, secretary of war; John D. Long, secretary of the navy; Ethan A. Hitchcock, secretary of the interior; James Wilson, secretary of agriculture; Philander C. Knox, attorney-general; Charles Emory Smith, postmaster-general. Upon the same Saturday that he took the oath, President Roosevelt issued the following:

"MILBURN HOUSE, BUFFALO,

*"September 14, 1901.*

*"By the President of the United States, A Proclamation:*

"A terrible bereavement has befallen our people.

"The President of the United States has been struck down; a crime committed not only against

the chief magistrate but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen.

“President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow-men, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death will remain forever a precious heritage of our people. It is meet that we, as a nation, express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow for his untimely death.

“Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do appoint Thursday next, September 19, the day in which the body of the dead president will be laid in its last earthly resting-place, as a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States. I earnestly recommend all the people to assemble on that day in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay out of full hearts their homage of love and reverence to the great and good president, whose death has smitten the nation with bitter grief.”

The acts of President Roosevelt since the date of his oath belong with his acts before his last exalted office came to him. The best comment upon them is the confidence in his administration

already shown throughout the country. Whatever displeasure political circles may have taken in learning Theodore Roosevelt's determination to exclude political influence from the army, the navy, and the colonies, must resemble the displeasure that political circles have invariably taken at every step in his career at learning that he proposed, so far as lay within the scope of his power, to see that merit, and merit only, was rewarded, and that honesty, and honesty only, was practised. His intentions regarding rural free delivery service in the post-office department correspond with his well-known views as to civil service reform.

It may be said that his most important acts have not been those to create the greatest comment. One of his least important acts, namely, inviting as a guest to his table a distinguished and honorable member of the colored race, occasioned an outburst of temper from southern newspapers the folly of which reaches such dimensions as to be historical.

His first annual message to Congress, December 3, 1901, was, as could be expected, entirely like himself and wholly unlike most of the preceding documents of this class. Abstract sentiments were few; concrete convictions were many and unequivocally expressed. Its length was immediately forgotten in its interest. Its style was of a very close texture; it was the number and importance of its topics that made it long. Among the many vital

themes for legislative attention, such as anarchy, the so-called trusts, the army, the navy, the tariff, and civil-service reform—to mention no more—there was vagueness in only one, namely, the question of ship subsidy. Perhaps no human mind could achieve so much expression of opinion about existing conditions and future policy without some slight dislocation of logic somewhere. In speaking of the Philippines, the message says: "What has taken us thirty generations to achieve we can not expect to see another race accomplish out of hand." This is surely true. But in speaking of the Indian tribes, the message says: "The Indian should be treated as an individual, like the white man." Placed next to each other, these two statements contain elements of humor; perhaps had they been called to his attention, Mr. Roosevelt would have expressed them differently.

To describe Theodore Roosevelt as a man of action is true, but is not the whole truth; to describe him as a man of letters is equally true, but is not the whole truth. It is not possible for contemporary judgment adequately to estimate him; to esteem him is easy indeed. It should not go unremarked that he stood on September 14 more unshackled by prejudice than has generally been possible for one in his position. For him the way was unimpeded by extorted promises, and lay clear to

work out his duties and his aspirations. It was a day to be full of hope.

The chief accomplishments of what Mr. Roosevelt preferred to call his first administration, instead of calling it the unexpired term of his predecessor, are at present, in the general estimate, outweighed by certain steps more peculiarly and individually his own; and it is likely they will be thus outweighed in the future also; for the accomplishments ended some uncertainties, whereas the steps began some uncertainties. Among the accomplishments should be named the final settlement of the troubles concerning the Alaskan boundary, an important controversy to see satisfactorily terminated. The establishing of the Cuban "reciprocity" is another, not, perhaps, of equal, but of considerable dimensions. The Panama canal question is a third, and it would be difficult to overestimate the value of this. The circumstances under which it was achieved, the recognition, on the part of the United States, of the Panama government as an independent one, brought, not surprisingly, criticism from certain quarters. This place is not the place to answer, but merely to record, such criticism; but it may be said that much lay beneath the surface at that moment which has at no moment since come to public light, and which, if it should ever come, would go far toward changing for any adverse (and honest) critics the unfavorable aspect of

the incident; nor does the fact that we had strength upon our side while there was weakness on the other, of itself constitute wrong on our part, as some of the adverse critics have eccentrically elected to assume.

The steps taken by Mr. Roosevelt during his first administration may be counted, for significance, as two: the suit he caused to be brought against that combination of railroad interests known as the Northern Securities, and the commission which he occasioned to be appointed to hear and judge the merits of the coal strike in Pennsylvania. As has already been remarked, these proceedings are more likely to be identified, in the general mind of the future, with Mr. Roosevelt's name, than any of the above mentioned "accomplishments" of his first administration, not excepting the incalculably important Panama incident. Both steps were, at bottom, outcomes of the same vigilance; Mr. Roosevelt is more avowedly and keenly alive than any other patriot in public life to the sinister menace to the stability of our government which lies in *combinations*, whether they be combinations of "labor" or of "capital." It is too soon to say what good or what harm these steps have done; but to any American mind (save the mind of an American corporation) it is becoming clear as day that if the corporations pursue and complete their growing control of legislatures, our

Republic will change to a syndicate and self-government will explode. For our increasing and wholesome anxiety about this, Mr. Roosevelt is to be honored, whatever imperfections may be found in his corrective machinery so far as it has gone. An equally great, if not greater, service has been rendered to the whole country by Mr. Roosevelt's "Strike Commission," which not even his friends have had the wit to point out. His apparent siding with "labor" on that occasion led "labor" to commit so many arrogant outrages that the scales fell from the hitherto blind and sentimental public eye, and it was seen that "labor" could become just as dangerous a public enemy as could "capital." At all events, to sum up, Mr. Roosevelt was in November, 1904, elected president by the largest majority which the history of our nation records; upon which he announced that he considered this his second term.

## II

The foregoing was written and published in 1905, and such few opinions as were therein expressed may stand as then set down—even though the eight momentous years which have followed since show that if the public eye saw "labor" in its true light for a day, the public mind forgot it the



next day, and has remained on the whole as confused, weak and sentimental as it was before: the American people seldom remembers anything over night, and this shortness of memory is a hindrance to any enlightened public opinion almost as grave as if our ninety million citizens were born half-witted. From time to time the insolences, the destructions and the murders inspired by "labor," called forth from Mr. Roosevelt words of the plainest import—as plain as those which he used about the tyrannies of "capital": as when, for instance, the book-binders' union undertook to order the United States to dismiss from its employment a man named Miller; as when upon another occasion he uttered the sharp homely phrase that "the door of the White House swings open for the poor just as easily as for the rich, and not a bit easier"; as when in April, 1907, he coupled the miscreants of "capital" and "labor" together, denouncing a certain railroad magnate, with Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and other leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, as "undesirable citizens"; or as when, some time after his presidency, in an editorial entitled "Murder is Murder," he gave its true character to the assassination of some twenty men at work in the Times building at Los Angeles. But for the unexpected confession of the "laboring" men responsible for this crime, Justice would undoubtedly have been cheated as

completely as it was in the case of the murder of the governor of Idaho some years earlier.

Rich and poor become dangerous alike whenever they are able to defy the law (as the rich attempted in the Northern Securities) or to make the law not apply to themselves (as in the exemption of labor unions from the operation of the Sherman anti-trust law—the very same which the rich finally had to obey in the Northern Securities case); it is neither riches nor poverty, but unchecked power, which constitutes the evil and the menace to the State. If analysis of Mr. Roosevelt's enemies be made to-day, these will be found to fall into two chief groups, apparently contradictory; one of money and one of labor, one whose flag may be symbolized by the tape that flows from the stock-broker's "ticker," and one that waves the red flag of general destruction. But these two are not really contradictory. In their excess they are identical. It is at their excess that Mr. Roosevelt struck. By all these excessives is he hated, by the Harrimans who would be above the law, by the Haywoods who would destroy the law.

Certain recurrent features necessarily mark all administrations, certain similar laws and treaties, which continue to be made because they continue in the nature of things to be required; an account of these would hardly distinguish one president from another. Apart from the foreign treaties ratified

during Mr. Roosevelt's second term, significant chiefly in the number of them which provide for arbitration and in the fact that they are so numerous because our points of contact with the rest of the world have increased so rapidly since the Spanish War of 1898—apart from these, Mr. Roosevelt's second term is marked strongly by three main trends of policy:

He did not wish corporations and financiers to be *hobbled*, but to be properly *harnessed*.

He did not wish the laboring man to be a pampered pet, but to be treated as a human being by those who employed him.

He did not wish our waterways and other natural resources (including children) to be disused or misused, but to be cherished and developed for the benefit of the present and the future.

If to these three leading subjects of concern to Mr. Roosevelt, be added the Panama Canal, our relations with South America, and the Army and Navy, most of what was important during his second Administration will be included and classified.

His cabinet, which underwent many changes during the four years, stood thus on March 6, 1905: Secretary of State, John Hay; Secretary of the Treasury, Leslie M. Shaw; Secretary of War, William H. Taft; Attorney-General, William H. Moody; Postmaster-General, George B. Cortelyou; Secretary of the Navy, Paul Morton; Secre-

tary of the Interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson; Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Victor H. Metcalf. Charles W. Fairbanks was Vice-President.

The first change occurred in four months, when Charles J. Bonaparte succeeded Paul Morton as Secretary of the Navy.

No fair account of Mr. Roosevelt's character and public services could fail to be a eulogy such as but two out of his twenty-four predecessors have deserved. Washington and Lincoln are benefactors with whom he is to be classed without being compared. But no fair account of Mr. Roosevelt should fail to allude to some of those public mistakes into which impulse has led him more than once.

Paul Morton was a personal friend. Mr. Roosevelt had seen something of him while on a western journey, and knew him to be endowed with good business powers. Needing a capable Secretary of the Navy, he invited him to take this portfolio; and no doubt Mr. Morton could have made an admirable Secretary. But how should a man directly involved in railroad transactions, to prohibit which Mr. Roosevelt was at that moment doing his utmost to have special laws enacted, be with any propriety a member of the cabinet? Unfavorable comment was here justified, and thus the change was made. This sort of mistake, sometimes grave, sometimes not important, has always been for-

given by the people, because they know Mr. Roosevelt. A sometimes misleading enthusiasm about friends, an occasional failure to judge the character of a man or the propriety of an act, do not impair the popular conviction that at bottom Mr. Roosevelt is generally right. There was bewilderment in 1910 when he spoke in Boston in favor of Senator Lodge, whose politics were utterly at variance with his own; but even this piece of perfect inconsistency was soon understood and laid to the door of old friendship, where it belonged.

A still more important change in the cabinet was when Elihu Root succeeded John Hay as Secretary of State, July 20, 1905. Throughout Mr. Roosevelt's second term, Mr. Root rendered services to the country so sound and brilliant that the President repeatedly declared his Secretary to be the greatest statesman living of whom he had any knowledge. Leaving the service of corporations quite opposed to Mr. Roosevelt's policies, Mr. Root renounced a legal income many times larger than his salary, and, steering an entirely new course, dedicated his remarkable powers to the good of his country during nearly four years. But, before touching upon the achievements which so distinguished him, some other matters must receive brief notice.

During this first summer of the second term, in response to Mr. Roosevelt's invitation and offer of

his services, the envoys of Russia and Japan met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to conclude peace between their countries. Though diplomatic intrigue of foreign governments somewhat impaired this tribute to the United States and its President, the fact remains that this was the first time in our history that we took any such place or played any such part in the concert of nations. Such recognition was very largely due to the personal weight of Mr. Roosevelt. In consequence of his successful intercession he was in 1906 awarded the Nobel prize. With the sum thus received, forty thousand dollars, he endowed the Foundation for the promotion of Industrial Peace. A year later, March 2, 1907, an act was approved providing that the Chief Justice of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and their successors in office, together with a representative of labor and a representative of capital, and two persons to represent the general public to be appointed by the President, should be trustees of this Foundation, to hold the money and any other sums given for its purpose, namely, to obtain a better understanding between employers and employees.

7 Certain complications in the Moroccan coast were the next occasion to bring the United States into conference with foreign powers at Algeciras. This led to a treaty in April, 1906, ratified by the

Senate in December, and proclaimed in January, 1907, signed by representatives of twelve powers, providing for the governing, policing and financing of Morocco. Numerous international negotiations were ratified at this time: a supplementary extradition treaty with Great Britain, December 13, 1905; another with Japan, June 22, 1906; a copyright convention with Japan, February 28, 1906; and treaties upon various subjects with Roumania, San Marino, and Mexico. A convention with Great Britain providing for the survey of the Alaskan Canadian Boundary, April 26, 1906, was followed during the next few years by various understandings as to Canada, Alaska, and also the Newfoundland Fisheries—a long vexed question; the Senate early in 1909 ratified an agreement to submit this to The Hague Tribunal. At The Hague, by a treaty signed October 18, 1907, by representatives of practically all civilized nations, and ratified by the Senate early in the following April, a Permanent Court of Arbitration to sit at The Hague was established. Nine treaties regarding the customs and practices of war, signed at The Hague, were ratified by the Senate in 1908. Arbitration treaties with twelve nations—France, Switzerland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Portugal, Great Britain, Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan and Denmark—were ratified during the first half of 1908, as well as naturalization and extradi-

tion treaties with several countries, all of them Latin.

This brings us to Mr. Root and South America, with which portion of the Western Hemisphere our dealings have been marked from the beginning with crudeness and stupidity. Our bad manners toward neighbors are an English inheritance which we have considerably augmented. As a very natural consequence, our neighbors both to the north and south do not like us. When the Monroe Doctrine is considered, and our need of adjacent friends instead of enemies in case this doctrine should be forcibly disputed, a century of rudeness on our part does not help our already slender reputation for urbane statesmanship.

Some perception of the need to redeem ourselves had dawned upon preceding administrations. James G. Blaine, when Secretary of State, had presided over the first Pan-American Congress, held in Washington, in October, 1889. A second was called at Mexico twelve years later by Mr. McKinley, who was sensitive to the commercial disadvantages which our incivilities to our southern neighbors had brought upon us. The Third Pan-American Congress was in session at Rio de Janeiro from July 21 to August 26, 1906, and Mr. Root addressed the conference, not as a delegate, but as Secretary of State. Questions of naturalization were considered, but chiefly a plan of uni-



formity through laws relating to patents, copyrights, and trade-marks; chiefest of all, however, was the subject of arbitration, as it was also in the succeeding conference, held at Buenos Ayres in July and August four years later. Mr. Roosevelt's message to congress of December, 1905, had laid much stress upon the importance of arbitration as making for international peace, and Mr. Root's journey to South America six months later was undertaken with this object. His intellect, his skill and his address brought about the happiest results. It is too often our uncouth habit to commit our international affairs to hands partially or wholly unversed in the usages of civilization. But even the most well-meaning bull can accomplish but little good in a china shop, and diplomacy is a china shop, if ever there was one. Mr. Root "knew how to behave," if the phrase may be permitted, and he is a proof that our Democracy can produce, even if it be seldom willing to use, men whose training is equal to their intelligence. He was chosen honorary president of the conference of Rio de Janeiro. Later he visited Buenos Ayres, Santiago de Chile, Lima, and was guest of the Mexican Government at Mexico in September of the following year. Some of the results of these journeys were: the extension of the treaty of Mexico (January 30, 1902) regarding the arbitration of pecuniary claims, signed at Rio de Janeiro August

13, 1906, by representatives of the United States, Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Panama, Cuba, San Domingo, Peru, Salvador, Costa Rica, Mexico, Guatemala, Uruguay, Argentine, Nicaragua, Brazil and Chile. The work of the Bureau of American Republics was also greatly enlarged. In January, 1907, John Barrett was appointed its director. A year earlier Andrew Carnegie had given seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a building for this bureau, and an appropriation of two hundred thousand toward the purchase of a site had been made. To this some of the other republics also contributed. Later in 1907 Mr. Root acted as temporary chairman of a convention of five Central American States, assembled in Washington at the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and President Diaz to prepare treaties of peace and arbitration in consequence of hostilities between Honduras and Nicaragua. The slippery conduct of Colombia in regard to the project of the Panama Canal had driven Mr. Roosevelt during his first administration to "take Panama," as he phrased it some ten years later in a speech delivered in Philadelphia. The civilized world rejoices at this summary sweeping away of the intrigues which barred this great avenue of commerce; Mr. Roosevelt's enemies (both tropical and indigenious) have equally rejoiced to obscure and ignore the fact that he acted entirely within the

scope of the Treaty of New Granada. Had Mr. Roosevelt waited any longer for Colombia, the canal would be waiting still. You could as easily pin Colombia to any position, said Mr. Roosevelt, as you could "nail a piece of currant jelly to the wall."

After a month's conference in Washington in 1907, six treaties were drawn, in addition to an agreement being made for the establishment of a permanent international court, to be termed the Central American Court of Justice. Early in 1908 a convention signed August 23, 1906, in Rio de Janeiro was ratified by the Senate, providing for the establishment of an international commission of jurists to prepare draft codes of private and public international law regulating the relations between the nations of America. This was followed in June of the same year by a formal opening of a joint tribunal of arbitration which adjusted a dispute between Honduras, Guatemala and Salvador. The Sixtieth Congress (first session December 3, 1907, to May 30, 1908) had created already two new diplomatic posts, Honduras and Nicaragua, giving us a minister at each of the five Central American Republics. These provisions against disorders did not end disorders forever, but they furnished better means for dealing with them. The first arbitration treaty between the United States and South America was that signed

by Secretary Root and Mr. Pardo, the Peruvian Minister. We cannot here dwell upon the various troubles between ourselves and the South American countries or the troubles between themselves; but the adventurer Castro, of Venezuela, should not be wholly passed over. During the ferments in his unrestful country he had boiled up from the bottom, without antecedents, education or principle, but with some sort of savage force, owing to which he had come to the top, stayed on top, and finally usurped the dictatorship. He soon laid his hands upon some valuable asphalt properties which had been conceded with due legality to Americans. He declined to arbitrate the matter (July, 1907) and the High Federal Court of Venezuela, from which there was no appeal, subsequently annulled the concessions in obedience to his orders. On Castro's continued refusal to arbitrate, relations between the United States and Venezuela were broken off in June, 1908. Castro had that aversion to paying his debts which is common to adventurers, and in August the Netherlands prepared to take active measures in regard to some claims of theirs. This brought some private understanding between them and ourselves. A revolution in Venezuela, bloodless on this occasion, led to Castro's taking himself off to Europe; and we sent a special commissioner together with a fleet to Venezuela. That the various adjustments then made satisfactorily will

be permanent is fervently to be hoped. Our understanding with the Netherlands in 1908 was the logical sequel to a convention between ourselves and the Dominican Republic of February 25, 1907, ratified in June and proclaimed in July. There had been trouble in the collection and application of the customs revenues of San Domingo; and to obviate foreign interference for the payment of claims, the United States had undertaken in 1905 to administer the troubled finances of the country. Pending action by congress, a temporary arrangement was made in 1906, a special Commissioner was appointed, and the treaty of 1907 followed his report. Our Monroe Doctrine laid upon us this odd office of collecting and paying the debts of one South American nation, and it is to be hoped our responsibilities of this kind will not increase; in our foreign affairs there is no piece of equilibrium more unstable than the possible consequences of the Monroe Doctrine.

Trouble in Cuba had compelled Mr. Taft, Secretary of War, to go there on September 14, 1906, proclaim himself provisional governor and establish military rule. He was succeeded by Charles E. Magoon, an admirable, competent, much slandered and little recognized official. In his message to congress of December 3, Mr. Roosevelt cautioned Cuba that, "if the elections became a farce, and if the insurrectionary habit becomes confirmed on the

Island, it is out of the question that the Island should remain independent." This message also referred to another piece of unstable equilibrium in our foreign relations—namely, the issue between the United States Government and the State of California as regards Japan.

The question is thirty years old. California has objected to the coming of Asiatics to settle. Her objection has not always been based on the same grounds; Oriental immorality and racial incompatibility have been alleged; but a famous line in a famous poem, "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor" probably hits the truth. However they may differ from us in morals or in other traits, the Asiatics are more thrifty, more industrious, more efficient as laborers, and can live on less than Americans. One Chinese or Japanese servant in a house does the work of two or three servants of other nationalities, and it is the same with out-door labor. This has been true ever since George Washington characterized the American farmer as the most shiftless and wasteful that he knew. But California's contention that her state is for her own people and not for aliens, be they better or worse than native citizens, is not easily answered. The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1881. No other Asiatics were then considered. This is not the place to narrate the long and complicated story of the agitation, or the hand which the labor

unions took in the matter in 1906, when the Mayor of San Francisco excluded Japanese children from the public schools. The labor unions have become a worse enemy to California than the Southern Pacific railroad, and the advantages which they took over a prostrate community at the time of the earthquake in 1906 are almost unparalleled in bestial greed. But the only point which can be touched on here is, that in his message of December 3, 1906, to the 59th Congress, <sup>President</sup> Mr. Roosevelt declared that the Japanese in San Francisco should be treated justly and their rights must be enforced. Much excitement was caused in California by this declaration, and various inquiries, law-suits and investigations followed, bringing out, among other facts, that the school question was of far less importance than had been represented—only ninety-three Japanese scholars being in the schools—and that there had been attacks and boycotts of Japanese restaurants and citizens. Our treaty of 1893 with Japan had assured that nation a favorable treatment for its citizens during their stay in this country. Some interviews between authorities from California and the White House followed, some adjustments were made, and whatever irritation the newspapers of Japan and America had fomented was allayed by Mr. Taft when he visited Japan on his important journey round the world in 1907. In November of that year, Baron

Hayashi, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, made an official statement for publication on the relations of the two countries, for the purpose of checking misrepresentations calculated to mislead the public. The matter was then for the time quieted; but it is by no means yet settled, as recent occurrences have plainly shown. With us a divided opinion about California's attitude prevails. But that any State of the Union can at any moment disregard and impair the utility of a treaty made with a foreign nation by the United States is something about which opinion cannot be divided.

After his private audience at Tokio with the Emperor of Japan, October 2, 1907, when the California difficulty was smoothed down, Mr. Taft attended the first Philippine Congress, which he opened on October 16. On December 23 he delivered at St. Petersburg an address on the subject of world peace, and on the 20th he finished at New York his journey round the world.

Four days previous to his return, the Atlantic Fleet left Hampton Roads. Its journey was also to be round the world. The President reviewed it. His enemies were greatly shocked at this cruise. The fleet reached San Francisco by way of the Straits of Magellan; sailed on to Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, China and Manila; thence home by way of India, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean ports and Gibraltar. The voyage



took about a year and two months. Mr. Roosevelt's enemies have always been particularly shocked at anything suggested by him that was particularly useful. This cruise was of inestimable value in training for the fleet and in aiding to establish satisfactory relations with other countries. Three memorable journeys, Mr. Root's to South America, Mr. Taft's and the fleet's round the world, are to be counted as the most signally excellent steps of his administration apart from certain measures economic and humane carried through by his direction and influence. Mention should be made of a sanitary convention with eleven South American countries signed October 14, 1905, ratified May 29, 1906, and a more important arrangement of similar kind, concluded at Rome, December 9, 1907, and ratified February 10, 1908, with ten European nations and Egypt for the establishment and regulation of the international office of public health.

During the disturbances in South America and elsewhere, we had others at home, to some few of which allusion should be made. From March to July, 1906, there was a strike of bituminous coal miners sufficiently serious to call for the same sort of intervention from Mr. Roosevelt as the anthracite coal strike had occasioned during his first term. Of this earlier intervention and its unprecedented character, the heads of the coal railroad could not

think sufficiently ill; therefore it is worth while to record that later, when its effects were ascertained, Mr. George F. Baer, president of the Reading Railroad, publicly characterized it as the most beneficial thing that had ever happened to coal operators. Mr. Roosevelt had to deal with another strike in another manner in December of the year following, when he sent Federal troops to Goldfield, Nevada, to protect life and property from the violence inspired by the Western Federation of Miners. But a far worse trouble than either of these occurred at Fort Brown, Brownsville, Texas, the rights and wrongs of which were so confused in the public mind that Mr. Roosevelt's course was open to severer and more lasting criticism. On the night of August 13, 1906, a riot took place in which one citizen was killed, another wounded, and the Chief of Police seriously injured. Soldiers of the regular army—of a colored regiment—were accused of this by the townspeople. Bad blood had been existing for some time, and the theory (adopted by the Secretary of War after an investigation) was that from nine to twenty men from a battalion of 170 had planned this riot by way of revenge upon the civilians. A midnight sortie from barracks, a firing into certain houses, a return to their places in the ranks following a call to arms, appeared to be what had happened. But as silence and concealment impenetrably veiled

everything, the President ordered the entire battalion dismissed without honor, never to be employed again in the civil or military service of the Government. Now if regulars had indeed fired upon citizens in such circumstances, extreme and quick and very public punishment was imperative. But the sweeping severity of the order while the facts were in the dark was widely condemned. Mr. Roosevelt later regretted to a friend in private that he had not balanced his act with a court of inquiry for every commissioned officer at the Post. Such had been his impulse; the War Department dissuaded him from it. Congressional investigation followed, with much bitter oratory. In the end, February 23 and 27, 1909, Congress provided an opportunity for these negro soldiers of the 25th Infantry to make themselves eligible for reinstatement. This whole incident was a great chance for Mr. Roosevelt's enemies, by this time ravenously on the watch for any chance whatever, even the smallest. We must now take up those economic and humane policies which were the cause of this ravenousness: "Trusts," "Conservation," "Employers' Liability," "Pure Food," "Interstate Commerce"—here are the words which suffice to suggest what these various policies were.

*Policies Economic.* The conspicuous suit against the Northern Securities, brought by the Government during Mr. Roosevelt's first term under the

Sherman Anti-Trust law, to compel the divorce of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads has been already mentioned. Other suits—as for instance against the Tobacco Trust—were subsequently instituted: but in connection with this famous Sherman Law it must be most distinctly emphasized that Mr. Roosevelt has always, in constant messages and in other public utterances, urged that it be amended in such way as to define and direct its present altogether too general and sweeping scope. The divorce of the two systems in the Northern Securities was obviously “reasonable” from the public standpoint; the divorce of the Southern and Union Pacific, decreed in 1912, has been thought less “reasonable”; the situations were far from identical; yet logically, as the language of the Sherman Law now stands, the Court would have been obliged to interpolate some discretion of its own to escape its decision. The Court’s use of the word “reasonable” in another case was a manifest exercise of common sense in the opinion of many people—and was also bitterly assailed by many other people as an arbitrary piece of “judicial legislation.” It has been Mr. Roosevelt’s very sensible conviction that the language of no law should be able to place a Court in such a position. But so far, the Sherman Law stands unamended—to the great satisfaction of those who have no

property to lose, and the great peril of business stability in the United States.

The Elkins Anti-Rebate Law had been passed in February, 1903, during the first term: It provided against discriminating favors from railroads to big shippers. On June 29, 1906, was passed the Railroad Rate Regulation Act, enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, providing for the regulation of rates charged by carriers engaged in interstate commerce, forbidding the issue of passes, providing for the publication of schedules and rates, for complaints and hearings before the Commission, with a review by the courts, and imposing penalties. The Commission was enlarged so as to consist of seven members with terms of seven years at a salary of ten thousand each a year. By a joint resolution passed shortly before this act, the Interstate Commerce Commission was empowered to look into the ownership by railroads of stock in other corporations, especially coal and oil companies. These laws are likely to stand historically among our epoch-making legislation.

March 4, 1907, an act provided for the issue and redemption of paper currency. May 30 of the following year an "Act to amend the National Banking Laws" was approved, providing for the issue of emergency currency by currency associations, limiting the note issue to five hundred million. A

national monetary commission was also created—nine members from each house—to inquire and report as to our banking system. Later was proposed the plan known as the Aldrich Bill. Its provisions were so much better than anything we had or have, that it is highly unfortunate the unpopularity of Senator Aldrich should have prevented his bill from giving to his country the only national benefit it would ever have received from him. If our currency and banking system is to meet modern conditions intelligently (which it utterly fails to do at present) many of Mr. Aldrich's recommendations will have to be adopted.

*Policies Humane.* On June 11, 1906, was passed an act now known as the first "Employers' Liability Act," providing for the liability of common carriers by rail. The Supreme Court declared this unconstitutional. On April 22, 1908, another act was passed which has stood the test of the courts. By it railroads are held liable to their employees for death or injury caused by the negligence of the employers. This ended a doctrine of the common-law—the doctrine of "assumed risk"—established in days before steam and electricity had totally changed the conditions of transportation. The repeated messages of Mr. Roosevelt on this subject are responsible for the enlightened advance marked by the Act of 1908. These messages were also concerned with the necessity to

limit the power of the courts to enforce injunctions, and with the prohibition of child labor. A law about this latter for the District of Columbia was passed. On March 4, 1907, was passed "An Act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon." It made unlawful the permitting of any employee to remain on duty for more than sixteen consecutive hours. An Act of May 30, 1908, provided for compensation for injuries to Federal employees.

The month of June, 1906, is associated with another memorable step taken by Mr. Roosevelt in the direction of humane policy. It is the second time in our history that a novel has been the quickener of public changes. In other countries, works of fiction have frequently exerted a marked influence upon opinion. In our own, there had been no case of this since "Uncle Tom's Cabin" until the appearance of "The Jungle." This story by Mr. Upton Sinclair concerned the processes of meat-packing and the life of packers in Chicago; and beneath its sensational inaccuracies lay enough truth to set both America and England talking. It raised—and justly—a storm of excitement. England was as severely shocked as if her own skirts were spotless and she had never forced upon helpless China the opium grown in her Indian Empire. We differ from England in many ways,

being less civilized and less hypocritical. Our impulse to make a clean breast of it and rise to higher things is our most precious national characteristic, and no president has ever surpassed Mr. Roosevelt in fostering it. He sent for the author of "The Jungle" and talked with him. It was on June 30, 1906, that an act was passed, known as the Agricultural Appropriation Act, providing for inspection of meat and food products used in interstate or foreign commerce, and imposing penalties. That this law today does less good than it ought, and that our only strict inspection is of meats exported to foreign countries because foreign countries also subject the meat to inspection, is due to the eternal vigilance of American rascals and the eternal inattentiveness of the American people. We allow the Beef Trust to sell us inferior meat and send the good meat abroad, where less is paid for it than we pay for the scrapings. On the same day in June was passed another most valuable act, rendered of less value through the reactionary influence of Mr. Taft's administration, and known as the "Pure Food and Drugs Act." This forbade the manufacture, sale or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisoned or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines and liquors. In this case too the organized alertness of American rascals is triumphing over Democracy's unpiloted and helmless mind.



*Conservation.* More peculiarly his own than the South American, the Trust or even perhaps the humane policies, is Mr. Roosevelt's splendid attempt to stop the despoiling of our continent by water companies, land companies, lumber companies and all companies which would squat upon valuable fragments of the planet, and, keeping everybody out who could not pay excessive toll, selfishly exhaust natural supplies, regardless of the future's needs. Besides the forest reserves and regulations of timber cutting, the prevention of forest fires and provision for reforestation, a number of kindred matters fall under the general head of Conservation.

An Act providing for the preservation of Niagara Falls and prohibiting the diversion of water, except under certain conditions and with the consent of the Secretary of War, was passed June 29, 1906. If certain corporations using electric power end by having their way, Niagara Falls will be destroyed.

The improvement of inland waterways, repeatedly urged in Mr. Roosevelt's messages to Congress, was got at a little nearer by his appointment of the Waterways Commission, March 16, 1907. In May of the following year he invited a Conference of Governors at the White House to discuss this subject. The International Commission, composed of Americans and Canadians, had re-

ported in January. The Internal Commission had reported in February. The report was sent to Congress by the President with a special message, recommending that suitable provisions be made for improving the inland waterways of the United States at a rate commensurate with the needs of the people as determined by competent authorities. Congress failed to take any action, or to provide for the continued existence of the Commission; so Mr. Roosevelt continued it by executive act and reappointed the former members. The unpatriotic conduct of this sixtieth congress is readily explained: The railroads feared competition if the waterways were developed and the vivacities of Mr. Roosevelt's phraseology regarding the lobbyists and legislators who were blocking, or doing their best to block, his reform had sped too sharply and accurately to elicit anything but rage from the particular and numerous individuals whom these barbed generalities struck. Besides the term "undesirable citizens," he had coined another, "the predatory rich," and he had spoken of a "rich men's conspiracy" against all such measures as the publicity of corporation finances, the control of Trusts, and the various policies fiscal, humane and conservational which he was forcing or attempting to force through Congress. It had not been long since a senator from the West was caught and convicted in land dealings of a dishonest nature. Mr. Roose-

velt later named a senator from the South as implicated in transactions of a similar kind. And he then more than intimated that members of the Secret Service were needed to watch the conduct of our legislators at Washington. In consequence of his laws which impeded and his words which stung a great many "undesirable citizens," a sea of abuse now arose against him as violent as that which once assailed Washington and Lincoln. Some one has collected the vocabulary of this language; and to read it is sufficient proof that Mr. Roosevelt is a great man; no other kind of man could arouse such prolonged vilification.

From May 13 to May 15, 1908, the conference of Governors he had called was in session at Washington, and was addressed by him on the subject of State and Federal rights.

At this gathering, the first of its kind ever held, besides governors or representatives from virtually all States of the Union, the foremost men in politics and affairs spoke or listened, and woman, never before included in State counsels, was represented by Sarah Platt Decker, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Andrew Carnegie addressed the conference on the subject of iron and coal in relation to their exhaustion; Elihu Root dwelt upon the importance of the States directing their powers to preserving their natural resources; James J. Hill spoke about the wasteful use of the

soil. Among other speakers were William J. Bryan, John Mitchell, Governor Glenn of North Carolina, Gifford Pinchot, and James R. Garfield, then Secretary of the Interior. A committee was appointed to compile statistics, and another conference was planned for 1909. In the following month (June 8) Mr. Roosevelt appointed a National Conservation Commission of forty-eight members representing the various States and Territories, which met in Washington the following December under the presidency of Gifford Pinchot, national forester, to prepare a report to the President for transmission to Congress on the resources of the country. Mr. Pinchot, as the personal representative of President Roosevelt, had visited Canada to carry an invitation to the Governor General and the Premier to be present at the conference called for February, 1909. A few months earlier (October 7) the Lake-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association met in Chicago to further the development of the Great Lakes with the Mississippi and its branches. On March 3, 1909, the River and Harbor Appropriation Act was approved. It created the National Waterways Commission, composed of Members of Congress, to investigate questions of water transportation and the improvement of waterways and to recommend to Congress action upon these subjects. It will be noticed that this was almost exactly two years after

the occasion when Congress ignored the message of Mr. Roosevelt urging some such step, and also exactly on the last day of his second term. Three months previous to this act, approved March 3, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, composed of nearly 3,000 delegates from 44 States and Territories, held sessions in Washington during three days, when addresses of a similar character to those of the Conservation Commission, some of them given by the same men, were made; and the Act was of course the direct consequence of this conference. Two days before, on March 1, the House passed the Forest Reserve Bill.

*Panama Canal.* An act of June 29, 1906, provided for lock construction and thus ended the controversy between those who upheld this plan and those who advocated a sea-level canal. On November 17, 1907, the President announced that the Government would issue fifty million Panama bonds and interest-bearing certificates to the amount of a hundred million. In January, 1908, he issued an executive order defining the powers of the Isthmian Canal Commission and its chairmen. This was merely a comprehensive revision of the provisions of November 17, 1906, and subsequent orders. In March, 1908, some troubles of the Republic of Panama were pacified by Mr. Taft, but in July, as the election then approached, marines were sent to the Isthmus. What changes

may come to the world in consequence of the canal cannot be at present imagined. Perhaps our destiny is to be more affected by it than anything directly due to an act of Mr. Roosevelt's. Our foreign relations, our labor conditions, the future of the Pacific coast, all are knit up with this huge enterprise, originated long before the day of Mr. Roosevelt, but the consummation of which he most certainly precipitated.

*Immigration.* By an act of June 29, 1906, a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization was provided, laying down a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States. An Act of February 20, 1907, provided for the levy and collection of a tax of four dollars upon every alien entering the United States. By this act certain classes of aliens, such as idiots and epileptics, were excluded; the importing of women for the purposes of prostitution was forbidden; as was also the prepayment of transportation of contract laborers. Undesirables were to be deported, anarchists excluded. Adequate provision for administration was unfortunately not made.

Most of us are aware that members of some twenty-five or thirty races come to our shores every year to remain. Many know that nearly thirty millions have so come since 1820; that in 1910 we had living among us nearly fourteen million foreign born people; that they are now arriving at

the rate of nearly a million a year (Mr. Warne in his excellent and ominous book computes that during the past ten years every time the clock strikes the hour, night and day, one hundred immigrants step ashore) bringing languages, religions and customs at variance with our own. Our Constitution was made by English-speaking people for English-speaking people, by the self-governing for the self-governing; it rests upon the idea of a homogeneous population, with the same general traditions of law and life. With what stability it will rest upon a kaleidoscope of tribes and peoples speaking neither one another's language nor our own is a question very likely to concern the United States at some not distant day. Meanwhile the law of 1907 works little good; and we leave the incoming piebald hordes untaught.

After March 4, 1907, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Act of February 26 provided that the salaries of the vice-president, the speaker of the house and members of the Cabinet should be at the rate of twelve thousand a year and seventy-five hundred should be the compensation of congressmen. A fund not exceeding twenty-five thousand a year had been provided for the president's travelling expenses by an Act of June 23, 1906. In that month the state of Oklahoma was admitted to the Union. Certain further foreign agreements should be mentioned: A United

States Court for China (June 30, 1906); a resolution authorizing the President to consent to a modification of the bond for our twenty-four millions received from China as indemnity on account of the Boxer disturbances of 1900, remitting about half this sum as an act of friendship (May 25, 1908). This led in the November following to the sending of Tang Shao Yi, Governor of Mukden Province, by the Chinese Government as special envoy to express China's thanks. He announced in San Francisco that the thirteen millions and odd remitted would be used in sending Chinese students to this country. In this same year the Senate ratified arbitration treaties with France, Italy, Mexico, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Japan. With Japan this was the first treaty since the re-establishment of the friendly relations broken off in 1906 on account of the assaults upon Japanese subjects in San Francisco.

Such are the chief acts and incidents of Mr. Roosevelt's second term. By some of them the number of his friends and enemies had been simultaneously increased. He had set machinery going which, if properly kept going, would curb the excesses of the corporations, shield the lives of their employees, keep the forests safe from monopolizing hands and make the waterways useful for trans-



portation. An act of January 26, 1907, had forbidden national banks and corporations organized under Federal law to contribute money to political campaigns. The great public purveyors of food and drugs were to be watched. Here was enough machinery to benefit the many and control the few; and Mr. Roosevelt had been saying that Mr. Taft was the man to keep it going after him. Numbers of people wished Mr. Roosevelt to stay on. In November, 1907, Federal office-holders were active in advocating a third term, and he issued a letter forbidding them. A month later he repeated his announcement that he would not again become a candidate for the presidency. A month after that, January 30, 1908, Mr. Taft resigned as secretary of war to become the Republican candidate for president, Luke E. Wright succeeding him in the following July, five days after Mr. Taft's nomination. This nomination was opposed by Mr. Roosevelt's enemies from the moment they began to fear it might occur. Believing that Mr. Taft would keep the machinery going, they made a ticket according to their financial taste—Cannon and Sherman—doing what they could to impair the powerful popular influence of Mr. Roosevelt's recommendation. Their latest weapon was the "rich men's panic" of the Autumn of 1907. Mr. Roosevelt had caused it, they said, by his incendiary threats against "big business." Equally prepos-

terous was the counter-assertion that "big business" had artificially induced the disaster to frighten Mr. Roosevelt and stop his talking. The panic did come immediately after a speech made by the President during a journey regarding waterways through the Mississippi Valley. It had to come one day or another; an ebb-tide in finance and credit had been flowing slowly round the world, and it reached us at the time predicted for it a year before the worst. But this truth is not even now universally known; and in 1907-1908 it was concealed for political purposes by some who did know it. Of the two false notions, unquestionably that one prevailed which laid the panic at the "rich man's" door. At the Republican Convention held in Chicago, June 25, 1908, the "demonstration" for Mr. Roosevelt lasted for forty minutes. The nomination could have been swept to him on the wave of enthusiasm raised by his name; it was only not swept to him through the energy and skill of those who were aiding him to carry out his determination against it and in favor of Mr. Taft.

Although the final acts of Congress in Mr. Roosevelt's second term, the Forest Reserve Bill passed by the House March 1, and the ratification by the senate of the Canadian Waterways Treaty, March 4, were in harmony with his policies, for many months the relations between him and both houses had been increasingly discordant, and he

may be said to have stepped out of the White House amid lightnings and thunders. There was a day when George Washington swore furiously at a cabinet meeting that he would rather be in his grave than endure the malignity of the press and the politicians. Upon another day Lincoln wondered if it were worth while to give oneself to the service of this country. A similar disgust once darkened the spirit of General Grant. They were all anticipated by two Frenchmen, one of whom remarked: "I begin to see things as they are; it is time I should die," and the other: "The better I know men the better I like dogs." Vindictiveness on the part of those politicians and magnates whose intentions both as to legislation and the presidency had been partly or wholly thwarted by Mr. Roosevelt, was pursuing him by any means that could discredit or harass him. The Brownsville trouble had served them well, so in a petty way had the matter of the sentence "In God we trust" he had ordered to be left off the new coins. Congress had ordered this restored amid verbiage that dripped with scandalized piety. A new chance, most fruitful for many a long day, had turned up during the panic of 1907. Mr. Roosevelt had then replied to inquiries made by two representatives of the United States Steel Corporation that, while he could not advise its purchase of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company (to save a serious impending

failure), nevertheless he felt it to be no public duty of his to interpose any objection. That such a purchase offered no ground for proceedings against the Steel Corporation was the opinion given to Mr. Roosevelt by Mr. Bonaparte, the attorney-general. It was seen that Mr. Roosevelt's conversation could be twisted into something that would look oblique; a secret support of trusts while openly denouncing them. The trust people themselves, through their politicians in the Senate, requested information from the president regarding this transaction. He refused to give it, referring to Mr. Bonaparte's opinion. Two days later the Senate ordered its judicial committee to investigate the matter—on the very same day (January 8, 1909) that the president's private letter to Senator Hale about there being members of Congress whose transactions needed watching by detectives was made public. It is not surprising that on February 20 the committee's report found that the president had exceeded his authority. This affair of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company was used against Mr. Roosevelt in later circumstances, as was the matter of the Harvester Trust. Obliquity on his part was again sought to be established. Why, when in office, had he not prosecuted this trust? He replied that at a full cabinet meeting Mr. Bonaparte had given his opinion there was not sufficient evidence upon which to base pro-

ceedings. This statement was immediately confirmed by Mr. Bonaparte himself. The person who preserved silence was Elihu Root, who had been present at the meeting. A word from him would have entirely cleared Mr. Roosevelt in every quarter; but Mr. Root in 1912 was no longer serving Mr. Roosevelt or his policies, he was serving his opponents with all his immense skill; and so this word was left unspoken.

After failing of nomination by the Republicans, in 1912, Mr. Roosevelt "bolted"—a long predestined certainty, hoped for earlier by some people. A month later, at an extraordinary and exalted convention, whose deep feelings rendered even the newspaper men unable to scoff for several days, he organized the Progressive Party and became its candidate. A campaign followed, wonderful and devoted. Its chief incident was near its close, when Mr. Roosevelt was shot in the street at Milwaukee on his way to address a meeting. His instant words to the agitated crowd were not to hurt the assassin. "Don't hurt the man. Don't let any one hurt him."\* He addressed the meeting and then spent some ten days in a hospital. A thick fold of notes in his breast pocket prevented a fatal wound and his excellent health and life-long moderation of habit speeded his recovery.

He was defeated, the Democratic candidate

\* Another account says: "Don't hurt him, bring him to me."

elected. Had his remarkable campaign of ninety days been longer, his vote might have been larger; yet still a number of influences, to say nothing of the prejudice against the third term, would likely have prevailed. It will be as impossible to convince most people that Mr. Roosevelt's repeated assertions in 1907 that he would not again be a candidate applied merely to 1908 and not to all years thereafter, as that Washington did not object to a third term, but on the contrary wrote explicitly in a letter perfectly accessible to anybody who wishes to read it, that to debar a man from being president three times might lose the country a valuable servant at a crisis. But the cherry tree and third term myths are indestructible. If the Democrats are equal to the occasion they will render the Progressives superfluous. But Democrats have a habit of not being equal to the occasion. If the Progressives show a judgment as cool as their emotions are warm, they may prove as great as the Republican party was once, the phoenix from its ashes.

There were enemies of Mr. Roosevelt capable of saying that he had himself shot for stage effect. We turn the pages of our history back to that American cartoon of President Washington being guillotined, and we again recall the Frenchman's remark, "The better I know men the better I like dogs." Let us close with a glimpse of the man

through his enemies and opponents. Those remain whose taste has always been offended by him. Undoubtedly his vivacities of phraseology have made him others; and many could not but hate some of the intemperance of his sayings during his deplorable personal rupture with Mr. Taft. Here that headstrong quality of his caused others to draw off from him; his espousal of those revived mediæval devices, the initiative, the referendum and the recall—especially the recall of judges—lost him numerous adherents. All such machinery is double edged and no machinery ever saved a state; good citizens alone do this. Those opposed to female suffrage denounce him also. But these are minor enemies and opponents; they serve to draw lesser or external traits and opinions of the man. Nobody claims for him the dignity of Washington or the patience of Lincoln: but something he has of the far-seeing sagacity of the one and of the humane spirit of the other. He can be magnanimous often, and ruthless sometimes. His true, permanent, worst enemies are the extremists of “capital” and “labor,” at whose excesses he has struck. Those who study his chief policies in the future will wonder that so much obvious common sense should ever have aroused anything but general acquiescence. But he has rendered one service to this country disputed by none, and never rendered by any president before: into the breasts of hundreds and thousands

of young men he has put an ardent sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of their native land. He has laid his hand upon the generation of promise, and awakened it. That is by far the greatest of his achievements. Once again: None save Washington and Lincoln surpass him in importance for good;—and that lucky man who knows his friendship deeply, possesses a great treasure, safe beyond the strife of tongues.

It should be mentioned that Yale, in celebrating her Bi-Centennial, in October, 1901, distinguished that memorable occasion by conferring upon President Roosevelt the degree of LL.D. This academic honor suggests his literary work again; and of his writings the following is as complete a list as can readily be made: "The Naval War of 1812" (2 volumes, 1882); "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman" (1885); "Thomas Hart Benton" (1887); "Gouverneur Morris" (1888); "Essays on Practical Politics" (1888); "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail" (1888); "The Winning of the West" (4 volumes, 1889-1896); "Brief History of New York City" (1891); "The Wilderness Hunter" (1893); part author of "Hero Tales from American History" (1895); "American Ideals, and Other Essays" (1897); "The Rough Riders" (1899); "Oliver Cromwell" (1900); "The Strenu-



ous Life" (1901); "The Deer Family" (1902); "Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter" (1906); "European and African Addresses" (1910); "African Game Trails" (1910); "The New Nationalism" (1910); "History as Literature" (1913); "Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography" (1913); "Life Histories of African Game Animals" (1914) (with Edmund Heller). Besides these volumes are numerous occasional articles contributed to other volumes, or to periodicals. These deal with matters of citizenship, of history, of literature, and of zoölogy. Among the biographical books about Mr. Roosevelt the most important are "A Week in the White House with Theodore Roosevelt" (1898), by William Bayard Hale, "Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen," by Jacob A. Riis (1904), and "The Man Roosevelt" (1904), by Francis E. Leupp. It is not the least remarkable trait of Mr. Roosevelt that in many matters of natural history he keeps almost as minutely informed of the latest thought concerning them as if he were himself a specialist.

In 1881 Mr. Roosevelt married Miss Alice Lee, of Boston. After being a widower for several years he married Miss Edith Kermit Carow. He is the father of six children—Alice, Theodore, Jr., Ethel, Quentin, Kermit, and Archibald. Both the daughters are married.

## 150 LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS

Early in October, 1913, the ex-President, accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt and several friends, sailed from New York for an extensive exploring expedition in South America, making addresses in Rio Janeiro and other important cities of the Southern Continent.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

BY

FRANCIS E. LEUPP



## WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, twenty-sixth president of the United States, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857. He was the son of Alphonso Taft by his second wife, Louisa Maria Torrey. Through both parents his ancestry goes back to the Massachusetts Bay colony of the earlier half of the seventeenth century. From his father's line he inherits his interest in scholarship and his love of the law; from his mother's, probably, his bodily strength and stature, tradition representing one of his maternal great-grandfathers as six feet and seven inches tall. Alphonso Taft was an able lawyer and a distinguished public servant. He first attracted national attention when, as judge of the superior court of Cincinnati, he rendered an opinion sustaining the right of the local board of education, in deference to the feelings of the Roman Catholic and Jewish taxpayers, to abolish the reading of the Bible in the common schools. Although this stand, taken at a time when religious prejudice was most bitter, undoubtedly cost him the governorship of Ohio, its independence also

commanded widespread respect, a sentiment freely expressed when President Grant made him successively secretary of war and attorney-general of the United States.

When, after a preparatory course at the Woodward High school in his home city, William joined the class of 1878 at Yale university, he frankly entered the lists for scholastic honors, and avoided the distractions of competitive athletics, in which, with his powerful muscular equipment, he might have made a mark. Nevertheless, he soon won and always held the good will of his classmates, proofs of which have followed him everywhere through his career. At the close of his four years he stood second in a class of 121, and returned to Cincinnati to study for the bar. On his admission he became a newspaper law-reporter, to familiarize himself with court procedure. Almost from the start he attracted the notice of the republican party managers, and was made first an assistant county prosecutor and then collector of internal revenue; but neither position afforded him the professional scope he desired, so he went back to private practice till called to the assistant county solicitorship. There he was when, in 1887, a vacancy occurred in the superior court, and Governor Foraker, though head of a hostile faction, appointed him to fill it temporarily. When his term expired he was reëlected; but in 1890 President Harrison invited



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*James N. Smith*





him to Washington as Solicitor-General, and introduced him to the whole American people.

Mr. Taft's brief judicial experience had chanced to fall in a period when the labor field was in a state of unrest, and one case brought before him involved the right of a trade-union to boycott a firm which was not a party to any dispute, and whose sole offence lay in continuing to have dealings with an employer whose men had gone out on strike. The opinion he rendered was very broad, upholding the right of laborers to quit work in order to coerce their employer into paying higher wages, and of a trade-union to punish or expel its disobedient members; but on the other hand declaring unlawful a combination to injure the business of a stranger to the dispute, since such indirection obscured the original intent of the strike and became merely malicious and oppressive. The supreme court of Ohio sustained this decision on appeal without comment, and it is frequently quoted in labor cases to this day.

As second in command in the federal department of justice, Mr. Taft was given charge of the Sayward case, then before the United States supreme court. This was a suit brought by the Canadian ministry of justice to test the whole question of the authority claimed by the United States over sealing in Bering Sea, which had been the subject of a diplomatic wrangle lasting many

years; and the brief of the young solicitor-general, which cleared up every point and convinced the court, gained him recognition abroad as well as at home. His next conspicuous case was in defence of the constitutionality of the McKinley tariff law of 1890, which had been attacked on the ground that it was passed in the house of representatives by a quorum counted by the speaker but not shown by the responses to the roll-call. Mr. Taft won his case by citing the clause of the constitution under which a minority of either house may "compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties" as it may provide—a proceeding which would be futile if the returned absentees could still prevent the transaction of business by sitting silent.

After two years of service as solicitor-general, Mr. Taft was appointed a United States Circuit judge for the sixth circuit, which embraced his old home and other important districts of the middle west. Here he prepared a few decisions that hold a high place in the annals of the court. The engineers of the Toledo, Ann Arbor & Northern Michigan railroad company had struck for higher wages, and several connecting lines were afraid to handle freight billed to or from the road under siege, because their own engineers had threatened to desert them if they did. Hence, the Toledo company had sued out injunctions against the connect-

ing roads, forbidding them to refuse its freight, and now applied for one against the chief of the brotherhood of locomotive engineers, who had ordered the boycott. Judge Taft's opinion weighed all the considerations entering into the case, including the probability that the engineers, not being learned in the law, were unaware that their course was in violation of the interstate commerce act, which imposed a fine of \$5,000 on any representative or employee of an interstate railroad who wilfully interfered with the reasonable and equal interchange of traffic between carriers. His decision granting the injunction was the first to define thus the relations of interstate railroads with their employees, and established a universal standard for American courts.

In another case, where a labor union, boycotting a railroad which was in the hands of a receiver, had definitely disobeyed the orders of the court, the situation was tense, and the atmosphere charged with the spirit of riot; but Judge Taft punished the chief ringleader in the incident for contempt, after showing in an exhaustive opinion that the boycotters were violating both the interstate commerce and the anti-trust laws; and he served notice upon all concerned that the business of that road should not be interfered with as long as power enough remained in the United States army to run the trains. The strike did not last a great while

after that; and as soon as quiet had been restored the judge proved his freedom from personal prejudice by asking the receiver to put the strikers back upon the pay-roll as fast as suitable places could be found for them.

A third notable decision was that in the Addyston Pipe & Steel company case. This was a government suit to break up a cast-iron pipe monopoly. Efforts to enforce the anti-trust law had up to that time been spasmodic, with few broad results. One suit had been dropped because the complainant joined the combination he was attacking; in another the prosecution failed to make clear the interstate character of the defendant's business; in a third there was unquestionably a combination, but lacking the monopolistic feature; in a fourth the offenders were freight-carriers, and the decision would not necessarily cover the conduct of producers uniting to control prices; in others the relief prayed for was temporary, and so on. Hence, signal value attached to Judge Taft's decision, which reviewed the whole history of this typical trust, including a combination whose effectiveness depended on its restraint of trade; a system whereby products manufactured in a few states were disposed of in many, constituting interstate commerce; secret scheming which publicity would defeat, constituting conspiracy; and collusive bidding for public contracts, constituting fraud. It was so com-



THE BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, CINCINNATI, OHIO



plete a deliverance that the supreme court, in sustaining it on final appeal, incorporated it bodily in the decree of affirmation.

In the midst of this service on the bench, Judge Taft shouldered a further responsibility by becoming dean of the Cincinnati school of law at which he had been prepared for the bar; and it was while he was doing this double duty that his career took a portentous turn.

The treaty with Spain which ended the war of 1898 ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States. The change of sovereignty was no sooner effected than the intermittent struggle for independence which the islanders had been carrying on for many years against Spain was revived against her successor. Until the beginning of 1900 it was necessary to keep the military arm of the government most active in the disaffected quarters; there had been a civil commission, also, sitting at Manila, but its functions were more in the line of investigation than of administration. When the rebel leaders had become pretty well convinced of the hopelessness of their cause, President McKinley realized the need of giving a more definite guaranty, both to the Filipinos and to the world, that his policy in dealing with the adopted colonies contemplated only benevolence; he accordingly set about the reorganization of the civil commission, with someone at its head whose name and per-

sonality would be accepted everywhere as representative of a new order of affairs. The man on whom he settled as most nearly meeting all the requirements in education, honesty, conservatism, courage and gentleness was Judge Taft.

Flattering as was this choice, it was no light task to convince the object of it that it pointed to his path of duty. In the first place, his one ambition had always been for promotion on the bench; in the second, there was nothing in his conception of the destiny of his country to which the idea of a colonial system appealed. The president deplored as frankly as he this feature of the situation, but here it was, staring them in the face. Whatever anyone might have preferred, the islands did belong to the United States, an armed insurrection among their people had been suppressed at great cost, and the time had arrived when they must be brought under civil government as befitted a peaceful province. Ill-ruled, they would surely be exploited for the benefit of their conquerors; well-ruled, they could be developed for the benefit of their natives. This was the argument which settled the question. Judge Taft read in the plan a probable end to his most fondly cherished dreams of a future for himself, but, recognizing in that fact a greater obligation, he yielded.

In his new place, though nominally at the head of a commission of five members, he virtually pos-



sessed despotic powers. His first official act on reaching the islands was to assure the people that he had come not to bring them present independence, or a definite promise of independence, but to aid them in acquiring whatever measure of progressive self-government they were capable of maintaining, and he invited the co-operation of all parties and the most candid criticism of every law he proposed. It took some time to convince doubters and intractables that he was sincere in this announcement, but, by receiving all suggestions for the common welfare soberly, and holding the balances level between factional advisers, he succeeded finally in winning general confidence. Even the Spaniards engaged in business in the islands were surprised into commending him when, instead of showing the antagonism they had expected, he expressed his wish that they would remain and help the Americans develop the resources of the country. With his commission he made a tour of the archipelago, to learn its needs at first hand and to set up local governments wherever the people were ready to support them. On July 4, 1901, everything being ripe for such a step, he was formally proclaimed first civil governor of the Philippines.

Once during his governorship he returned to America for a few months. President McKinley had been assassinated, Vice-President Roosevelt had assumed the duties of the presidency, and a

new congress would need expert counsel in shaping legislation for the colonies. Moreover, he was ill, and required a treatment he could not procure in Manila. During his visit, President Roosevelt mentioned a possibility that he might be offered a seat in the supreme court, but Mr. Taft would not consider the subject even tentatively, saying that he had promised his "little brown brothers," as he affectionately styled the Filipinos, to stay with them till they were sure of a stable administration. He was still an invalid when he boarded his steamer for the far east, and few of his friends expected to look upon his living face again. But by degrees he recovered his strength in spite of the trying climate and incessant hard work. Not the least of the difficulties with which he had to deal was the solution of the friar lands problem.

Under Spanish rule, four great missionary orders managed the religious and charitable interests of the Roman Catholic church in the Philippines. Their members were in intimate relations with the Madrid government, for which they were suspected of acting as spies; and they had acquired title to large tracts of land, which they rented for revenue. Among them, doubtless, were both good and bad men; but their unregulated landlordism had given rise to a multitude of scandals, with or without foundation in fact. These reached in time a point

where the natives revolted, drove most of the friars out of their holdings, and sent them hunting for places of refuge. With only elementary notions of justice, in which a desire for retribution outfigured all else, the natives wished their new rulers to confiscate the missionary estates outright; but, as that was out of the question, Governor Taft was deputed by the president to confer with the pope about the purchase of these lands by the government. Although this was not accomplished at once, it was later, and the church began replacing the objectionable friars with a contingent of more enlightened and modern religious teachers, while the great agricultural tracts were gradually broken into parcels small enough for individual native farmers to hold and till.

Other reforms undertaken during this period were the institution of minor courts in various parts of the islands, within easy reach of the people; the introduction of a satisfactory system of land records and of vital and social statistics; the enforcement of sanitary regulations, the establishment of common schools, and the substitution of a uniform coinage for the antiquated mixture then passing for a currency. In the midst of these activities occurred a vacancy on the supreme court, and the president cabled the governor an offer of it. The answer was characteristic: "Great honor deeply appreciated, but must decline. Situation here most

critical from economic standpoint. Change proposed would create much disappointment and lack of confidence among people." Later the offer was renewed, more in the tone of a command. Again it was declined, though this was the honor to which Mr. Taft had looked forward as the crowning prize of a lifetime of public service.

By degrees the administrative horizon cleared, and when his work had reached a fairly safe stage the governor was called once more to Washington, this time to become secretary of war. No other office would have tempted him; but as the Philippines were still under the jurisdiction of the war department, he felt that, as secretary, he could continue to direct their affairs to a large extent.

The first task which fell to him now was to start the construction of the Isthmian canal, a gigantic enterprise on lines entirely novel, and assumed by the nation under peculiar circumstances. Colombia had negotiated, but failed to ratify, a treaty granting the United States a lease of a right-of-way for an interoceanic canal; the state of Panama, whose territory this traversed, at once seceded and set up an independent republic, which was recognized at Washington, and from which a treaty was obtained substantially identical with that withdrawn by Colombia. The whole transaction was so suddenly begun and so speedily ended as to call forth violent criticism, and this was used by some

of the politicians of Panama as a basis for prophesying that the new treaty was only a forerunner of forcible annexation. What Mr. Taft had to do, therefore, was not only to build the canal, but to reestablish the shaken faith of the Panamans. To this intent he visited the isthmus, taking with him as many as practicable of those members of Congress who would handle canal legislation later. The party went over all the ground, looked into the problems then apparent, and satisfied the local authorities that the American government was dealing fairly with them, and was anxious and able to fulfil all its obligations under the lease.

The founding of a government in the canal strip resembled in some particulars the corresponding work in the Philippines. The resident population had never been educated in that respect for law and order which prevails in the United States; neglect of public sanitation had given the isthmus a bad name for yellow fever and malarial epidemics; and it was so far from headquarters in Washington that Americans drawn to it officially or as wage-earners might be tempted to relax their standards of conduct. Clothed, for these reasons, with a practical dictatorship, the secretary distributed his various responsibilities among a group of experts. For purposes of civil administration a governor was appointed who had already had experience in handling a similar situation; the con-

struction plans were committed to a leading engineer officer of the army, and the sanitary supervision of the colony to a military surgeon who had won fame in pest-ridden Cuba. As a result, a population of about fifty thousand souls, four-fifths of whom belong to the laboring class, have been kept effectively employed in good health and comfort and under a reign of justice, for the ten years it has taken to bring the canal to completion.

Meanwhile, other matters outside of the regular routine of his office had been forced upon the secretary's attention, the most momentous being a crisis in Cuban affairs. It had always been a favorite saying of Mr. Taft's that the faculty of any people for civil self-government was not a natural instinct but the fruit of special training. The early breakdown of the Cuban experiment proved this true. At the cost of a war, the United States had set the island free, and enabled the people to form the republic they had so long craved; yet, within two years and six months of the end of the American occupation, the clash of parties, personal rivalries, and bad management had got the affairs of the infant government into such a snarl that civil war was imminent, and nothing was left for the United States, as protector and patron, but to intervene and restore order. To this undertaking the president assigned Mr. Taft.

In September, 1906, the secretary entered the

city of Havana, and, pursuing the same policy of candor which had cleared the ground for his affirmative work in the Philippines, invited information from all parties. He had hoped to avoid any radical measures, but to adjust the pending differences and then take his hands off. A little probing exposed the futility of such a program. The simple fact was that the Cubans had only exchanged a Spanish master for one of their own blood, scarcely less overbearing. Their elections were shallow forms, registering the will, not of the people, but of a handful of factional leaders. Obviously, the republic must be started anew.

The intervention was distorted by a malcontent element into a veiled threat of annexation, and this effect was momentarily heightened when the Cuban congress, in special session, accepted the resignation of President Palma but was unable to elect a successor, and Secretary Taft took charge of the island as provisional governor. His proclamation was therefore couched in terms designed to make clear the unselfish intentions of the United States. After a brief survey of the existing entanglement, it went on: "The provisional government hereby established . . . will be maintained long enough to restore order and peace and public confidence, and then to hold such elections as may be necessary to determine those persons upon whom the permanent government of the republic should

be devolved. . . . This will be a Cuban government, conforming, as far as may be, to the constitution of Cuba. The Cuban flag will be hoisted as usual over the government buildings on the island. All the executive departments and the provincial and municipal governments . . . will continue to be administered as under the Cuban republic. The courts will continue to administer justice, and all laws not in their nature inapplicable by reason of the temporary and emergent character of the government will be in force."

The pledge was kept to the letter. Charles E. Magoon, who had been helpful in bringing order out of chaos in the canal zone, was installed presently in the provisional governorship and Mr. Taft returned to Washington. An American "army of pacification" was sent to the island to prevent rioting; a cabinet was appointed, composed of Cubans, each with an American "adviser" at his elbow; the various local governments were reorganized, and pains were taken everywhere to instruct both officers and citizens in the fundamental principles of self-rule. Little by little, as these ideas seemed to be assimilated, the American instructors released their hold, till, early in 1909, the provisional governor turned over the reins of authority to a lawfully elected president, and the Cuban republic entered upon the second era of its history.

Another memorable expedition was made by Mr.



Taft while secretary of war. This was a voyage around the world, having for its primary object a visit to the Philippines. He had assured the Filipinos, before leaving them, that he would come back to take part in the opening of their first national assembly. The serious condition of his mother's health would have amply excused his failure to keep this engagement; but, though both knew how improbable it was that she would live to see him again, she protested so urgently against his disappointing his dependent people that he repressed his first inclination and went. Their forebodings proved true. Mrs. Taft died while her son was on the high seas, homeward bound. His journey had been fruitful, however, for it had fortified the loyalty of the "little brown brothers" to whom he had been teaching self-control and true patriotism; and it had enabled him to warn them once more, face to face, that, in spite of what some agitators were telling them, they would undoubtedly have to remain in a state of tutelage longer than another generation. In Japan, where he broke his journey, he took occasion to remind the people who were resentful of certain recent occurrences in America, that "war between Japan and the United States would be a crime against modern civilization," and to set forth the reasons why; as well as to put an end to the persistent rumor that the United States wished to sell the Philippines,

by enlarging on the gross breach of national honor such a sale would involve. In China he was able to investigate a quarrel among the American residents over the conduct of an extra-territorial court there, and to explain at length the American policy of an "open door" in the orient.

Soon after his retirement from the governorship of the Philippines, the republican managers had begun to consider Mr. Taft as a possibility for the presidential ticket of 1908. To all such suggestions he made a discouraging response. For one thing, he had no aspirations in that direction; for another, he would make a poor candidate. Some of his decisions as a judge had been twisted by demagogues into evidence of his hostility to organized labor. Once, when he visited Ohio to make an address, he had improved the occasion to denounce the most powerful boss in his own party—an act which, while its boldness pleased the general public, was regarded by most politicians as extinguishing his last chance of support from his home state. His defence of the president's course in dismissing from the regular army, "without honor," three companies of negro troops, because some of their members had been concerned in a riot and the rest were suspected of trying to shield them, had caused a commotion among colored voters all over the country.

Nevertheless, the talk of his candidacy would

not subside. When the president joined with his other friends in pressing him for a direct declaration of his position, he reluctantly prepared one for the press. "I wish to say," he wrote, "that my ambition is not political; that I am not seeking the presidential nomination; that I do not expect to be the republican candidate, if for no other reason, because of what seem to me to be objections to my availability, which do not appear to lessen with the continued discharge of my official duty; but that I am not foolish enough to say that in the improbable event that the opportunity . . . were to come to me, I should decline it." He followed this, a year later, with a speech on President Roosevelt's enforcement of the interstate commerce and anti-monopoly laws, which had been widely charged with bringing on the financial panic of 1907, saying: "The question you have ultimately to meet is not whether we shall return to a condition of unregulated railways and unregulated trusts, but whether we shall turn the country over to the advocates of government ownership and state socialism. Anyone who seeks a retrograde step from the policy of the administration, on the theory that it would be a real step toward conservatism, is blind to every political sign of the times." This was intended as a warning of what his fellow citizens must expect if they elected him to the presidency.

The decisive vote in the republican national convention of 1908 was taken on June 18. It gave Mr. Taft 702 of the 980 delegates, against six competitors with votes ranging between 16 and 68. James S. Sherman, of New York, was named for vice-president. The platform, among other things, called for an immediate revision of the tariff so as to equalize the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, with a margin of profit to the domestic producer; a more elastic currency; a fearless enforcement of the law against trusts; a postal savings system; additional legislation in the interest of wage-workers; the admission of New Mexico and Arizona as states of the union; the arbitration of international controversies, and the protection of all American citizens in their rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries.

The campaign was not exciting, though Mr. Roosevelt worked untiringly, planning the great strokes, vouching for the candidate in every exigency, and forcing the fighting wherever the enemy's line was weak. The democratic candidate was William J. Bryan, who had been twice defeated already, and who fell this time under an increased plurality. Mr. Taft did little speaking in his own behalf, his principal address being a dispassionate review of the cases in which he had rendered judicial decisions affecting the labor interests, to offset misrepresentations from hostile sources.

This speech included a simplified exposition of the nature and uses of an injunction, and a defence of the power to punish contempt of court by summary process, without the trial by jury which the democratic platform demanded, and which he declared would so hamper the administration of justice as to make it a laughing-stock. Although the republican platform, while favoring tariff revision, did not say in so many words whether duties were to be raised or lowered, Mr. Taft gave the demand this interpretation: "The Dingley tariff has served the country well, but its rates have become generally excessive, because conditions have changed since its passage. Some of the rates are probably too low, due also to the change of conditions. But, on the whole, the tariff ought to be lowered." The conservatism of his statement must be kept in memory in order to understand the speaker's attitude when he had the question to deal with in the concrete.

Accepting the platform as a mandate, President Taft convened Congress immediately after his inauguration, for the enactment of a new tariff law. The session lasted from March till August, and brought forth a bill sponsored by Representative Payne and Senator Aldrich, which did not meet the president's hopes, but which, after a careful analysis of its details, he approved. Thereupon a long-gathering storm broke. Throughout

the west the bill was in intense disfavor. The charge was made that in the main it was the handiwork of the same interests which had dictated the least acceptable rates in the McKinley and Dingley tariffs. Mr. Taft undertook to stem the tide of censure by making a tour of the disaffected states, to reason directly with the voters about some phases of the matter on which he suspected they were misinformed. At Winona, the home of the one congressman from Minnesota who had voted for the bill, he made a speech emphasizing the fact that the Payne-Aldrich act lowered the duties on 654 items, of which Americans consumed \$5,000,000,000 worth in a year, while it increased duties on only 220 items, of which they consumed \$300,000,000 worth, so that on the whole the tariff had been lowered; and this argument he capped with the sweeping assertion that, with all its faults, the new act was "the best tariff bill that the republican party has ever passed, and therefore the best tariff bill that has been passed at all." At this superlative phrase the democrats and the insurgent republicans grasped as soon as it was uttered, and the changes rung on it constantly for a year gave it prominence in the next congressional campaign.

Meanwhile, Mr. Taft had appointed as his secretary of state Philander C. Knox, a senator from Pennsylvania, during whose term the cabinet salaries had been increased, and who therefore was in-

eligible till a makeshift law could be passed to cover the case. For secretary of the interior he named Richard A. Ballinger, of Washington, between whom and Gifford Pinchot, chief of the federal forest service, a feud soon broke out, beginning with a difference of opinion over the national conservation policy, but drifting later into personal channels. In the midst of it Mr. Pinchot committed a breach of discipline for which the president, who had been his warm friend for years, dismissed him summarily from office. A joint committee of congress which had started an inquiry into Mr. Ballinger's conduct brought in a divided report, the republican majority acquitting him of wrongdoing, the democratic minority insisting on the opposite view, and the next spring he resigned his portfolio. This incident played a part only second to the tariff agitation in the congressional campaign of 1910, which resulted in dispossessing the republicans of their control of the house of representatives and seriously damaging their prestige in the senate.

In the new tariff act Mr. Taft had tried to procure a provision for a permanent commission of economic experts, whose duty it should be to investigate various industries so as to ascertain the actual difference between foreign and domestic costs of production. By revising their data from time to time, he believed that the commission could

help congress to keep the tariff abreast of the times, and avoid trade upheavals such as now attend every attempt to modernize the schedules. Failing in this, he took advantage of a clause in the act which, after prescribing a special scale of duties on importations from countries where there is any discrimination against American products, authorized him "to employ such persons as may be required" to assist him in this matter, and appointed five assistants, whom he designated his tariff board, and whom he set at substantially the same work he had intended for the commission. But, having no legal status, being only about one-fourth the size of the proposed commission, and being composed rather of students of commerce than professional economists, the board labored against great difficulties, not the least of which was the resentment shown by a considerable element in congress at the president's manner of gaining a part of his end when refused the whole of it.

Another plan on which Mr. Taft had set his heart was a reciprocity treaty with Canada. A bill reducing rates on a long list of commodities exchanged between the two countries, contingent on the acceptance of the arrangement by the Dominion government, was passed by the house of representatives under a closure rule. It had a harder time in the senate, and not till an extra session of congress was called in the spring of 1911



was it possible to obtain the ratification of the treaty negotiated with Canada in accordance with the new law. Most of the opposition came from states and districts where the farmers were politically powerful, because so many of the items on which tariff charges were lowered were agricultural products. In Canada the project met with disaster, partly due to a suspicion that reciprocity was only the entering wedge of a scheme for annexation; a general election drove out of power the liberal ministry who had negotiated the treaty, and gave the whole subject its quietus for the time being.

The assumption of control by the democrats in the house of representatives was marked by the beginning of a partisan guerilla war which went on for two years without a truce. The president having expressed his hope that modifications might be made in a few individual tariff schedules when data enough could be collected to serve as a guide, the democrats pushed through the house a bill reducing duties on wool and woolens, which, with some amendments by the insurgent republicans, passed the senate also. The stroke was shrewdly timed, for the president vetoed the bill on the ground that the tariff board had not yet finished its investigation of the wool industry. A move to override the veto failed of the necessary two-thirds majority; but at the following session, the board

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having made an elaborate report on wool and woolens, another bill was passed, which was vetoed in turn because its provisions were inconsistent with the findings of the report. Meanwhile, a bill had been framed covering the cotton schedule, which met the same fate as the wool bills, and for like reasons, with the additional objection that it had been so hastily drawn that some of its provisions were practically unworkable. Thus bill after bill was put through in pursuance of the tactical plan of the opposition to force the president's hand.

In spite of these vicissitudes, President Taft was able to get much that he asked for. Included in the catalogue of legislation enacted during his term were laws creating a commerce court, to expedite the decision of appeals from rulings of the interstate commerce commission; establishing a postal savings system and a parcels post; submitting to the states a constitutional amendment empowering congress to impose an income tax; compelling publicity of campaign contributions in national and congressional elections; authorizing withdrawals of land from the public domain by executive order, a long step forward in the conservation movement; establishing a department of labor separate from the department of commerce; providing for the organization of a bureau of mines and a children's bureau, both designed for the improvement of labor conditions as to safety, health

and morals; prescribing penalties for the white slave traffic; facilitating the collection of damages for injuries suffered by an interstate railroad employee in the line of his duty; and other equally progressive measures.

What will probably be longest remembered as the distinguishing feature of the Taft administration was its impartial pursuit of the trusts. Former administrations had picked out for punishment, here and there, a particularly flagrant violation of the Sherman law, or one committed by a corporation whose greed had made it widely disliked, or one in which the chief offenders were personally conspicuous. Mr. Taft refused to make distinctions of any sort. In George W. Wickersham, of New York, he had chosen for his attorney-general a lawyer who had long been prominent as an adviser of corporations, believing that one who had studied these organizations from the inside would know best how to bring them to book when they transgressed the law. Mr. Wickersham organized a bureau whose sole business was to hunt down suspicious cases and marshal evidence. The sugar, beef, lumber, paper, window-glass, bathtub, wire, steel, electric-light, harvester, shipping, and shoe-machinery combinations were among the important concerns he attacked, his bills in equity and indictments reaching a total of more than seventy, as against an aggregate of sixty-two to

the credit of his predecessors since the enactment of the Sherman law.

In 1911 the supreme court decided the final appeals in the Standard Oil and Tobacco trust cases. The opinions rendered, and the dissolution plans adopted thereunder, were bitterly assailed by radical critics in congress and the press, because the court had given what it styled a "reasonable" meaning to the restraint of trade whose prevention was contemplated by the statute; but the president took pains, wherever he discussed the trust question, to uphold the court by explaining this phraseology. He also rebuked every confusion of mere size with monopoly, insisting that the natural trend of trade was toward breadth of scale, and that this differed essentially from one concern's absorbing most of the machinery of production in a given line, driving competitors to the wall, and thus laying the whole consuming public under tribute.

The purpose of congress to embarrass the president was shown in other ways than tariff-baiting. Knowing his repugnance for legislation by indirection, it began to load the annual supply bills with obnoxious "riders," so as to compel him, if he would get rid of these, to veto all the appropriations to which they were attached; but he accepted every challenge. One such bill would have legislated out of office the head of the army, and compelled a reorganization of important branches of

the military establishment; he promptly vetoed it, and its authors had to revise it so as to exclude the items open to complaint. Another contained riders limiting the tenure of civil service employees to seven years, and wiping out the commerce court; he vetoed it on both grounds. Congress struck out the civil service item and repassed the rest. Although the session was near its close, he sent the bill back once more with a veto based on its failure to provide for the commerce court, and congress was driven to a confession of defeat by making good its default. At the next session, however, the same tactics were renewed, a paragraph abolishing the commerce court, and another exempting farmers and laborers from the penalties of the anti-trust law, being tacked to appropriations for the ensuing fiscal year. This was within a few days of the end of his administration, so he let the appropriations lapse, and left his successor to grapple with the sequelæ.

Equally resolute was his stand against dictation on matters which in his opinion fell within his executive discretion. A commission appointed by him to consider plans for reducing public expenditures recommended an annual budget, such as is in common use among civilized governments, showing for what every dollar is needed, and also how it can be raised. Congress, which had before manifested its impatience of commissions and their

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recommendations, immediately attached to one of the appropriation bills a rider virtually forbidding the use of the budget. The president's retort was an order to his secretary of the treasury to disregard this prohibition and adopt the budget system forthwith. His letter conveying the order called attention to the fact that authority is granted by congress every year for the expenditure of a billion dollars "without any thought as to where the money is coming from," and protested against continuing longer "to operate the government under ninety different statutes, passed at ninety different times, which describe two hundred different forms of preparing and submitting financial data to congress and the public." Congress was not won over by this exposure of its unbusinesslike methods, but it was silenced, and received the estimates as they were submitted.

Beside his endeavor to establish reciprocity with Canada, a few noteworthy incidents in the handling of foreign affairs during Mr. Taft's presidency were the preservation of peace with Mexico, the abrogation of the oldest existing treaty with Russia, an effort to make arbitration the rule of the world for the settlement of international disputes, and the inauguration of a policy currently styled "dollar diplomacy." In the spring of 1911 an insurrection in Mexico attained proportions so threatening that the American ambassador visited Wash-

ington to say that the Diaz government was probably doomed, and that something might happen at any moment to embroil the two countries. Congress was out of session, the secretary of state was absent, and President Taft was thrown upon his own resources. Instantly, as commander-in-chief of the army, he ordered 15,000 troops to the southern frontier, at the same time notifying the Mexican government that the act had no purpose of intervention behind it, and admonishing the American officers to guard carefully the conduct of their men. By its moral effect the demonstration saved the situation, and probably averted a collision which a suspicion of hesitancy could easily have brought about.

As an advocate of universal peace, Mr. Taft had arbitration treaties negotiated with England and France as models for a series which should embrace all the leading powers. The senate, however, refused to consent to their ratification unless they could be amended in sundry particulars which, in the president's view, would so mar their value that he was unwilling to lay the proposal before the governments concerned. One point raised was as to the scope which should be allowed to international arbitration, and a matter which came up during the last months of the administration illustrated the difficulty of deciding such a question to the satisfaction of everyone. Legislation enacted

by congress concerning the tolls to be levied on vessels using the Panama canal contained a provision empowering the president to exempt the coastwise shipping of the United States from paying anything for the privilege, and the British government remonstrated against this as in violation of the neutrality clause of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty which had made possible the construction of the canal. The president signed the bill nevertheless, arguing that the neutralization clause was incorporated in the treaty, not for the purpose of preventing the nation that owned the canal from granting special privileges to the shipping under its flag, but to prevent its discriminating between other nations. He favored submitting the controversy, if Great Britain persisted in it, to arbitration; but the senate would not entertain any such suggestion, regarding the question as belonging to the class which, from their nature, were not arbitrable.

The demand of the republican platform for the protection of American citizens in their rights of travel and sojourn in foreign countries was especially aimed at the treatment American Hebrews complained of when visiting Russia, due to racial prejudice. In December, 1911, persuasion having failed to alter the Russian government's attitude, President Taft gave notice of intention to abrogate



the treaty of commerce which had been in existence between the two nations for eighty years, and congress confirmed his action in a joint resolution. Russia's claim was that her Jewish policy was a purely domestic matter, with which no other government had any business to meddle.

The "dollar diplomacy" invented by Secretary Knox may be defined briefly as a reversal of the old practice of using diplomacy to advance the trade interests of the nation, by using trade to advance the nation's diplomatic prestige and usefulness. In the case, for instance, of the loan made by the six great powers to China, Mr. Knox did not wait for the American bankers to pray for a chance to participate, and then bring all the forces of diplomacy to bear in their aid, but advised their joining with the foreign bankers, and thus securing for the United States a proportional weight of influence in the governmental affairs of China. In Nicaragua and Honduras the situation presented still another aspect. The Monroe doctrine, under its most modern interpretation, advertises the United States to the world as sponsor for the weaker republics of the western hemisphere, and Mr. Knox felt that it was but fair to put a practical measure of power behind this theoretical accountability. To that end he wished to aid Nicaragua and Honduras in borrowing the money, and give confidence to intending lenders by treaties

authorizing the United States government, should it choose, to appoint collectors of taxes, and conceding such terms as would justify American protection to those collectors in case of rebellion.

The friendship between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt had been so manifest throughout the latter's presidency, and Mr. Roosevelt had taken so large a part in making Mr. Taft his successor, that there was a general disposition to forecast Mr. Taft's administration as virtually a continuation of Mr. Roosevelt's. To dispel this impression, and to relieve himself of importunities to which he feared he would be subject, Mr. Roosevelt went abroad as soon as possible after Mr. Taft's inauguration, and on his return in the summer of 1910 announced his intention of keeping aloof from politics for the present. The menace of republican disaster in the elections of that fall, however, and the solicitations of some of his old associates in public life, overcame his resolution, and he entered the campaign with characteristic vigor, trying to check the adverse drift, but to little purpose. Reading in the result at the polls a notice that Mr. Taft could not hope for reelection, several western republican leaders urged Mr. Roosevelt to allow them to make him their candidate for a third term of the presidency. He discouraged such a movement, and for a while seemed to have suppressed it. But early in 1912

the governors of seven states in which the insurgent spirit was particularly strong united in a formal appeal that he would consent to their use of his name, and he agreed.

To Mr. Taft, who had already committed himself to run for reëlection, this news came with a painful surprise, but he refused to make any comment on it which could impair his personal relations with his old friend, and issued an order to his political lieutenants that in all their public utterances they were to treat Mr. Roosevelt with respect. This rule he continued in force till within two months of the date set for the national convention, when, Mr. Roosevelt having taken the open field with a series of speeches reflecting on his conduct and motives, he broke silence with an address at Boston in which, taking his stand as the head of a great party, he met every charge with an answer and a counter-charge. From that point a warfare of personalities went on till about the middle of October, when Mr. Roosevelt's activities were suddenly cut short by a lunatic's attempt on his life, and all the asperities of the campaign were forgotten in the nation-wide outburst of horror.

Meanwhile the republican convention had met at Chicago on June 18, and remained in session five days. It was a scene of turmoil from first to last. The Roosevelt spokesmen on the floor contested the admission of delegation after delegation,

alleging unfair methods in their choice. The complaints were generally dismissed, however, and on the conclusive ballot Mr. Taft received 561 of the 1,078 votes, to Mr. Roosevelt's 107; 344 of the Roosevelt men refused to vote, sixty delegates divided their strength between other candidates, and six were absent. Elihu Root, who presided, was so resolute in his rulings that the anti-Taft delegates raised a half-cynical, half-humorous protest against being crushed under a "steam-roller," and the phrase acquired a certain historical significance in the campaign that followed.

At a mass-meeting held in one of the Chicago theatres immediately after Mr. Taft's nomination, Mr. Roosevelt was hailed by acclamation as the head of a progressive party, for which a general scheme of organization was adopted at once. In the same city, on August 5, a delegate convention of the new party assembled to nominate him formally for president and adopt a platform. In the interval, the democratic national convention which met in Baltimore on June 25 had nominated Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, for president. In the November elections the democrats were victorious, the progressives coming in second. Mr. Taft received 8 electoral votes in a total of 531. He bore his defeat with a philosophic calmness of temper which commanded general admiration, and

on his retirement he removed to New Haven to become Kent professor of law in Yale university.

Reviewing his administration as a whole, and recognizing all its high aims, future historians can hardly fail to be impressed with its tragic atmosphere. It came unsought and undesired, and was born to a perilous inheritance. Hard times had settled upon the country. The national treasury was badly depleted. The enormous popularity of Mr. Roosevelt, which had enabled him to accomplish much that would have been impossible to anyone less favored, was in striking contrast with the hesitant and half-suspicious reception accorded his successor. Mr. Roosevelt's picturesque personality, his exuberant energy, his lightning-like grasp of new things, his natural pugnacity, his political shrewdness and trained sense of publicity values, were bound to put into eclipse the studious habit, the more deliberate decisions, the lenient temperament, and, if the phrase be permissible, the judicial indolence, of Mr. Taft. All Mr. Roosevelt's career had followed executive lines; no such experience had come to Mr. Taft, even his governorship of the Philippines calling into play the qualities of a paternal judge and lawgiver rather than those of an administrator. During Mr. Roosevelt's last four years in office there had been more or less talk about tariff revision, but, with the medley of other projects in view, the time had

never seemed ripe for undertaking a task which all the political portents indicated would be fraught with vexation for the next president who should lay hand to it. Mr. Taft appears to have been not unconscious of the stake he was hazarding, but his platform left him no alternative.

In his desire to come into personal touch with the people, President Taft exceeded all his predecessors in journeys away from Washington, and punctuated his trips with many speeches. He had no native gift of eloquence, and the discipline of the courts had wrung out of his style every atom of the dramatic. Although realizing his shortcomings as an orator, and willing to take pains with his choice of words in expounding a principle which he deemed of real consequence, he was indifferent as to forms in his ordinary utterances, preferring an off-hand and often careless phraseology to one that betrayed any weighing of effects. As a result, his opinions are today quoted in every court, while his political speeches neither produced any notably happy effect at the time of their delivery, nor cling now in the memory of their hearers. For politics in the narrower sense, he proved during his presidency that he had little taste and less talent. His private virtues were unstintingly honored, he won the liking of men wherever their contact with him was intimate enough to establish terms of mutual understanding, and some of his

implacable partisan foes were his good friends in social life. Notwithstanding his northern birth and anti-slavery ancestry, he had a warm spot in the heart of the south; yet at the polls he failed to break the solidarity of that section, even when its leading people were anxious to cut loose from tradition and take a new departure in national affairs.

As contemptuous of mere forms in etiquette as in self-expression, it seemed almost irksome to him to have others show him special deference in their common intercourse. But let the judicial ermine be touched by so much as a breath of disparagement, and all the combativeness that lurked in the depths of his nature sprang to the surface in an instant; for the courts appeared to him the innermost sanctuaries of human right, the rock-based bulwarks of the social order. Far from blind to their imperfections, he never ceased seeking to procure improvements in their procedure which would eliminate needless delays and promote the dispensation of real justice. Nor was anyone readier to admit that bad men, and inefficient, occasionally found their way into judicial places; but in that event, he insisted, the obvious remedy was removal by impeachment: he had no patience with any proposal to destroy or cripple so excellent a piece of public machinery as the present judicial system because it needed oiling now and then, or the read-

justment of some wheel or lever to make it work smoothly. His own selections for appointment to the federal bench rank, in the opinion of the foremost lawyers at the American bar, with President Harrison's, which is as high praise as could be given them.

The positiveness of his convictions on the judicial question was displayed in an incident which is unique in American history. A law had been passed in 1911 to enable the territories of Arizona and New Mexico to become states. New Mexico adopted a constitution in all essentials satisfactory, but Arizona incorporated in hers a provision for the recall of judges. Without hesitation, and regardless of the fact that the impending recess of congress might put the whole matter over till the following winter, President Taft vetoed the joint resolution for the admission of the two territories, thus suspending action in the case of New Mexico as well as in that of her neighbor. There was considerable ill-feeling among the lawmakers over what they called his unlawful usurpation of power, but nevertheless nobody ventured to test the issue with him, and a new joint resolution was hurried through, making statehood for Arizona contingent upon her expunging the offending paragraph from her constitution. This she did, though with an undisguised purpose of restoring it after she had acquired sovereignty. The threat did not disturb



the president, who felt that he had done only his duty in refusing his sanction to a fatal heresy, no matter what might come later.

Mr. Taft's published volumes are: "Four Aspects of Civic Duty" (1906), "Political Issues and Outlooks" (1909), "Present-day Problems" (1908), "Presidential Addresses and State Papers, from March 4, 1909, to March, 1910" (1910), and "Popular Government, Its Essence, Permanence and Perils" (1913). Several biographies of him have been written, including R. L. Dunn's "William Howard Taft, American" (1908), and O. K. Davis's "William Howard Taft, The Man of the Hour" (1908).

William H. Taft married, in 1886, Miss Helen Herron, daughter of John W. Herron, a prominent citizen and lawyer of Cincinnati. They have three children: Robert Alphonso, Helen Herron, and Charles Phelps. The elder son was graduated from Harvard Law School in July, 1913, with the highest honors ever obtained there; the younger son was named for his father's half-brother, a leading newspaper editor in Cincinnati. In religious faith the Tafts are Unitarians.



WOODROW WILSON

BY

JOSEPHUS DANIELS



## WOODROW WILSON.

WOODROW WILSON is descended from a Scotch-Irish ancestry noted for its culture and its intensity of religious conviction. Some of his Scot forbears died for their faith. Immediately, he comes from a line of ministers and editors. William Duane, democrat and friend of Jefferson, had a hand in the training of James Wilson, grandfather of Woodrow Wilson, who came from County Down, Ireland, lured as a youth of twenty-two to the land of opportunity in the New World. Landing at Philadelphia in the year 1808, he quickly found a congenial task in the work rooms of Duane's militant "Daily Aurora." The joy of his new toil was enhanced by the fact that a fine Irish lass, who had sailed on the same ship with him, was watching him make his fortune; and within four years he was able to claim Ann Adams as his wife. The happy pair could not be disobedient to the enticing vision of the developing West, and in 1812 James Wilson founded the Western Herald at Steubenville, Ohio, and soon afterward the Pennsylvania Advocate at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and divided his time between the two newspapers.

As Providence would have it, Joseph Ruggles Wilson, youngest of seven sons and three daughters, was marked to be the scholar of the family. Trained by his parents, and especially by his mother, who was a Presbyterian of the "straitest sect," it was not surprising that he turned to the Gospel ministry as his calling. The stair steps in his education were the Steubenville Academy; Jefferson College, afterwards Washington and Jefferson College, where he took first honors; and a year each at Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pennsylvania, and Princeton Seminary.

The Reverend Doctor Thomas Woodrow, English-descended but Scotch-born, some years before had left his church at Carlisle, England, to become a missionary in the New World, and had finally come to Chillicothe, Ohio. It came about that he sent his pretty and sprightly daughter, Janet, sometimes called Jessie, to the girls' school at Steubenville at the same time that Joseph R. Wilson had returned to that place to teach for a couple of years in the male academy. Finding their tastes congenial and their ideals alike, these two were happily married on June 7, 1849, and after teaching rhetoric for a year at Jefferson College, and chemistry and the natural sciences for four years at Hampden Sidney College, Virginia, the young husband accepted a call to the pastorate of the Presbyterian church at Staunton, Virginia, in the

year 1855, and moved there with his wife and two small daughters, Marian and Annie Josephine.

Staunton was the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson. As his father left there when he was two years old to accept a call to the important First Presbyterian church of Augusta, Georgia, he had no recollection of the home of his nativity in the beautiful valley of Virginia, but he will never forget the reception tendered him by citizens of that city upon the fifty-seventh anniversary of his birth, on December 28, 1912, when he was President-elect of the United States, and when he was quartered in the little room in the manse where he first saw the light.

Both at Augusta and at Columbia, South Carolina, where Doctor Wilson in 1870 accepted the chair of pastoral and evangelistic theology at the Southern Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Woodrow attended excellent private schools, but his real instructor was his father. Doctor Wilson was one of the brilliant leaders of the Presbyterian Church in the south. For forty years he was Stated Clerk of the Southern General Assembly. He was Moderator of the Assembly of 1879. Well-informed upon the news of the day and well-balanced and fair-minded, the father was keen to judge a new book, to analyze a political situation, to shatter a sham with irony, or to scorn a pretender. From him all the while the boy was un-

consciously absorbing the ability to do the same things.

Wilson's decision as to his life purpose was formed suddenly. He had spent a year at Davidson College, North Carolina, an excellent institution with a strong faculty, and then a year at his new home in Wilmington, North Carolina, whither his father had been called from Columbia to the Presbyterian pastorate. In the early fall of 1875 he entered Princeton, then under the presidency of Doctor James McCosh. About three months had passed when young Wilson, while browsing in the library, took down a file of the Gentlemen's Magazine and turned to the series of articles entitled "Men and Manners in Parliament," written by "The Member for Chiltern Hundreds," the anonymous successor of Doctor Johnson. Wilson was captivated by these vivid reports of the parliamentary debates participated in by Gladstone, Disraeli, John Bright, Earl Granville, Sir William Vernon Harcourt and other figures in the public eye of England at that time. He eagerly devoured the entire series, and went on to the earnest study of English political history. He does not hesitate to confess that this was a turning point in his life and that no other circumstance did so much to make public life the purpose of his existence. In his senior year, Wilson embodied his conclusions in an article entitled "Cabinet Government in the United



States," which was instantly accepted by the International Review and published in August, 1879. His criticism was that in Congress the important legislation was shaped in committee; and secrecy, he contended, is the atmosphere in which all corruption and evil flourish. To remedy the evil of committee government, which he attributed to lack of leaders, he devised a plan whereby Cabinet members should be entitled to a seat in Congress, and the right to participate in the debates, even if it were deemed advisable not to give them the right to vote. All through his later voluminous writings, Wilson clung to this theory and put the idea into practice, so far as he could, with marked effect, when he came to be the head of the nation, by personally appearing before joint meetings of both houses of Congress and reading his messages.

One effect of Wilson's selection of a career so early in his college course was to induce him to select all his studies with a view to it, and to reject as unsuited both to his tastes and his needs the rigid and inflexible curriculum then prescribed at Princeton. As illustrating how he reached for anything which would help him in his career, he went outside the campus to learn stenography so that he might the more easily make notes during his library work. This acquirement has proved an invaluable aid to him throughout his life, and all his public papers were originally prepared in the characters of the

stenographic art. He was a famous and dreaded debater, belonging to Whig Hall, at Princeton, and it was conceded that he stood the best chance to win the Lynde Debate, an extemporaneous discussion participated in by three representatives from each of the two literary societies. But when in the preliminary trial in his society he drew out of the hat a slip labeled "Protection," requiring him to defend that side, he refused to participate in the debate at all, because he could not advocate what he did not believe.

Conceiving that the law guaranteed the surest promise of a useful career, Wilson took his law course at the University of Virginia. Meanwhile, however, he continued his studies of English government and contributed articles to the University Magazine on John Bright and Gladstone.

A year of rest with his parents at Wilmington followed his leaving college, and then young Wilson engaged in the practice of law at Atlanta, Georgia, but, after a waiting experience of eighteen months in which clients were slow in putting in an appearance, he decided that he would continue his studies in the science of government at Johns Hopkins University. They were mainly directed by Herbert B. Adams in history, and Richard T. Ely in political economy. A second year at Hopkins was spent as the holder of the Historical Fellowship. A brilliant composition at this time was a

study of Adam Smith, while early in 1885 appeared his first important volume, "Congressional Government, a Study of Government by Committee." It was the first time a thorough consideration not only of the theory but of the actual working of the Constitution of the United States had ever been prepared in book form. It was the result of ten years of absorbing study. It met with immediate success, and Ambassador Bryce in the preface to his "American Commonwealth" acknowledges his indebtedness to the work. It brought him invitations to several college chairs, and, while still continuing his Hopkins studies, he accepted the place of associate in history and political economy at the new college for the higher education of women—Bryn Mawr. Mr. Wilson's course of lectures was one of the most popular in the college. In 1886 he took his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins, his work on "Congressional Government" being accepted as his thesis, and one year later the University offered him a lectureship which took him to Baltimore once a week for twenty-five weeks.

Leaving Bryn Mawr, he was two years at Wesleyan University as professor of history and political economy, during which time he wrote "The State," and in 1890 he accepted an offer of the chair of jurisprudence and politics in Princeton University. After fifteen years the young professor who had received the inspiration for his life

work in the Princeton Library was back on the campus of his Alma Mater as a member of the faculty. His lectures sprang into popularity here as well as with his earlier professorships. Princeton had never in all its brilliant history had a teacher who so captivated his classes. Upwards of four hundred students in all were in attendance, absorbing his carefully ascertained and impressively presented facts of history, or fascinated by his original views of current events. His teaching was enlightened by sprightly humor. He spoke with the greatest freedom, often with utter abandon, concerning modern events and those concerned in them, putting the students on their honor not to report him and none of them ever violated his confidences.

Twelve years went by. It was a period of development with Woodrow Wilson. His mind mellowed. There was a ripening into maturity. As he continued his studies along the line of his bent a number of new books came from his pen. They were: "The State," "Division and Reunion," "An Old Master," "Mere Literature" and "George Washington." Later still appeared his masterly "History of the American People." As he compared the conditions of government in this day with the ideals of government set up by the fathers of the Republic, and as he noted points of failure

in the realization of these ideals, he was fired with a holy zeal to champion the cause of social justice.

In June, 1902, Woodrow Wilson was elected president of Princeton University. His thorough equipment, his proven capacity for leadership, his splendid scholarship, his eloquence and popularity as a speaker, his already widespread fame, his judgment and executive ability marked him as the man of the hour. His mettle had been tested in the faculty meetings when he had quickly made himself felt in his readiness in debate over the problems affecting the welfare of the campus and the college. His discernment, his preparedness for emergency, his loyalty, had been amply proven. He was the logical man for the place—this first layman in a list of presidents reaching back for one hundred and sixty years.

By his election a man who had no peer for genuine democracy was placed in supreme power in probably the most aristocratic educational institution in the United States. And this leaven of democracy mixed in with the fine flour of college aristocracy began soon to "work." After a year of quiet but earnest study of conditions from the new point of view of the presidency, Doctor Wilson initiated and carried through to rapid success certain reforms. After seeing to it that the actual scholarship and discipline corresponded properly to what they were scheduled in the catalogue to be,

demanding genuine work to win a diploma and banishing the social pull that had theretofore existed, Doctor Wilson laid his hand to the revision of the course of study. Princeton must not only be a place of work, but of work which should be intelligent and calculated to put the worker in a position best to serve society in the twentieth century.

The new president next secured the preceptorial system. Out of one hundred and sixty-eight hours a week, fifteen hours a week in the classroom were not considered sufficient by President Wilson for the proper education of the students entrusted to Princeton's care. They were no longer to be allowed to drift aimlessly through the weeks and the years. The institution was to give better attention toward direction of their spare time. To this end preceptors were employed at a great expense—for the new system involved an annual cost of about one hundred thousand dollars—and they were to supply friendly companionship and have oversight of studies. The informal, personal contact of the students with these preceptors has been of infinite value. The new system proved its worth from the outset, and the eyes of the educational world were turned upon Princeton which was thus forging to the front with a forcefully constructive programme.

President Wilson next attempted a reorganiza-

tion of the social life of the campus. For ten years he had been turning over in his mind a plan by which the exclusive clubs patronized by the wealthier of the upper classmen might be superseded by a number of "quadrangles," dormitories in which a certain number of men from each class together with several instructors should have their domicile. This would assure a commingling of all the students, the upper classmen demonstrating the value of the college training they were receiving and the lower classmen, through personal contact, receiving an impetus and inspiration for their further college career. As it was, Princeton had a dozen "swell" club-houses, to which only students possessed of large means could afford to belong. The aggregate value of these buildings and their elegant furnishings was upwards of a million dollars. The membership averaged about fifteen seniors and fifteen juniors each, the members of these two classes alone being eligible. Some three hundred or more other members of the senior and junior classes were excluded. Freshmen and especially sophomores engaged in fierce rivalry in their efforts to "make" a club. Their spirit was the dominant character-forming influence on the Princeton campus. It can readily be imagined how eagerly the democratic heart of President Wilson was throbbing in his desire to overthrow this pernicious system so alien to the American ideal.

A committee of seven trustees presented a report at the commencement of 1907, endorsing the President's plan for "the social co-ordination of the University" and the report was accepted. There were twenty-seven trustees. Twenty-five voted for the plan and one against. One member was absent. A circular outlining the plan was sent to the clubs and was read there by hundreds of returned alumni on the Friday night before commencement of the same year 1907. A cry of protest went up and continued through the year. The Alumni Weekly carried communications attacking the President for his high-handed attempts to "make a gentleman chum with a mucker," or to force men "to submit to dictation as to their table companions." The trustees, frightened by the noise the alumni had raised, on October 17 requested President Wilson to withdraw the proposition.

Yet another matter of serious controversy arose with the question of the establishment of a Graduate College. Bequests made for this purpose contained conditions which seemed to require of President Wilson that he should abrogate powers which he believed it his duty to exercise, and this he refused to do. It ended in Princeton getting her magnificent Graduate College—and losing her president. Mr. Wilson felt that he could be of no more service to Old Nassau. When therefore an opportunity to serve his fellow men came with the





THE HOME OF PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, PRINCETON, N. J., DURING HIS PROFESSORSHIP.  
BUILT BY MR. & MRS. WILSON



Democratic nomination to the governorship of New Jersey, he accepted it, and doubtless gladly, for it opened the avenues of statesmanship and public service for which his whole life had been an unconscious preparation.

New Jersey had begun to feel the effects of the great political reform movement sweeping the country and Democratic leaders knew that the state could not be won for their party unless a strong, clean man led the ticket. Woodrow Wilson's splendid campaign to make Princeton a truly American institution had caught the eye of the whole country. He had been a life long Democrat. New Jersey had within her borders the very man the party needed. The state was at the mercy of the big interests. Mr. Wilson hesitated to give his consent to consider the nomination, and was outspoken in the statement that he would make no promises and if elected he must be the accepted leader of his party. This latter condition he rightly regarded as essential to the carrying out of the reforms needed. When asked whether, if he were elected, he would refuse to listen to organization leaders and acknowledge the party organization, Mr. Wilson replied in this wise: "I have always been a believer in party organizations. If I were elected Governor I should be very glad to consult with the leaders of the Democratic organization. I should refuse to listen to no man but I should

be especially glad to hear and duly consider the suggestions of the leaders of my party. If on my own independent investigation, I found that recommendations for appointment made to me by the organization leaders named the best possible men, I should naturally prefer, other things being equal, to appoint them, as the men pointed out by the combined counsels of the party." On July 15 he published a statement to the effect that he would accept the nomination if it were the desire "of a decided majority of the thoughtful Democrats of the State." He was enthusiastically nominated and made a brilliant campaign, convincing the people everywhere of his sincerity of purpose and of his freedom from leading strings. He was elected by 49,150 plurality, which marked a notable political revolution, for Taft had carried New Jersey before by a plurality of 82,000.

A primary for United States senator had been held the same day of the election of governor. Not dreaming that Democratic success would extend to the Legislature, the Democratic primary for senator had been allowed to go by default, or at least to take care of itself. The total Democratic vote was 73,000 and James E. Martine had received 54,000 of these. After a bitter fight, in which Governor Wilson showed he was the real leader of his party and able to cope successfully with the old politicians who did not know that a

new day and a new leader had arrived, the Legislature elected Mr. Martine, who had led in the primary, giving him forty votes, while James Smith, Jr., who insisted upon becoming a candidate, when he had declared before election he would not run, received only four. It was a preliminary victory which greatly encouraged the new general and his soldiery for coming battles. For battles there must needs be, because not only was there Republican opposition to contend with but some of the old Democratic organization leaders could not soon forget the Governor's triumph in the defeat of their old leader. Governor Wilson found the Legislature to be constituted as follows: Senate: Republicans 12, Democrats 9; Assembly: Republicans 18, Democrats 42. The platform on which the party had won promised four vital reforms, a direct primary bill, a corrupt practices act, a public service commission with power to fix rates, and an employer's liability and workingmen's compensation law. Bitter opposition to these reforms developed, secretly even among some Democratic members who were supposed to be pledged to them. Few believed the Governor could force them through. When informed that it would be the end of the session before they could be reached, he replied that if that were the case an extra session would be called to pass them. He invited Republican as well as Democratic members to call upon

him at his offices. If they did not come he sent for them. He won over some by his logical reasoning, others by his magnetic personality. To some who were extremely stubborn he proposed canvassing their own districts with them. Once in a message he intimated that he might be compelled to name publicly the balking members but as a matter of fact he never had to do so. He never made ugly threats but he often smilingly suggested that Jersey public opinion was back of his arguments.

In a legislative session of three months, in spite of the fact that the upper house of the legislature was of the opposite party to him, Governor Wilson fulfilled every demand of the people in securing this important legislation:

(1) The reform of the election laws was achieved by a Corrupt Practices Act, which makes it impossible for any corporation to contribute in any way towards the election of any candidate, and likewise makes the use of money on election-day unlawful and difficult; direct primaries for all elective state, county and municipal offices; direct primaries for United States senator and delegates to national conventions, with popular expression for choice for president; civil service tests for election officers and personal registration for all voters; non-partisan ballots in both primaries and elections.

(2) The better regulation of corporations was accomplished by a comprehensive Public Utilities

Law, fixing the responsibility on officers of corporations for all violations, and vesting power in a commission to make rates and physical valuation of public service companies.

(3) Accidents to workingmen were provided for by a workmen's compensation law, providing for automatic payments for injuries or loss of life, in all industries, and doing away with the old fellow-servant responsibility of the common law.

(4) An act was passed enabling cities to adopt the commission form of government.

(5) A law was passed providing for the complete reorganization of the complicated state school system, whereby politics was eliminated.

(6) A law was passed regulating cold storage and other laws to purify the milk supply and to keep oysters from contamination.

Governor Wilson's extraordinary success in putting reforms through the New Jersey legislature gave him a strong lead for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, and when the Democratic convention met at Baltimore on June 25, 1912, the New Jersey Executive was in a forward position as one of the people's favorites. Feeling that he was not the representative of progressive politics, the selection of Judge Parker as temporary chairman was earnestly opposed by Honorable William J. Bryan, who sent telegrams to every presidential candidate asking whether Parker was satisfactory

for this position. To this telegram Wilson did not hesitate to reply without equivocation that he felt that the choice of Parker would be a mistake. That telegram, sent contrary to the dictates of the old political method of trimming, was a master stroke. It showed that Wilson was no opportunist, but was ready to declare his position when silence or straddling was recommended. Parker won, and it seemed at first as if those who opposed him were doomed to defeat. The deadlock, which lasted from June 25 until July 2, gave Bryan his opportunity, for it allowed the story of the fight that was being made for Wilson as the most militant leader of Progressive measures to find its way back to the uttermost corners of the country. The national Democracy was thrilled. The people began to telegraph their wishes to the delegates, and they strongly favored the nomination of Wilson. It is said that one hundred and ten thousand telegrams were received by delegates. Mr. Bryan himself receiving 1,112 signed by more than thirty thousand persons. Mr. Bryan became the leading spirit of the Convention and he threw his support to Governor Wilson, who made slow but steady gains until his final triumph. On the first ballot he received three hundred and twenty-four votes, and on the forty-sixth, which nominated, nine hundred and ninety.

Upon accepting the nomination for the presi-



dency, Mr. Wilson thus succinctly summarized in his speech at Sea Girt the two great things he would undertake to do:

“There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the varied uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labor in our factories and mines and throughout all our great industrial and commercial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust for their service, not our own. The other, the additional duty, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole people the doors of opportunity through which they must, generation by generation, pass if they are to make conquest of their fortunes in health, in freedom, in peace and in contentment. In the performance of this second great duty we are face to face with questions of conservation and of development, questions of forests and water powers and mines and waterways, of the building of an adequate merchant marine, and the opening of every highway and facility and the setting up of every safeguard needed by a great, industrious, expanding nation.”

In this speech Governor Wilson contended that representative government is nothing more nor less than an effort to give voice to the great, struggling body of the masses—the learned and the fortunate, as well as the uneducated—through spokesmen chosen out of every grade and class. He declared it to be a fact which it would be dangerous to ignore that, “We stand in the presence of an awakened nation—awake to the knowledge that she has lost certain cherished liberties and has wasted priceless resources which she had solemnly undertaken to hold in trust for posterity and for all mankind; and she stands confronted with an occasion for constructive statesmanship such as has not arisen since the days in which the Government was set up.” . . . “We are servants of the people, the whole people. The Nation has been unnecessarily, unreasonably at war within itself. Interest has clashed with interest when there were common principles of right and of fair dealing which might and should have bound them all together, not as rivals, but as partners. As the servants of all, we are bound to undertake the great duty of accommodation and adjustment.”

The Nominee was outspoken in his conviction that the tariff should be revised. Said he:

“Tariff duties, as they have employed them, have not been a means of setting up an equitable system of protection. They have been, on the contrary,

a method of fostering special privilege. They have made it easy to establish monopoly in our domestic markets. Trusts have owed their origin and their secure power to them. The economic freedom of our people, our prosperity in trade, our untrammelled energy in manufacture depend upon their reconsideration from top to bottom in an entirely different spirit. . . . It is obvious that the changes we make should be made only at such a rate and in such a way as will least interfere with the normal and healthful course of commerce and manufacture. But we shall not on that account act with timidity, as if we did not know our own minds, for we are certain of our ground and of our object. There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward." . . .

President Wilson made an inspiring campaign, delivering a number of speeches at strategic centers in the various states. The triangular character of the race made it the most interesting in American history since Lincoln's time. Wilson got 6,293,454 of the popular vote; Roosevelt 4,119,538, and Taft 3,484,980, but the New Jersey Executive got an overwhelming majority in the Electoral College, the vote standing thus: Wilson 435, Roosevelt 88, and Taft 8.

The marrow of the man is his sincerity. His carrying out of every pledge made in New Jersey

presaged his course as President. He kept the rudder true in his State in a storm that beat its fury upon the Commonwealth and threatened to divide and defeat his party, victorious for the first time in a dozen years. In his inaugural address, in which his sincere and genuine appeal to "all forward-looking men" fell upon ears that were glad to hear the pledge of the New Freedom he had come to inaugurate in our Republic, the new President showed that his campaign pledges were the sacred covenants between the new executive and the people.

His inaugural illustrated the truth that he was sailing by the chart which he himself had prepared in the campaign: After insisting that the change of government meant that the nation now sought to use the Democratic party to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view; after asserting that some old, familiar things have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister, and that some new things have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, he declared we had come to a work of restoration, and continued:

"We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation,

and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; water-courses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals."

The inaugural address concluded with this appeal for co-operation in the great task upon which he was entering:

"This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party,

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but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!"

When the 63rd Congress was called in extraordinary session the President's proclamation did not limit the purpose to tariff reduction, as many party leaders desired, but it was primarily convened to revise and reduce the tariff. The previous Republican administration had revised but not reduced, and suffered a crushing defeat in the elections of 1910 and 1912. Wilson, moreover, had before his vision the mistakes of the late President Cleveland to aid him in determining to permit no new question or no reasonings to divert him from the paramount duty of responding to the double mandate of the voters to reduce the tariff and unfetter trade. His every utterance emphasized tariff as the first great reform to be carried out. He was in frequent conference with the leaders of the House, both before Congress assembled and when it convened. He led in the Nation in making and invoking public sentiment as he had successfully led when he was Governor of New Jersey. To emphasize his tariff program and impress the

argument for genuine reduction, he astonished the country by going in person and reading his message to Congress, reviving an early custom which went into innocuous desuetude because Jefferson, who had no taste and little gift for public speaking, sent his message to be read by a clerk, instead of delivering it in person. There were those who declared this return to an old order suggested a king giving orders to Congress. They predicted that the innovation smacked of a return to Federalism. But on the day that Wilson entered the House to read his message every seat was occupied. Hundreds could not gain admission. Those who witnessed the contrast between the clear enunciation and impressive presentation of his convictions and recommendations, and the old humdrum reading, when clerks droned through a message, and the tense interest when the new leader enunciated his own views and the pledges of the majority party, rejoiced at the new freedom that ushered in the delivery in the flesh of a fresh message to the American people.

Wilson was in direct touch with Mr. Underwood and other members of the Ways and Means Committee and other leaders of the House in the preparation of the Underwood Bill. He did not shirk labor or responsibility, nor assume the duty resting upon others. But, in consonance with the duty which the leadership of the dominant party,

to which he had been called, demanded, he helped to shape the character of the legislation on the schedules upon which there was the most difference of opinion. He freely discussed these schedules with those who had a claim upon his consideration of their views. The sugar people were the most active and earnest in trying to secure a reversal of the program of free sugar. They sought to impress the President with the view that a protective duty, which would bring in large revenue, should remain on sugar. He heard, he conferred, he debated, and declared that free sugar must be a part of the bill, and free sugar is in the Underwood-Simmons bill. The famous Schedule K, long called the key to the protection arch, had given so much trouble to the Democrats in the prior Congress that they had to be content to levy some tax on wool, much to the regret of the many who for more than a quarter of a century had been fighting for free wool. The advocates of a tariff on wool wished to enact the same wool schedule that passed the Sixty-second Congress, but the President stood firmly for free wool, as did nearly all the newly elected Congressmen, and free wool is in the bill. The old plan of permitting the beneficiaries of the tariff to write the tariff schedules, which put money in their purses, had come to an end. The President, with the overwhelming majority of his party in Congress, subordinated every local consideration



to the passage of a tariff act drafted along the lines indicated in the pre-election promises of the President. In the tariff, as in important matters in which he was interested in New Jersey, he accepted no compromise. The Tariff act of 1913 owes much of its value to the wise and courageous President in the White House. To him is largely due the credit of a united party, with a narrow margin in the Senate, refusing to change in one jot or tittle the bill agreed upon in party council and approved by the Chief Executive. In 1894, with a like slender majority in the Senate, Mr. Cleveland was unable to lead his party in the famous tariff struggle. They divided and compromised so that, when the Senate finally passed a tariff bill which the House felt forced to accept, the President refused to sign it. He declared it to represent "party perfidy and party dishonor." But the Democratic party went into long exile as the result of party dissensions over tariff and currency legislation. There were those who predicted that history would repeat itself and that the Democratic Congress would so divide in 1913 as to invite another long exile such as the one that began in 1894 and lasted until 1912. To the President, in cordial co-operation with the leaders of his party in Congress, the historian will give the credit for the united action that insured tariff and currency legislation\* without party dissension or serious financial disturbance.

\* The Tariff Bill was signed Oct. 3, 1913; the Currency Bill, Dec. 23, 1913.

It is well known that every revision of the tariff in the past half a century has been accompanied by a strong lobby of the interests which had commercial or industrial issues at stake. After the Underwood bill had gone to the Senate, President Wilson had occasion to inform the Senate that he had information that "a numerous, industrious and insidious lobby" was at work. The President's statement, which aroused the country, was, in full, as follows:

"I think that the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby in Washington to gain recognition for certain alterations of the tariff bill. Washington has seldom seen so numerous, so industrious, or so insidious a lobby. The newspapers are being filled with paid advertisements calculated to mislead the judgment of public men not only, but also the public opinion of the country itself. There is every evidence that money without limit is being spent to sustain this lobby and to create an appearance of a pressure of public opinion antagonistic to some of the chief items of the tariff bill. It is of serious interest to the country that the people at large should have no lobby and be voiceless in these matters while great bodies of astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit. It is thoroughly worth the while of the people of this country to

take knowledge of this matter. Only public opinion can check and destroy it.

“The Government in all its branches ought to be relieved from this intolerable burden and this constant interruption to the calm progress of debate. I know that in this I am speaking for the members of the two Houses, who would rejoice as much as I would to be released from this unbearable situation.”

The statement, at first, was received by a portion of the press and people with incredulity but, as the lobby investigating committee, headed by Senator Overman, proceeded with its work, it became plainly evident that the President was entirely correct in his charge and in his description of the nature of the lobby. Evidence adduced showed that the sugar-growing interests spent as much as \$100,000 in agitation against free sugar, though there was no proof that this particular item was illegally expended. It was in evidence that more than 1,000,000 documents had been mailed under the franks of Congressmen in opposition to free sugar. In one quarter, charges were made that a long list of members of both branches of Congress had accepted money considerations in exchange for their influence in committees of Congress which had labor legislation in charge. Undue influence was exerted upon other members, it was alleged, by means of “business, political and sympathetic”

reasons. It was proven that one shameless lobbyist had impersonated, over the long-distance telephone, several of the leading members of Congress and had offered in their name to influence pending legislation. Evidence was multiplied that strong bodies of men united to defeat members of Congress who opposed the legislation they desired, or sought to put laws on the statute books not favored by them. The trail of the lobbyist was found in a score of ways. The charge of the President of the existence of "a numerous, industrious and insidious lobby" was more than established by the evidence. The President was vindicated. The President's warning and the work of the lobby committee served to put Congress and the people on their guard, and history will doubtless record that the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill was freer from attack by this old enemy of tariff reduction than any other tariff measure passed for many years.

As soon as it became certain that a tariff bill, in accordance with the promises of the Baltimore platform, would pass the extra session, the President bent his energies toward co-operating with Congress to secure the passage of a currency reform measure. The bill, which was christened with the names of Representative Glass and Senator Owen, had the sanction of the Administration.

The President undertook to overcome the feeling of those members of the Senate that remaining in

session through the hot summer in order to pass the tariff bill was sufficient achievement for one session and that the currency bill could go over to the regular session. With all the earnestness of his nature, the President urged that there would never be a more favorable opportunity to pass a currency reform measure than the present. He appeared personally before Congress in joint session for the second time and read his message on the currency. "When the work to be done is so pressing and so fraught with big consequence," he said, "we know that we are not at liberty to weigh against it any point of personal sacrifice." In making men free to employ individual initiative by removing the trammels of the protection tariff, the President held, there will be necessary some readjustments of purpose and point of view. Then will follow a period of expansion and new enterprise, and "it is for us to determine whether it shall be rapid and facile and of easy accomplishment. This it cannot be unless the resourceful business men who are to deal with the new circumstances are to have at hand and ready for use the instrumentalities and conveniences of free enterprise which independent men need when acting on their own initiative." One of the chief things business needs now is "the proper means by which readily to vitalize its credit, corporate and individual, and its originative brains. The tyrannies of business, big and little, lie within

the field of credit. We know that. Shall we not act upon the knowledge? Do we not know how to act upon it? If a man cannot make his assets available at pleasure, his assets of capacity and character and resource, what satisfaction is it to him to see opportunity beckoning to him on every hand, when others have the keys of credit in their pockets and treat them as all but their own private possession?"

It is imperative, therefore, to act immediately and upon clear principles. "The country has sought and seen its path in this matter within the last few years—sees it more clearly now than it ever saw it before—much more clearly than when the last legislative proposals on the subject were made. We must have a currency, not rigid as now, but readily, elastically responsive to sound credit, the expanding and contracting credits of everyday transactions, the normal ebb and flow of personal and corporate dealings. Our banking laws must mobilize reserves; must not permit the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the monetary resources of the country or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses. And the control of the system of banking and of issue which our new laws are to set up must be public, not private, must be vested in the Government itself, so that the banks may be

the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative.”

The Wilson administration, in its earliest stages, was called upon to consider diplomatic questions that at once gave the people a clear understanding of its foreign policy. With firmness and dignity, unmoved by jingoism or hesitation, the President made clear his determination to make friendliness and justice to other nations the duty and mission of the Republic. In his brief inaugural, Mr. Wilson did not touch upon foreign questions but confined himself to the few economic home problems that pressed for solution. He may have thought, as did most of the people, that no international complications would come up until the needed tariff and currency legislation had been enacted, and he doubtless hoped that not even a small cloud would appear upon the horizon to threaten our cordial and friendly relations with other nations. But there soon came rumors of threatened trouble in one or more Republics to the south of us. There seemed to be a feeling that, after a long period of Republican rule at Washington, the new Administration's induction into office would encourage self-imposed officials to seek to obtain the reins of government. What should the attitude of the Administration be toward our neighbor countries in Central and South America? The President deemed the answer to that question important enough to make a

declaration that attracted world-wide attention. He said:

“One of the chief objects of my administration will be to cultivate the friendship and deserve the confidence of our sister republics of Central and South America, and to promote in every proper and honorable way the interests which are common to the peoples of the two continents. I earnestly desire the most cordial understanding and co-operation between the peoples and leaders of America and, therefore, deem it my duty to make this brief statement.

“Co-operation is possible only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force. We hold, as I am sure all thoughtful leaders of republican government everywhere hold, that just government rests always upon the consent of the governed, and that there can be no freedom without order based upon law and upon the public conscience and approval. We shall look to make these principles the basis of mutual intercourse, respect and helpfulness between our sister republics and ourselves. We shall lend our influence of every kind to the realization of these principles in fact and practice, knowing that disorder, personal intrigues, and defiance of constitutional rights weaken and discredit government and injure none so much as the people who are unfortunate enough



to have their common life and their common affairs so tainted and disturbed. We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambition. We are the friends of peace, but we know that there can be no lasting or stable peace in such circumstances. As friends, therefore, we shall prefer those who act in the interest of peace and honor, who protect private rights, and respect the restraints of constitutional provision. Mutual respect seems to us the indispensable foundation of friendships between states, as between individuals.

“The United States has nothing to seek in Central and South America except the lasting interests of the peoples of the two continents, the security of governments intended for the people and for no special group or interest, and the development of personal and trade relationships between the two continents which shall redound to the profit and advantage of both and interfere with the rights and liberties of neither.”

At the same time, the world was given to understand that what is known as “dollar diplomacy” would not be countenanced by the Administration. During the Presidential campaign there had been much criticism of this policy and many had attributed to it a growing irritation in some of our sister republics.

The people of China had but latterly changed the form of their government into a republic, patterned after the United States. No great nation had recognized the Republic, and there was doubt whether it would maintain itself. The President determined not to join hands with other nations in a loan coupled with conditions that denied the government of China a free hand. He resolved also that as soon as the Chinese legislative branch was organized he would recognize the new Republic. The people of the United States rejoiced in the recognition, and shortly other nations followed. In extending the recognition of the greatest western Republic to the oldest nation that had put on the robes of self-government, the addresses by the new President of China and the American representative in China gave a thrill to all who believe that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The words of President Wilson constitute the best expression of American thought. He wrote:

“The Government and people of the United States of America having abundantly testified their sympathy with the people of China upon their assumption of the attributes and powers of self-government deem it opportune at this time, when the representative National Assembly has met to discharge the high duty of setting the seal of full accomplishment upon the aspirations of the Chinese

people, that I extend, in the name of my Government and of my countrymen, a greeting of welcome to the New China thus entering into the family of nations. In taking this step, I entertain the confident hope and expectation that in perfecting a republican form of government the Chinese nation will attain to the highest degree of development and well-being, and that under the new rule all the established obligations of China which passed to the Provisional Government will, in turn, pass to and be observed by the Government established by the Assembly."

Early in the history of the Administration, the Japanese Minister lodged a protest with the Department of State against the proposed passage of an anti-alien land law bill by the California Legislature. The claim of the Japanese Government was that such a measure would violate treaty rights. "To lease land for commercial purposes" is granted to Japanese subjects in our treaty with Japan. It was claimed by the California Legislature that the Japanese were increasing their leases and their ownership of lands, particularly agricultural lands, in California. President Wilson set himself to see that the treaty rights of Japan should be respected. In a telegram to Governor Johnson, of California, the President "very respectfully but most earnestly advised against" the use of the words "ineligible to citizenship," which were used in one or more of

the bills pending. In a second telegram to Governor Johnson, he appealed to the Executive, the Legislature, and the people of California, "to act in the matter under consideration in a manner that cannot from any point of view be fairly challenged or called in question. If they deem it necessary to exclude all aliens who have not declared their intention to become citizens from the privilege of land ownership, they can do so along the lines already followed in the laws of many foreign countries including Japan itself. Invidious discrimination will inevitably draw in question the treaty obligations of the Government of the United States." The President added that he was "confident the people and the legislative authorities of California would generously respond the moment the matter was presented to them as a question of national policy and national honor."

Upon the receipt of a reply from Governor Johnson, President Wilson telegraphed to the Governor asking whether, on account of the difficulty from a distance of understanding fully the situation with regard to the sentiments and circumstances lying back of the pending proposition concerning the ownership of land in California, it would be agreeable to him and the Legislature to have the Secretary of State visit Sacramento for the purpose of counseling with the Governor and the members of the Legislature and co-operating in

the framing of a law which would meet the views of the people of the State and yet leave untouched the international obligations of the United States.

Mr. Bryan went to California and conferred with the Governor and Legislature, but it soon became clearly apparent that the Legislature was bent upon passing a law forbidding ownership of agricultural land by the Japanese.

Mr. Bryan's suggestions to the Legislature were the following:

1. Delay immediate action and permit the State Department to try to frame a new treaty with Japan.

2. Delay immediate action and appoint a legislative commission to investigate alien land ownership and act with President Wilson in gaining relief.

3. Enact a law similar to the Illinois statute, which allows all aliens to hold land six years.

4. Enact a law similar to the Federal statute in the District of Columbia, which applies to all aliens.

Mr. Bryan presented these suggestions with this happy statement: "Each State in the Union acts in a dual capacity. It is the guardian of local affairs of its people and in a sense the only guardian, and yet each State is a member of the Union and one of the sisterhood of States. Therefore, in acting upon questions of local conditions,

the State always recognizes that it is its duty to share the responsibility with other States in actions affecting the nation's relations with foreign nations."

The Legislature passed an act that was regarded by Japan as a discrimination against that country. For a time there was a feeling that the friendly relations long existing between the two countries would be sundered. But the policy of the Federal Administration, couched in friendly and courteous terms, convinced the Japanese people of its genuine friendship and of its sincere desire to treat that country with justice and consideration. The tense feeling in both countries was relieved by the spirit of amity and justice shown in every act and note of the Wilson administration.

A second delicate diplomatic situation with which the President had to deal concerned Mexico. The Ambassador at Mexico City, Mr. Henry Lane Wilson, was an appointee of the previous Administration, and in his desire to have this country recognize the *de facto* Huerta government, which followed the Madero régime, he did not represent the views of President Wilson. Ambassador Wilson was summoned to Washington to confer with the President, but a variance of views developing between him and the Administration, his resignation was eventually accepted. The situation was one of grave difficulty. The President was constrained

to send a personal representative to deal with it at first hand and for this delicate mission selected ex-Governor John Lind of Minnesota, who was sent to Mexico. He was sent as adviser of the United States Embassy at Mexico City, and he began his negotiations with the Huerta administration through the United States chargé d'affaires. General Huerta showed little inclination, however, to accept the good offices tendered by this country through Mr. Lind. At this juncture, President Wilson for the third time took the Congress and people of the United States into his counsels by appearing personally before the joint session of both houses and making public his purpose and plans in dealing with the Mexican situation and with the results that followed his efforts.

His address revealed how the Huerta provisional government had rejected the friendly offices of the United States, told of its effort to aid in the establishment of peace, and of a government which could be recognized by this nation, and which would be obeyed and respected by Mexico's own people. For the first time since Washington's administration, a President appeared before Congress to discuss foreign affairs. His cordial reception by members from all sides, and the endorsement of his course by a large majority of the members of Congress, the press, and of the people of the Union, showed how strongly public opinion was behind him

in his efforts. He sounded a high note when he stated at the outset:

“The peace, prosperity and contentment of Mexico mean more, much more, to us than merely an enlarged field for our commerce and enterprise. They mean an enlargement of the field of self-government and the realization of the hopes and rights of a nation with whose best aspirations, so long suppressed and disappointed, we deeply sympathize. We shall yet prove to the Mexican people that we know how to serve them without first thinking how we shall serve ourselves.”

Mr. Lind was sent with the following instructions:

“Press very earnestly upon the attention of those who are now exercising authority or wielding influence in Mexico the following considerations and advice:

“The Government of the United States does not stand in the same case with the other great governments of the world in respect of what is happening or what is likely to happen in Mexico. We offer our good offices, not only because of our genuine desire to play the part of a friend, but also because we are expected by the powers of the world to act as Mexico’s nearest friend.

“We wish to act in these circumstances in the spirit of the most earnest and disinterested friendship. It is our purpose in whatever we do or pro-



May 19, 1913.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

My dear General Wilson,

I wish most sincerely that it were possible for me to be present at the dedication of the Maine Monument. My thoughts will be very much with you that day, as will, I am sure, the thoughts of the whole country.

All Americans must look back to the tragedy of the Maine with the profoundest sentiments of sorrow for the fine men who then so tragically and unexpectedly lost their lives, and must always feel that to have been one of the turning points of our consciousness of what was involved in the struggle for human liberty.

Cordially and Sincerely Yours,

Woodrow Wilson

General James Grant Wilson



pose in this perplexing and distressing situation not only to pay the most scrupulous regard to the sovereignty and independence of Mexico—that we take as a matter of course to which we are bound by every obligation of right and honor—but also to give every possible evidence that we act in the interest of Mexico alone, and not in the interest of any person or body of persons who may have personal or property claims in Mexico which they may feel that they have a right to press. We are seeking to counsel Mexico for her own good and in the interest of her own peace, and not for any other purpose whatever. The Government of the United States would deem itself discredited if it had any selfish or ulterior purpose in transactions where the peace, happiness, and prosperity of a whole people are involved. It is acting as its friendship for Mexico, not as any selfish interest, dictates.

“The present situation in Mexico is incompatible with the fulfillment of international obligations on the part of Mexico, with the civilized development of Mexico herself, and with the maintenance of tolerable political and economic conditions in Central America. It is upon no common occasion therefore that the United States offers her counsel and assistance. All America cries out for a settlement.

“A satisfactory settlement seems to us to be conditioned on—

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“(a) An immediate cessation of fighting throughout Mexico, a definite armistice solemnly entered into and scrupulously observed:

“(b) Security given for an early and free election in which all will agree to take part;

“(c) The consent of General Huerta to bind himself not to be a candidate for election as president of the republic at this election; and

“(d) The agreement of all parties to abide by the results of the election and co-operate in the most loyal way in organizing and supporting the new administration.”

The Mexican Government was to be assured that the United States wished to play any part in this settlement which it could play honorably and consistently. It pledged itself to recognize and assist an administration so set up. Could Mexico give the civilized world a good reason for rejecting these good offices?

Mr. Lind executed his delicate mission with singular tact, firmness and good judgment, but the proposals he submitted were rejected in a note of Foreign Minister Gamboa which was laid before the Congress in printed form. This rejection the President was constrained to believe was due to misinformation, first, as to the friendly spirit of the American people in this matter, and, second, because they did not believe that the present Administration spoke for the people of the United States.

“The effect of this unfortunate misunderstanding on their part,” he continued in his message, “is to leave them singularly isolated and without friends who can effectually aid them. So long as the misunderstanding continues, we can only await the time of their awakening to a realization of the actual facts. We cannot thrust our good offices upon them. The situation must be given a little more time to work itself out in the new circumstances; and I believe that only a little time will be necessary. For the circumstances are new. The rejection of our friendship makes them new and will inevitably bring its own alterations in the whole aspect of affairs. The actual situation of the authorities at Mexico City will presently be revealed.” Meantime, “we can afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns to misuse it.” With increased activity on the part of contending factions in Mexico would come increased danger to non-combatants, and therefore the President earnestly urged all Americans to leave Mexico at once. We should assist them in getting away, but, at the same time, let every one who assumed authority know, in the most unequivocal way, “that we shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away and shall hold those responsible for their sufferings and losses to a definite reckoning.” For

the rest, the President would forbid the exportation of arms or munitions of war from the United States into any part of the Republic of Mexico. His policy of justice, patience and friendship in all dealings with Mexico won the approval of the whole world. This policy, dictated by neighborly regard and freedom from any spirit of aggression, has, it is believed, gone far to make for the enduring friendship of the neighboring republics when the present unhappy struggles in Mexico have given way to honorable peace.

MRS. WOODROW WILSON is the daughter of Rev. Dr. Samuel Edward Axson, long pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Rome, Georgia. She was born at Savannah when it was the home of her grandfather, Rev. Dr. I. S. K. Axson, a distinguished Presbyterian minister.

Mrs. Wilson is a woman of rare gifts, good taste, and charm of manner. Although her paintings have been exhibited in art galleries, she likes best to be known as a home-maker and, if she has any ambition as wife of the President, it is to set an example of unostentatious living to the women of America without, however, the slightest inclination to dictate to others.

Their home, whether in the college town or in the White House, has always been a center of culture

and grace, and it has, as well, been characterized by marked religious influences and the ideals of her own and her husband's forefathers. Mrs. Wilson is in earnest sympathy with legislative reform that shall secure improved conditions for working women. She has taken active interest in the effort to rid Washington of its alley evils.

From her earliest girlhood in Georgia she has been a devotee of art, and studied at the Art League in New York and at Lyme, Conn. Two of her best known works are "The Lane" and "The River," both done from scenes at Lyme. Her pictures are noticeable for their sense of restfulness.

Three daughters were born in the Wilson home. Miss Margaret Wilson is gifted with a beautiful voice and inherits her father's love of music. Miss Jessie Wilson possesses a deep human sympathy, which found a practical outlet when she became a worker in the Lighthouse Mission in the Kensington, Philadelphia, mill district. Her engagement to Mr. Francis Bowes Sayre was announced soon after the President and his family came to Washington. Her marriage in the White House on November 25, 1913, was the thirteenth wedding to take place in the Executive Mansion. Miss Eleanor Wilson, the youngest daughter, like her mother, is devoted to art, in which she has marked talent, and has fitted herself to be an illustrator.

Two works of a biographical nature about President Wilson are: "Woodrow Wilson, the Story of His Life," by William Bayard Hale (1912), and "Woodrow Wilson, His Career, His Statesmanship and His Public Policy," by Hester E. Hosford (1912).



PORTRAITS OF THE  
LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM 1889 TO 1913

CARRIE S. HARRISON  
IDA SAXTON McKINLEY  
EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT  
HELEN H. TAFT  
ELLEN A. WILSON



*Carrie S. Harrison*

Mrs. Benjamin Harrison.



*Ida Saxton McKinley*

Mrs. William McKinley.



*Edith Kermit Roosevelt*

Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt.

After a copyrighted photograph by R. W. Thatcher.



*Helen H. Taft.*

Mrs. William H. Taft.  
After a photograph by Harris and Ewing.



*Ellen A. Wilson.*

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.  
After a copyrighted photograph by Davis and Sanford.



## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A

### PRESIDENTS, VICE-PRESIDENTS, AND CABINET OFFICERS

FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME

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1789

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Thomas Jefferson, Sec. State.

Samuel Osgood, }  
Timothy Pickering, } Post. Gen.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Alexander Hamilton, Sec. Treas.

Henry Knox, Sec. War.

Edmund Randolph, Att. Gen.

1793

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *F.*

Thomas Jefferson, }  
Edmund Randolph, } Sec. State.  
Timothy Pickering, }

Edmund Randolph, }  
William Bradford, } Att. Gen.  
Charles Lee, }

JOHN ADAMS, *F.*

Alexander Hamilton, }  
Oliver Wolcott, } Sec. Treas.

Henry Knox, }  
Timothy Pickering, } Sec. War.

James McHenry, }  
Timothy Pickering, } Post. Gen.  
Joseph Habersham, }

1797

JOHN ADAMS, *F.*

Timothy Pickering, }  
John Marshall, } Sec. State.

Oliver Wolcott, }  
Samuel Dexter, } Sec. Treas.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *R.*

James McHenry, }  
Samuel Dexter, } Sec. War.

Benjamin Stoddert, Sec. Navy.  
Charles Lee, Att. Gen.

Joseph Habersham, Post. Gen.

## 1801

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *R.*  
 James Madison, Sec. State.  
 Henry Dearborn, Sec. War.  
 Levi Lincoln, Att. Gen.  
 Joseph Habersham, }  
 Gideon Granger, } Post. Gen.

AARON BURR, *R.*  
 Samuel Dexter, }  
 Albert Gallatin, } Sec. Treas.  
 Benjamin Stoddert, }  
 Robert Smith, } Sec. Navy.

## 1805

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *R.*  
 James Madison, Sec. State.  
 Albert Gallatin, Sec. Treas.  
 Henry Dearborn, }  
 William Eustis, } Sec. War.  
 Gideon Granger, Post. Gen.

GEORGE CLINTON, *R.*  
 Robert Smith, }  
 J. Crowninshield, } Sec. Navy.  
 Levi Lincoln, }  
 Robert Smith, }  
 J. Breckenridge, } Att. Gen.  
 Cæsar A. Rodney, }

## 1809

JAMES MADISON, *R.*  
 Robert Smith, }  
 James Monroe, } Sec. State.  
 William Eustis, Sec. War.  
 Cæsar A. Rodney, Att. Gen.

GEORGE CLINTON, *R.*  
 Albert Gallatin, Sec. Treas.  
 Paul Hamilton, Sec. Navy.  
 Gideon Granger, Post. Gen.

## 1813

JAMES MADISON, *D.*  
 James Monroe, Sec. State.  
 George W. Campbell, }  
 Alexander J. Dallas, } Sec. Treas.  
 William H. Crawford, }  
 William Jones, }  
 B. W. Crowninshield, } Sec. Navy.

ELBRIDGE GERRY, *D.*  
 John Armstrong, }  
 James Monroe, } Sec. War.  
 William Pinkney, }  
 Richard Rush, } Att. Gen.  
 Gideon Granger, }  
 Return J. Meigs, } Post. Gen.

## 1817

JAMES MONROE, *D.*  
 John Quincy Adams, Sec. State.  
 John C. Calhoun, Sec. War.  
 William Wirt, Att. Gen.  
 Return J. Meigs, Post. Gen.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, *D.*  
 William H. Crawford, Sec. Treas.  
 B. W. Crowninshield, }  
 Smith Thompson, } Sec. Navy.



## 1821

JAMES MONROE, *D.*  
 John Quincy Adams, Sec. State.  
 William H. Crawford, Sec. Treas.  
 William Wirt, Att. Gen.  
 Return J. Meigs, }  
 John McLean, } Post. Gen.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, *D.*  
 John C. Calhoun, Sec. War.  
 Smith Thompson, }  
 Samuel L. Southard, } Sec. Navy.

## 1825

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, *D.*  
 Henry Clay, Sec. State.  
 James Barbour, }  
 P. B. Porter, } Sec. War.  
 Samuel L. Southard, Sec. Navy.

JOHN C. CALHOUN, *D.*  
 Richard Rush, Sec. Treas.  
 William Wirt, Att. Gen.  
 J. McLean, Post. Gen.

## 1829

ANDREW JACKSON, *D.*  
 Martin Van Buren, }  
 Edward Livingston, } Sec. State.  
 John H. Eaton, }  
 Lewis Cass, } Sec. War.  
 John McPherson Berrien, }  
 Roger B. Taney, } Att. Gen.

JOHN C. CALHOUN, *D.*  
 Samuel D. Ingram, }  
 Louis McLane, } Sec. Treas.  
 John Branch, }  
 Levi Woodbury, } Sec. Navy.  
 William T. Barry, Post. Gen.

## 1833

ANDREW JACKSON, *D.*  
 Edward Livingston, }  
 Louis McLane, } Sec. State  
 John Forsyth, }  
 Lewis Cass, }  
 B. F. Butler, } Sec. War.  
 Levi Woodbury, }  
 Mahlon Dickerson, } Sec. Navy.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, *D.*  
 Roger B. Taney, }  
 Benj. F. Butler, } Att. Gen.  
 Louis McLane, }  
 William J. Duane, }  
 Roger B. Taney, } Sec. Treas.  
 Levi Woodbury, }  
 William T. Barry, }  
 Amos Kendall, } Post. Gen.

1837

MARTIN VAN BUREN, *D.*  
 John Forsyth, Sec. State.  
 Joel R. Poinsett, Sec. War.  
 Benj. F. Butler, }  
 Felix Grundy, } Att. Gen.  
 Henry D. Gilpin, }

RICHARD M. JOHNSON, *D.*  
 Levi Woodbury, Sec. Treas.  
 Mahlon Dickerson, }  
 James K. Paulding, } Sec. Navy.  
 Amos Kendall, }  
 John M. Niles, } Post. Gen.

1841

WILLIAM H. HARRISON, *W.*  
 Daniel Webster, Sec. State.  
 Thomas Ewing, Sec. Treas.  
 John Bell, Sec. War.

JOHN TYLER, *W.*  
 John J. Crittenden, Att. Gen.  
 George E. Badger, Sec. Navy.  
 Francis Granger, Post. Gen.

1841

JOHN TYLER, *W.*

Daniel Webster, }  
 Hugh S. Legaré, } Sec. State.  
 Abel P. Upshur, }  
 John C. Calhoun, }  
 Thomas Ewing, }  
 Walter Forward, } Sec. Treas.  
 John C. Spencer, }  
 George M. Bibb, }  
 John J. Crittenden, }  
 Hugh S. Legaré, } Att. Gen.  
 John Nelson, }

John Bell, }  
 James M. Porter, } Sec. War.  
 John C. Spencer, }  
 William Wilkins, }  
 George E. Badger, }  
 Abel P. Upshur, } Sec. Navy.  
 David Henshaw, }  
 Thos. W. Gilmer, }  
 John Y. Mason, }  
 Francis Granger, } Post. Gen.  
 Charles A. Wickliffe, }

1845

JAMES K. POLK, *D.*  
 James Buchanan, Sec. State.  
 John Y. Mason, }  
 Nathan Clifford, } Att. Gen.  
 Isaac Toucey, }  
 Cave Johnson, Post. Gen.

GEORGE M. DALLAS, *D.*  
 Robert J. Walker, Sec. Treas.  
 George Bancroft, }  
 John Y. Mason, } Sec. Navy.  
 William L. Marcy, Sec. War.

## 1849

ZACHARY TAYLOR, *W.*

John M. Clayton, Sec. State.

George W. Crawford, Sec. War.

Thomas Ewing, Sec. Interior.

Jacob Collamer, Post. Gen.

MILLARD FILLMORE, *W.*

William M. Meredith, Sec. Treas.

William B. Preston, Sec. Navy.

Reverdy Johnson, Att. Gen.

## 1850

MILLARD FILLMORE, *W.*Daniel Webster, }  
Edward Everett, } Sec. State.

Charles M. Conrad, Sec. War.

William A. Graham, }  
John P. Kennedy, } Sec. Navy.Nathan K. Hall, }  
Samuel D. Hubbard, } Post. Gen.

Thomas Corwin, Sec. Treas.

Alex. H. H. Stuart, Sec. Interior.

John J. Crittenden, Att. Gen.

## 1853

FRANKLIN PIERCE, *D.*

William L. Marcy, Sec. State.

Jefferson Davis, Sec. War.

Robert McClelland, Sec. Interior.

James Campbell, Post. Gen.

WILLIAM R. KING, *D.*

James Guthrie, Sec. Treas.

James C. Dobbin, Sec. Navy.

Caleb Cushing, Att. Gen.

## 1857

JAMES BUCHANAN, *D.*Lewis Cass, }  
Jeremiah S. Black, } Sec. State.Howell Cobb, }  
Philip F. Thomas, } Sec. Treas.John A. Dix, }  
John B. Floyd, } Sec. War.

Joseph Holt, }

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, *D.*

Isaac Toucey, Sec. Navy.

Jacob Thompson, Sec. Interior.

Jeremiah S. Black, }  
Edwin M. Stanton, } Att. Gen.Aaron V. Brown, }  
Joseph Holt, } Post. Gen.

Horatio King, }

## 1861

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *R.*

William H. Seward, Sec. State.

Simon Cameron, }  
Edwin M. Stanton, } Sec. War.Caleb B. Smith, }  
John P. Usher, } Sec. Interior.

Gideon Welles, Sec. Navy.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN, *R.*Salmon P. Chase, }  
Wm. P. Fessenden, } Sec. Treas.Edward Bates, }  
James Speed, } Att. Gen.Montgomery Blair, }  
William Dennison, } Post. Gen.

## 1865

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *R.*  
 William H. Seward, Sec. State.  
 Edwin M. Stanton, Sec. War.  
 John P. Usher, }  
 James Harlan, } Sec. Interior.

ANDREW JOHNSON, *R.*  
 Hugh McCulloch, Sec. Treas.  
 Gideon Welles, Sec. Navy.  
 James Speed, Att. Gen.  
 William Dennison, Post. Gen.

## 1865

ANDREW JOHNSON, *R.*

William H. Seward, Sec. State.  
 Edwin M. Stanton, }  
 Ulysses S. Grant, } Sec. War.  
 Lorenzo Thomas, }  
 John M. Schofield, }  
 Hugh McCulloch, Sec. Treas.  
 Gideon Welles, Sec. Navy.

James Harlan, }  
 Orville H. Browning, } Sec. Interior.  
 James Speed, }  
 Henry Stanbery, } Att. Gen.  
 William M. Evarts, }  
 William Dennison, } Post. Gen.  
 Alex. W. Randall, }

## 1869

ULYSSES S. GRANT, *R.*  
 E. B. Washburne, }  
 Hamilton Fish, } Sec. State.  
 George S. Boutwell, Sec. Treas.  
 John A. Rawlins, }  
 Wm. W. Belknap, } Sec. War.

SCHUYLER COLFAX, *R.*  
 Jacob D. Cox, }  
 Columbus Delano, } Sec. Interior.  
 Adolph E. Borie, }  
 George M. Robeson, } Sec. Navy.  
 George H. Williams, Att. Gen.  
 John A. J. Creswell, Post. Gen.

## 1873

ULYSSES S. GRANT, *R.*  
 Hamilton Fish, Sec. State.  
 William W. Belknap, }  
 Alphonso Taft, } Sec. War.  
 J. Donald Cameron, }  
 John A. J. Creswell, }  
 Marshall Jewell, } Post. Gen.  
 James N. Tyner, }  
 George M. Robeson, Sec. Navy.

HENRY WILSON, *R.*  
 Columbus Delano, }  
 Zachariah Chandler, } Sec. Interior.  
 Wm. A. Richardson, }  
 Benj. H. Bristow, } Sec. Treas.  
 Lot M. Morrill, }  
 George H. Williams, }  
 Edward Pierrepont, } Att. Gen.  
 Alphonso Taft, }

## 1877

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, *R.*  
 William M. Evarts, Sec. State.  
 R. W. Thompson, } Sec. Navy.  
 Nathan Goff, Jr., }  
 David M. Key, } Post. Gen.  
 Horace Maynard, }

WILLIAM A. WHEELER, *R.*  
 John Sherman, Sec. Treas.  
 George W. McCrary, } Sec. War.  
 Alexander Ramsey, }  
 Carl Schurz, Sec. Interior.  
 Charles Devens, Att. Gen.

## 1881

JAMES A. GARFIELD, *R.*  
 James G. Blaine, Sec. State.  
 R. T. Lincoln, Sec. War.  
 W. H. Hunt, Sec. Navy.  
 Wayne MacVeagh, Att. Gen.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, *R.*  
 William Windom, Sec. Treas.  
 S. J. Kirkwood, Sec. Interior.  
 Thomas L. James, Post. Gen.

## 1881

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, *R.*

James G. Blaine, } Sec. State.  
 F. T. Frelinghuysen, }  
 Robert T. Lincoln, Sec. War.  
 William H. Hunt, } Sec. Navy.  
 W. E. Chandler, }  
 Wayne MacVeagh, } Att. Gen.  
 Benj. H. Brewster, }

William Windom, } Sec. Treas.  
 Charles J. Folger, }  
 S. J. Kirkwood, } Sec. Interior.  
 H. M. Teller, }  
 T. L. James, } Post. Gen.  
 Timothy O. Howe, }

## 1885

GROVER CLEVELAND, *D.*  
 Thomas F. Bayard, Sec. State.  
 William C. Endicott, Sec. War.  
 William C. Whitney, Sec. Navy.  
 William F. Vilas, } Post. Gen.  
 Don M. Dickinson, }

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, *D.*  
 Daniel Manning, } Sec. Treas.  
 Charles S. Fairchild, }  
 Augustus H. Garland, Att. Gen.  
 Lucius Q. C. Lamar, } Sec. Interior.  
 William F. Vilas, }

## 1889

BENJAMIN HARRISON, *R.*  
 James G. Blaine, } Sec. State.  
 John W. Foster, }  
 Redfield Proctor, } Sec. War.  
 Stephen B. Elkins, }  
 Benjamin F. Tracy, Sec. Navy.  
 John Wanamaker, Post. Gen.

LEVI PARSONS MORTON, *R.*  
 William Windom, } Sec. Treas.  
 Charles Foster, }  
 William H. H. Miller, Att. Gen.  
 John W. Noble, Sec. Interior.  
 Jeremiah M. Rusk, Sec. Agric.

## 1893

GROVER CLEVELAND, *D.*

Walter Q. Gresham, }  
 Richard Olney, } Sec. State.  
 Daniel S. Lamont, Sec. War.  
 Hilary A. Herbert, Sec. Navy.  
 Wilson S. Bissell, }  
 William L. Wilson, } Post. Gen.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, *D.*

John G. Carlisle, Sec. Treas.  
 Richard Olney, }  
 Judson Harmon, } Att. Gen.  
 Hoke Smith, }  
 David R. Francis, } Sec. Interior.  
 J. Sterling Morton, Sec. Agric.

## 1897

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, *R.*

John Sherman, }  
 William R. Day, } Sec. State.  
 John Hay, }  
 Russell A. Alger, } Sec. War.  
 Elihu Root, }  
 James A. Gary, } Post. Gen.  
 Charles E. Smith, }

GARRET A. HOBART, *R.*

Lyman J. Gage, Sec. Treas.  
 John D. Long, Sec. Navy.  
 Joseph McKenna, }  
 John W. Griggs, } Att. Gen.  
 Cornelius N. Bliss, }  
 Ethan Allen Hitchcock, } Sec. Interior  
 James Wilson, Sec. Agric.

## 1901

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, *R.*

John Hay, Sec. State.  
 Lyman J. Gage, Sec. Treas.  
 Elihu Root, Sec. War.  
 Charles E. Smith, Post. Gen.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *R.*

John D. Long, Sec. Navy.  
 Philander C. Knox, Att. Gen.  
 Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Sec. Interior.  
 James Wilson, Sec. Agric.

## - 1901

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *R.*

John Hay, Sec. State.  
 Lyman J. Gage, }  
 Leslie M. Shaw, } Sec. Treas.  
 Elihu Root, }  
 William H. Taft, } Sec. War.  
 Henry C. Payne, }  
 Robert J. Wynne, } Post. Gen.  
 George B. Cortelyou, Sec. Commerce.

John D. Long, }  
 William H. Moody, } Sec. Navy.  
 Paul Morton, }  
 Ethan A. Hitchcock, Sec. Interior.  
 James Wilson, Sec. Agric.  
 Philander C. Knox, }  
 William H. Moody, } Att. Gen.

## 1905

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *R.*

John Hay,  
Elihu Root, } Sec. State.  
Robert Bacon, }  
Leslie M. Shaw, } Sec. Treas.  
George B. Cortelyou, }  
William H. Taft, } Sec. War.  
Luke E. Wright, }  
Ethan A. Hitchcock, } Sec. Interior.  
James R. Garfield, }  
Paul Morton, }  
Charles J. Bonaparte, } Sec. Navy.  
Victor H. Metcalf, }  
Truman H. Newberry, }

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, *R.*

James Wilson, Sec. Agric.  
Victor H. Metcalf, } Sec. Commerce.  
Oscar S. Straus, }  
William H. Moody, } Att. Gen.  
Charles J. Bonaparte, }  
George B. Cortelyou, } Post. Gen.  
George von L. Meyer, }

## 1909

WILLIAM H. TAFT, *R.*

Philander C. Knox, Sec. State.  
Franklin MacVeagh, Sec. Treas.  
Jacob M. Dickinson, } Sec. War.  
Henry L. Stimson, }  
Richard A. Ballinger, } Sec. Interior.  
Walter L. Fisher, }  
George von L. Meyer, Sec. Navy.

JAMES S. SHERMAN, *R.*

James Wilson, Sec. Agric.  
Frank H. Hitchcock, Post. Gen.  
George W. Wickersham, Att. Gen.  
Charles Nagel, Sec. Commerce.

## 1913

WOODROW WILSON, *D.*

William J. Bryan, Sec. State.  
William G. McAdoo, Sec. Treas.  
Lindley M. Garrison, Sec. War.  
Franklin K. Lane, Sec. Interior.  
Josephus Daniels, Sec. Navy.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL, *D.*

David F. Houston, Sec. Agric.  
Albert S. Burleson, Post. Gen.  
James C. McReynolds, Att. Gen.  
William C. Redfield, Sec. Commerce.  
William B. Wilson, Sec. Labor.

## APPENDIX B

### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, AND TABULATED FACTS ABOUT THE LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS

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#### ELECTORAL VOTES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

NOTE.—In this tabulation only the aggregate electoral votes for candidates for President and Vice-President in the first ten quadrennial elections appear.

1789. Previous to 1804 each elector voted for two candidates for President. The one who received the largest number of votes was declared President, and the one who received the next largest number of votes was declared Vice-President. The electoral votes for the first President of the United States were: George Washington, 69; John Adams, of Massachusetts, 34; John Jay, of New York, 9; R. H. Harrison, of Maryland, 6; John Rutledge, of South Carolina, 6; John Hancock, of Massachusetts, 4; George Clinton, of New York, 3; Samuel Huntingdon, of Connecticut, 2; John Milton, of Georgia, 2; James Armstrong, of Georgia, Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, and Edward Telfair, of Georgia, 1 vote each. Vacancies (votes not cast), 4. George Washington was chosen President and John Adams Vice-President.

1792. George Washington, Federalist, received 132 votes; John Adams, Federalist, 77; George Clinton, of New York, Republican (a), 50; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Republican, 4; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 1 vote. Vacancies, 3. George Washington was chosen President and John Adams Vice-President.

1796. John Adams, Federalist, 71; Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68; Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 59; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 30; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Independent, 11; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 7; John Jay, of New York, Federalist, 5; James Iredell, of North Carolina, Federalist, 3; George Washington, of Virginia, John Henry, of Maryland, and S. Johnson, of North Carolina, all Federalists, 2 votes each; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 1 vote. John Adams was chosen President and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President.



1800. Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 73; Aaron Burr, Republican, 73; John Adams, Federalist, 65; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 64; John Jay, Federalist, 1 vote. There being a tie vote for Jefferson and Burr, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. Jefferson received the votes of ten States, which, being the largest vote cast for a candidate, elected him President. Burr received the votes of four States, which, being the next largest vote, elected him Vice-President. There were 2 blank votes.

1804. The Constitution of the United States having been amended, the electors at this election voted for a President and a Vice-President, instead of for two candidates for President. The result was as follows: For President, Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 162; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 14. For Vice-President, George Clinton, Republican, 162; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 14. Jefferson was chosen President and Clinton Vice-President.

1808. For President, James Madison, of Virginia, Republican, 122; Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 47; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 6. For Vice-President, George Clinton, Republican, 113; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 47; John Langdon, of New Hampshire, 9; James Madison, 3; James Monroe, 3. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen President and Clinton Vice-President.

1812. For President, James Madison, Republican, 128; De Witt Clinton, of New York, Federalist, 89. For Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, 131; Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, Federalist, 86. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen President and Gerry Vice-President.

1816. For President, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 183; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 34. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Republican, 183; John Eager Howard, of Maryland, Federalist, 22; James Ross, of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall, of Virginia, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, 3. Vacancies, 4. Monroe was chosen President and Tompkins Vice-President.

1820. For President, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 231; John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 1. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, Republican, 218; Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, 8; Daniel Rodney, of Delaware, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, 1 vote each. Vacancies, 3. James Monroe was chosen President and Daniel D. Tompkins Vice-President.

1824. For President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Republican, 99; John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 84; Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Republican, 37; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Republican, 41. No candidate having a majority of the electoral vote, John Quincy Adams was elected by the House of Representatives. For Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Republican, 182; Nathan Sanford, of New York, Republican, 30; Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, Republican, 24; Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Republican, 13; Martin Van Buren, of New York, Republican, 9; Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Republican, 2; Calhoun was chosen Vice-President.



1856..	James Buchanan*	Pa.....	1,838,169	496,905	174	J. C. Breckinridge*	Ky.....	174
	John C. Fremont.	Cal.....	1,341,264		114	William L. Dayton	N. J.....	114
	Millard Fillmore.	N. Y.....	874,538		8	A. J. Donelson.	Tenn.....	8
1860..	Abraham Lincoln*	Ill.....	1,866,352	491,195	180	Hannibal Hamlin*	Me.....	180
	Stephen A. Douglas.	Ill.....	1,375,157		12	H. V. Johnson.	Ga.....	12
	J. C. Breckinridge.	Ky.....	845,763		72	Joseph Lane.	Ore.....	72
	John Bell.	Tenn.....	589,581		39	Edward Everett.	Mass.....	39
1864..	Abraham Lincoln*	Ill.....	2,216,067	407,342	e 212	Andrew Johnson*	Tenn.....	212
	George B. McClellan.	N. J.....	1,808,725		21	George H. Pendleton.	O.....	21
1868..	Ulysses S. Grant*	Ill.....	3,015,071	305,456	f 214	Schuyler Colfax*	Ind.....	214
	Horatio Seymour.	N. Y.....	2,709,615		80	F. P. Blair, Jr.	Mo.....	80
1872..	Ulysses S. Grant*	Ill.....	3,597,070	762,991	286	Henry Wilson*	Mass.....	286
	Horace Greeley.	N. Y. & L.	2,834,079		g...	B. Gratz Brown.	Mo.....	47
	Charles O'Connor.	N. Y. Dem.	29,408			John Q. Adams.	Mass. Dem.	
	James Black.	Pa. Temp.	5,608			John Russell.	Mich. Temp.	
	Thomas A. Hendricks.	Ind. Dem.			42	George W. Julian.	Ind. Lib.	5
	B. Gratz Brown.	Mo. Dem.			18	A. H. Colquitt.	Ga. Dem.	5
	Charles J. Jenkins.	Ga. Dem.			2	John M. Palmer.	Ill. Dem.	3
	David Davis.	Ill. Ind.			1	T. E. Bramlette.	Ky. Dem.	3
1876..	Samuel J. Tilden.	N. Y. Dem.	4,284,885	250,935	184	W. S. Groesbeck.	O. Dem.	1
	Rutherford B. Hayes*	O. Rep.	4,033,950		h 185	Willis B. Machen.	Ky. Dem.	1
	Peter Cooper.	N. Y. Gre'n'b.	81,740			N. P. Banks.	Mass. Lib.	1
	Green Clay Smith.	Ky. Proh.	9,522			T. A. Hendricks.	Ind. Dem.	184
	James B. Walker.	Ill. Amer.	2,636			William A. Wheeler*.	N. Y. Rep.	185
1880..	James A. Garfield*	O. Rep.	4,449,053	7,018	214	Samuel F. Cary.	O. Gre'n'b.	
	W. S. Hancock.	Pa. Dem.	4,442,035		155	Gideon T. Stewart.	O. Proh.	
	James B. Weaver.	Iowa. Gre'n'b.	307,306			D. Kirkpatrick.	N. Y. Amer.	
	Neal Dow.	Me. Proh.	10,305			Chester A. Arthur*.	N. Y. Rep.	214
	John W. Phelps.	Vt. Amer.	707			William H. English.	Ind. Dem.	155
						B. J. Chambers.	Tex. Gre'n'b.	
						H. A. Thompson.	O. Proh.	
						S. C. Pomeroy.	Kan. Amer.	

## ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES (CONTINUED)

Year of Election	Candidates for President	States	Political Party	Popular Vote	Plurality	Elec-toral Vote	Candidates for Vice-Presidents	States	Political Party	Elec-toral Vote
1884..	Grover Cleveland*	N. Y.	Dem....	4,911,017	62,683	219	T. A. Hendricks*	Ind...	Dem....	219
	James G. Blaine.....	Me....	Rep....	4,848,334		182	John A. Logan.....	Ill....	Rep....	182
	John P. St. John.....	Kan....	Proh...	151,809			William Daniel.....	Md....	Proh...	
	Benjamin F. Butler...	Mass..	Gre'n.b.	133,825			A. M. West.....	Miss..	Gre'n.b.	
	P. D. Wigginton.....	Cal....	Amer..							
1888..	Grover Cleveland.....	N. Y.	Dem....	5,538,233	98,017	168	Allen G. Thurman...	O....	Dem....	168
	Benjamin Harrison*	Ind....	Rep....	5,440,216		233	Levi P. Morton*	N. Y.	Rep....	233
	Clinton B. Fisk.....	N. J.	Proh...	249,907			John A. Brooks.....	Mo....	Proh...	
	Alson J. Streeter.....	Ill....	U. L....	148,105			C. E. Cunningham...	Ark...	U. L....	
	R. H. Cowdry.....	Ill....	U'd L..	2,808			W. H. T. Wakefield..	Kan....	U'd L..	
James L. Curtis.....	N. Y.	Amer..	1,591			James B. Greer.....	Tenn..	Amer..		
1892..	Grover Cleveland*	N. Y.	Dem....	5,556,918	380,810	277	Adlai E. Stevenson*	Ill....	Dem....	277
	Benjamin Harrison...	Ind....	Rep....	5,176,108		145	Whitelaw Reid.....	N. Y.	Rep....	145
	James B. Weaver.....	Iowa..	Peop...	1,041,028		22	James G. Field.....	Va....	Peop...	22
	John Bidwell.....	Cal....	Proh...	264,133			James B. Cranfill...	Tex..	Proh...	
	Simon Wing.....	Mass..	Soc. L..	21,164			Charles H. Matchett..	N. Y.	Soc. L..	
1896..	William McKinley*	O....	Rep....	7,104,779	601,854	271	Garret A. Hobart*	N. J.	Rep....	271
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb..	Dem....	6,502,925		176	Arthur Sewall.....	Me....	Dem....	149
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb..	Peop...	132,007			Thomas E. Watson...	Ga....	Peop...	27
	Joshua Levering.....	Md....	Proh...	133,148			Hale Johnson.....	Ill....	Proh...	
	John M. Palmer.....	Ill....	N. Dem.	36,274			Simon B. Buckner...	Ky....	N. Dem.	
Charles H. Matchett..	N. Y.	Soc. L..	13,969			Matthew Maguire...	N. J.	Soc. L..		
Charles E. Bentley...	Neb..	Nat. (j)				James H. Southgate..	N. C.	Nat. (j)		
1900..	William McKinley*	O....	Rep....	7,207,923	849,790	292	Theodore Roosevelt*	N. Y.	Rep....	292
	William J. Bryan.....	Neb..	Dem. P.	6,358,133		155	Adlai E. Stevenson..	Ill....	Dem. P.	155
	John G. Woolley.....	Ill....	Proh...	208,914			Henry B. Metcalf...	O....	Proh...	
	Wharton Barker.....	Pa....	M.P. (m)	50,373			Ignatius Donnelly...	Minn.	M.P. (m)	
	Eugene V. Debs.....	Ind....	Soc. D.	87,814			Job Harriman.....	Cal...	Soc. D.	

1900..	Jos. F. Malloney .....	Mass.	Soc. L..	39,739	.....	Valentine Rimmel....	Pa....	Soc. L..	.....
	J. F. R. Leonard .....	Ia....	U. C. (n)	1,059	.....	John G. Woolley .....	Ill....	U. C. (n)	.....
	Seth H. Ellis .....	O.....	U. R. (o)	5,698	.....	Samuel T. Nicholson..	Pa....	U. R. (o)	.....
1904..	Theodore Roosevelt*	N. Y.	Rep....	7,623,486	2,545,515	Charles W. Fairbanks*	Ind....	Rep....	336
	Alton B. Parker .....	N. Y.	Dem....	5,077,911	.....	Henry G. Davis .....	W. Va.	Dem....	140
	Eugene V. Debs .....	Ind.	Soc....	402,283	.....	Benjamin Hanford....	N. Y.	Soc....	.....
	Silas C. Swallow .....	Pa....	Proh...	258,536	.....	George W. Carroll....	Tex....	Proh...	.....
	Thomas E. Watson .....	Ga....	Peop...	117,183	.....	Thomas H. Tibbles....	Neb....	Peop...	.....
	Charles H. Corrigan ..	N. Y.	Soc. L..	31,249	.....	William W. Cox .....	Ill....	Soc. L..	.....
1908..	William H. Taft*	O.....	Rep....	7,678,908	1,269,804	James S. Sherman*	N. Y.	Rep....	321
	William J. Bryan .....	Neb...	Dem....	6,409,104	.....	John W. Kern .....	Ind....	Dem....	162
	Eugene V. Debs .....	Ind.	Soc....	420,793	.....	Benjamin Hanford....	N. Y.	Soc....	.....
	Eugene W. Chafin .....	Ariz.	Proh...	253,840	.....	Aaron S. Watkins .....	O.....	Proh...	.....
	Thos. E. Watson .....	Ga....	Peop...	29,100	.....	Samuel Williams .....	Ind....	Peop...	.....
	August Gillhaus .....	N. Y.	Soc. L..	13,825	.....	Donald L. Munro....	Va....	Soc. L..	.....
	Thos. L. Hisgen .....	Mass.	Ind....	82,872	.....	John Temple Graves..	Ga....	Ind....	.....
1912..	Woodrow Wilson*	N. J.	Dem....	6,293,019	2,173,512	Thomas R. Marshall*	Ind....	Dem....	435
	William H. Taft .....	O.....	Rep....	3,484,956	.....	Herbert S. Hadley ..	Mo....	Rep....	8
	Theodore Roosevelt...	N. Y.	Prog....	4,119,507	.....	Hiram W. Johnson....	Cal.	Prog....	88
	Eugene V. Debs .....	Ind.	Soc....	901,873	.....	Emil Seidel .....	Wis..	Soc....	.....
	Eugene W. Chafin .....	Ariz.	Proh...	207,928	.....	Aaron S. Watkins .....	O.....	Proh...	.....
	Arthur E. Reimer .....	Mass.	Soc. L..	29,259	.....	August Gillhaus .....	N. Y.	Soc. L..	.....

REFERENCE NOTES TO THE FOUR PRECEDING PAGES

\* The candidates starred were elected. (a) The first Republican Party is claimed by the present Democratic Party as its progenitor. (b) No candidate having a majority of the electoral vote, the House of Representatives elected Adams. (c) Candidate of the Anti-Masonic Party. (d) There being no choice, the Senate elected Johnson. (e) Eleven Southern States, being within the belligerent territory, did not vote. (f) Three Southern States disfranchised. (g) Horace Greeley died after election, and Democratic electors scattered their votes. (h) There being a dispute over the electoral vote of Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina, and Democratic electors scattered their votes. (i) Free Silver Prohibition Democrats, which, by a strict party vote, awarded 185 electoral votes to Hayes and 184 to Tilden. (j) Free Democrat. (k) In Massachusetts. There was also a Native American ticket in that State, which received 184 votes. (m) Middle of the Road or Anti-Fusion People's Party. (n) United Christian Party. (o) Union Reform Party.

## POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1912

STATES	POPULAR VOTE						ELECTORAL VOTE			
	Wilson, Dem.	Taft, Rep.	Roosevelt, Prog.	Debs, SOC.	Chafin, Prob.	Reimer, SOC. L.	Plurality	Wilson, Dem.	Taft, Rep.	Roose- velt, Prog.
Alabama.....	82,489	9,731	22,689	3,029	.....	.....	59,750	12	.....	.....
Arizona.....	10,324	3,021	6,949	3,163	265	.....	3,375	3	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	68,838	24,297	21,673	8,153	898	.....	44,541	9	.....	.....
California.....	283,436	3,914	283,610	79,201	23,366	.....	174	2	.....	11
Colorado.....	114,223	58,386	72,306	16,418	5,063	475	41,917	6	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	74,561	68,324	34,129	10,056	2,068	1,260	6,237	7	.....	.....
Delaware.....	22,631	15,998	8,886	556	623	.....	6,631	3	.....	.....
Florida.....	36,417	4,279	4,535	4,806	1,854	.....	31,611	6	.....	.....
Georgia.....	93,171	5,190	22,010	1,014	147	.....	71,161	14	.....	.....
Idaho.....	33,921	32,810	25,527	11,960	1,537	.....	1,111	4	.....	.....
Illinois.....	405,048	253,613	386,478	81,278	15,710	4,066	18,570	29	.....	.....
Indiana.....	281,890	151,267	162,007	36,931	19,249	3,130	119,883	15	.....	.....
Iowa.....	185,325	119,805	161,819	16,967	8,440	.....	23,593	13	.....	.....
Kansas.....	143,670	74,844	120,123	26,807	.....	.....	23,047	10	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	219,584	115,512	102,766	11,647	3,233	956	104,072	13	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	60,966	3,834	9,323	5,249	.....	.....	51,643	10	.....	.....
Maine.....	51,113	26,545	48,493	2,541	945	.....	2,620	6	.....	.....
Maryland.....	112,674	54,956	57,786	3,996	2,244	322	54,888	8	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	173,408	155,948	142,228	12,616	2,754	1,102	17,460	18	.....	.....
Michigan.....	150,751	152,244	214,584	23,211	8,934	1,252	62,340	..	.....	15
Minnesota.....	106,426	64,334	125,856	27,505	7,886	2,212	19,430	..	.....	12
Mississippi.....	57,164	1,511	3,627	2,017	.....	.....	53,537	10	.....	.....
Missouri.....	330,746	207,821	124,371	28,466	5,380	1,778	122,925	18	.....	.....
Montana.....	27,941	18,512	22,456	10,885	32	.....	5,782	4	.....	.....

# APPENDICES

Nebraska.....	109,008	54,216	72,689	10,185	3,383	.....	36,319 D	8	.....	
Nevada.....	7,986	3,196	5,620	3,313	.....	.....	2,366 D	3	.....	
New Hampshire..	34,724	32,927	17,794	1,981	535	.....	2,097 D	4	.....	
New Jersey.....	178,289	88,835	145,410	15,801	2,878	1,321	32,879 D	14	.....	
New Mexico.....	20,437	17,733	8,347	2,859	.....	.....	2,704 D	3	.....	
New York.....	655,475	455,428	390,021	63,381	19,427	4,251	200,047 D	45	.....	
North Carolina...	144,507	29,139	69,130	1,025	117	.....	75,377 D	12	.....	
North Dakota...	29,555	23,090	25,726	6,966	1,243	.....	3,829 D	5	.....	
Ohio.....	423,152	277,066	229,327	89,930	11,459	2,623	146,086 D	24	.....	
Oklahoma.....	119,156	90,786	.....	42,262	2,185	.....	28,370 D	10	.....	
Oregon.....	47,064	34,673	37,600	13,343	4,360	.....	9,464 D	5	.....	
Pennsylvania.....	395,619	273,305	447,426	83,164	19,533	704	51,807 P	.....	38	
Rhode Island....	30,142	27,703	16,878	2,049	616	236	2,709 D	5	.....	
South Carolina...	48,355	536	1,293	164	.....	.....	47,062 D	9	.....	
South Dakota....	48,942	.....	58,811	4,662	3,910	.....	9,869 P	.....	5	
Tennessee.....	130,335	59,444	53,725	3,492	825	.....	70,891 D	12	.....	
Texas.....	221,589	28,853	26,755	25,743	1,738	442	192,736 D	20	.....	
Utah.....	36,579	42,100	24,174	9,023	.....	509	5,521 R	4	.....	
Vermont.....	15,350	23,305	22,070	928	1,154	.....	1,235 R	4	.....	
Virginia.....	90,332	23,288	21,777	820	709	50	67,044 D	12	.....	
Washington.....	86,840	70,445	113,698	40,134	9,810	1,872	26,858 P	.....	7	
West Virginia....	113,197	56,754	79,112	15,248	4,517	.....	34,085 D	8	.....	
Wisconsin.....	164,409	130,878	58,661	34,168	8,467	698	33,531 D	13	.....	
Wyoming.....	15,310	14,560	9,232	2,760	434	.....	750 D	3	.....	
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>6,293,019</b>	<b>3,484,956</b>	<b>4,119,507</b>	<b>901,873</b>	<b>207,928</b>	<b>29,259</b>	.....	<b>435</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>88</b>

Popular Vote, Wilson over Roosevelt.....	2,173,512
Popular Vote, all others combined, over Wilson.....	2,450,504
Electoral Vote, Wilson over Taft and Roosevelt.....	339
<b>Total Popular Vote, all candidates.....</b>	<b>15,036,542</b>

The above was compiled from the highest vote received by the electors.

## TOTAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1908 AND 1912

STATES	1912	1908	STATES	1912	1908
Alabama.....	117,888	103,809	Nebraska.....	249,481	266,799
Arizona.....	23,722	.....	Nevada.....	20,115	24,526
Arkansas.....	123,859	152,126	New Hampshire.....	87,961	89,592
California.....	673,527	386,597	New Jersey.....	432,534	467,198
Colorado.....	266,871	263,877	New Mexico.....	49,376	.....
Connecticut.....	190,398	189,999	New York.....	1,587,983	1,638,350
Delaware.....	48,694	48,024	North Carolina.....	243,918	252,610
Florida.....	51,891	49,360	North Dakota.....	86,580	94,582
Georgia.....	121,533	132,794	Ohio.....	1,033,557	1,121,588
Idaho.....	105,755	97,288	Oklahoma.....	254,389	255,228
Illinois.....	1,146,103	1,154,751	Oregon.....	137,040	110,889
Indiana.....	654,474	721,126	Pennsylvania.....	1,220,201	1,267,443
Iowa.....	492,326	494,770	Rhode Island.....	77,894	72,317
Kansas.....	365,444	375,946	South Carolina.....	50,348	66,393
Kentucky.....	453,698	490,687	South Dakota.....	116,325	114,775
Louisiana.....	79,372	75,146	Tennessee.....	247,821	257,515
Maine.....	129,637	106,335	Texas.....	305,120	293,559
Maryland.....	231,978	238,531	Utah.....	112,385	108,598
Massachusetts.....	488,056	456,926	Vermont.....	62,807	52,651
Michigan.....	550,776	541,749	Virginia.....	136,976	137,066
Minnesota.....	334,219	331,304	Washington.....	322,799	183,879
Mississippi.....	64,319	66,904	West Virginia.....	268,828	258,151
Missouri.....	698,562	715,874	Wisconsin.....	397,281	454,435
Montana.....	79,910	68,822	Wyoming.....	42,296	37,609

Total vote, 1900, 13,961,566; 1904, 13,528,979; 1908, 14,888,442; 1912, 15,036,542.



**THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES—THEIR BIOGRAPHIES IN BRIEF**  
 (Compiled for THE WORLD ALMANAC from published memoirs, newspaper records, and personal correspondence with the families of the ex-Presidents.)

No.	Full Name	Paternal Ancestry	Parentage—Father	Father's Vocation	Parentage—Mother
1.	George Washington.....	English.....	Augustine Washington.....	Planter.....	Mary Ball.
2.	John Adams.....	English.....	John Adams.....	Farmer.....	Susanna Boylston.
3.	Thomas Jefferson.....	Welsh.....	Peter Jefferson.....	Planter.....	Jane Randolph.
4.	James Madison.....	English.....	James Madison.....	Planter.....	Nelly Conway.
5.	James Monroe.....	Scotch.....	Spence Monroe.....	Planter.....	Eliza Jones.
6.	John Quincy Adams.....	English.....	John Adams.....	Lawyer.....	Abigail Smith.
7.	Andrew Jackson.....	Scotch-Irish.....	Andrew Jackson.....	Farmer.....	Elizabeth Hutchinson.
8.	Martin Van Buren.....	Dutch.....	Abraham Van Buren.....	Farmer.....	Maria Hoes.
9.	William Henry Harrison.....	English.....	Benjamin Harrison.....	Statesman.....	Elizabeth Bassett.
10.	John Tyler.....	English.....	John Tyler.....	Jurist.....	Mary Armistead.
11.	James K. Polk.....	Scotch-Irish.....	Samuel Polk.....	Farmer.....	Jane Knox.
12.	Zachary Taylor.....	English.....	Richard Taylor.....	Planter.....	Sarah Strother.
13.	Millard Fillmore.....	English.....	Nathaniel Fillmore.....	Farmer.....	Phebe Millard.
14.	Franklin Pierce.....	English.....	Benjamin Pierce.....	Farmer.....	Anna Kendrick.
15.	James Buchanan.....	Scotch-Irish.....	James Buchanan.....	Merchant.....	Elizabeth Speer.
16.	Abraham Lincoln.....	English.....	Thomas Lincoln.....	Farmer.....	Nancy Hanks.
17.	Andrew Johnson.....	English.....	Jacob Johnson.....	Sexton and Constable.....	Mary McDonough.
18.	Ulysses Simpson Grant.....	Scotch.....	Jesse Root Grant.....	Tanner.....	Harriet Simpson.
19.	Rutherford Birchard Hayes.....	Scotch.....	Rutherford Hayes.....	Merchant.....	Sophia Birchard.
20.	James Abram Garfield.....	English.....	Abram Garfield.....	Farmer.....	Eliza Ballou.
21.	Chester Alan Arthur.....	Scotch-Irish.....	William Arthur.....	Clergyman.....	Malvina Stone.
22, 24.	Grover Cleveland.....	English.....	Richard Falley Cleveland.....	Clergyman.....	Anna Neal.
23.	Benjamin Harrison.....	English.....	John Scott Harrison.....	Farmer.....	Elizabeth F. Irwin.
25.	William McKinley.....	Scotch-Irish.....	William McKinley.....	Iron Manufacturer.....	Nancy C. Allison.
26.	Theodore Roosevelt.....	Dutch.....	Theodore Roosevelt.....	Merchant.....	Martha Bullock.
27.	William Howard Taft.....	English.....	Alphonso Taft.....	Lawyer.....	Louise M. Torrey.
28.	Woodrow Wilson.....	English.....	Joseph R. Wilson.....	Clergyman.....	Jessie Woodrow.

# THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES—THEIR BIOGRAPHIES IN BRIEF

(Compiled for THE WORLD ALMANAC from published memoirs, newspaper records, and personal correspondence with the families of the ex-Presidents.)

No.	President	(Time)	Birth	(Place)	VOCATION		College	Year of Grad.†
					In Early Life	When Elected		
1.	Washington.	Feb. 22, 1732.	Near Bridges Creek, Westmoreland Co., Va.		Surveyor.	Planter.	None.	
2.	J. Adams.	Oct. 30, 1735.	Quincy, Norfolk Co., Mass.		Teacher.	Lawyer.	Harvard.	1755
3.	Jefferson.	April 13, 1743.	Shadwell, Albemarle Co., Va.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	William and Mary.	1762
4.	Madison.	March 16, 1751.	Port Conway, King George Co., Va.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	Princeton.	1771
5.	Monroe.	April 28, 1758.	Head of Monroe's Creek, Westmoreland Co., Va.		Lawyer.	St' sman*.	William and Mary.	1776
6.	J. Q. Adams.	July 11, 1767.	Quincy, Norfolk Co., Mass.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	Harvard.	1787
7.	Jackson.	March 15, 1767.	Near Cureton's Pond, Union Co., N. C.†		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	None.	
8.	Van Buren.	Dec. 5, 1782.	Kinderhook, Columbia Co., N. Y.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	None.	
9.	Harrison.	Feb. 9, 1773.	Berkeley, Charles City Co., Va.		Soldier.	Farmer.	None.	
10.	Tyler.	March 29, 1790.	Greenway, Charles City Co., Va.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	Hampden-Sydney.	1790
11.	Polk.	Nov. 2, 1795.	Near Pineville, Mecklenburg Co., N. C.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	William and Mary.	1807
12.	Taylor.	Nov. 24, 1784.	Near Orange C. H., Orange Co., Va.		Soldier.	Soldier.	Uni. of N. Carolina.	1818
13.	Fillmore.	Jan. 7, 1800.	Summerhill, Cayuga Co., N. Y.		Tailor.	Lawyer.	None.	
14.	Pierce.	Nov. 23, 1804.	Hillsborough, Hillsborough Co., N. H.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	Bowdoin.	1824
15.	Buchanan.	April 23, 1791.	Cove Gap, Franklin Co., Pa.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	Dickinson.	1809
16.	Lincoln.	Feb. 12, 1809.	Near Hodgenville, Larue Co., Ky.		F'm-ha'd.	Lawyer.	None.	
17.	Johnson.	Dec. 29, 1808.	Raleigh, Wake Co., N. C.		Tailor.	St' sman.	None.	
18.	Grant.	April 27, 1822.	Point Pleasant, Clermont Co., O.		Soldier.	Soldier.	West Point.	1843
19.	Hayes.	Oct. 4, 1822.	Delaware, Delaware Co., O.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	Kenyon.	1842
20.	Garfield.	Nov. 19, 1831.	Orange Township, Cuyahoga Co., O.		Teacher.	Lawyer.	Williams.	1856
21.	Arthur.	Oct. 5, 1830.	Fairfield, Franklin Co., Vt.		Teacher.	Lawyer.	Union.	1848
22, 24.	Cleveland.	March 18, 1837.	Caldwell, Essex Co., N. J.		Teacher.	Lawyer.	None.	
23.	B. Harrison.	Aug. 20, 1833.	North Bend, Hamilton Co., O.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	Miami University.	1853
25.	McKinley.	Jan. 29, 1843.	Niles, Trumbull Co., O.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	None.	
26.	Roosevelt.	Oct. 27, 1858.	28 E. 20th St., New York City, N. Y.		Publicist.	Pub. off'r.	Harvard.	1880
27.	Taft.	Sept. 15, 1857.	Cincinnati, O.		Lawyer.	Lawyer.	Yale.	1878
28.	Wilson.	Dec. 28, 1856.	Staunton, Va.		Teacher.	St' sman.	Princeton.	1879

## THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

No.	President	Married	Wife's Name	Wife Born	Wife Died	Sons	Dau.	Home When Elected
1.	Washington	1759	Martha (Dandridge) Custis§	1732	1802	3	2	Mount Vernon, Va.
2.	J. Adams	1764	Abigail Smith	1744	1818	1	5	Quincy, Mass.
3.	Jefferson	1772	Martha (Wayles) Skelton§	1748	1849	3	2	Monticello, Va.
4.	Madison	1794	Dolly (Payne) Todd§	1772	1849	3	1	Montpelier, Va.
5.	Monroe	1786	Eliza Kortwright	1768	1830	3	4	Oak Hill, Va.
6.	J. Q. Adams	1797	Louisa Catherine Johnson	1775	1852	3	4	Quincy, Mass.
7.	Jackson	1791	Rachel (Donelson) Robards	1767	1828	4	4	Hermitage, Tenn.
8.	Van Buren	1807	Hannah Hoes	1783	1819	6	4	Kinderhook, N. Y.
9.	Harrison	1795	Anna Symmes	1775	1864	3	4	North Bend, O.
10.	Tyler	1813	Letitia Christian	1790	1842	5	2	Williamsburg, Va.
11.	Polk	1824	Julia Gardiner	1820	1889	1	5	Nashville, Tenn.
12.	Taylor	1810	Sarah Childress	1803	1891	1	1	Baton Rouge, La.
13.	Fillmore	1826	Margaret Smith	1788	1852	1	3	Buffalo, N. Y.
14.	Pierce	1858	Abigail Powers	1798	1853	3	3	Concord, N. H.
15.	Buchanan	1834	Caroline (Carmichael) McIntosh§	1813	1881	4	2	Wheatland, Pa.
16.	Lincoln	1842	Jane Means Appleton	1806	1863	3	3	Springfield, Ill.
17.	Johnson	1827	Mary Todd	1818	1882	3	1	Greenville, Tenn.
18.	Grant	1848	Eliza McCordle	1810	1876	7	1	Washington, D. C.
19.	Hayes	1852	Julia Dent	1826	1902	4	1	Fremont, O.
20.	Garfield	1858	Lucy Ware Webb	1831	1889	4	1	Mentor, O.
21.	Arthur	1859	Lucretia Rudolph	1832	1909	2	3	New York City.
22.	Cleveland	1886	Ellen Lewis Herndon	1837	1880	1	1	Buffalo, N. Y.
23.	B. Harrison	1853	Frances Folsom	1864	1892	1	1	Indianapolis, Ind.
24.	Cleveland	1896	Caroline Lavinia Scott	1832	1892	1	2	New York City.
25.	McKinley	1871	Mary Scott (Lord) Dimmick§	1858	1907	1	1	Canton, O.
26.	Roosevelt	1883	Ida Saxton	1844	1884	4	1	Oyster Bay, N. Y.
27.	Taft	1886	Alice Lee	1861	1886	2	1	Cincinnati, O.
28.	Wilson	1885	Edith Kermit Carow	1861	1885	2	3	Princeton, N. J.
			Helen Louise Axson	1861	1885	2	3	Princeton, N. J.

## THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

No.	President	Politics	Inaug.	Age	Years Served	Religious Connection	Time of Death	Age
1	Washington	Federalist	1789	57	7 y. 10 mo. 4 d.	Episcopalian	December 14, 1799	67
2	J. Adams	Federalist	1797	61	4	Congregationalist	July 4, 1826	90
3	Jefferson	Republican (a)	1801	57	8	Liberal (c)	July 4, 1826	83
4	Madison	Republican	1809	57	8	Episcopalian	June 28, 1836	85
5	Monroe	Republican	1817	58	8	Episcopalian	July 4, 1831	73
6	J. Q. Adams	Republican (b)	1825	57	4	Congregationalist	February 23, 1848	80
7	Jackson	Democrat	1829	61	8	Presbyterian	June 8, 1845	78
8	Van Buren	Democrat	1837	54	4	Reformed Dutch	July 24, 1862	79
9	Harrison	Whig	1841	68	1 mo.	Episcopalian	April 4, 1841	68
10	Tyler	Democrat	1841	51	3 y. 11 mo.	Episcopalian	January 17, 1862	71
11	Polk	Democrat	1845	49	4	Presbyterian	June 15, 1849	53
12	Taylor	Whig	1849	64	1 y. 4 mo. 5 d.	Episcopalian	July 9, 1850	65
13	Fillmore	Whig	1850	50	2 y. 7 mo. 26 d.	Unitarian	March 8, 1874	74
14	Pierce	Democrat	1853	48	4	Episcopalian	October 8, 1869	64
15	Buchanan	Democrat	1857	65	4	Presbyterian	June 1, 1868	77
16	Lincoln	Republican	1861	52	4 y. 1 mo. 11 d.	Presbyterian	April 15, 1865	56
17	Johnson	Republican	1865	56	3 y. 10 mo. 19 d.	Methodist (d)	July 31, 1875	66
18	Grant	Republican	1869	46	8	Methodist	July 23, 1885	63
19	Hayes	Republican	1877	54	4	Methodist	January 17, 1893	70
20	Garfield	Republican	1881	49	4	Disciples	September 19, 1881	49
21	Arthur	Republican	1881	50	6½ mo.	Episcopalian	November 18, 1886	56
22	Cleveland	Democrat	1885	47	4	Presbyterian	June 24, 1908	71
23	B. Harrison	Republican	1889	55	4	Presbyterian	March 13, 1901	67
24	Cleveland	Democrat	1893	55	4	Presbyterian	June 24, 1908	71
25	McKinley	Republican	1897	54	4 y. 6 mo. 10 d.	Methodist	September 14, 1901	58
26	Roosevelt	Republican	1901	42	7 y. 5 mo. 18 d.	Reformed Dutch	.....	.....
27	Taft	Republican	1909	51	4	Unitarian	.....	.....
28	Wilson	Democrat	1913	56	.....	Presbyterian	.....	.....

# THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

## APPENDICES

No.	President	Cause of Death	Place of Death	Place of Burial
1.	Washington.....	Pneumonia.....	Mount Vernon, Va.....	Mount Vernon, Va.
2.	J. Adams.....	Debility.....	Quincy, Mass.....	First Congregational Church, Quincy, Mass.
3.	Jefferson.....	Chronic Diarrhœa.....	Monticello, Va.....	Monticello, Albemarle Co., Va.
4.	Madison.....	Debility.....	Montpelier, Va.....	Montpelier, Orange Co., Va.
5.	Monroe.....	Debility.....	New York City.....	Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va.
6.	J. Q. Adams.....	Paralysis.....	Washington, D. C.....	First Congregational Church, Quincy, Mass.
7.	Jackson.....	Consumption.....	Hermitage, Tenn.....	Hermitage, near Nashville, Tenn.
8.	Van Buren.....	Asthmatic Catarrh.....	Lindenwald, N. Y.....	Cemetery, Kinderhook, N. Y.
9.	Harrison.....	Bilious Pleurisy.....	Washington, D. C.....	North Bend, Hamilton Co., O.
10.	Tyler.....	Bilious Attack.....	Richmond, Va.....	Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va.
11.	Folk.....	Chronic Diarrhœa.....	Nashville, Tenn.....	Polk Place, Nashville, Tenn.
12.	Taylor.....	Bilious Fever.....	Washington, D. C.....	Springfield, near Louisville, Ky.
13.	Fillmore.....	Debility.....	Buffalo, N. Y.....	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, N. Y.
14.	Pierce.....	Inflammation of Stomach.....	Concord, N. H.....	Minot Lot, Old Cemetery, Concord, N. H.
15.	Buchanan.....	Rheumatic Gout.....	Wheatland, Pa.....	Woodward Hill Cemetery, Lancaster, Pa.
16.	Lincoln.....	Assassination.....	Washington, D. C.....	Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Ill.
17.	Johnson.....	Paralysis.....	Carter's Depot, Tenn.....	Greenville, Greene Co., Tenn.
18.	Grant.....	Cancer.....	Mt. McGregor, N. Y.....	Riverside Park, New York City.
19.	Hayes.....	Paralysis of the Heart.....	Fremont, O.....	Cemetery, Fremont, O.
20.	Garfield.....	Assassination.....	Long Branch, N. J.....	Lake View Cemetery, Cleveland, O.
21.	Arthur.....	Bright's Disease.....	New York City.....	Rural Cemetery, Albany, N. Y.
22, 24.	Cleveland.....	Debility.....	Princeton, N. J.....	Cemetery, Princeton, N. J.
23.	B. Harrison.....	Pneumonia.....	Indianapolis, Ind.....	Crown Hill Cemetery, Indianapolis, Ind.
25.	McKinley.....	Assassination.....	Buffalo, N. Y.....	Cemetery, Canton, O.
26.	Roosevelt.....	.....	.....	.....
27.	Taft.....	.....	.....	.....
28.	Wilson.....	.....	.....	.....

NOTES TO THE TABLES OF THE PRESIDENTS, ON THE FOUR  
PRECEDING PAGES

\* Monroe abandoned the profession of law when a young man, and was afterward, and until his election, always holding public office. † Jackson called himself a South Carolinian, and his biographer, Kendall, recorded his birthplace in Lancaster Co., S. C.; but Parton has published documentary evidence to show that Jackson was born in Union Co., N. C., less than a quarter mile from the South Carolina line. ‡ Or of departure from college. § Widows. Their maiden names are in parentheses. || She was the divorced wife of Captain Robards.

(a) The Democratic party of to-day claims lineal descent from the first Republican party, and President Jefferson as its founder. (b) Political parties were disorganized at the time of the election of John Quincy Adams. He claimed to be a Republican, but his doctrines were decidedly Federalistic. The opposition to his Administration took the name of Democrats, and elected Jackson President. (c) Randall, the biographer of Jefferson, declares that he was a believer in Christianity, although not a sectarian. (d) While President Johnson was not a church-member, he was a Christian believer. His wife was a Methodist.

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