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## A Comparison of the Liberalism of Theodore Roosevelt with That of Woodrow Wilson as Revealed by Their Political Lives and Especially Their Speeches in the Campaign of 1912

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A COMPARISON  
OF THE LIBERALISM OF  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT WITH THAT OF WOODROW WILSON  
AS REVEALED BY THEIR POLITICAL LIVES  
AND ESPECIALLY THEIR SPEECHES  
IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1912.

BY

MARGARET M. COLFORD

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
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## CHAPTER I

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTION OF 1912

"The opening decade of the twentieth century brought about the greatest issue in American politics since the Civil War", is a statement made by one author.<sup>1</sup> It was time for the decision as to whether the American Republic was to be run in the interests of the privileged or in the interests of the people. The crisis in this issue was reached in 1912. In the campaign of that year not only one but two candidates for the presidency proclaimed themselves champions of the people. Theodore Roosevelt, leader of the progressive element of the Republican party, preached a doctrine of "New Nationalism", while Woodrow Wilson, the nominee of the Democratic party, expressed his ideas of a "New Freedom". The conservative element of the Republican party renominated Taft who, by the end of his four years of presidency, had the reputation of favoring the privileged.

To discover how conditions in this country had arrived at a situation to arouse such excitement, it is necessary to develop a background for the period. After the English colonies had declared themselves independent of England, they needed a suitable

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1 Frederic Austin Ogg, National Progress 1907-1917 (Volume 27 of The American Nation: A History in 28 volumes, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, Harper Brothers Publishers, New York and London, 1918), 167.

form of government, and it was expected that such a government would be based on democratic principles. The first attempt at a united government, The Articles of Confederation, proved inadequate because too little power was delegated to the central government. Through the efforts of George Washington, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, a convention was called in May, 1787, ostensibly to revise the Articles of Confederation, but actually to provide a new government that might prove more satisfactory. The difficulty encountered was to establish a government which would not become autocratic and yet would avoid giving too much power to the moneyless masses who might become ruthless rulers of the rich.<sup>2</sup> Our present Constitution was finally accepted and put into effect. It contained restrictions which later liberals decried.

When we consider the term liberalism, we understand it to mean that the source of all progress lies in the free exercise of individual energy. All individuals or groups of individuals should be free to exercise their powers in so far as it can be done without injury to others. The State should create the conditions within which individual energy can thrive, and should prevent all abuses of power. It should afford to every citizen the means of acquiring mastery of his own capacity and of es-

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2 "How We Got Our Constitution", condensed from Fortune, Time-Fortune Corporation, New York, July 1936, in Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, New York, October, 1936.

establishing a real equality of opportunity for all.<sup>3</sup>

The United States, under its new Constitution, started out to live up to these liberal ideals, but difficulties were encountered from the beginning. Jefferson had the idea that the government could be safely run in the interests of the people by giving everyone a share in the government. He believed in strict construction of the Constitution and of States' Rights. Hamilton was doubtful that the masses could capably run a government, so he felt that a strong central government was needed, and that the government should be allowed free interpretation of the Constitution. Finally in the early years of our new nation, the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Marshall, made several significant decisions which established the Constitution as the supreme law of the land, with the Supreme Court to decide when there was a question as to the constitutionality of a congressional or a state act.

The development of sectional interests along different economic lines finally led to the desperate fight between Sectionalism and Nationalism, which culminated in the Civil War. The period following the Civil War, with its problems of reconstruction and with the rapid development and expansion of our country, brought the era in which individuals managed to assume

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<sup>3</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica (London, New York), 14th Edition, 1929, 1932, XIII, 1000.

control of the government, and there was a definite departure from the policies of liberalism which demand an executive and a legislature who realize their responsibility to the community as a whole.

How far we had gone in the opposite direction is shown in the descriptions of conditions in the early twentieth century. One author states that during the McKinley era there had been an amazing industrial and commercial expansion; manufactures multiplied, trade made new conquests, railroads consolidated, corporations absorbed competitors and became trusts, capital poured into big business.<sup>4</sup> The government set few obstacles to these conditions. The courts had "drawn the teeth of the Sherman anti-trust law" and had reduced the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to the regret of neither the executive nor the legislature. Big business, prompted by the Dingley tariff and the gold standard, seemed to have every advantage at its hands. Interests were accustomed to immunity from government intervention and expected government favors. Self-seeking industrial magnates and their representatives overran the nominating conventions, and corporation lobbyists used their influence on the legislatures. Officials could hear only the demands of the private interests; they were totally deaf to public demand.

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<sup>4</sup> Ogg, 167.



A similar picture is given by other authorities,<sup>5</sup> who state: "The state and society were nothing, the individual, everything."<sup>6</sup> They go on to tell that a political party became a private association of gentlemen who had leisure for public affairs. The function of such a party was to get control of the government in the name of patriotism and public welfare and then, as a matter of course, to distribute the spoils of office among "the commanders, the army and its camp of followers." It was considered nobody's business how a party ran its caucuses, conventions and committees. All business--local, state and national--was carried on in caucuses behind closed doors without much risk of intrusion from citizens.

Another characteristic of the "gilded age" was the immunity for the individual from interference by the State. It was considered evil for the government to interfere unless to preserve order, to grant subsidies to railroad promoters, or to afford protection and bounties to manufacturers. Immense national capital in the form of arable lands, forests, water power, and minerals was given away or sold for a pittance, without limitations as to its use or potential monopoly.<sup>7</sup>

During this era, the government derived most of its revenue from indirect duties on imported goods. There was no heavy

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5-6 Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (Macmillan Company, New York, 1930), 539.

7 Ibid., 544.

income or inheritance tax.<sup>8</sup> The capitalists weren't even held responsible for workers killed or injured in their industries. It looked as though this system of acquisition and enjoyment would last forever. Those who had acquired and enjoyed these advantages sat back satisfied and contented, not realizing that agitation, started in "a thousand obscure corners",<sup>9</sup> was going to organize into an effective body to destroy this privileged individualism.

As early as 1872, groups of people were realizing that the trend of conditions was toward the privileged, and away from the masses. The Prohibitionist and the Greenback parties offered protests. Farmers and labor united to oppose the financial system. Dissatisfied groups were striving after things unattainable.<sup>10</sup> In 1878, the combined strength of organized labor and farmers indicated in the congressional elections a strength somewhat alarming to the older parties.<sup>11</sup> In their demands for social and industrial reforms, some went so far as to claim that the whole political system, including the Constitution, needed overhauling; to claim that a Constitution framed in a century

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8 "The Federal Tax System", in Fortune (New York), XVII, 46-47, January, 1938.

9 Beard, 543.

10 Paul L. Haworth, The United States in Our Own Times (Charles A. Scribner's Sons, New York, Chicago), 1935, 354.

11 Emerson Davis Fite, The History of the United States (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1919), 427.

when there were no steamships nor railroads could scarcely be satisfactory. They argued that with such changed industrial conditions, political institutions must change. That idea became more and more a recognized fact; all economic conditions had changed while politics had practically stood still.<sup>12</sup> In 1912 this was said.

The world practically is trying to catch up with the world's radically changed economic conditions. The settlement of the future will not come through law but through the court of public opinion. There is a demand for a broad and well considered political leader.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps the most effective third party movement was that of 1892 when the Populist Party was organized at St. Louis. The Democratic and Republican parties very evidently had no intention of securing any reform of the political and economic grievances, so the representatives of all the progressive movements of the nation formed this new national party. The platform began, "The fruits of the toils of the millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possessors of these in turn despise

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12 Woodrow Wilson, The New Freedom, A Call for the Emancipation of the Generous Energies of a People. "The Old Order Changeth", 3. Also, Hester E. Hosford, Woodrow Wilson, His Career, His Statesmanship, and His Public Policies (G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, London, 1912), 165.

13 "Political Evolution of a College President", by Solomon Bulkley, in The Atlantic Monthly (Boston and New York), Vol. 109, 43-51, January, 1912, quoting Judge Grossup of Chicago.

the republic and endanger liberty."<sup>14</sup> Their demands were for government operation of railroads and telegraph, a graduated income tax, laws to check monopolies, direct legislation (initiative and referendum), direct election of the president, vice-president and the senators, and an exclusively national currency.<sup>15</sup> This was a definite protest by intelligent people, and they were quite satisfied with their first results in the election of two United States senators and several congressmen. They received the attention of about a thousand papers.<sup>16</sup>

The Democratic party was showing some sympathy with the protests of the dissatisfied groups. In their platform of 1892, they declared that the Federal government had no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for revenue, and stated that something should be done to enforce anti-trust laws. The monetary plank was for maintenance of the parity of gold and silver. It showed that a new spirit was rising and that new men were coming forward.<sup>17</sup> In 1896 the Populists, satisfied with William Jennings Bryan as the Democratic candi-

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14 "Necessity for the People's Party", by William Vincent Allen, in The Arena (Trenton and Boston), XXX, 410-414, July-December, 1903.

15 "The Mission of the Populist Party", by Senator William Alfred Peffer of Kansas, in The North American Review (New York), Vol. 157, 665-678, December, 1911.

16 Ibid.

17 Lester Burrell Shippee, Recent American History (Macmillan Company, New York, 1931), 185-186.

date, decided to sacrifice their new party in an effort to defeat the Republican party. In spite of the combination of Democrats and Populists, Mr. McKinley was elected in 1896, and re-elected in 1900, but the fight went on and was to continue until, as one author said, "Out of this wild clamor of Greenbackers and Populists came the Progressives and later the Liberals, who were to choose Wilson for their leader."<sup>18</sup>

By 1901, discontent was at a point to be powerfully energized by a capable leader, and that leader was supplied by Theodore Roosevelt. The people supported his prosecution of offenders against land laws, his measures for conservation, his suits to dissolve trusts, the new railroad legislation, and the laws passed with a view to social and industrial justice, but matters had gone so far in the opposite direction that these attempts only touched the surface. The whole political structure would have to be rebuilt--nominations, elections, legislative and administrative branches--before the public could be wholly protected against the privileged. The pressure for fuller popular control of government and for advanced social and economic legislation was gathering unity, depth, and force in a new "progressive movement".<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> William Allen White, Woodrow Wilson, the Man, His Times, and His Task, Houghton Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York, 1914.

<sup>19</sup> Ogg, 168-169.

There were "progressives" in both the Democratic and Republican party, and each year they were increasing their efforts to get their parties to stand for these principles. The conservatives in each party favored legislation to restrain and prevent abuses carried on by monopolies and were willing for some revision of tariff, but they were against the proposed political reforms. The reactionaries were those who believed that the trusts were a distinct advantage to the country and foresaw a great disaster if they were too greatly curbed. Some of these men were sincere in these beliefs but others were selfishly concerned with their own interests. With such a division in the ranks of both parties, it looked very much, in 1908 and again in 1912, as though there would be a realignment of membership, and of organizations.<sup>20</sup> The people were demanding a government whose chief consideration would be the welfare of every man.

Mr. Taft, as Mr. Roosevelt's successor, did not measure up to the standard set for him. He became recognized as a conservative, a standpatter, at this critical time. His unpopularity was partly due to his policies, partly to his personality, and

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20 "The Voice of the People and Interesting Comments", in Harper's Weekly (New York), LV, 22-24, April 8, 1911, quoting The Fresno Republican. Oscar King Davis, Released for Publication, Some Inside Political History of Theodore Roosevelt and His Times 1898-1918 (Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1925), 51 ff. David Lawrence, The True Story of Woodrow Wilson, (G. H. Doran Company, New York, 1924), 54.

in a great measure to the very nature of the situation. The progressive group was ready for a new party consciously dedicated to social politics.

It is quite evident that the election of 1912 was significant in bringing to an issue this fight between the interests of the privileged and the interests of the people. Twelve months after the memorable election, ex-president Taft is reported to have said that he was in no mood to minimize the critical nature of the conditions that prevailed in politics and business and society after the Spanish-American War, and which seemed to have crystallized into a rigid control of all by great business. He added, "That the occasion for general alarm was justified, no one who has studied the situation can deny."<sup>21</sup>

It became significant in another feature, however, and that was in giving the country a choice between two progressive or liberal leaders. It is the purpose of this paper to decide whether one of these men had more to offer as a liberal leader than the other, or whether one was as sincerely liberal as the other. Therefore, I shall give an idea of what I understand by the term, liberal leader.

One author stated that it was a grave problem to distribute the fruits of labor and capital so as to insure the greatest

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<sup>21</sup> Beard, 592.

good to the greatest number, without impairing the structure of a government based on freedom, established, vouched for, and guaranteed by our Constitution--to find a path that sought to build, not to destroy.<sup>22</sup> An editor said, "Every sane and well-instructed American should be at once a progressive and a conservative--a man may hold fast to well-established institutions and at the same time seek to reform abuses and to make laws and governments conform with social changes."<sup>23</sup>

But every statesman who sets out to be a leader in reform is bound to meet criticism, and must have the sincerity and energy to go on in spite of opposition. The first cry hurled at him will be "radical", but in his aim to build, not to destroy, he must analyze that cry as coming from those who are finding their private game in politics spoiled. Or, as Dr. Wilson admirably expressed it, "Radicalism seems to be the shock of hearing the truth. The diagnosis is radical, but the cure is remedial; the cure is conservative."<sup>24</sup> Again, he said, "Radicalism does not consist in the things that are proposed but in the things disclosed."<sup>25</sup>

I consider a man to be a liberal who realizes the evils of the day and has the courage to attempt to correct them even

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22 Hosford, 136-138.

23 "Radicals and Conservatives", in Progress of the World Section of The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), XLV, 143, February, 1912.

24 "Life Come from the Soil", in The New Freedom, 89.

25 Hosford, 184.



though it may be necessary to go against precedent and established principles. But such a leader must go in the direction of the people and only far enough ahead of them to be their guide and inspiration. With this in mind, I shall report my findings on Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, to determine how their political actions and public speeches, especially the campaign talks of 1912, characterized them as liberal leaders.

## CHAPTER II

### ROOSEVELT AND LIBERAL POLICIES

Theodore Roosevelt started a political career at a very early age, a career that was destined to be long and varied, and eventually to lead him to the presidency and to be a candidate for that office again in 1912. During these years of political service, he was the subject of very high praise and also of very bitter criticism. He was termed a reformer, an independent, a practical politician, an aspiring politician, a conservative, a moderate, a progressive, a socialist, a radical. It is interesting to follow the career of this man who might have reached the goal of an ideal liberal, but who always seemed to fall just short of what was expected of him, so that his accomplishments, his services and his sincerity have become the subject of much controversy.

Mr. Roosevelt's first venture into politics was his active membership in the Republican Club of the Twenty-first district of New York City. He was a young man, recently graduated from college, and he had very little knowledge of politics. "No great reforms burned in his breast", as one biographer states<sup>1</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt, a Biography; Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1931, 57.

and he did not at the time have any desire for public office, nor any idea of trying to benefit other people.<sup>2</sup> He simply felt that it was his right and the right of every man to be of the governing class, and he wished to avail himself of that right.<sup>3</sup>

He was a good mixer and seemed to inspire confidence. These characteristics led to a friendship with one of the bosses a Mr. Murray, the result of which was his election to the New York legislature by machine methods. He acknowledges the fact that neither his reputation nor his ability would have won this position for him.<sup>4</sup> We can assume that he had no great political aspirations because he wrote to a friend that he intended to stay in politics for only one year.<sup>5</sup>

But before the year was over, Mr. Roosevelt had acquired the reputation of a reformer. His discovery that Supreme Justice Westbrook was in corrupt collusion with Jay Gould, and that a man in such a position would use his high government office to serve the purpose of the wealthy and unscrupulous stock gamblers made him a staunch supporter of political reform. He had found a cause for which he could work to the satisfaction of his

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2 William Roscoe Thayer, Theodore Roosevelt, an Intimate Biography; Grossett and Dunlap, New York, 1919, 33.

3. Theodore Roosevelt, An Autobiography, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922, 55.

4 Ibid., 59, 60.

5 Charles G. Washburne, Theodore Roosevelt, the Logic of his Career, Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1916 (Letter to Mr. Washburne), 7.

conscience and his fighting nature.<sup>6</sup> On April 6, 1882<sup>7</sup> the young legislator demanded the impeachment of the judge in such terms as to bring forth this comment,

That speech ... is not remarkable for eloquence. But it is remarkable for fearless candor. He called thieves, thieves regardless of their millions; he slashed savagely at the Judge and the Attorney-General; he told the plain unvarnished truth as his indignant eyes saw it.<sup>8</sup>

The general editorial approbation of this speech made it necessary to investigate the charges. Naturally the Gould interests were vindicated, but Mr. Roosevelt's reputation was made, and it determined his policy to remain in politics for a while to do his share in making the government give better service to the people. So we find one characteristic of liberalism in this early career of this man, and one statement of high praise, "Mr. Roosevelt accomplished more good than any man of his age and experience has accomplished in years."<sup>9</sup>

By serving on a committee for a Municipal Reform Bill for New York City, Mr. Roosevelt was able to do some government reform. The bill was to take away from the alderman the power of

6 Thayer, 38.

7 Theodore Roosevelt, Campaigns and Controversies (volume 14 of The Works of Theodore Roosevelt, in 20 volumes, volume 14 edited by Albert Shaw). Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926, 7-11.

8 Jacob A. Riis, Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen, Johnson, Wynne Company, Washington, D.C., 1904, 55, quoting an article in the Saturday Evening Post, by an unnamed author.

9 Pringle, 72, from the New York Post, June 2, 1882.

confirming the mayor's appointments, about which he made this liberal observation:

Accordingly we fought for the principle, which I believe to be of universal application, that what is needed in our popular government is to give plenty of power to a few officials and to make these few officials genuinely and readily responsible to the people for the exercise of that power.<sup>10</sup>

When a Civil Service Reform Bill was being considered for New York City, he expressed these views:

My object in pushing this measure is less to raise the standard of civil service than it is to take the office-holders out of politics. It is a good thing to raise the character of our public employees, but it is better still to take out of politics the vast band of hired mercenaries whose very existence depends on their success, and who can always in the end overcome the efforts of men whose only care is to secure a pure and honest government.<sup>11</sup>

While these statements show that Mr. Roosevelt had a sincere interest in a government free from corruption, we find another expression, showing that he still believed in a narrow construction of the powers of that government and that his growth into more liberal views along those lines would come through experiences and study. He was asked to serve on a committee to investigate cigar-making in tenement houses, and his observation on this work was:

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<sup>10</sup> Autobiography, 82.

<sup>11</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XIV, 23, 24. Speech in the New York Assembly, April 9, 1883, from The New York Times, April 10, 1883.

As a matter of fact I had supposed I would be against the legislation, and I rather think that I was put on the committee with that idea, for the respectable people I knew were against it; it was contrary to the principles of political economy of laissez-faire kind ...<sup>12</sup>

But to this he added, "My visits to the tenement districts ... made me feel that, whatever the theories might be ... I could not conscientiously vote for the conditions I saw."<sup>13</sup>

This belief, that government officials should give efficient service to the people, was sincerely carried out by Mr. Roosevelt in the public offices that he held and, while certain important decisions and certain characteristics--which will be discussed later--influenced his policies and gave him a reputation for inconsistency, it is generally conceded that he did his best to serve the public. The next opportunity that he had to increase his fame as a reformer was his position on the Civil Service Commission. When Mr. Roosevelt found how the Civil Service Reform Act had been ignored and evaded, he was ready for action, and through that action he acquired such a reputation as a "scrapper"<sup>14</sup> that it allowed some doubt as to whether his motives were for the good that he could do or for the personal satisfaction in accomplishing his purpose. The cause for which he began to work was for the enforcement of the law and the publicity which

<sup>12</sup> Autobiography, 82.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>14</sup> Riis, 104.

he brought to the merit system did the great service of broadening the public interest in the subject.

The annual report of the Commission, June 30, 1889, carried a liberal objective in the reform work, "The offices are not the property of the politicians at all, whether of one party or the other, or of both, but on the contrary that they belong to the people and should be filled only with reference to the needs of public service."<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, under this regime examinations were made practical, and the lists were posted in custom houses and in postoffices, so that equal opportunity was given to everybody.

The accomplishments of the Civil Service Commission have been recorded by Mr. Roosevelt in two articles<sup>16</sup> and one of the reviews of the articles justifies his note of triumph, because he really had done very much to accomplish the reform.<sup>17</sup>

In 1895, Mr. Roosevelt became the president of the Police Commission of New York City, and he attacked this job of reform

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15 Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt and His Time Shown in His Own Letters, 2 volumes; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920, I, 43.

16 "The Present Status of the Civil Service Reform", by Theodore Roosevelt in The Atlantic Monthly (New York and Boston) February, 1895, reviewed in The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), XI, 196, March, 1895. "Political Assessments in the Coming Campaign" by Theodore Roosevelt in The Atlantic Monthly (New York and Boston), July, 1892, reviewed in The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), VI, 72, August, 1892.

17 The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), March, 1895, XI, 196.

in his usual enthusiastic manner with the two-fold purpose of getting the police force out of politics and of seeing to it that the men did their duty in enforcing all laws. His theory was sound enough. It was his duty to see that all laws were enforced whether they were good laws or bad laws, because otherwise the department could not be cleansed. He also had the idea that this was a chance to show the people that laws which were really weapons for blackmail were often put on the statute books because of a hypocritical appeal of church-going people.<sup>18</sup> An example of this was a law forbidding the sale of liquor on Sunday, but when Mr. Roosevelt insisted on enforcing this law he was criticized for interfering with personal liberty and for depriving the working man of his beer while the wealthy could drink undisturbed at their clubs. Then the enemies of reform got the clever idea of bringing to light other laws such as the "blue" Sunday laws which Mr. Roosevelt, in his sense of duty, would have to enforce, and the papers conspicuously played up

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<sup>18</sup> "Sunday Closing" by Theodore Roosevelt, in The Forum (New York) September, 1895, and in McClure's Magazine (New York), October, 1895, 5:475-479, reviewed in The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), October, 1895, 12:464; "The Enforcement of Law" by Theodore Roosevelt, in The Forum (New York), November, 1901, 32:256 (copyrighted by the Forum Publishing Company in 1894); "Taking the New York Police Out of Politics" by Theodore Roosevelt, in the Cosmopolitan November 1895, reviewed in The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), November, 1895, 12:607.



the sufferings of the poorer people through the enforcement of these laws, which brought severe criticism to the young reformer.<sup>19</sup>

It was a discouraging period of reform, and yet Mr. Roosevelt's own speeches<sup>20</sup> and articles<sup>21</sup> indicate his pride in having improved conditions in the police force and in the city generally. He was chosen as the man of the month, by the American Monthly Review of Reviews,<sup>22</sup> and there is a record of praise received from an editor not given to making favorable remarks:

I have a concern, as the Quakers say, to put on record my earnest belief that in New York you are doing the greatest work of which any American today is capable, and exhibiting to the young men of the country the spectacle of a very important office administered by a man of high character in the most efficient way, amid a thousand difficulties. As a lesson in politics I cannot think of anything more instructive.<sup>23</sup>

Another favorable opinion was that he had accomplished so much good during this part of his career that there was great regret in New York City at his resignation.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, one writer states that Mr. Roosevelt left his job just when he

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19 Pringle, 144. Also an editorial in The New York Times, October 22, 1895 (reviewing this phase of Roosevelt's career when he was running for governor of New York).

20 New York Daily Tribune, October 11 and 24, 1895.

21 See note 18.

22 "Theodore Roosevelt, A Character Sketch", by Julian Ralph, in 12; 159-171, August, 1895.

23 Thayer, 106, citing a letter to Roosevelt from Edwin Godkin, editor of The Nation, and The New York Evening Post.

24 Ibid., 105.

might have accomplished a real service of reform, had he recognized the significance of a law passed in 1896 which was a boon to commercialized vice, and that as police commissioner he misplaced his faith, had had too much optimism, and that it dawned upon him too late that the task had been futile.<sup>25</sup>

The conclusion on this early part of Mr. Roosevelt's career is that it was characterized by an interest in political reform, and that his sense of duty and this interest led him to accomplish all the good that he could in any official position that he held, and that in general he was well satisfied with his own accomplishments. But he was neither a radical nor an unselfish reformer who was willing to devote his entire ambition to the reforms he started. Political motives no doubt influenced his acceptance of the various appointments,<sup>26</sup> although one biographer contends that such is not the case.<sup>27</sup>

An important consideration in the study of this statesman as a liberal leader is his affiliation with the Republican party. If, in the first enthusiasm of the praise he received for his work as legislator, he had an idea that he could work independently in the cause that was important to him just then, such thoughts were soon dispelled because here is his statement at

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25 Pringle, 147-149.

26 Ibid., 113, 115, 120. Thayer, 84. Walter F. McCaleb, Theodore Roosevelt, Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1931, 64.

27 Washburne, 20.

the conclusion of his third term:

I accomplished practically nothing. I beat a few bad measures, passed a few good ones, and I satisfied nobody, neither my party, nor the reformers, nor myself. So I made up my mind that I, Theodore Roosevelt, the man, could do nothing in this work; but that as one among many, as a politician with a party back of me, I might do something by choosing among the good things those which might be put through, <sup>28</sup> and among the bad, those which might be beaten.

On this conclusion a comment is made that Mr. Roosevelt, the statesman became the opportunist politician.<sup>29</sup> There is, also, one biographer's opinion that this man, born with the mental and moral equipment of an independent, made himself, by unremitting endeavor, a pretty good partisan.<sup>30</sup>

A very severe test came to Mr. Roosevelt in 1884, but his Republicanism won out. He was a member of the Republican National Convention which nominated Mr. Blaine as the presidential candidate. Mr. Blaine had the reputation of a very corrupt public life, and was praised highly by Gould.<sup>31</sup> Mr. Roosevelt did all he could to prevent the nomination, and must have been disgusted with the action of the party. Nevertheless, in spite of his inconsistent position, after serious deliberation he decided not to bolt with the Independents. He claimed that a man could not work

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28 Editorial in The Arena (Trenton, New Jersey and Boston, Mass.) July, 1908, XL, 82.

29 Ibid.

30 Francis E. Leupp, The Man Roosevelt, A Portrait Sketch, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1904.

31 Pringle, 86.

both within and without a party and that he had decided with his eyes open to stay in the party because, as he said, "I am by inheritance and by education a Republican; whatever good I have been able to accomplish in public life has been accomplished through the Republican party."<sup>32</sup> Naturally his Independent friends who had taken such great pride in Mr. Roosevelt's record as legislator were keenly disappointed, but two of them later acknowledged that to him it was sincerely the "only way."<sup>33</sup> And he probably was just as sincere in his regret that his friends had bolted, as he put it, "to the camp of those who are ... the most bitter foes of the very principle which Independent Republicans have so staunchly upheld" and because "The Republican party is certainly better fitted to serve the State than the Democracy."<sup>34</sup>

In another speech, he made this statement, "I insist this much, that there shall be adequate cause for leaving the party, that there shall be a proper time chosen, and that we shall be absolutely certain that the results reached will be proper."<sup>35</sup>

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32 Works of Roosevelt, XIV, 39; an interview in The Boston Herald, July 29, 1884.

33 "President Roosevelt" by Poultney Bigelow in The Contemporary Review (London) LXXX, 463, October, 1901. Thayer, 55.

34 Works of Roosevelt, XIV, 40-43, Speech before the Young Republican Club of Brooklyn, New York; October 18, 1884; in New York Daily Tribune, October 19, 1884.

35 Ibid., 44-51, Address before the Republicans of Malden, Mass., October 20, 1884; Boston Daily Advertiser, October 21, 1884.

He admitted that a party was useful only in so far as it served the State, and, although at this time the Republican party had as bad, if not a worse reputation than Blaine, to Mr. Roosevelt it was still the same party that had come in as the party of progress.<sup>36</sup> In spite of this, one might agree with the opinion that he must have possessed an "unusual degree of the political asset of self-hypnosis"<sup>37</sup> to have worked for the success of the Republican party in 1884, and that that asset stayed with him in the years to follow. Eleven years later he made this statement, "It is bad enough to allow a man who is dishonest to stand as the representative of your party in any position. You can, however, invent excuses for it. I do not think they are valid excuses but they....often have weight."<sup>38</sup>

During his term of police commissioner, he was so irritated by the action of the Republican machine in blocking his efforts that he was on the point of attacking them after the election of 1896 but for the warning against such a policy by Mr. Lodge.<sup>39</sup> That seems to be his last idea of any such drastic action, because from then on until the close of his presidency he was the

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36 Thayer, 46; Lord Charmwood, Theodore Roosevelt, Constable & Company, Limited, London, 1923, 81.

37 Pringle, 81.

38 Works of Roosevelt, XIV, 194, "Americanism in Municipal Politics". Address before the Liberal Club of Buffalo, New York, September 10, 1895.

39 Henry Cabot Lodge, Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, in two volumes; Roosevelt to Lodge, October 18, 1895; Lodge to Roosevelt, October 31, 1895, I, 88.

practical politician in his dealings with the Republican Party.

In 1898, when the opportunity came his way for governorship of New York, he knew that he needed the machine just as he had in his first political venture, but this time the machine needed just such a man as he was for the party candidate.<sup>40</sup> It necessitated a conference with the bosses to get the nomination and Mr. Roosevelt was not above accepting that requirement, but it can be said in his favor that no pledges were exacted of him.<sup>41</sup> This conference lost him many independent votes and it was deplored by one editor that Roosevelt made his appearance as a candidate of a typical boss-ridden convention;<sup>42</sup> but even then the press was expressing the opinion that he had the courage to do the right thing in spite of bosses and regardless of party.<sup>43</sup>

There was a handicap to this alliance with the machine because it meant the endorsement of the previous state administration which had been notably corrupt. This bitter pill the honest Mr. Roosevelt had to swallow, but he evaded it as much as possible.

40 See page 15.

41 The New York Times, September 18, 1898. New York Daily Tribune, September 18, 1898, The American Monthly Review of Reviews, (New York) XVIII, 387; Progress of the World, October, 1898.

42 Editorial in The New York Times, September 19, 1898.

43 The New York Times, September 11, 19, 1898; New York Daily Tribune, September 11, 1898; The American Monthly Review of Reviews, (New York) XVIII, 387, October, 1898; editorial in The Independent, (New York), V. 50, 567; also, 990, October 6, 1898 ed., August 25, 1898; Public Opinion, XXV, 419, 420, October, 1898. Comments from Press mostly favorable. The New York World accused him of boss control. Not choice of The Washington Post.

by dwelling on the safer topic of national affairs instead of facing the state issues in his speeches. In spite of the criticism this brought to him,<sup>44</sup> he was elected and New York was congratulated on its prospects for reform.<sup>45</sup> Nor did Mr. Roosevelt disappoint the confidence of his followers. He gave a very good administration and was highly complimented on the progressive legislation accomplished during the first year.<sup>46</sup>

During the second year of his governorship, a presidential campaign year, the effect of his affiliation with the Republican party, and his own political aspirations for another term as governor, and possible aspirations to the presidency, show a more conservative man in office; a man willing to listen to some extent to the warnings of the Republican State Chairman to be cautious in his utterances,<sup>47</sup> and a man more closely in contact with the bosses, although his own comment was:

I have never done and shall never do one thing I ought not to do at the request of Senator Platt, and the whole success of my administration has been due, as much as to any other cause, to the fact that I have been able to work with the organization.<sup>48</sup>

44 Editorial in The Nation, (New York), V. 67, 272, October 13, 1898; editorial in The New York Times, October 6, 1898.

45 Public Opinion, New York, XXV, 611-613, November 17, 1898.

46 Editorial in The Independent, (New York), V, 1245, May 4, 1899; New York Daily Tribune, April 29, 1899.

47 Pringle, 211; Benjamin Odell to Roosevelt, December 20, 1899.

48 Bishop, I, 131; Letter to Dr. T. R. Slicer, June 29, 1900.

But diplomatic as he tried to be, Mr. Roosevelt could not satisfy everybody, and his policies seem to have been too liberal to suit the Republican machine because it was rumored as early as March, 1899<sup>49</sup> that Mr. Platt and his colleagues were going to get him into the more harmless position of the vice-presidency, which is exactly what happened. This was not what he wanted at all,<sup>50</sup> but as a loyal party man it may have been some comfort to him, when the nomination was given to him, to have these words said of him:

You have shown the people of this country that a political career and good citizenship could go hand-in-hand and that devotion to the public welfare was consistent with party membership and party organization.<sup>51</sup>

After his election we have, in the following extract from a letter, an example of his method of adjusting himself to new positions: (He was giving a dinner in honor of J. P. Morgan)

You see it represents an effort on my part to become a conservative man in touch with the influential classes, and I think I deserve encouragement. Hitherto I have given dinners only to professional politicians or more or less wild-eyed radicals. Now I am at work endeavoring to assume the vice-presidential pose.<sup>52</sup>

In September, 1901 President McKinley was assassinated and Mr. Roosevelt was the new president, bound by no pledges,

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49 The New York Times, March 27, 1899; New York Daily Tribune, March 27, 1899.

50 Correspondence, I, 447, Roosevelt to Lodge, February 2, 1900.

51 Public Opinion, (New York), XXIX, 72, July 19, 1900, Notification speech.

52 Pringle, 227. Letter to Root, December 5, 1900.



according to one opinion, with a chance of becoming not the head of a political party but of a nation.<sup>53</sup> A few years of prosperity and contentment had given industrial, commercial and railroad interests a smug satisfaction and control of the Republican party which was more and more the party of reactionaries. But underneath this surface contentment there was unrest. Parties were in a chaotic condition. It was probable that in the next few years the masses of voters would attach themselves to the party which seemed likely to represent the greater protection to the general interests. New life had to be injected into the Republican party if it was to set forth the reforms urgently demanded. A group of Progressives were already trying to bring about these changes. The people, realizing that the bosses had been quietly monopolizing every form of political activity, needed a leader.<sup>54</sup> Would Mr. Roosevelt, now at the height of political ambitions, take this opportunity to ally himself with the progressive group and become the leader of the people? No, he was still the cautious party man and, at the time, had no intention of becoming an independent liberal leader.

He realized as well as anyone that the Republican party had gone from the hands of the conservatives into the hands of the

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53 "A Working Man for President" by John Brisben Walker, in The Cosmopolitan, A Monthly Illustrated Magazine, (New York) XXXII, 25, November, 1901.

54 Editorial in The Nation, (New York), V. 74, 478, June 19, 1902.

reactionaries, but he blamed this on the foolish and ill-judged mock radicalism of the last decade of the nineteenth century, which had made it necessary to uphold cautiously the interests of popular government.<sup>55</sup> In 1896, Mr. Roosevelt had declared that the election was "fraught with much consequence." He considered that the people who were behind Mr. Bryan were "impelled by a wave of genuine fanaticism",<sup>56</sup> or, as he put it:

It is a semi-socialistic, agrarian movement with free silver as a mere incident, supported mainly because it is hoped thereby to damage the well-to-do and thrifty ... Organized labor is the chief support of Bryan in the big cities ... All the ugly forces that seethe beneath the social crust are behind him.<sup>57</sup>

He denounced the tariff and financial views of the Democrats during that campaign, and he gave most bitter opinions of the Populists.<sup>58</sup> In 1900, he felt the same way, "Four years ago the success of the Populists and Democrats would have meant fearful misery and disaster. Today it would mean all these and, in addition, the immeasurable disgrace of abandoning the proud position we have taken."<sup>59</sup>

As a matter of fact, Mr. Roosevelt had no more desire to see a new economic change than did the Old Guard, but he did realize

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55 Autobiography, 350-351.

56 Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870-1918, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1924; Roosevelt to Anna, July 26, 1896, 188.

57 Ibid., 194; Roosevelt to Anna, September 29, 1896.

58 Works of Roosevelt, XIV, 243; "The Issues of 1896", in The Century Magazine, November, 1895.

59 Public Opinion, (New York), XXIX, 101, July 26, 1900, speech at St. Paul before National League of Republican Clubs. Last part of statement refers to colonies and expansion.

as they did not, that the unrest was too great to be ignored, and that something must be done in a moderate way to ward off the growing socialistic ideas. Stocks had already fallen enough to assure him that it was wise to accept the advice of his brother-in-law, Mr. Robinson, to be close-mouthed and conservative and to assure the country that he intended to carry out the administration's policy and to keep the cabinet as it was.<sup>60</sup>

He therefore announced:

In this hour ... I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our country.<sup>61</sup>

The new president started his course with the confidence of the country back of him and with the assurance of the press that he was a conservative man,<sup>62</sup> a man with a passion for good administration which he had preached and enforced all his life.<sup>63</sup>

It was Mr. Roosevelt's policy to work within his party and with the men he found there.<sup>64</sup> He was willing to make some compromises for what he termed the "larger good", the theory that if you couldn't do ideally the best, to do the best you could.<sup>65</sup> He felt that every man in public life was bound to do all the

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60 Pringle, 238.

61 McCaleb, 108.

62 Public Opinion, (New York), XXXI, 355, September 19; 387; September 26, 1901, Press comments. The Chicago Record Herald, September 15, 1901, Press comments. Chicago Daily Tribune, September 15, 1901. Press comments, New York Daily Tribune, September 15, 1901.

63 Public Opinion, (New York), XXXI, 355, September 19, 1901.

64 Autobiography, 352.

65 Leupp, 103.

good he could and to stop all the evil.<sup>66</sup> But at the same time he was determined that he would not abandon his principles, and confident that the people were with him, his further plan was to keep them informed of what he was accomplishing.<sup>67</sup> As the years went on and he became dissatisfied with the reactionaries within the party, he claims that he accomplished many of his reforms by going over their heads, directly to the people.<sup>68</sup>

The principles of this leader should now be considered and his ideas of some of the big problems of the day should be discussed, to show how he did work within his party, how his increasing anxiety over social conditions led him toward radicalism and yet how often caution influenced his actions.

Tariff was one of the major problems of the day. Originally Mr. Roosevelt belonged to the Free Trade Club, but in 1884, when he decided to stick to the Republican party, he resigned from this club on the grounds that he was a Republican first and a free-trader second. To him tariff was never a moral issue; he considered that both paths led to the same goal, although he admitted that protective tariff might be the longer road.<sup>69</sup> Mr. McKinley, in his Buffalo speech,<sup>70</sup> had taken a more liberal

66 "Latitude and Longitude among Reformers" by Theodore Roosevelt in The Century (New York), LX, 214-216, June, 1900.

67 Bishop, 150.

68 Autobiography, 352.

69 Leupp, 257, 258; Pringle, 64, 79.

70 Public Opinion (New York), XXXI, 358, September 19, 1901.

policy toward tariff and reciprocity, and it was supposed by many that the new president's acceptance of the administration's course would mean action along this line. But Mr. Roosevelt's fear that business might be upset, and that a stand on such a controversial subject would have a bad effect on the party, avoided the matter as much as was possible. He did suggest a flexibility in schedules to meet the changing economic conditions and a non-partisan committee of experts to make a thorough study of the various tariffs,<sup>71</sup> but he was opposed to any tampering with tariffs that might lower American standards of living<sup>72</sup> and he did not agree with the idea that tariff was connected with the evils of the trusts.<sup>73</sup>

His attitude on the subject in general is well expressed in one of his letters,<sup>74</sup>

I am by no means certain what we can get the party as a whole to do--what position we can get it to take--and, of course, I do not want to take a stand upon a matter of expediency (that is all the question of tariff revision is) until I have some hopes of bringing the party up to that position.

71 The Outlook (New York), V. 72, 244, October 4, 1902.

72 Willis Fletcher Johnson, editor of Addresses and Papers by Theodore Roosevelt, The Sun Dial Classics Company, Publishers, (New York), 1908, 87; Speech at Logansport, September 23, 1903.

73 Ibid., 84, Speech at Cincinnati, September 20, 1902. Theodore Roosevelt, State Papers as Governor and President 1899-1909, (XV of The Works of Theodore Roosevelt; this volume edited by Gifford Pinchot), 144, Annual Message, 1902.

74 Correspondence II, 6, Personal letter to Mr. Lodge, April 27, 1903.

He goes on to say that nothing can be done in an election year but suggests the following for the platform:

... time has come for going over schedules, and for, wherever necessary, revising them and for reducing such as it may be found desirable to reduce; but that this revision must be made in accordance with the principle of the protective system, and by the friends of the system. Such a pledge we could keep, for we could set to work, if we were victorious and with four years ahead of us we could do the work with very little chance of jarring business interests ...

Nothing was done in the next four years and, in his annual message of 1907 he was still advising revision, but not on the "eve of election", so Mr. Taft inherited this vexing problem.

As for reciprocity he had little to say except with regard to Cuba, and in his first message he took the commendable attitude that this was a matter of national honor and should be given immediate attention.<sup>75</sup> His special message to Congress in 1903 was criticized on the grounds that his plea for Cuba was less insistent<sup>76</sup> and the result was an act which showed compromise, as Mr. Roosevelt would say, for the "larger good".<sup>77</sup>

But if tariff was not a moral issue with the new president, corruption in the trusts was, and it was along that line that he chose to fight and to take his fight to the people. The ideas which he broadcasted in his speeches on a tour through New England

75 Works of Roosevelt, XV, 427.

76 Editorial in The Nation (New York), V. 74, 259, April 3, 1902.

77 See page 31.

in the fall of 1902 gave him the reputation of a "trust buster".<sup>78</sup> People rallied to him because he was denouncing the things that they knew to be corrupt, but if they expected a solution of the problem they were to be disappointed since he did not have any crystallized program for carrying out his ideas.<sup>79</sup> In fact he is said to have admitted that he did not know what the matter was fundamentally nor what to do about it fundamentally.<sup>80</sup> Yet even those who criticized him for vagueness and inconclusiveness were willing to admit his sincerity<sup>81</sup> and to accept the fact that he was ahead of his times in his ideas.<sup>82</sup>

It was after his term of Civil Service Commissioner that Mr. Roosevelt began to understand that it was not merely enough to improve political conditions, but that the government could do much to improve economic conditions and to secure social and industrial justice.<sup>83</sup> This was the policy he adopted toward the trusts when he was governor of New York. He had no sympathy with the outcry against corporations as such nor against prosperous business men because they were prosperous. He considered that the new economic order required corporations and that the people

78 Public Opinion (New York), XXXIII, 294-295, September 4, 1902.

79 McCaleb, 184.

80 "Roosevelt-Taft-LaFollette on What the Matter is in America and What to Do About It" by Lincoln Steffens in Everybody's Magazine, (New York), XVIII, 723-736, June 1908.

81 Editorial in The Nation, V. 75, 437, December 4, 1902; McCaleb, 254.

82 Pringle, 426.

83 Autobiography, 158, 159.

and the country as a whole had benefited very greatly through them. But he did feel that it was very necessary for the government to control and supervise them.<sup>84</sup> In Jefferson's day there had been great need for the largest possible liberty of the individual, now that need was reversed.<sup>85</sup>

As the chief executive of the country his idea remained the same. As has been said, he did not consider tariff as a contributing cause to the evils of the trusts, nor did he see capitalism as the root of the evil, but he did consider that since corporations had become so stupendous, government control and supervision was very necessary. His problem then was to find out how much power the government really had.<sup>86</sup> He recommended to Congress a Department of Commerce and Industries to investigate and get facts about corporations and to make these facts public<sup>87</sup> and in his speeches he suggested that if the needed legislation was not permitted by the Constitution that it should be amended to grant that power.<sup>88</sup>

He then had the government bring suit against a merger known as the Northern Securities Company, the success of which established the power of the government to deal with great

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84 Public Opinion (New York), XXVI, 421, April 6, 1899; Special Message of Governor Roosevelt to the New York Legislature, March 27, 1899.

85 Autobiography, 423.

86 Autobiography, 423.

87 Works of Roosevelt, XV, 87; First Annual Message to Congress.

88 Addresses, 78, Speech at Wheeling, Virginia, September 6, 1902.



corporations and made the Sherman Anti-Trust Act more effective. And it may be said to his credit that he continued pressing trust control in 1903, in spite of the political effect it might have had on him personally.<sup>89</sup> But he never did solve the problem of devising a method for government control. He never had liked the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and when it showed vulnerability in his Standard Oil prosecution he was more than ever against it. He said,

It is profoundly immoral to put or keep on the statute book a law, nominally in the interest of the public morality, that really puts a premium on public immorality by undertaking to forbid honest men from doing what must be done under modern business conditions. It is a public evil to have on the statute book a law incapable of full enforcement, because both judges and juries realize that its full enforcement would destroy the business of the country.<sup>90</sup>

At times, he advised repeal of the law,<sup>91</sup> at others, making it more efficient,<sup>92</sup> and in his final message in 1908 he demanded a substitute for the law that would give the National Government full control and supervision.

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<sup>89</sup> Pringle, 340.

<sup>90</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XV, 141, Annual Message, 1907; McCaleb, 340.

<sup>91</sup> McCaleb, 239; David Saville Muzzy, The American Adventure from the Civil War, in two volumes, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York and London, 1927, II, 436.

<sup>92</sup> Editorial in American Monthly Review of Reviews, XXXIX, 14, January, 1909.

One evil of the trusts recognized by Mr. Roosevelt was the granting of railroad rebates and, after his very popular election in 1904, he came out boldly against this evil practice,<sup>93</sup> selecting an issue, as one biographer says, that demonstrated his grasp of popular prejudice and popular limits.<sup>94</sup> One editor commends him on having laid his fingers on the crying sins of railroads and that, if he could end rebates, a new era would begin and much of the trust problem would be solved.<sup>95</sup> At times he expressed himself very radically on this subject, at others he modified his statements,<sup>96</sup> but his caution was maintained by his emphasis on the fact that, even under government control and supervision of railroads, the investors must be considered and must get a just reward and benefit from their investments.<sup>97</sup> It is felt that by progress of events he was led to become more radical than he at first proposed,<sup>98</sup> but he contended that his recommendations were in the name of real conservatism to prevent

93 Works of Roosevelt, XV, 225, Annual Message, 1904; The Chicago Daily Journal, December 6, 1904; The Chicago Daily Tribune, December 7, 1904; The Chicago Record Herald, December 7, 1904.

94 Pringle, 415.

95 Editorial in The Chicago Daily Tribune, December 7, 1904.

96 Works of Roosevelt, XV, 274, Annual Message, 1905; Editorial in New York Daily Tribune, December 6, 1905.

97 The Roosevelt Policy, Speeches, Letters and State Papers relating to Corporate Wealth and Closely Allied Topics of Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, in two volumes, The Current Literature Publishing Company, New York, 1908, II, 485.

98 James Ford Rhodes, The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922, 323.

government ownership of railroads.

He gave his support to the Hepburn Bill which was an act whereby the control of railroads was to be given entirely to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Roosevelt's attitude was that if the limits of this bill were to be defined, they should limit rather than broaden the powers of the court, and he seemed to feel that there was little use in touching the subject at all unless the Commission was given power to establish a maximum rate and put it into operation irrespective of the rights of parties or the authority of the courts.<sup>99</sup> To the disappointment of many who had been watching his work with approval, he gave in to the Allison Amendment which limited the powers of the Commission rather than that of the courts. He was accused of running away from his own fight, and he strengthened the opinion of those who already believed that in the long run he always came out in favor of the interests.<sup>100</sup>

In spite of criticism, the act was a step forward, and it may be said that, although this particular president did not accomplish as much toward overcoming the problem of trusts as might have been expected from all that he had to say on the subject, his administration was marked by some constructive acts such as a Pure Food and Drug Act and the acts connected with his

<sup>99</sup> Correspondence, II, 217, Roosevelt to Lodge, May 11, 1906.

<sup>100</sup> "The President, the Rate Bill, and the Public Service Companies", editorial in The Arena (New Jersey and Boston), XXXVI, 87-92, July, 1906.

conservation policy which, to some extent, curbed the malefactors of great wealth.<sup>101</sup>

As to social betterment, Mr. Roosevelt was far from liberal in the early part of his career. He showed the ignorance and prejudice common to his class,<sup>102</sup> and, as legislator, voted against abolition of contract labor and the conditions of virtual slavery in the State prison, stating it, "maudlin sympathy for convicts ... for men who had deliberately placed themselves outside the pale of society."<sup>103</sup> He also spoke against a bill to forbid streetcar conductors and motormen from working twelve hours a day. He called it socialistic, and scorned employees who wanted to be coddled by government protection.<sup>104</sup> As candidate for mayor of New York City, in 1886, he had nothing to offer labor. He was accused of belonging to the employing and landlord class who knew nothing of the needs of the masses and whose best interests were served when wages were low and rents high.<sup>105</sup> In his denial of these charges, Mr. Roosevelt refused to believe that the mass of American people were in the deplorable condition pictured by his correspondent, but that, even so, the statesmen were no more responsible because some people were poor than

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101 Thayer, 236, 237. Autobiography, 391-392, 393 ff.

102 Pringle, 77.

103 Works of Roosevelt, XIV, 25, speech to the New York Assembly, April 18, 1883; in The New York Times, April 19, 1883.

104 The New York Times, January 30, 31, 1884, cited in Pringle, 78.

105 Works of Roosevelt, XIV, 70, Dennis Donohoe to Roosevelt, October 20, 1886.

because some were near-sighted. His closing words give the substance of his attitude of the time, "Some of the evils are real and can be remedied, but the real ones can only be gotten over through capacity for steady, individual self-help which is the glory of every American."<sup>106</sup>

His experiences, as Civil Service Commissioner and Police Commissioner, and study gave him a different view of such matters as indicated in his campaign speeches when he was running for governor. In a speech to the workingmen, he admits that he has studied the question and has changed his general views,<sup>107</sup> for which admission he is praised editorially.<sup>108</sup> He was still cautious enough to promise his support of measures which did not interfere with the rights of others, which could better be administered by the State than by any private agency and that did not tend to impair self-reliance, which was as far as intelligent labor leaders were disposed to go at that time.<sup>109</sup> While he was governor, he made constructive recommendations for seeing that the labor legislation of the state was enforced, and he was interested in bills for the supervision of sweat-shops.<sup>110</sup>

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106 Ibid., Roosevelt to Donohoe, October 22, 1888.

107 The New York Times, October 19, 1898; New York Daily Tribune, October 19, 1898.

108 Editorial in The New York Times, October 19, 1898.

109 Ibid.

110 New York Daily Tribune, January 3, 1899. Works of Roosevelt, XV, 5, Message to the New York Legislature.

When he entered the presidency he had no definite plans of how conditions could be bettered, but by that time he was firmly convinced that governmental agencies should be used for the practical betterment of living and working conditions. He was disgusted, so he states, with the "fetish" of States' Rights being used to block national legislation against corporations and in the interests of the working-man.<sup>111</sup> He was interested in maintaining a high standard of living for the farmer and the working-man. He wanted all labor legislation enforced in the District of Columbia and an Employers' Liability Law for the District, and he hoped to discover a way of extending the Federal scope in the matter of liability. He hoped to accomplish better conditions through his pet idea of publicity of the labor conditions throughout the state.<sup>112</sup> That he was conservative in the matter, early in his presidency, is shown in the statement, "a line of demarcation between unhealthy over-interference and unhealthy lack of regulation is not always well defined and shifts with the change in our industrial needs."<sup>113</sup> But as time went on, he felt hampered by the lack of power of the National Government,<sup>114</sup> until toward the end of his administration he was wildly suggesting all

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111 Autobiography, 461, 385, 350-51.

112 Works of Roosevelt, XV, 93, First Annual Message, 1901.

113 Policy I, 127, at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, April 6, 1906.

114 Works of Roosevelt, XV, 284, Annual Message, 1905; 358, Annual Message, 1906.

sorts of social legislation which could not possibly be passed during his term.<sup>115</sup> He did succeed in accomplishing an Employers' Liability and Safety Appliance Law.

During the second year of his presidency, Mr. Roosevelt assumed a responsibility considered by many as unconstitutional. He appointed a commission to investigate conditions with regard to a coal strike. He really took action because of the suffering consumers,<sup>116</sup> but he was praised as the champion of the working classes, and it gave him the right to put the legitimate rights of labor as a plank in his platform.<sup>117</sup> His own version of his interference is thus expressed.

I did not usurp power, but I did greatly broaden the use of the executive power. In other words, I acted for the public welfare, I acted for the common well-being of all our people, whenever and in whatever manner was necessary, unless prevented by direct constitution or legislative prohibition.<sup>118</sup>

Such an attitude would be characteristic of a liberal leader, but even after this interference on his part, he was very cautious about machinery for compulsory investigations of controversies between employers and employees.<sup>119</sup> He advised caution and the testing of each step by actual results, and, by 1907, considered

115 Ibid., 436, 437, Annual Message, 1907; 499, Annual Message, 1908.

116 "President Roosevelt's First Year", by a Progressive Republican in The North American Review, New York, 175, 721, December, 1902; New York Daily Tribune, March 21, 1903.

117 Pringle, 278.

118 Autobiography, 357.

119 Works of Roosevelt, XV, 361, Annual Message, 1906.

it part of the progressive program to create a board of compulsory investigation where mediation in industrial controversies had failed.<sup>120</sup>

Although Mr. Roosevelt favored organization of labor, he insisted that such groups respect the rights of others. When the labor organization demanded the dismissal of a Mr. Miller from the Government Printing Office because he was not a union man, the President considered it against his ideas of justice and he definitely expressed his opinion.

Of course I will not for one moment submit to dictation by labor unions any more than by the trusts, no matter what the effect on the present elections may be ... I will proceed upon the only plan possible for a self-respecting American President and treat each man on his merits as a man.<sup>121</sup>

And in this respect, we might call attention to an ideal vision of this statesman, a "Sacred Oneness" of the body politic.<sup>122</sup> In an early speech as legislator he had said, "I represent neither capital nor labor, I represent every American citizen be he laborer or be he capitalist",<sup>123</sup> and around this he based his policies, and he sincerely tried to live up to this philosophy. He never tired of preaching this doctrine:

We do not intend that this Republic shall ever fail as those republics of ancient times failed, in which there finally came to be a government by classes, which resulted either in the poor plundering the rich or the rich exploiting the poor. For either means the destruction of free

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 436, Annual Message, 1906.

<sup>121</sup> Leupp, 241.

<sup>122</sup> Thayer, 249.

<sup>123</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XIV, 25, speech in New York Assembly, April 18.



institutions and of individual liberty.<sup>124</sup>

One biographer comments:

This made him the greatest of modern Democrats, and the chief interpreter, as it seems to me, of the highest ideals of American Democracy. The ideal of Oneness can never be realized in a State which permits a single class to enjoy privileges of its own at the expense of other classes.<sup>125</sup>

Mr. Roosevelt was a far less cautious and conservative man during the last two years of his term. He had ceased to try to work with the reactionary members of Congress, assured now that his method of appealing to the people had brought him their support and that it was through their influence that the constructive, liberal acts of his administration had been passed. In 1907 he recommended a liberal construction of the Constitution and attacked the courts as obstacles to progress.<sup>126</sup> He also began his denunciation of "wicked corporations" and "malefactors of great wealth". He refused to stop these attacks even though it might hurt business, because he claimed that it was a conflict between "righteousness and business and he accepted righteousness". When his policies were blamed for the panic of 1907, he admitted that they might be a contributory cause but that even though they

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<sup>124</sup> Muzzy, 425, a speech at the Union League Club, Philadelphia, January 1904, and often repeated in speeches and messages.

<sup>125</sup> Thayer, 249.

<sup>126</sup> Pringle; Works of Roosevelt, XV, 504, 517, Annual Message, 1908.

were, his answer was, "They must be accepted as a disagreeable but unavoidable feature in a course of policy which, as long as I am president, will not be changed."<sup>127</sup>

In a special message to Congress in January 1908, he claimed, "... business hurt by a movement for honesty is the kind of business which ... it pays the country to have hurt."<sup>128</sup> And,

If it were true that to cut out rottenness from the body politic meant a momentary check to an unhealthy seeming prosperity, I should not for one moment hesitate to put the knife to corruption ... Our main quarrel is not with the representatives of interests. They derive their chief power from the great sinister offenders who stand behind them. They are but puppets ... We seek to control law-defying wealth."<sup>129</sup>

Naturally he was condemned by New York and Wall Street for such utterances, but he was praised by the West and South,<sup>130</sup> and received editorial approval in the American Monthly Review of Reviews<sup>131</sup> and in The Arena.<sup>132</sup> It is interesting to note, however, that a later editorial in the latter periodical claimed that the President had a conference with Mr. Morgan and Mr. Harri-  
man, which was followed by "an aim-to-please message of March 25"<sup>133</sup> in which he tried to "massage the sore spots in the elements of of political influence."

127 Bishop, II, 43.

128 Pringle, 478.

129 Rhodes, 344.

130 Editorial in American Monthly Review of Reviews, (New York), XXXVII, 268, February 1908.

131 Ibid.

132 XXXVII, 350, March 1908.

133 XXXVII, 622, May 1908.

Also, in 1907,<sup>134</sup> Mr. Roosevelt began his innumerable recommendations on labor legislation, on further conservation legislation, on ways and means of controlling railroads, recommendations for an inheritance tax and for home rule for Alaska, and so on, until one of his loyal supporters criticized the variety and regretted that he was not giving more constructive attention to a few of the present needs.<sup>135</sup> He continued such recommendations in his December message of 1908,<sup>136</sup> and in special messages throughout the year,<sup>137</sup> to a Congress that was ignoring both him and his recommendations. One commentator declared that his whole social philosophy had been declared in his 1908 message, but that the problems would no doubt remain unsettled even after Taft's administration.<sup>138</sup> However, this editor said that Mr. Roosevelt's preview of the situation was as valuable as that of any other man in public life, and might stimulate a formation of intelligent public opinion. And another editor remarked that it might have a lasting effect on the social and political future of the republic because it contained the newer convictions and aspirations of the American people.<sup>139</sup>

That seems to be the general opinion of the liberalism of this statesman--that he had broadened the social conscience of

<sup>134</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XV, 410, Annual Message, 1907.

<sup>135</sup> Editorial in Chicago Daily Tribune, December 4, 1907.

<sup>136</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XV, 489.

<sup>137</sup> Pringle, 479-482.

<sup>138</sup> New York Daily Tribune, December 9, 1908.

<sup>139</sup> The Chicago Daily Tribune, December 9, 1908.

the people,<sup>140</sup> or, as one writer says, "Although his accomplishments were meager, his name would ultimately be linked with a great series of social and political movements to which he had given the initial impulse."<sup>141</sup>

Perhaps his accomplishments were meager compared to the impression he gave of what he expected to accomplish. As one critic says, "He undid with his left hand what he proclaimed with his right";<sup>142</sup> but it cannot be denied that in each of the many political positions he held, he made contributions of a liberal nature. And we can agree that he did want to do a lasting good to mankind and that the country never lost faith in the sincerity of his intentions and the integrity of his purpose during those years of service.<sup>143</sup>

On the other hand, he might have accomplished many more of his reforms had he seen the opportunity of allying himself with the progressive element within his party.<sup>144</sup> Although he was ahead of the majority of the Republicans in his idea, his liberalism was formulating as he went along and he was not far enough ahead of the times for effective leadership. He may also be

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140 London World, quoted in The American Monthly Review of Reviews, XXXIX, 475-6, April, 1909.

141 "President Roosevelt" by Thurston Peck in The Bookman, (New York), XXIX, 25-31, March 1909.

142 "Roosevelt as a Reactionist" by George Lewellyn Riis, in The Arena (Trenton and Boston), XXXIX, 289-99, March 1908.

143 "A Glance at President Roosevelt's Administration and His Person", by John Works in The Arena (Trenton and Boston), XXXIX, 156-159, February 1908.

144 "Is President Roosevelt a Reactionist", editorial in The Arena (Trenton and Boston), XXXIX, 354-355, March, 1908.

criticized for his own optimistic approbation. As he had pledged in 1904 not to be a candidate in 1908, he kept that pledge, but he chose Mr. Taft as his successor and he seems to have left the presidency with a confident feeling that Mr. Taft would be able to carry on a reform program and that he had left the Republican party once more "the progressive and indeed the fairly radical progressive party of the nation."<sup>145</sup>

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145 Autobiography, 352.

### CHAPTER III

#### MR. ROOSEVELT AS A LIBERAL CANDIDATE IN 1912

An author who terms Mr. Roosevelt, "The Great Progressive" classifies the years 1901 to 1909 as the prologue for 1910-1914.<sup>1</sup> The policies and actions of this statesman for those earlier years have been discussed, and it is now necessary to consider the events of 1910 and 1911, which had a bearing on the campaign year of 1912, and then to take up the story of that significant election year.

Although Mr. Roosevelt was out of the country for two years, he was fairly well informed about American affairs and had very evidently given the matters thought and consideration, as is indicated by his correspondence with Mr. Lodge. This friend had advised him not to form his judgment until he had returned and had received accurate information,<sup>2</sup> and he seemed willing to accept this advice and to favor Mr. Taft's renomination,<sup>3</sup> although he admitted that he was out of sympathy with the tariff

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<sup>1</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, Social Justice and Popular Rule, Essays, Addresses and Public Statements Relating to the Progressive Movement, (volume 17 of the Works of Theodore Roosevelt, National edition in 20 volumes, this volume edited by Herbert Knox), Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926. Introduction by Herbert Knox.

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence, II, 357, Lodge to Roosevelt, January 15, 1910, 361; Roosevelt to Lodge, March 14, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 363, Roosevelt to Lodge, April 6, 1910.

method and with Mr. Taft's dependence on Mr. Cannon, Mr. Payne, and Mr. Aldrich. He expressed his general attitude:

... for me to go into a whole-hearted campaign, battling for the Administration through thick and thin, upholding Congress, making such appeals as I did in 1906 and 1908, would be ... out of the question. The party leaders have shown with the utmost possible distinctness that while they welcome and are anxious for my help in carrying an election they are cynically indifferent, or rather cynically and contemptuously hostile to doing themselves anything after election which shall show the slightest regard to what I have promised.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Lodge, the loyal Republican, realized that in the elections of 1910 his party was very likely to lose, but he tried to convince Mr. Roosevelt that his help was needed at this critical time:

All I want you to say ... that you want the Republican party to win because you think that on the whole it is the national party and one to which the country can look for carrying out of the policies in which the American people believe.<sup>5</sup>

The reply he received said:

It seems to me that Taft, Cannon, and Aldrich and the others have totally misestimated the character of the movement which we now have to face in American life ... Our own party leaders did not realize that I was able to hold the Republican party in power only because I insisted on a steady advance, and dragged them along with me. Now the advance has been stopped and whether we blame the people on the one side or the leaders on the other the fact remains that we are in a very uncomfortable position.<sup>6</sup>

4 Ibid., 367, Roosevelt to Lodge, April 11, 1910.

5 Ibid., 376, Lodge to Roosevelt, April 25, 1910.

6 Ibid., 379, Roosevelt to Lodge, May 5, 1910.

This lack of sympathy with certain factions of the Republican party, and the fact that he was not inclined to be a speaker for a party which he was sure would be defeated, led him to deliberate for some time on the policy to pursue, but his loyalty to those party men who had always been in sympathy with his views, and had aided him when he was governor and president, influenced him to go to their aid now.<sup>7</sup> His first public appeal was for the passage of the direct primary bill for New York, a measure which was defeated by the machine, much to his disgust.<sup>8</sup>

Then came the outstanding speech at Ossawatimie, Kansas,<sup>9</sup> the speech which foretold the charter of the Progressive Party. It was on this occasion that Mr. Roosevelt proclaimed the "New Nationalism". This creed is said to have been conceived by Mr. Croly, whose writings influenced him, but a creed that could rightfully be claimed as his own.<sup>10</sup> Was there anything so new or radical in this speech? Mr. Roosevelt's answer was:

All my ... statements have already been made, or at least in effect have been made in my messages to Congress. I may have here and there strengthened them, or made them clearer, but substantially what I said at Ossawatimie consisted of assembling those points I made in my messages to Congress which I regarded as of the most importance for the moment.<sup>11</sup>

Those points were that in the struggle for human betterment there must be a large measure of equality of opportunity, and to

<sup>7</sup> Thayer, 336.

<sup>8</sup> Pringle, 356, citing The New York Times, June 30, 1910.

<sup>9</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 22, speech on August 31, 1910.

<sup>10</sup> Pringle, 540.

<sup>11</sup> Correspondence, II, 390, Roosevelt to Lodge, September 12, 1910.



that end the destruction of special privilege. In order to give a square deal to labor and to the farmer, this leader proclaimed that the rules must be changed. It would be necessary to supervise the capitalization of railroads and corporations and to have a tariff commission to eliminate the influence of the "interests" on drafting tariff schedules. He advocated income and inheritance taxes to guard against too large fortunes. His theory of the New Nationalism was thus expressed:

I do not ask for over-centralization but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism when we work for what concerns our people as a whole ... The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the national government. The American people are right in demanding that New Nationalism without which we cannot hope to deal with new problems. The New Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare. It demands of the judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property.<sup>12</sup>

Our attention is called by one biographer<sup>13</sup> to certain parts of the speech which were more emphatic perhaps than statements in his messages to Congress:

The New Nationalism implies ... far more governmental interference with social and economic conditions than we have yet had, but I think we have got to face the fact that such increase is now necessary.

And,

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<sup>12</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 19, speech at Ossawatimie.

<sup>13</sup> Pringle, 543.

We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare ... The man who strongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

Naturally the press comments were many and varied. One editor considered it a speech that should meet the approval of both Progressive Democrats and Progressive Republicans and stated, "Theodore Roosevelt is marching on, a progressive, heart and soul, hard to remain silent when reactionaries are busy and so much depends upon outspoken, resolute leadership."<sup>14</sup> Another paper declared the speech a detailed statement of progressive republicanism and continued, "the leader of which, as a broad practical movement growing in scope and power for nearly a decade, has been Theodore Roosevelt."<sup>15</sup> This same editor found nothing new or novel in the speech, but praised it for "crystalizing, defining, and concentrating the whole progressive movement as it had not been done before."

Then we also find the comment that after all his weighing and considering, Mr. Roosevelt had jumped into the middle of the insurgent group, not only swearing brotherhood with Pinchot, LaFollette and others, but expressing himself as even more

14 Editorial in The Chicago Record Herald, September 1, 1910.

15 Editorial in the Chicago Daily Tribune, September 1, 1910.

insurgent.<sup>16</sup> The question was raised as to where he could be drifting, accepting as he had virtually the entire Bryan program, even Bryan's attitude toward the great underlying problems of the economic organization, and had gone farther in his readiness to assume that the government must remedy the economic evils, no matter how deep were their foundations in the innermost structure of our economic life, and however violent might be the departure from established principles.<sup>17</sup>

Many blamed Mr. Roosevelt for attracting attention from Mr. Taft to himself, interpreting it as an opportunity to get himself in line for the presidency,<sup>18</sup> and there was the prophecy that, with the West enthusiastically endorsing the "New Nationalism", he might be tempted to form a new party, recruited from the Progressives, which would split the politics of the country into the deep and natural divisions of Liberals and Conservatives.<sup>19</sup>

The Republican party did lose in the elections of 1910, but Mr. Roosevelt more than ever stood by the declarations of his speech, and claimed, "The fight for progressive popular government has merely begun, and will certainly go on to a triumphant conclusion in spite of initial checks and in spite of the

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16 The Chicago Daily Journal, September 1, 1910. 1910.

17 Editorial in The Nation, (New York), Vol. 91, 232, September 15,

18 Current Literature, (New York), XLIX, 351, October, 1910, extracts from Press Comments from New York Sun, The Baltimore Sun, The Springfield Republican.

19 "The Confusion of American Politics" by Sydney Brooks, in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 267, 323-331, November 5, 1910.

personal success or failure of individual leaders."<sup>20</sup> He used his editorship of the The Outlook to express his views and to keep before the people his ideas during the year of 1911. No doubt he was sincere in all that he proclaimed, and certainly his sentiments were liberal, but he did not have any program planned whereby his ideas could be successfully carried out, nor did he want to be put to such a test.

It was at this time that the insurgent or progressive republicans organized under the leadership of Mr. La Follette.<sup>21</sup> They declared that their purpose was to get the control of the government out of the hands of the privileged and into the hands of the people. In order to reestablish popular government and to get desirable progressive legislation, they were for direct primaries, direct election of delegates to the national conventions, initiative, referendum, recall and a thorough-going corrupt-practices act. Here was a chance for Mr. Roosevelt to ally himself with a group who were in sympathy with his own liberal ideas, but he was not ready for such a move. He said to them,

I am a progressive. I could not be anything else. We must work and we must fight for the restoration of popular rule.<sup>22</sup>

He endorsed their policies in The Outlook. But to a friend

<sup>20</sup> Pringle, 544, citing The Outlook (New York), November 19, 1910.

<sup>21</sup> The Independent (New York), V. 71, 89, October 26, 1911.

News section.

<sup>22</sup>. Muzzy, 563.

he commented, "Wherever there is any reason for caution, we are not only content but desirous of progressing slowly and in a cautious manner."<sup>23</sup> He gave as his reason for not formally becoming a member of the association his fear that it might resolve itself into a small group too far in advance of the times.<sup>24</sup> Had he been that sincere, strong leader people were hoping for, he might have joined these men to lead them as far as he wanted them to go. But as we have seen before, he never has seized what seemed to onlookers the opportunity. In this case Mr. La Follette was the leader and the man his followers hoped to have for the republican presidential candidate, so it was perhaps too much to expect Mr. Roosevelt to subordinate himself to another, even though it might have secured for the people many of his cherished ideals.

Much interest was now focused on the matter of the presidential candidate. Mr. Roosevelt's attitude was that Mr. Taft would make a very weak candidate and that Mr. La Follette would have no strength east of the Mississippi. He felt that there would be an honest feeling among the people for a sincere, fearless, and intelligent leader but he did not seem to consider that

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<sup>23</sup> Pringle, 548, citing a letter of Roosevelt to Jonathan Bourne, January 2, 1911.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 548.

there was any serious move on their part to demand him as that leader.<sup>25</sup> He wrote to a friend, "I most emphatically do not wish the nomination ... I should regard it as a calamity to be nominated." Again he wrote, "I am not a candidate, I will never be a candidate." But he added, "I do not feel it would be right and proper for me to say that under no circumstances would I accept it if it came."<sup>26</sup> This last expression gives the idea that he rather hoped for a popular demand. Further evidence is found in the following letter:

I shall not seek the nomination, nor would I accept it if it came to me as a result of intrigue. But I will not tie my hands by a statement which would make it difficult or impossible for me to serve the public by undertaking a great task if the people as a whole seemed definitely to come to the conclusion that I ought to do the task ... If at this the people feel that I am the one man in sight to do the job, then I should regard myself as shirking a plain duty if I refused to do it ... If the people should feel that I am the instrument to be used at this time, I should accept even although I knew I should be broken and cast aside in the using ... I have all along felt that even if there should be a strong popular demand for me, yet that unless this demand were literally overwhelming it could hardly make itself effective. But it seems to me that it is better that it should

25 Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, A Chronicle of the Progressive Movement, (V. 47 of Chronicles of America in fifty volumes) edited by Alley Johnson, 204. Also Letters to Anna, 399, January 12, 1912.

26 Ibid., to Mr. Howland's father, December 1912.

make itself effective rather than that by any action of mine should make it seem that I desire the Presidency for my own sake, or that I am willing to accept unless it comes to me as a result of a real popular movement.<sup>27</sup>

Mr. Roosevelt had no delusions as to the difficulties that would face him as president, but he seemed to be obsessed with this idea of wanting to be the leader of the people. Then, opportunely, Mr. La Follette appeared to have a nervous breakdown.<sup>28</sup> It was not hard to convince Roosevelt that progressivism should not be abandoned for lack of a leader. He, also, argued with himself that the friends and governors who sought his candidacy were those same men who deserved his loyalty in return for the help that they had given to him in his earlier experiences. He still insisted that the nomination must come as a real popular demand and, therefore, wanted presidential primaries, but in the meantime he helped the governors draw up the letter which was to be the formal request for his candidacy,<sup>29</sup> and this request and his acceptance was published in February.<sup>30</sup>

Simultaneous to his acceptance came the address to the Ohio

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<sup>27</sup> Howland, 207.

<sup>28</sup> Oscar King Davis, Released for Publication, Some Inside Political History of Theodore Roosevelt and His Times (1898-1918), Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1925, 258. Editorial in The Nation (New York), cited in editorial review in The Living Age (Boston), V. 272, 815, March 30, 1912.

<sup>29</sup> Howland, 203; Charnwood, 169-171.

<sup>30</sup> New York Daily Tribune, February 26, 1912.

Constitutional Convention,<sup>31</sup> at which time he seemed willing to give full swing to his ideas. He restated his stand that modern business methods must be accepted as an established and necessary fact and that, therefore, the federal government must assume the task of seeing to the welfare of the three large divisions of our population, the tillers of the soil, the wage-workers and the business men. He then went further and advocated as a means to accomplish this end the same things the La Follette Conference had proclaimed--the short ballot, direct primaries, direct election of United State senators, initiative, and referendum. He qualified his acceptance of the last two as a means of correcting the evil condition of misrepresentation and of making our government truly representative. As to recall, he did not believe that recall was necessary for short-term elected offices, he admitted that originally he had been hostile to the idea of recall,<sup>32</sup> but that he was now convinced that recall might be used to advantage, provided that it was used only when there was a genuine and widespread public feeling among a majority of voters.<sup>33</sup> The next phase of his discussion was his attitude toward the courts.

<sup>31</sup> "A Charter of Democracy", an address by Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, Ex-President of the United States., before the Ohio Convention on February 21, 1912. Also in newspapers. Editorial in New York Daily Tribune, February 22, 1912. Ed. February 23, 1912.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid; also in Editorial in New York Daily Tribune, February 23, 1912.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 12.



He commented:

The administration of justice has withdrawn from life and become artificial and technical ... by the abuse of the power to declare laws unconstitutional the courts have become a law-making instead of a law-enforcing agency."<sup>34</sup>

He expressed the opinion that judges are bound not only to consider the law but the conditions of actual life to which the law applied. He believed in recall of judges only as a last resort,<sup>35</sup> but he advised and urged the recall of judicial decisions because he claimed that unless the people were allowed finally to interpret the fundamental law, our government was not a popular government. He admitted that the people would not be infallible, but added, "they are more often sound in their decisions than is the case with any of our government bodies to whom, for their convenience, they have delegated their power."<sup>36</sup>

This speech, and all that was involved in his acceptance of the candidacy and that would be involved in his campaign for nomination made Mr. Roosevelt again the focus for press comments and gave his biographers food for thought. It was estimated that very few periodicals and only two per cent of the papers were for him at this time.<sup>37</sup> The man who feared to join the insurgent group a few months before, because he felt that they were ahead of the people, was now classed as not only a radical, but an

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>37</sup> Bradley Gillman, Roosevelt, The Happy Warrior (Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1921), 321. Davis, 266.

ultra radical, and as being ahead of the most radical progress-  
ives.<sup>38</sup> His three devices to secure more democratic legislation  
completely frightened the conservatives.<sup>39</sup> But one editor, not  
classed among those who favored him, gave the fair criticism  
that the speech was neither strikingly "radical" nor conservative  
but intensely practical and deliberately made so because, since  
he had been asked to give practical advice and aid, he had had  
to consider facts, not theories.<sup>40</sup>

His critics now pounced on everything they could to prove  
him inconsistent and insincere. How could a man, who had de-  
clared Mr. Lodge the greatest man in public life of any country,  
in any position, at any time, propose to abandon those features  
of our system of constitutional government considered so essen-  
tial to that system by that great statesman?<sup>41</sup> Mr. Roosevelt  
had formerly disdained to violate established precedents; this  
seemed sudden.<sup>42</sup> But, found in his correspondence with Mr. Lodge  
is the following:

For a couple of years I have felt that you and I  
were heading opposite ways as regards internal  
politics ... As regards my Columbus speech every

38 Editorial in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 272, 810, March, 1912. The Independent (New York), Vol. 72, 431, February 29, 1912. "American Affairs" by A. Maurice Low, in The Living Age, Vol. 273, 259-266, March 4, 1912.

39 Pringle, 557.

40 The Chicago Record-Herald, February 22, 1912.

41 The Independent (New York), Vol. 72, 582, March 14, 1912.

42 The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 272, 808, quoting the Saturday Review, March 30, 1912.

single point has appeared in my editorials in The Outlook, and what I said about the judges was said in my Cooper Union speech last October and recapitulated in The Outlook two months ago.<sup>43</sup>

Another point of attack was the "third term". This statement of 1904 was again quoted:

On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and one half years and these three and one half years constitute my first term. The wise custom which limits the Presidency to two terms regards the substance and not the form and under no circumstance will I be candidate or accept another nomination.<sup>44</sup>

To be sure, when asked if he meant he would not run in 1912 or in 1916, he had replied that it would be preposterous to answer that at the time; now he qualified his statement by saying that he had meant consecutive terms, and that he was not going against precedent, but it did not lessen the criticism of insincerity.<sup>45</sup>

The third term idea, even though he had not called attention to it himself, would detract from his popularity as a candidate.<sup>46</sup>

His critics also found insincerity when they recalled his statement of 1908 that Mr. Taft had "the broadest sympathies with

43 Correspondence, II, 423, 424, 425, Roosevelt to Lodge, March 1, 1912. Same idea found in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 272, 813, quoting an editorial from The Nation, March 30, 1912.

44 The Independent (New York), Vol. 72, 422, February 22, 1912.

45 Ibid., citing The Outlook and The Chicago Evening Post, January 31, 1912; "The Republican Presidential Nominee" by Jacob Gould Schurman in The Independent, Vol. 72, 600, March 21, 1912.

46 The Independent (New York), Vol. 72, 431, February 29, 1912.

our citizens", and his present assertions of widespread popular discontent with the administration, because Mr. Taft had not been sufficiently interested in "the promotion of human welfare." Many commentators claimed that Mr. Taft's record as a progressive was as good as Mr. Roosevelt's.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, he was now putting himself into a position where he, as a former president, as the Republicans' greatest party man, would have to attack his own party, its leaders and its records for the past three and one-half years. Then after asserting that the party leaders in the various states were guilty of deliberate and premeditated fraud, he would be asking that party to take him as its standard bearer.<sup>48</sup> And what assurance did he have that he was the "one" man to become leader at this time?<sup>49</sup>

He had alienated many Progressives who felt that he had been disloyal to Mr. LaFollette. He was accused of having urged him to make the race and then to have insidiously and secretly undermined the organization.<sup>50</sup>

In 1896 he had criticized Mr. Bryan's attack on the Supreme Court in these words:

47 Editorial in The Independent, (New York), Vol. 72, 422, February 22, 1912. "American Affairs" by Maurice A. Low, in The Living Age, (Boston) Vol. 273, 259-266, May 4, 1912. The Chicago Record-Herald, February 27, 1912. New York Daily Tribune, February 22, 1912.

48 Editorial in The Independent, Vol. 72, 422, February 22, 1912.

49 Editorial in New York Daily Tribune, February 22, 1912. "American Affairs" by Maurice A. Low in The Living Age, (Boston), Vol. 273, 259-266, May 4, 1912. The Independent, Vol. 72, 581, March 14, 1912.

50 The Independent, Vol. 72, 422, February 22, 1912, quoting Mr. Houser, LaFollette's campaign manager.

Furthermore, the Chicago convention attacked the Supreme Court. Again this represents a species of atavism--that is, of recurrence to the ways of thought of remote barbarian ancestors. Savages do not like an independent and upright judiciary. They want the judge to decide their way, and if he does not they want to behead him. <sup>51</sup>

This seemed applicable to Mr. Roosevelt today.

He was criticized for hedging around his acceptance of "recall" with so many qualifications that it was hard to understand just what he did stand for. <sup>52</sup> He was accused of wanting votes, <sup>53</sup> of insatiable ambition and unquenchable thirst for applause and flattery, <sup>54</sup> and of being a very spasmodic and inconsequent reformer, and that now all that he would accomplish would be to ruin the chances of victory of the Republicans in November. <sup>55</sup>

But he still had his admirers to counteract the criticisms. Many firmly believed that it was sincerity to the cause that led him to become a candidate. One of his defendents claimed that his disloyalty to the Republican machine, instead of being offensive, should be commended. He said:

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51 "American Affairs", by Maurice A. Low, in The Living Age, (Boston) Vol. 273, 254-260, May 4, 1912.

52 The Living Age, (Boston) Vol. 272, 808, quoting The Saturday Review, and, 815, quoting The Nation, March 30, 1912.

53 Ibid.

54 The Chicago Daily Journal, February 26, 1912, quoting an editorial from The New York World.

55 Editorial in The Nation, (New York) Vol. 94, 202, February 29, 1912 Ed. "The Heavy Responsibility".

Mr. Roosevelt may have the greatest respect for the Republican party as such, and yet hold that the famous "policies" on which he set his heart, and which he left to his party as a legacy, have been neglected, and that it is his duty to force them again upon an inattentive country by every legitimate means.<sup>56</sup>

And praised him as having a worthy motive and as acting as a man of principle and honesty.

A biographer,<sup>57</sup> who disagreed with Mr. Roosevelt on the recall of judicial decisions, was sure that he was absolutely sincere in his acceptance of this remedy, and that he entered this campaign without any desire to gratify a personal ambition, but as the leader of a cause in which he sincerely believed. He had said:

In order to succeed we need leaders of inspired idealism, leaders to whom are granted great visions ... who can kindle the people with the fire from their burning souls. The leader ... is but an instrument, to be used until broken and then cast aside ... It is of little matter whether anyone fails or succeeds, but the cause shall not fail for it is the cause of mankind.<sup>58</sup>

If he had been interested only in political aspirations at the time, he might have temporized; he could have played up the

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56 The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 272, 808-817, quotations from an editorial in The Spectator, March 30, 1912. The American Monthly Review of Reviews, Vol. 46, 268-274, September, 1912 comments favorably.

57 Washburne, 179-195.

58 Ibid., 177. Howland, 212, Carnegie Hall Address, quoted March 20, 1912.

ultra radicalism of LaFollette and Bryan, instead of saying what he believed.<sup>59</sup> But we have these words of his:

I have never hesitated to say a thing because it might be unpopular any more than I have never found it necessary to say things I did not believe merely because they might be popular.<sup>60</sup>

The months preceding the Republican convention would have to be used to convince the people that he was sincerely their leader. He confided in his intimate friends that it was his ambition to draw into one dominant stream all the intelligent and patriotic elements in order to prepare against the social upheaval which was about to overwhelm the country.<sup>61</sup> He remarked:

The most important questions of today are the humanitarian and economic ... I like power, but I care nothing to be president as president. I am interested in these ideas of mine and want to carry them through.<sup>62</sup>

In his mind the Progressive movement meant an intelligent direction undertaken for the general welfare of the community by the State. He proclaimed:

Every man is to that extent a Progressive if he stands for any form of social justice, whether

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59 Pringle, 557; Gillman, 313.

60 Talks with Theodore Roosevelt from the Diaries of John J. Leary, Jr., (Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1920). Biographers state this also. Lewis Einstein, Roosevelt, His Mind in Action (Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1930), 101. Murat Halstead, The Life of Theodore Roosevelt, Twenty-fifth President of the United States (The Saalfeld Publishing Company, Chicago and New York, 1902), 72.

61 Einstein, 210.

62 Charmwood, 172.

it is securing proper protection for factory girls against dangerous machinery, for securing a proper limitation of labor for women and children in industry, for securing proper living conditions for those who dwell in the thickly crowded regions of our great cities, for helping as far as legislation can help, all the conditions of work and life for wage-workers in the great centers of industry, or of helping by the action both of National and State Governments, so far as conditions will permit, the men and women who dwell in the open country to increase their efficiency both in production on their farms and in business arrangements for marketing of their produce, and also to increase the opportunity to give the best possible expression to their social life.<sup>63</sup>

And no doubt he meant what he said because he seems to have developed a real sympathy for the downtrodden.

Another appeal was a speech: "Are the American people fit to govern themselves, to rule themselves, to control themselves?" He tried to convince his audience that he was the man who had this confidence in them, that his opponents treated them as though they were not fitted.<sup>64</sup> But he also used this opportunity to explain his position with regard to recall of judges and judicial decisions. He claimed that he had never advocated recall of judges in all states and in all communities, nor with the Supreme Court, nor regarding ordinary suits between individuals, but that when a State court had set aside as unconstitu-

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63 Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 177. "What is a Progressive?", speech at Louisville, Kentucky, April 3, 1912.

64 Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 151-171, "The Rights of the People to Rule", speech in New York, March 20, 1912.



tional a law passed by the Legislature for the general welfare, the question of the validity of that law should be placed for final determination before the people.<sup>65</sup>

In another speech he replied to the claim of the Independent Judiciary Association that the recall of judges and referendum to the people of a certain class of judicial decisions "lay the axe at the root of the tree of well-ordered freedom."<sup>66</sup>

I do not question the good purpose of these men, but wonder if they can believe such a statement, or has their long experience as attorneys for corporations rendered them genuinely unable to understand justice.<sup>67</sup>

He further contended that it was merely guess work for his opponents to say that under his proposal there would be conflicting interpretations of the Constitution, but that even though there were, they couldn't decide in any more conflicting fashions than the courts had.<sup>68</sup>

It is said that the real test of a politician lies in his ability to analyze and quickly weigh the value of current opinion and that Mr. Roosevelt was unsurpassed in this art, and that he had become a specialist in American people. Whether this campaign was carried on by him as a sincere liberal, or as a politician, he was successful in his appeal to the people, as was

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 156. The Independent (New York), Vol. 72, 644, March 28, 1912, editorial on the speech.

<sup>66</sup> The Independent, Vol. 72, 644.

<sup>67</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 191, "The Recall of Judicial Decisions", address at Philadelphia, April 10, 1912.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 196.

shown by the returns from the primaries<sup>69</sup> but it, also, had the effect of forcing the bosses to do their worst to defeat him and thus to expose the ruthless extremes of machine rule which brought the situation to a crisis.

The Republican National Convention was held in Chicago in June, 1912. It was considered the most important unofficial gathering in America for fifty years. The interest in the convention was not only manifest in the nation but internationally as well. Had the platform presented by Mr. Roosevelt, the most radical platform ever proposed in a Republican Convention, been accepted, it would have marked a new era of Republican thought.<sup>70</sup>

To the convention this candidate went himself to present his own case. He assured the delegates that he had entered this fight only after being convinced that Mr. Taft had definitely and completely abandoned the cause of the people and surrendered himself to the biddings of the political bosses. But his appeal now was to rid the convention of those delegates from the South and East who were fraudulently seated. He asked that before the Convention proceeded the contested delegates stand aside and let their title be passed on by the uncontested delegates; he agreed to abide by the decision of any honest

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69 Pringle, 561.

70 Editorial in The Chicago Daily Journal, June 17, 1912.

tribunal.<sup>71</sup> But Mr. Root's decision that the fraudulent delegates did have the right to vote on one another's case was in Mr. Roosevelt's opinion the kind of legalism resorted to by those who desired to do an injustice and led him to make an issue of what is called the steam roller method of controlling a convention. Action was being taken as is indicated by the following:

We, the undersigned, in the event that the Republican National Convention, as at present constituted, refuses to purge its rolls of delegates fraudulently placed upon it by the action of the majority of the Republican National Committee, pledge ourselves, as American citizens devoted to progressive principles of genuine popular rule and social justice, to join in an organization of a new party founded upon those principles under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>72</sup>

It is said that the third party was born when the nomination was offered to Mr. Roosevelt and he had accepted it.<sup>73</sup>

The climax was reached by June 20 when this telegram was sent by Frank A. Munsey, to his paper, the Boston Journal:

The hour has come. The break is on. Thievery, thuggery, and robbery have been overlaid by an unscrupulous band of desperate bosses. They have wrecked the Republican party and covered themselves with shame and crime. Mr. Roosevelt will be nominated on a clean ticket backed by earnest people of the nation and will be elected in November.<sup>74</sup>

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71 Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 204, "The Case Against the Reactionaries", speech at the Auditorium, June 17, 1912.

72 Howland, 220.

73 New York Daily Tribune, June 17, 1912.

74 The Chicago Record-Herald, June 20, 1912.

Mr. Roosevelt had once said that the occasion to cut loose from one's associates and stand alone for a great cause was as rare as the necessity for a revolution.<sup>75</sup> But to him that time had evidently come. The great cause was the fact that the rank and file of the Republican party had absolutely no chance to regain control over the party which had been definitely and finally brought by theft and fraud under the control of the bosses.<sup>76</sup> He now felt that no self-respecting man could stay in the party.

The matter of Mr. Roosevelt's sincerity presents many problems. The primaries showed that he was the choice of the rank and file of the Republicans, and that theoretically he was justified in saying the nomination was stolen, but the methods to which he was now objecting were the methods used at Republican Conventions for the past several campaigns.<sup>77</sup> One writer states that in 1908 there were 200 contested seats while in 1912 there were 236.<sup>78</sup> In 1908 an editorial had remarked that Mr. Roosevelt must have been scandalized by the open use of Federal offices to promote Taft's nomination, and that even old hands at conventions professed themselves staggered at the rough directness with

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75 Pringle, 555, "Latitude and Longitude" by Theodore Roosevelt in The Century Magazine (New York), Vol. 60, 211-216, June, 1900.

76 "Two Phases of the Chicago Convention, I. The Steam Roller" by Theodore Roosevelt in The Outlook (New York), Vol. 101, 620-625, July 21, 1912.

77 Pringle, 561; The Independent (New York), Vol. 72, 530, March 7, 1912 Ed.

78 "American Affairs", by Maurice A. Low in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 274, 515-522, August 31, 1912.

which the Roosevelt control of the party was exerted.<sup>79</sup> Yet Mr. Roosevelt claimed that this method was not used in 1900 nor in 1904, and that if it was used in 1908 he knew nothing about it, and that anything done dishonestly was done without his knowledge.<sup>80</sup>

Again his friends rallied to his cause and it was claimed that he had performed a service to the American people as great as any even he had done in the past.<sup>81</sup> A close companion during the convention related that he might have had the Republican nomination had he been willing to listen to the proposition of the Michigan delegates, but that he had refused to consider anything until the roll was purged.<sup>82</sup> The time for the Progressive Convention was set for August, in order that the people might have a chance to express their opinion with regard to a candidate according to Mr. Roosevelt, a move highly commended by one editor.<sup>83</sup>

In the meantime Mr. Roosevelt, through his usual organ, The Outlook, tried to convince the nation that his charge against the Chicago Convention was more than campaign recriminations

79 The Nation (New York), Vol. 86, 183, February 27, 1908; 523, June 11, 1908.

80 "The Steam Roller", by Theodore Roosevelt in The Outlook (New York), Vol. 101, 620-625, July 21, 1912. The Nation, Ibid. says Mr. Roosevelt did know about methods used.

81 Editorial in Chicago Daily Tribune, June 23, 1912.

82 Davis, 292-310.

83 Editorial in The Chicago Record-Herald June 24, 1912.

and that the frauds were much more serious than mere repetition of loose practices which might have found precedents in some previous conventions of both parties. He stressed the fact that Mr. Taft's renomination had been stolen for him from the American people; that the national committee, by conscious and intentional fraud, had deliberately transformed the minority of the national convention into a majority.<sup>84</sup>

His next point of attack was a severe condemnation of both of the great national parties.<sup>85</sup> He contended that they were breaking down and that neither of them could be trusted to do the work so urgently needed by the country. It was wise then to use the effective organization of the Progressive sentiment to appeal to all voters to come together without regard to past political differences, and to fight the new fight on the new issues instead of dividing on worn-out and purely artificial lines. Such a point of view is not to be condemned in a leader with as liberal ideas as Mr. Roosevelt, but we wonder why he did not come to such a conclusion several years sooner.

Then came the choice by the Democratic Convention of Mr. Wilson as their candidate, and the opportunity for Mr. Roosevelt to withdraw the formation of the third party and to join forces

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<sup>84</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 232; "Thou Shalt Not Steal", by Theodore Roosevelt, from The Outlook, July 13, 1912.

<sup>85</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 245; "The Platform of Insincerity", by Theodore Roosevelt, from The Outlook, July 27, 1912.

with the other noted liberal of his time in order to effectively accomplish those urgent reforms.<sup>86</sup> The Progressives in both parties could now work to make the Democratic party the Progressive party. Such was the sentiment of the press, but hardly Mr. Roosevelt's idea. He, who admitted he had taken many of his policies from Mr. Bryan's Democratic platforms,<sup>87</sup> denounced the Baltimore platform as an example of the Democratic platforms of the last thirty years, the avoidance of saying anything real on real issues, of announcing radical policies with much sound and fury, and at the same time with a cautious accompaniment of weasel phrases, each of which sucked the meat out of the preceding statement.<sup>88</sup> He, who had for many years contended that he could and had made a progressive party out of the Republican party, could have no confidence that Mr. Wilson could have done the same for the Democratic party. Was the new party, after all, simply a Roosevelt party?<sup>89</sup>

At least Mr. Roosevelt did feel that he had the right to dictate the platform, and that he was in a position to demand that the platform on which he ran should conform in every respect to his personal views on all issues. He insisted on delivering

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<sup>86</sup> Editorial in The Chicago Daily Journal, July 3, 1912; Current Literature (New York), Vol. 53, 128, August, 1912, comments from newspapers.

<sup>87</sup> New York Daily Tribune, August 11, 1912; Pringle, 368.

<sup>88</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 254, "The Platform of Insincerity", by Theodore Roosevelt.

<sup>89</sup> Current Literature (New York), Vol. 53, 120-217, August, 1912, comments from newspapers.

his "Confession of Faith" before even one plank of the platform was determined, and he admitted that this confession would be the most important utterance that he had ever made, and that it would be accepted by many as very radical, but that for the first time, he regarded himself free to express his views on all public questions. If he was to accept the nomination, he wanted those ideas expressed so that there would be no need of recanting after election.

So the Progressive Convention, on August 6, opened with the famous "Confession of Faith".<sup>91</sup> Mr. Roosevelt began with the attack: "The Old parties are husks ... divided on artificial lines, boss-ridden and privilege controlled, each a jumble of incongruous elements and neither daring to speak out wisely and fearlessly what should be said on the vital issue of the day." On the other hand, he claimed: "The new movement is a movement of truth, sincerity and wisdom, a movement which proposes to put at the service of all our people the collective power of the people." Through the government agencies, he pledged himself as "under honorable obligations to fulfill every promise it contains". He contended:

If this country is really to go forward along the path of social and economic justice, there must be a new party of nation-wide and non-sectional

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90 New York Daily Tribune, August 5, 1912, quotes Roosevelt.  
91 Address before the National Convention of the Progressive Party in Chicago, August 6, 1912; in Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 254 ff. Also full address in newspapers.



principles, a party wherein the titular national chiefs and the real State leaders shall be in genuine accord, a party in whose counsels the people shall be in genuine accord, a party in whose counsels the people shall be supreme, a party that shall represent in the nation and the several states alike the same cause, the cause of human rights and government efficiency.<sup>92</sup>

Therefore, since the first essential in a Progressive program was the right of the people to rule, they must be given the means to exercise those rights, with due caution against their wanton use. Also, the people, not the courts must determine the fundamental policies. In this connection, he recommended easier amending powers. He expected to be accused of socialism and anarchy, but it was his contention that he was offering the corrective of socialism and the antidote to anarchy.<sup>93</sup>

He called attention next to the need of conserving human resources and to the necessity of regulation of the industries to further this cause. He then submitted all the legislation which he considered necessary for the health, life, prosperity and happiness of the workers. He went so far as to say that ultimately tool-users should become tool-owners.<sup>94</sup> He advised that women workers combine and that they be given suffrage.<sup>95</sup>

For the farmer's benefit he recommended that the Country Life Commission be revived and given increased powers, and that the government should cooperate to make farming more productive.

92 Ibid., 257.

93 Ibid., 260-262.

94 Ibid., 265.

95 Ibid., 269.

He admitted that the present conditions of business were not satisfactory, but he declared that it was his aim to shape conditions so that the great number of small men, decent and industrious, should be given the chance to succeed, and that the big man who was dishonest should not succeed. He said, "Our aim is to control business, not to strangle it", and, "Our aim is to promote prosperity and then to see to its proper division."<sup>96</sup> To carry out these aims, he proposed making the anti-trust law more effective, and creating a national industrial commission which should have complete power to regulate and control great industrial concerns engaged in interstate business. He wanted for this body the same power as the Interstate Commerce had over railroads, and additional powers, if necessary. He hoped that honest corporations would voluntarily come under such a commission and that they would set in such good faith that they would not come under anti-trust laws.

He declared this part of his program as both definite and practical, and criticized severely the Democratic policies.<sup>97</sup> He told his audience that the anti-trust law, interpreted as the Baltimore platform demanded that it should be interpreted, would be applying it to every agency by which industrial and agricultural business was carried on, and that if it were applied universally, all industries would stop. But he considered it out

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 272-273.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 281.

of the question to enforce the law universally, and that when it was sporadically enforced it would only cause unrest and put the country at a disadvantage with its trade competitors in international commerce. It would hopelessly puzzle the honest business men and honest farmers.

On tariff, he stated, "I believe in protective tariff as a principle approached from the standpoint of interests of the whole people, and not as a bundle of preferences to be given to favored individuals."<sup>98</sup> He admitted that there must be revision in tariff-making, tariff rates and tariff administration, and for that purpose he would create a permanent commission of non-partisan experts large enough to cover all the different and widely varying branches of American industry, with the authority to examine closely all correlated subjects, and with the policy of making all future revisions schedule by schedule, as changing conditions required. He felt that no duty should stand unless the workers received their full share of that duty. He could see no warrant for protection unless a legitimate share of the benefits got into the pay envelope of the wage-worker. He declared that the commission would not be taking power away from Congress, but that it would be a means of giving Congress the widest and most scientific assistance possible and of furnishing the public with the fullest disinterested information.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 281.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 285-286

He could see only widespread depression in the Democratic policy of tariff for revenue, and he claimed that there was no warrant that abolition of tariff would bring any substantial benefit to the consumer and he felt certain that it would be disastrous to the wage-earners, business men, and farmers and that it would lower the standard of living.

He was still convinced that the effect of tariff on the high cost of living was slight, but he was willing to have a thorough examination of any tariff that seemed to increase the cost of living. He hoped that his industrial commission and his policy of government aid would help to better the situation. He admitted the seriousness of the problem and how little it was understood, but he was positive that the Democratic solution of free trade would not prove effective, and all the Republicans had offered to do was to inquire into the matter, so he was confident that by expertly studying the situation the Progressive party could do as well, if not better than the others in remedying this bad condition.<sup>100</sup>

He realized the need for prompt legislation, for improvement of the national currency system, and that the system adopted should have as its basic principles soundness and elasticity.<sup>101</sup> He insisted on the importance of a conservation program of preserving the resources of the country for the people as a whole,

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100 Ibid., 291.

101 Ibid., 292.

and to keep that well in mind in the development of Alaska. He suggested developing that possession at once and wholly in the interest of the actual settler. He saw an opportunity for the government to experiment in constructing, owning and operating transportation and communication.<sup>102</sup>

In international matters his motto was that the country should behave toward other nations as an honorable citizen behaves toward other citizens: "Do no wrong to any nation, weak or strong, and submit to no wrong; we should never make a promise in a treaty that we don't expect to fulfill."<sup>103</sup> He proposed to keep the army at a high pitch of efficiency, to build up the navy and to fortify the Panama Canal.

His conclusion was:

Our cause is based on the eternal principles of righteousness, and even though we who may lead may, for a time, fail, in the end the cause itself shall triumph.<sup>104</sup>

We realize that this lengthy address contained the accumulation of all those ideas that Mr. Roosevelt had come to believe through his years of political experience, a repetition of what he had been saying and thinking, but, perhaps, couched in less cautious terms now that he was rid of the much despised organization.<sup>105</sup> His followers in the new party were ready to adopt a

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102 Ibid., 293.

103 Ibid., 295.

104 New York Daily Tribune, August 7, 1912; Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 298.

105 Einstein, 101 F.

program which included the extension of national jurisdiction over problems which had expanded beyond the reach of individual states, of granting such devices as were necessary to put the government into the hands of the people, to better labor and living conditions and to restrict the powers of the courts.<sup>106</sup>

A very sane editorial of the time stated that it would be necessary to consider the party platforms and speeches of the candidates so as to sort and sift them. This editor felt that the questions which seemed to be involved would be dropped as the debates proceeded, because there was no probability that any administration could take up and work all of them into a practical legislative program; but that other questions would be vital to the end.<sup>107</sup> At present, we shall consider those problems which the Progressive candidate felt were important enough to be carried through his campaign.

The one closest to his heart, he said, was the problem of social justice,<sup>108</sup> and so it was not surprising that his campaign theme was: "the larger participation for the common man in the common benefits of our common life."<sup>109</sup> This cause--the rights of the plain people--he declared was nothing new. "It is in essence the position that has always been taken by every

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106 New York Daily Tribune, August 8, 1912.

107 Editorial in The Chicago Record-Herald, August 8, 1912.

108 New York Daily Tribune, September 1, 1912, speech delivered in Vermont, August 31, 1912.

109 White, 263 (Boston and New York, 1914).

leader in every really great movement for the benefits of mankind."<sup>110</sup> He confidently assured his audiences that his party was the only one that could face the real issues with the intelligent understanding of what social and industrial justice really was,<sup>111</sup> and when we know that his opponent, Dr. Wilson, expressed praise and envy for this part of the Progressive program,<sup>112</sup> we may grant Mr. Roosevelt justification in this self-satisfaction. He felt that he could call attention proudly to his past record along these lines<sup>113</sup> to assure his listeners of his sincerity, and in his efforts further to convince them, he promised, if elected, to call an extra session of Congress to put into immediate effect in the District of Columbia and in Alaska the laws advocated in his social and industrial planks.<sup>114</sup>

But vital to the success of his program for social and industrial justice was his plan for handling the trust problem, which he considered one of the strongest planks in the Progressive platform. The ideas expressed in the following excerpts from his speeches were the ones he carried to his audiences throughout the campaign:

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<sup>110</sup> New York Daily Tribune, August 17, 1912, speech at Providence, R.I., August 16, 1912.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., speeches in Vermont and Rhode Island.

<sup>112</sup> The Chicago Daily Journal, September 2, 1912, speech on Labor Day at Buffalo, New York.

<sup>113</sup> New York Daily Tribune, September 18, 1912, speech in Arizona, September 17, 1912.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

We have a genuine constructive policy. Dr. Wilson's plan, as far as I can gather, is merely to continue the present futile system, addressing fresh and empty protestations of hostility to the trusts, but giving no hint as to any method by which these protestations can become more than protestations. We must supplement the anti-trust law by the kind of real and efficient government control advocated in the Progressive national platform or we will not have made one step toward solving the trust question.<sup>115</sup>

And,

There is not a dishonest trust in the country that could not afford to support the Democratic party rather than face the honest and efficient purpose of the Progressive party, and there is not an honest business concern in the country that would not be ruined if the promises of the Democrats were kept.<sup>116</sup>

In answer to his opponents' criticism, he argued that since the Interstate Commerce Law had worked, it might be assumed that an Industrial Commission would prove successful. He announced that it was sheer nonsense for Dr. Wilson to accuse him of creating a partnership between the Government and Big Business, and he reminded his audience that he was proposing having a government directly controlled by the people. He declared that Dr. Wilson's lack of success in handling the trust situations in New Jersey proved that state governments were inadequate to manage

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<sup>115</sup> New York Daily Tribune, September 4, 1912, speech at St. Louis September 3, 1912.

<sup>116</sup> "Platform of Insincerity" by Theodore Roosevelt in Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 253.



the problem, and that it was a task for the Federal Government. He criticized Dr. Wilson for believing in the outworn policy of the benefits of unlimited and reckless competition, claiming that such competition only meant ruin for the majority of wage-workers.<sup>117</sup>

Mr. Roosevelt was just as confident in his tariff policy. He pronounced the Republican proposal a tariff of privilege, the Democratic plan a tariff of destruction, and the Progressive policy a tariff for labor. His tariff plan, he claimed, would give the American business man his fair show, but would permit and require him to pay American laborers the wages necessary to maintain the standard of living of this country. He accused Dr. Wilson of diverting attention from real issues by making tariff the panacea for all evils.<sup>118</sup>

Upon these major issues, Mr. Roosevelt made his appeal to the people for their votes, but he brought up other issues when he felt that it was politic to do so. In New Orleans, for instance, he enlarged upon the importance of the canal, the necessity of protection against floods, and the need of a revision of

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117 The Outlook (New York), Vol. 102, 297-300, October 12, 1912; New York Daily Tribune, September 4; speech at St. Louis, September 3, and 15; speech at San Francisco, September 14; Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 341, "Governor Wilson and The Trusts", at Oyster Bay, New York, November 2, 1912.

118 New York Daily Tribune, September 4, Ibid., and September 10; speech at Spokane, September 9; The Outlook, Vol. 102, 297-300, October 12, 1912.

the sugar tax.<sup>119</sup> In the western states<sup>120</sup> he emphasized his platform of woman suffrage, explaining that Miss Adams and Miss Keller had shown him how necessary woman suffrage was to the success of their work and how it would help him in his program of social justice.<sup>121</sup>

His foreign policy remained one of his important issues, as this statement proves:

I feel that the Progressive party owes no small part of its strength to the fact that it not only stands for the most far-reaching measures of social and industrial reform, but in sane and temperate fashion stands also for the right and duty of this nation to take a position of self-respecting strength among the nations of the world, to take such a position as will do injustice to no foreign power, strong or weak, and yet will show that it has both the spirit and the strength to repel injustice from abroad.<sup>122</sup>

Thus Mr. Roosevelt presented to the country his policies toward the problems of the day, and not only did he try to gain the confidence of the people in himself and the new party, but he made every effort to undermine confidence in his opponents and their parties, which he denounced as boss-ridden, privilege-controlled, and lacking in understanding of the situation.<sup>123</sup>

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119 New York Daily Tribune, September 28, 1912, speech in New York, September 27.

120 Ibid., speech at Spokane.

121 "Mr. Roosevelt and the Suffrage Cause", by Ida Husted Harper, in New York Daily Tribune, September 2, 1912.

122 Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 315, "How I Became a Progressive", from The Outlook, October 12, 1912.

123 Editorial in The Chicago Daily Journal, September 18, 1912; speech in Iowa, September 4; in New York Daily Tribune, September 5, 1912.

His final pleas were:

It is, of course, perfectly true that in voting for or against me consideration must be paid to what I have done in the past and to what I propose to do. But it seems to me far more important that consideration should be paid to what the Progressive party proposes to do.<sup>124</sup>

Surely there never was a greater opportunity than ours; surely there never was a fight better worth making than this.<sup>125</sup>

This was Mr. Roosevelt in 1912. In 1884 he had believed that the Republican party was the one best suited to the needs of the country, and had criticized his friends for breaking away from it.<sup>126</sup> Now he was the leader of a new party and was criticizing all those who remained in the outworn Republican party. In 1892 and in 1896, he had scathingly denounced the common people and their leaders.<sup>127</sup> Now he was appealing to these very people and in the terms he had so scorned. In his early career he had preached that the individual man must solve his own destiny.<sup>128</sup> Now he was advocating a paternalism beyond any thus far conceived in a democratic country. He had traveled a long way, but there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his own explanation that he had become a progressive not so much by studying in books as by actually living and working with men

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<sup>124</sup> Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 332, statement in The New York Times, made in Chicago, October 17, 1912, in answer to Mr. Bryan's charges.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 334, "The Purpose of the Progressive Party", at Madison Square Garden, October 30, 1912.

<sup>126</sup> Chap. II, 15.

<sup>127</sup> Chap. II, 23.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 34, 35.

under many circumstances and conditions and seeing their needs from many different points of view.<sup>129</sup>

But circumstances and his own characteristics always seemed to force him a little further toward radicalism than he wished to go. Dr. Wilson had as good a reputation as Mr. Roosevelt for his liberal views and it was he who was characterized as the liberal, while Mr. Taft was classed as a conservative, and the progressive candidate as a radical.<sup>130</sup>

How did the public respond to the appeal of this so-called radical? He was so imbued with the idea that he was the chosen leader of the people that he was considered egotistical and ridiculously over-confident.<sup>131</sup> His furious denunciation of every one else in the political field was resented.<sup>132</sup> His radicalism was looked upon as more dangerous than socialism because he seemed willing to go any distance toward socialism that the exigencies of the future warranted under the label of social justice.<sup>133</sup> His past record in tariff would stand against any tariff theories he might now profess, and his idea of a tariff

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129 Works of Roosevelt, XVII, 315, 316, "How I Became a Progressive", from The Outlook, October 12, 1912; New York Daily Tribune, September 1, 1912; speech in Vermont, August 31, 1912.

130 New York Daily Tribune, August 8, 1912, Ed; David Lawrence, "The True Story of Woodrow Wilson" (G. H. Doran Company, New York, 1924), 37.

131 New York Daily Tribune, August 8, 1912, Ed; Einstein, 101 f. The Chicago Daily Journal, August 8, 1912.

132 Editorial in The Chicago Daily Journal, August 7, 1912 Einstein, 101; The Independent (New York), Vol. 73, 33, August 8, 1912.

133 Editorial in New York Daily Tribune, August 8, 1912.

commission, appointed by the president and responsible to him only, seemed to change dictation of schedules from Congress to the president.<sup>134</sup> Others beside Dr. Wilson criticized his Industrial Commission as a partnership between business and the government; they could not visualize that idealistic popular government that he promised. In spite of the fact that many of the women considered his suffrage plank sincere, they hesitated to vote for him because he was so recent a convert to the cause.<sup>135</sup> He was accused of appealing to the popular unrest.<sup>136</sup> He had pledged himself to carry out his entire program, but he must have realized how impossible that would be and how over-ambitious his platform was.<sup>137</sup>

Critics said of him that he was a demagogue, that he was confusing because he argued one minute for democracy, the next for constitutionalism, that he was revolutionary and anarchistic. Many still believed that he would do anything to be president again. But his friends were convinced that as an all round executive he had no peer, that his seven years in the White House had resulted in much legislation and public education

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- 134 Editorial in The Chicago Daily Journal, August 20, 1912.  
135. "Mr. Roosevelt and the Suffrage Cause" by Ida Husted Harper in New York Daily Tribune, September 2, 1912.  
136 "Dr. Wilson's Task", editorial in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 274, 252-253, July 27, 1912.  
137 Pringle, 567, The Chicago Daily Journal, August 6, 1912.

along the lines of progress.<sup>138</sup> One follower declared:

The new party platform alone has specified in definite terms the particular social and political evils which must be removed and has proposed and defined the specific remedies.<sup>139</sup>

Unfortunately for the new party there were not enough people who had this confidence in its program, nor was the candidate able to convert enough voters to believe in his progressive movement. The New Nationalism, in Mr. Roosevelt's conception of it, did have liberal characteristics, and I feel that, had he been given the opportunity, he would have made a sincere effort to carry out his policies in a liberal rather than in a radical way. Certainly his actions were always more conservative than his speeches. But it was Dr. Wilson, with his theory of "The New Freedom", who won the day, so it is time to direct the discussion to the Democratic candidate and his political career up to his election in 1912.

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138 "Weighing the Candidates" by Erman J. Ridgeway in Everybody's Magazine (New York), Vol. XXVI, 279-592, May, 1912.

Chicago Daily Tribune, beginning October 12, 1912, ran an editorial each day in praise of Roosevelt and his work.

139 "Why I am for Theodore Roosevelt", by Miles Poindexter, U.S. Senator in The North American Review (New York), Vol. 196, 648-683, October, 1912. Chicago Daily Tribune, all through August and September, ran editorials contrasting the platforms of the Progressive Party with the platforms of the other two, to the advantage of the Progressives.

## CHAPTER IV

### AN EDUCATOR BECOMES A LIBERAL LEADER

By 1912, Dr. Wilson was quite generally referred to as a liberal leader. It is important to see how he came to be thus proclaimed and if the reputation was justified. His sudden and rapid political career has been considered phenomenal. To be sure, circumstances had a great deal to do with this affair, but we cannot overlook his characteristics and personality and grant them their just share.<sup>1</sup> When he became president of Princeton University, he was known as a historian, a professor of political science, an unusual orator, and an intense champion of higher education.<sup>2</sup> Opinions are expressed that it was through his published works and public addresses that his capacity for statesmanship was revealed,<sup>3</sup> and that he had the ability, through the printed word, to reach into the hearts of men and women everywhere and to stimulate liberal thought.<sup>4</sup> But another author stated that his writings, teachings and lectures, before he became president of Princeton, showed no great enthusiasm for the doctrines of democracy, and that the philosophy of a benevolent democracy, revealed in his thoughts in the eighties and

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1 "Woodrow Wilson, an Appraisal", by Winthrop More Daniels, in The Independent, New York, Vol. 73, 1111-1114, November 14, 1912.

2 Lawrence, 22; Hosford, 27.

3 Hosford, 27.

4 Lawrence, 30.

nineties, was that of a theorist.<sup>5</sup>

Just what were these theories that his writings proclaimed? The method of democratic government and the comparative merits of an open Parliamentary and private committee government became a theme around which his mind revolved for years.<sup>6</sup> He defined Constitutional Government as one in which the powers have been adapted to the interests of the people and to the maintenance of individual liberty. The ideal government is conducted on a basis of a definite understanding or a formal pact between those who are to submit to it and those who are to conduct it, with a view to making the government an instrument of general welfare rather than an arbitrary self-willed master, and particularly for the purpose of safeguarding individual liberty.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, he claimed that the ideals of liberty cannot be fixed from generation to generation, because liberty fixed in unalterable law would not be liberty at all. The growth of constitutional government has been the growth of institutions, of practices, of methods, of perfecting the business of maintaining an understanding between those who conduct the government and those who submit to it. The object of constitutional government is to bring the active, planning will of each part of the

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<sup>5</sup> White, 148.

<sup>6</sup> "Woodrow Wilson: A Biography", by William B. Hale, in World's Work (London), XXII, 14940-53, October, 1911.

<sup>7</sup> Woodrow Wilson, Constitutional Government in the United States, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1921), 2.



government into accord with the prevailing popular thought and need, and thus make it an instrument of symmetrical national development, to give to the operation of the government, thus shaped under the influence of opinion and adjusted to the general interest, both stability and incorruptible efficacy. The ultimate object is to make the best possible adjustment between the government and the individual.<sup>8</sup>

In one dissertation he argued for a reformed Congress, responsible and responsive, like the British Cabinet.<sup>9</sup> He attributed the growth of the committee system and boss control to the lack of leadership in Congress, and in his Congressional Government he gave the first actual account of the workings of the Constitution of the United States.<sup>10</sup>

Whether Dr. Wilson was a theorist expounding or a writer expressing his sincere ideas, we realize that many of his thoughts have the characteristic of being liberal, but it is doubtful that such works were generally read throughout the country or that this man was known through them as a liberal leader. His lectures, too, were limited to eastern audiences and to

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 4-18.

<sup>9</sup> James Kerney, The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson (Century Publishing Company, New York 1921), 3, discussing "Cabinet Government", published in The International Review, 1879; Josephus Daniels, The Life of Woodrow Wilson 1856-1924 (The John C. Winston Company, Chicago, Philadelphia and Toronto, 1924), 84, discusses briefly Dr. Wilson's works.

<sup>10</sup> "Woodrow Wilson: A Biography", by William Bayard Hale, in The World's Work (London), XXIII, 64-76, November, 1911.

college students so we cannot attribute at this time any very great recognition of this statesman to these experiences.

We may now consider whether or not he had any political aspirations in these days when he was a college professor. It is recorded that he was regarded in 1900 as a possible presidential<sup>11</sup> candidate and that in 1904 he submitted himself to a self-constituted committee, made up of a Wall Street representative and the publisher of the New York Sun, who were looking for a more suitable candidate than Mr. Bryan.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps he was never advanced seriously, however, until Mr. Harvey became interested in his possibilities in 1906.<sup>13</sup> After Mr. Harvey, with his flair for president-making, had worked seriously in this matter and had succeeded in getting Dr. Wilson as candidate for governor of New Jersey, his aspirations for presidency were probable.<sup>14</sup> He is reported as having said that there might be a third party in 1912 and that he might have the chance of being its candidate.<sup>15</sup>

It is interesting to learn just why Mr. Harvey chose Dr. Wilson for this high position. At this time many editors and thinkers of the day were demanding men of high social and in-

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<sup>11</sup> Daniels, 17.

<sup>12</sup> Kerney, 43, citing Edward P. Mitchell in Memoirs of an Editor.

<sup>13</sup> Editor of Harper's Weekly.

<sup>14</sup> Kerney, 43.

<sup>15</sup> Lawrence, 31, a conversation with Dr. Wilson reported to the author by Prof. Robert McElroy.

tellecual eminece for public life. Many of these were Democrats who regarded Mr. Bryan as a professional agitator, without genuine abilities or balance, and calculated to wipe out the country, and who were becoming alarmed at Mr. Roosevelt.<sup>16</sup> When Mr. Harvey attended the inauguration of Dr. Wilson as president of Princeton, he was impressed by the conservative atmosphere and by the inaugural address. Mr. Harper and Mr. Robert Lincoln were also impressed by the speech and, in their discussion of it and of the speaker, the idea came to Mr. Harvey that here was a man who could win the people.<sup>17</sup> He set out to study him and became convinced that he was right. He said,

As one of a considerable number of Democrats who have grown tired of voting Republican tickets it is with a feeling of almost rapture that I occasionally contemplate even a remote possibility of casting a ballot for the President of Princeton University to become President of the United States.<sup>18</sup>

On February 3, 1906 he was asked to speak before the Lotus Club and he took this opportunity of launching his prospective candidate. He spoke of Dr. Wilson as a "lucid interpreter of history....by instinct a statesman....the grasp of fundamentals, seemingly unconscious application of primary truth to the changing conditions...." He described him as an idealist yet notably

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16 Joseph P. Tumulty, Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him, Garden City Publishing Co., Garden City, New York, 1921, 14.

"Helping to Make a President", by William Inglis in Colliers, The National Weekly, New York, October 7, 1917, LVIII, 14.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

sane, as standing for everything that is sound and progressive, as a statesman of breadth, depth, and exceptional sagacity.<sup>19</sup> Press comments after this speech, from the east and south showed a favorable attitude. They saw the need of a new type of man since Mr. Bryan had failed on a radical platform. One article read:

He is capable, he is loyal, he is faithful to the Constitution and he would make an ideal President. The so-called "vested interests" would not be afraid of him, and the revolutionary or socialistic wing of the party would have respect for his honesty, however they might differ from him upon questions of policy....."

He is sound on the currency question and orthodox in his views of popular government.<sup>20</sup>

Nothing further came of this matter, but in 1907 Mr. Harvey began to take definite action to render, as he said, "a real public service by putting at the head of a government a man who embodies the high intelligence and best traditions of the past. We have such a man in Woodrow Wilson. He meets all the requirements...."<sup>21</sup> Harvey made his first attempt by suggesting Dr. Wilson as a successor to John F. Dryden for United States senatorship. He enlisted the aid of the New Jersey boss, Mr. Smith. One story is that Dr. Wilson was approached but had declined to

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Also Harper's Weekly, (New York), V. 50, 324, March 11, 1906.

<sup>20</sup> Harper's Weekly, V. 50, 324, quoting Charleston News Courier.

<sup>21</sup> "Helping To Make a President", by Inglis in Colliers, The National Weekly, (New York), V. 58, 44, October 7, 1916.

run against a classmate, Colonel Stevens. When Stevens was urged to cooperate, he refused on the grounds that he would be playing into the hands of the machine. The young progressives were opposed to any machine candidate and apparently knew Dr. Wilson only as such a candidate.<sup>22</sup> Another version is that Dr. Wilson was not in on the scheme and that he had sent word that the use of his name in connection with a political office was not a service to him nor to Princeton.<sup>23</sup>

This first effort having failed, Mr. Harvey knew that he could do nothing in 1908, but he felt now that the country was beginning to see possibilities in his idea. Many who had regarded the scheme as idealistic and impractical were coming to see that it was better to aim high. He looked forward to launching Wilson in 1910 as governor of New Jersey, and then being ready for the real objective in 1912. To this end, Mr. Inglis was given the job of acquainting the people with the merits and the personality of Dr. Wilson.<sup>24</sup>

In the meantime, circumstances were arising at Princeton that were eventually to lead Dr. Wilson into Mr. Harvey's scheme. As president of Princeton, it was impossible for him to fall into the easy tradition of his office. He was scarcely in-

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22 Ibid.

23 Tumulty, 13, who admits that he was against him because of rumors that the big interests of New York and New Jersey wanted him for senator.

24 "Making a President", by Inglis, in Collier's (New York), LVIII, 14, October 7, 1916.

augurated before everyone was aware that there were to be changes.<sup>25</sup> He had, for several years, three things in his mind that, if he ever had the chance, he would carry out.<sup>26</sup> His ideas were good, but he is criticized for having gone about the thing in the wrong way.<sup>27</sup> The ideas were wholly educational theories, such as the systematization of the courses into logical sequences; a preceptorial system which would draw the faculty and undergraduates into a common body of students old and young, among whom a real community of interest would prevail; and third, a quadrangle system like that of Oxford.<sup>28</sup> The last of these plans would wipe out aristocratic clubs which tended to separate the rich and poor. These clubs were too exclusive and aristocratic and not in accord with Dr. Wilson's ideals. It is said that the annual campaign for election to these clubs developed tactics that a political manipulator would envy.<sup>29</sup>

This program of Dr. Wilson's showed that he was an exponent of democracy in education. At first his theories were approved by the trustees, but when opposition came from the alumni, and

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25 "Woodrow Wilson: A Biography", by William Bayard Hale, in the World's Work (London), XXIII, 29-35, December, 1912.

26 "The Kind of a Man Woodrow Wilson is", by W. G. McAdoo, in The Century Magazine (New York), Vol. 85, 744-53, March 1913.

27 Kerney, 9.

28 "The Kind of a Man Woodrow Wilson is"; "Woodrow Wilson: a Biography"; "Political Evolution of a College President", by Soloman Bulkley Griffen, in The Atlantic Monthly (Boston and New York), Vol. 109, 43-51, January 1912.

29 Kerney, 3-8; "Woodrow Wilson: A Political Leader", by B. J. Hendrick, in McClure's Magazine, (New York), Vol. 38, 217-31, December 1911.

when it was realized how much his plan would cost and that it would delay the proposed Graduate School, he found himself opposed on all sides. This only made him a more convinced democrat in educational fields. He became a man of action and took his democratic ideal for Princeton up and down the Princeton World with him to alumni meetings and anniversary celebrations.<sup>30</sup> His theory was that the business of all education was to fit men for public life,<sup>31</sup> and in less than a year after launching his drive to abolish social clubs, he was appealing over the heads of the trustees and resisting professors, to the great unlearned public for the democratization of an American University<sup>32</sup> in such words as these:

You can't spend four years at one of our modern universities without getting in your thought the conviction which is most dangerous to America --namely, that you must treat with certain influences which now dominate in the commercial undertakings of our country.<sup>33</sup>

And,

The great voice of America does not come from seats of learning. It comes in a murmur from the hills and woods and the farms and factories and the mills, rolling and gaining volume until it comes to us from the homes of common men.

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<sup>30</sup> White, 148.

<sup>31</sup> "President Woodrow Wilson and College Earnestness", by R. Bridges, in The World's Work (London), XV, 9792-7, January, 1908;

<sup>32</sup> William E. Dodd, "Woodrow Wilson and His Work (Doubleday, Page and Company, Garden City, New York, 1927) Chap. 8.

<sup>33</sup> "The Political Transformation of Woodrow Wilson", in Current Literature (New York), Vol. 52, 153-7, February, 1912.

Do these murmurs echo in the corridors of universities? I have not heard them.<sup>34</sup>

He also said:

I have dedicated every power that there is within me to bring the college I have anything to do with an absolutely democratic regeneration in spirit, and I shall not be satisfied--and I hope you will not be--until America shall know that the men in colleges are not saturated with the same thought, the same sympathy that pulses the whole great body politic.<sup>35</sup>

Such utterances were considered as showing signs of political transformation.<sup>36</sup> The way in which he was opposed made him feel that he was waging a fight with privilege and vested interests, and his inherent democracy flared up.<sup>37</sup> The doctrine he was preaching was likened to that of President Roosevelt.<sup>38</sup> He, who had been considered a follower of contented British liberalism, was now said to be drifting toward radicalism. Nevertheless, Mr. Harvey's campaign continued, and when, by 1910, Dr. Wilson had not been able to carry out his educational and social program at Princeton, and the situation was further complicated by a new bequest to the university for a graduate school, he was willing to consider the proposed political venture.<sup>39</sup>

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34 Ibid. Also Tumulty, 124.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 "The Kind of Man Woodrow Wilson Is", by W. G. McAdoo, in The Century Magazine (New York), Vol. 85, 144-53, March, 1913.

38 White, 149.

39 Lawrence, 41.



However this educational fight for democracy had not generally affected the public, as is evidenced by the fact that it was the bosses who favored his candidacy, and the progressive Democrats who opposed it.<sup>40</sup> There were many ideas that Dr. Wilson had expressed in recent years that Mr. Harvey could use to convince the bosses that he was a conservative man. He had opposed woman suffrage and federal and state commissions for regulation of public utilities and corporations. He had blamed the financial panic on the aggressive attitude of the legislature toward railroads. He had openly proclaimed Bryan as foolish and dangerous.<sup>41</sup> He had been quite outspoken against certain features of labor organizations. He had taught his classes that initiative and referendum would not work. He had argued that our system of popular election left the selection of a candidate to a few persons who, from one motive or another, make a business of it, and that "They are the political bosses and managers whom people obey and affect to despise. It is unjust to despise them." This gave him the reputation for favoring political organizations.<sup>42</sup> So the bosses accepted him as a theorist statesman, and one who would be too timid and conservative for any real work of reform.<sup>43</sup>

The very fact that he was accepted by the machine turned

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40 Tumulty, 16.

41 Kerney, 34, quoting a letter written January 12, 1909.

42 Kerney, 32-35; Lawrence, 37, cites address at Commencement in 1909 as indiscreet on labor.

43 Hosford, 25, 26, 27; Dodd, 88.

the Progressive Democrats against him.<sup>44</sup> Mr. Kerney, editor of the Trenton Evening Times, said:

Times regarded Dr. Wilson as a man of unusual ability and opportunity, who had failed to take any interest in the public life of the community and, quite naturally, view the plan of Harvey with his intimate Wall Street alliances to use governorship as a mere trial course for the presidential nomination.<sup>45</sup>

An inquiry by this paper showed that of the two hundred fifty party leaders of Mercer County only five favored him.<sup>46</sup> He was known to entertain liberal views on excise matters, to be opposed to radicals and to favor party organizations, and now, as a tool of the bosses. It was, therefore, a very difficult task to get his nomination at the convention.

But what of Dr. Wilson himself? He had agreed to be considered as a candidate if he could be assured that a decided majority of the thoughtful Democrats of the State wanted him,<sup>47</sup> and this assurance was given to him by influential party men.<sup>48</sup> At no time before the nomination were specific issues discussed.<sup>49</sup> Dr. Wilson was asked for no pledges and gave none; there

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44 "Woodrow Wilson, Political Leader", by B. J. Hendricks, in McClure's Magazine (New York), Vol. 38, 217-31, December, 1911; Tumulty, 16; Kerney, 44.

45 Kerney, 36.

46 Ibid., 35.

47 The Independent, Vol. 69, 105, July 21, 1910.

48 Hosford, 56. "Woodrow Wilson, Political Leader", by B. J. Hendricks, in McClure's Magazine (New York), Vol. 38, 217-31, December, 1911.

49 Kerney, 35.

were no conditions laid down.<sup>50</sup> He seemed to believe that these leaders realized that a new day had come. He said:

... The gentlemen who wanted to nominate me were going outside the ranks of recognized politicians and picking out a man whom they knew would be regarded as an absolutely independent person and whom I thought they knew was an absolutely independent person.<sup>51</sup>

Yet this man who really had not committed himself on his policies was championed by a machine which thought it knew its candidate. His nomination was engineered through a convention in spite of the bitter opposition of the liberal delegates and the unenthusiastic attitude of many delegates who acknowledged that they did not know him.<sup>52</sup> The Democratic Text Book claimed:

The eyes of the people of the State of New Jersey had been upon the Princeton Controversy. And now there came up from the people, the people outside the colleges, the citizens, a great shout that this man was the sort of man who ought to be leading their fight out in the world of real affairs.<sup>53</sup>

But Mr. Inglis admits that he was the "great shout".<sup>54</sup>

It was Mr. Harvey's plan to have Dr. Wilson on hand to make his acceptance speech, and that speech and the manner in which

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50 "Woodrow Wilson, Political Leader", by B. J. Hendrick in McClure's Magazine, New York, Vol.38, 217-31, December, 1911. Kerney, 44, quoting Lindabury, confident of great financiers, who was at final conference. Lawrence, 31, quoting Henry B. Thompson of Delaware.

51 "Woodrow Wilson: A Biography", by William B. Hale, in The World's Work (London), XXIII, 466-72, February, 1911.

52 Tumulty, 16. "Making a President", by W. Inglis, in Collier's (New York), LVIII, 59, October 14, 1916.

53 Ibid., quoting Text Book 1912 of Democratic National Committee.

54. Ibid.

it was given completely won the delegates. The tide was turned to enthusiastic acceptance of a man who promised to be a liberal leader. A "great shout" actually did come from that convention hall. According to Mr. Tumulty, the people cried:

Thank God, at last a leader has come. We are witnessing a renaissance of public spirit, a re-awakening of sober public opinion, a revival of the power of the people, the beginning of an age of thoughtful reconstruction that makes our thoughts hark back to an age in which democracy was set up in America.<sup>55</sup>

What had the candidate said to have such an effect?

I feel the responsibility of the occasion. Responsibility is proportionate to opportunity. It is a great opportunity to serve the State and the Nation. I did not seek this nomination, I have made no pledge and have given no promises. If elected I am left absolutely free to serve you with all singleness of purpose. It is a new era when these things can be said, and in connection with this I feel that the dominant idea of the moment is the responsibility of deserving ...

Our platform is sound, satisfactory, and explicit. The explicitness of the pledges in it is a great test of its sincerity. By it we will win the confidence of the people. If we keep the confidence, we can keep it only by performance.

Above all the issues there are three which demand our particular attention: first, the business-like and economical administration of the business of the State; second, equalization of taxes; and third, control of

corporations. States are primarily the instruments of controlling the corporations and not the Federal government ... It is my strong hope that New Jersey will lead the way in this reform. The power incident to the Governor's office will never be used to coerce the Legislature into subordinating its judgment to my own. The law-making power will remain where it has been placed by the organized law of the State, in the hands of the elected representatives of the people.<sup>56</sup>

Before the nomination Mr. Davis, one of the bosses, had declared that he neither knew nor cared what kind of a governor Dr. Wilson would make--what he was interested in was a good candidate.<sup>57</sup> The enthusiastic acceptance of Wilson's words must have assured the bosses that they did have a good candidate. If they had any qualms as to the type of governor he would make, they showed no evidence of it at the time.<sup>58</sup>

Then began a campaign that was to further Dr. Wilson's reputation as a liberal leader. The platform of the Democrats in New Jersey was called a western insurgent Republican program, with its demand for direct primaries, employers' liability, regulation of public utilities, a corrupt practices act, direct votes for senators, eight-hour day on all public works, and additional taxes on railroads.<sup>59</sup> The candidate had practically

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56 Hosford, 29. Also, part quoted in an editorial in The Independent (New York), LXIX, 717, September 29, 1910.

57 Tumulty, 14.

58 "Making a President", by Inglis, in Collier's (New York), LVIII, 99, October 21, 1916.

59 Tumulty, 23; Pringle, 547; The Outlook, Vol. 96, 140-1, September 24, 1910.

written the platform, but at first he objected to the demand for so many campaign speeches, and his first speech was somewhat evasive and disappointing.<sup>60</sup> However, when he got warmed up to his task he did an admirable job. By this time, he realized that he had not been as unanimously clamored for by the New Jersey people as he had been led to believe.<sup>61</sup> Apparently he set out to prove to them that he was their spokesman and he did convince them of that fact.<sup>62</sup>

The keynote of his campaign was symbolical of the situation throughout the country: "to give the people access to their own government."<sup>63</sup> He really astonished New Jersey by professing his sympathy with progressive measures, but he convinced them of his sincerity<sup>64</sup> by his direct, vigorous, frank discussion of broad principles,<sup>65</sup> and the campaign attracted so much attention that the New York and Philadelphia papers gave much space to it.<sup>66</sup>

This was an excellent time for an outstanding Democrat to become a progressive, and Dr. Wilson seized the opportunity. He said:

So I say that our challenge today is to include in the partnership all those great bodies of

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60 Tumulty, 27.

61 Kerney, 65.

62 Dodd, 87.

63 Hosford, 22; Tumulty, 35-37.

64 Tumulty, 28, 31.

65 Editorial in The Nation (New York), Vol. 91, 408-9, November 3, 1910; and "New Democratic Governor, Woodrow Wilson", by Fabian Franklin, in The Independent (New York), Vol. 69, 1167-69, November 17, 1910.

66 Lawrence, 37.

un-named men who are going to produce our future leaders and renew the future exigencies of America.<sup>67</sup>

And he promised to take the people into his confidence and to let them know how things were going.

The high point of the campaign was his offer to meet any responsible Republican in a debate, and the acceptance of this challenge by Mr. Record, a progressive Republican.<sup>68</sup> So ably did he answer the nineteen questions put to him that he won many progressive Republican votes.<sup>69</sup> He approved every radical proposition and concluded:

If I am elected, I shall consider that I am chosen leader of my party and the direct representative of the whole people in the conduct of the government. I regard myself as pledged to the regeneration of the Democratic party. I should deem myself forever disgraced should I in even the slightest degree cooperate in any such system or any such transactions as you describe in your characterization of the boss system.<sup>70</sup>

The campaign went from strength to strength,<sup>71</sup> the speeches grew out of each other and were connected in such a way that made them a popular treatise on self-government.<sup>72</sup> They revealed him as a first class political leader. He ended with this plea:

And then trust your guides, imperfect as they are, and some day, when we are all dead, men

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67 Tumulty, 32.

68 Kerney, 68.

69 Hosford, 26.

70 "Woodrow Wilson's Views", by H. B. Needham, in The Outlook (New York), Vol. 98, 939-51, August 26, 1911.

71 "An Inspiring Campaigner", editorial in The Nation, Vol. 91, 408-409, November 3, 1910.

72 Tumulty, 32.

will come and point at the distant upland with a great shout of joy and triumph and thank God there were men who undertook to lead in the struggle. What difference does it make if we ourselves do not reach the uplands? We have given our lives to the enterprise. The world is happier and humankind better because we have lived.<sup>73</sup>

Press accounts proclaimed his election a victory for the Progressives, but he was called a conservative Democrat and was already being mentioned as a possible presidential candidate.<sup>74</sup> According to one writer he had taken the first long stride toward the greatest goal.<sup>75</sup>

But what did the bosses think of their candidate? At first they gloried in their choice of a man who could talk so appealingly. Then they began to wonder if he might mean what he was saying. They were positively worried over the idea of the debate between Dr. Wilson and Mr. Record, and did all they could to prevent it.<sup>76</sup> They began to realize that they had selected a skillful and efficient political captain,<sup>77</sup> but did they suspect that he was going to destroy for a time their rule in New Jersey and to inaugurate a new national era in political liberalism?<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Tumulty, 44.

<sup>74</sup> Harper's Weekly (New York), LIV, 8-9, November 19, 1910; LIV, 6, November 26, 1910. The Literary Digest (New York), XLI, 915-920, December 10, 1910. Chicago Daily Tribune, November 9, 1910.

<sup>75</sup> "Helping Make a President", by Inglis, in Collier's (New York) LVIII, 99, October 21, 1916.

<sup>76</sup> Kerney, 68.

<sup>77</sup> Hosford, 51; "Woodrow Wilson, Political Leader", B.J. Hendrick, McClure's Magazine (New York), Vol. 38, 217-31, December 1911.

<sup>78</sup> Tumulty, 17.



The clash came very quickly and further increased Dr. Wilson's fame as a liberal, and added to his prestige by proving his ability as a leader. The victory in the elections, the first since 1892, gave the Democrats charge of the senatorial situation. Mr. Smith, in spite of his promises to the contrary,<sup>79</sup> could not resist the temptation to run for senator. The choice of the primaries was Mr. Martine, a man, unfortunately, inadequate for the position.<sup>80</sup> Would Dr. Wilson take any active part in the affair? As a matter of fact, it was outside his province.<sup>81</sup> But what about his promise to his constituents to be a leader of the Democratic party?

At first he seemed reluctant to take action. He appeared unconcerned about the fact that a candidate had been chosen by primary elections, and he claimed to know very little about the politicians of his state, since he did not read the New Jersey papers.<sup>82</sup> At this admission, the New York Post was asked to aid the cause, and then, with the selection of Mr. Tumulty as his

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79 "Helping To Make a President", by Inglis, in Collier's (New York), LVIII, 99, October 21, 1916. Kerney, 25. Lawrence, 31. American Monthly Review of Reviews, XLII, 137, February 1911.

80 Kerney, 89. Tumulty, 48.

81 Editorial in The Nation (New York), XCI, 571-2, December 15, 1910. "Woodrow Wilson, Political Leader", by B.J. Hendricks in McClure's Magazine (New York), Vol. 38, 217, 231, December, 1911. Tumulty, 48, 49.

82 Kerney, 89, report of a conference.

secretary, the situation was in Mr. Martine's favor.<sup>83</sup> However, he argued seriously with Mr. Tumulty. He felt that it might be to the advantage of the progressive program to have Mr. Smith and his friends as their allies. Then, too, he might be defeated if he opposed the machine, and in that event be in a very humiliating position. In return, his secretary argued that he would be placing New Jersey back into the hands of enemies of liberalism and that he would be missing his first opportunity to prove to the people that the governor could be their leader in vital matters.<sup>84</sup> He decided to assume the offensive, and, when Mr. Davis told him that if he would keep his hands off the senatorship, the machine would help his progressive legislature, he answered, "How do I know you will? If you beat me in this first fight, how do I know that you won't be able to beat me in everything?"<sup>85</sup> Once his decision was made, his fight was persistent and successful, and his reputation was made as a leader and as a man who kept his campaign promises.<sup>86</sup>

In December, a Governors' Convention was held at Frankfort, and in the address made to this gathering of state executives, Dr. Wilson proclaimed his philosophy, which was termed "New Stateism".<sup>87</sup> He challenged these governors to use their power

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<sup>83</sup> Kerney, <sup>89</sup>, report of a conference.

<sup>84</sup> Tumulty, 48, 49.

<sup>85</sup> "Woodrow Wilson, Political Leader", by B.J. Hendrick, in McClure's Magazine (New York), Vol. 38, 217-31, December 1911.

<sup>86</sup> Editorial in The Nation (New York), XCI, 571-2, December 15, 1910.

<sup>87</sup> The Literary Digest (New York), XLI, 1080, December 10, 1910, quoting The New York Daily Tribune.

vigorously and to discover what as yet unused powers they had at their service. He did not recommend usurping power but he claimed that the whole thing rested on personal influence. He explained:

Their (the governors') real power over a Legislature is their ability to convince the people. If they can carry an opinion through the constituents, they can carry it through the Legislature. No legislature need be jealous of that, unless it be jealous of putting public questions upon a footing of open and frank debate ...<sup>88</sup>

He declared that the task to be considered was that of regulation. They must seek common principles, common ideas and aims, and yet recognize that these common principles must be put into effect in the several States in the ways that will serve local needs and conditions.<sup>89</sup>

A characteristic, therefore, of Dr. Wilson's administration was leadership. He analyzed the situation in these words:

To my mind the great question is one of adjustment. We have the economic problems of the day. We have public opinion. We have our system of legislation. The problem is to adjust these three factors. We have first to instruct public opinion on the great economic problems. Then we have to bring public opinion to bear on legislative action. At present there are too

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<sup>88</sup> "Woodrow Wilson's Address: The Governor Elect of New Jersey to Outgoing and Incoming Executives of the Sister States", in Harper's Weekly (New York), Vol. 54, 8, December 3, 1910; "Wilson in Governorship", an editorial in The Nation (New York), Vol. 91, 540-541, December 8, 1910.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

many barriers between. Public opinion is checked and thwarted and cannot make itself effective.<sup>90</sup>

So he established a precedent by attending the party caucus. He explained his intrusion, "The governor shall commend by message to the legislature at the opening of each session, and at such times as he may deem necessary, the condition of the State, and recommend such measures as he may deem expedient."<sup>91</sup>

In his opinion the real leader was not the man who impresses his own ideas and wishes on others, but rather he who rightly hears and interprets the finest and best popular opinion. Such a leader gathers the general inspiration and brings it to a focus; he interprets and makes effective the general conscience, but he must have faith in the honesty and uprightness of the general mind.<sup>92</sup> This was the ideal he set for himself and he was recognized as a new type of political leader--a man with ideas--but one who led people not by making them think as he did but to think for themselves.<sup>93</sup>

A congressman claimed that one attribute of Dr. Wilson's leadership was his lucid expression:

90 "A Talk with Governor Wilson" by Charles Johnston in Harper's Weekly (New York), Vol. 55, 11-21, August 19, 1912.

91 "Woodrow Wilson, Political Leader" by B. J. Hendricks in McClure's Magazine (New York), Vol. 38, 217-31, December, 1911.

92 "Talk with Governor Wilson" by C. Johnston in Harper's Weekly, (New York), Vol. 54, 8, December 3, 1910.

93 "Woodrow Wilson, Political Leader".

We always came away feeling that we have been convinced, not by Dr. Wilson--certainly not driven or bossed by him--but with a feeling that we are all--President, Congress, and people--in the presence of an irresistible situation. Here are the facts, he says; here are the principles; here are our obligations, as Democrats. What are we going to do about it? He has a curious way of making one feel that he along with all of us, is perfectly helpless before the facts in the case.<sup>94</sup>

As governor he was also courageous enough to use his power where that power might have been questioned. The Anti-Saloon League sent him a petition about the violations of law in Newark because of the inactivity of public officials. He had no power to remove corrupt or negligent officials but he advised the Chief of Police, the District Attorney and the Sheriff of their duties and concluded: "I have no means of enforcing this advice under the law of the State except in public opinion, but that is a very powerful and prevailing force in our day".<sup>95</sup>

The second characteristic of this administration, especially the first term, was the passing of progressive legislation. As we have noted, there were many liberal Democrats and liberal Republicans in the state of New Jersey who were interested in reform and now with a leader, interested in the same thing, much could be accomplished. He said in his inaugural address:

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94 "Wilson" by Ray Stannard Baker, in Collier's, The National Weekly, Vol. 58, 5, October 7, 1916.

95 "The Governor and Law Enforcement", an editorial in The Outlook, Vol. 102, 148, September 18, 1912.

It is not the foolish ardor of too sanguine or too radical reform that I urge upon you, but merely the tasks that are evident and pressing: the things we have knowledge and guidance enough to do and to do with confidence and energy. I merely point out the present business of progressive and serviceable government ...<sup>96</sup>

At the close of the session his words were:

I think it will always be remembered as extraordinary (this Legislature) in this, that it witnessed the fulfillment by the Legislature of every important campaign pledge. It has acted not only with unusual diligence and sobriety, but with singular absence of party feeling and party control. It has had about it the freedom which characterizes men who are acting in the public interest and without regard for private connections and personal interest.

The Employers' Liability and Workingmen's Compensation Act has given the state a statute more serviceable and more consistent with justice in the Union. The primary and election bill has worked thorough-going reform of the whole electoral procedure of the state. The corrupt practices act will do, perhaps, more than any other piece of legislation in this notable list, to purify elections and secure unbiased action of the people at the polls.

The Public Utilities Act goes the full length of reform in respect of the control of public service corporations. It is a thoroughly business-like act, well conceived and well constructed, and ought to afford a means of settling some of the most perplexing questions connected with control of corporations ... it must be admitted to constitute one of the most remarkable records of legislation, I venture to think, that has ever distinguished a single law-making session in this country.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Hosford, 101.

<sup>97</sup> "Woodrow Wilson, Governor", by James Kerney, editor of The Trenton Evening Times, in The Independent (New York), Vol. 70, 986-9, May 11, 1911.

In acknowledging the fine work performed by the Senate, he said:

Most men are beginning to realize that it is only an artificial process that divides Democrats from Republicans in the State Senate, or in State politics, as, in fact, in the city and county politics and issues which surely have no connection with the great party divisions in national politics ... The only essential in American politics today is the difference between Progressives and Reactionaries. We, in the last ten years, have come out of the period of merely negative politics, politics which consisted wholly of attacking, abusing and heaping objugation upon men and measures of political faith. All these things weave together to serve, as well as we have served our great commonwealth.<sup>98</sup>

Comments on the work of this New Jersey Legislature show approval of its accomplishments and of its leader:

Governor Wilson's tact and skill, his far-reaching knowledge of political conditions and his undaunted courage, combined with dogged insistence that the Legislature redeem its pledges. These things have resulted in writing into law in a remarkable short space of time the pledges of the Democratic party.<sup>99</sup>

These laws were considered the most radical yet framed by any state. Even La Follette of Wisconsin, and other progressive states of the West where "ardor for more adventurous political blood holds sway" have accomplished no greater reforms.<sup>100</sup> So great were these progressive accomplishments that they were considered revolutionary.<sup>101</sup> And the governor, who stood firmly

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Hosford, 99, quoting The New Jersey Evening Post.

<sup>100</sup> "Woodrow Wilson, Governor", by James Kerney, in The Independent (New York), Vol. 70, 986-9, May 11, 1912.

<sup>101</sup> Comment in Harper's Weekly (New York), LV, 5, May 6, 1911.

against the machine and used his influence with the legislature to put through this program of reform legislation, gained the reputation of being the most independent and progressive governor of the Eastern states.<sup>102</sup>

But the administration was also marked by vetoes, and this characteristic brought both praise and criticism. He vetoed as many as forty bills. One editor claimed that it is as important to judge a man by the kind of legislation he would keep off the statutes as the kind he would put on. Many of these bills were unimportant, many were carelessly drawn up, some were an invasion of home rule, and others would incur debts or give too much power to party managers and would handicap the independent voters.<sup>103</sup>

The veto that attracted the most attention was that on the compulsory abolition of grade crossings. This was a bill that the Republicans were very much interested in and had pledged as part of their platform. The last session was devoted almost exclusively to this bill, and the one that was produced gave the Public Utilities Commission power to compel railroads to eliminate grade crossings where, in the judgment of the Commission, they menaced life. It empowered the Commission to proceed to arrange with the railroads and municipalities for doing away

<sup>102</sup> Muzzy, 525.

<sup>103</sup> "Governor Wilson's Vetoes", editorial in The Nation (New York), Vol. 94, 380-1, April 18, 1912.



with grade crossings, but added the arbitrary provision that every company which operates a railroad in the state must, within three months and within the same period yearly thereafter, remove or apply for removal of one grade crossing for every thirty miles or fraction thereof of road operated by it in any state.<sup>104</sup> The governor's veto declared:

I know the seriousness of the great consequence of the question affected by this important measure. There is a demand, well grounded and imperative, throughout the State that some practical legislation should be adopted whereby the grade crossings of railways which everywhere threaten life and interfere with the conveniences of both city and rural communities should as rapidly as possible be abolished. But there is certainly not a demand in New Jersey for legislation which is unjust and impracticable.<sup>105</sup>

By the last statement he showed that he was liberal enough to see both sides of the case, but the veto brought him severe criticism of being influenced by the "interests". The fact that a letter from the railroad men, embodying arguments almost identical with the veto, was found enfolded in it increased the criticism.<sup>106</sup>

The Republicans, who since the last election were in the majority, were very indignant. They did not use this evidence, but from then on they were against him and they accused

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104 Tumulty, 78, 79.

105 Ibid. Also in editorial in The Nation (New York), Vol. 94, 380-1, April 18, 1912.

106 Kerney, 201.

him of neglecting his duties, and of a barren legislature.<sup>107</sup>

This accusation of the neglect of his duties was brought on by the fact that during his second year of office he made a speaking tour of the West. It must be remembered that the ultimate object of Dr. Wilson's entrance into politics was the presidency. His defiance of the bosses and his leadership in progressive reform had attracted the attention of the country to him, so now his followers felt it was the opportune time to show this talked-of man to the country, so that the people might feel acquainted with him.<sup>108</sup> The West, which was keenly interested at the time in politics, knew all about his governorship, and he was quite generally accepted by the people as a man who would make a good president.<sup>109</sup>

However, here was a man supported by rich conservatives of the East, sent on this trip to convince the radical West that he was in sympathy with their views. He had to be an able politician, capable of striking a medium upon which his extremely

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107 Ibid. But American Monthly Review Of Reviews (New York), in news report of Vol. 47, 131-6, February, 1912, claimed his record was good to the end. And in "The Trusts and The Candidates", in The Literary Digest, Vol. 45, 769-71, November 2, 1912, The New York World is quoted as blaming the Republicans for thwarting his progressive measures.

108 Kerney, 131, ff.

109 "With Governor Wilson in the West", by Frank Parker Stockridge, in The World's Work (London), XXII, 14713-6, August, 1912.

different followers would agree.<sup>110</sup> In a speech at Harrisburg,<sup>111</sup> and one in Kansas,<sup>112</sup> he frankly and courageously announced his conversion to initiative and referendum as a tool to restore representative government, and it is stated that there was no reason to question his sincerity in this;<sup>113</sup> but it was a subject which the conservatives wished him to avoid. He was challenged in Colorado<sup>114</sup> and in California<sup>115</sup> to express his views on recall of judges; it was a doctrine, he explained, that he would not accept. When questioned on woman suffrage, he replied that he considered that a local issue.<sup>116</sup> On the whole he made a favorable impression. He was liked for his style and for his disinterested attitude on public questions, which gave the impression that he was not seeking the presidency but that it was his duty to fight the "vested interests" and champion the cause of the inarticulate public".<sup>117</sup>

Editorial comments on Dr. Wilson's candidacy show that his followers had succeeded in getting favorable recognition of

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110 Kerney, 136, 144.

111 "Governor Wilson's Candidacy", editorial in The Nation (New York), Vol. 93, 131-137, August 17, 1911.

112 Kerney, 131, May 6, 1911.

113 "As a Foreigner Sees Them--Wilson, Taft, Roosevelt", by Charles Oster in World's Work (London), XXIV, 575-578, September, 1912.

114 Kerney, 138, May 8, 1911.

115 Editorial in The Nation.

116 Kerney, 138.

117 Lawrence, 44.

him.<sup>118</sup> It was said that he had made a very marked impression because the American people love a leader whom they believe to be fearless and sincerely devoted to their interests,<sup>119</sup> and that if he were nominated for President it would be because of popular demand, not because of skillful political manipulations.<sup>120</sup> But he had enemies, both within and without the party, who now began a campaign to show a different man to the country. His radical change of policies in so short a time were used to make him appear inconsistent and insincere.

These excerpts show how his attitude toward railroads and monopolies had changed. In 1908 he had written to Mr. Joline:

But I venture to utter what is perhaps a feeble protest against all railroads. You and I know who are responsible for this socialistic, populist, and anti-property crusade. It is the cry of the envious against the well-to-do--the old story--it is not new to this generation.<sup>121</sup>

In 1912 he was preaching:

The great monopoly of this country is the money monopoly. So long as that exists our old variety and freedom and individual energy of development are out of the

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118 Press Comments, "Voice of the South: For President Woodrow Wilson", in Harper's Weekly (New York), Vol. 55, 32, November 18, 1911; "Voice of the West", Vol. 55, 19, November 25, 1911; "Voice of the East", Vol. 55, 20, December 9, 1911; "Governor Wilson's Political Evolution", in Current Literature, Vol. 50, 575-578, June, 1911.

119 Editorial in The Nation (New York), Vol. 93, 136-137, August 17, 1911.

120 Editorial in The Outlook (New York), Vol. 98, 922-923, August 26, 1911.

121 "The Political Transformation of Woodrow Wilson", in Current Literature, Vol. 52, 153-157, February, 1912.

question. A great industrial Nation is controlled by its system of credit. Our system of credit is concentrated. The growth of the Nation and all our activities are in the hands of a few men, who even if their acts be honest and intended for public interest, are necessarily concentrated upon the great undertakings in which their own money is involved; who necessarily, by the very reason of their own limitations, chill and destroy genuine economic freedom. This is the greatest economic question of all, and to this statesmen must address themselves with an earnest determination to serve the long future and the true liberties of men.<sup>122</sup>

The comment on this speech was that it might have been made by any Populist orator.<sup>123</sup>

Mr. Bryan was one who was not convinced of the genuineness of the conversion of Dr. Wilson to progressive principles. He discouraged Mr. Harvey's interest in him because he claimed that he would destroy the Democratic party and make it a Wilson party. But the two men had met, and on the surface all was friendly. They were both to appear at a Jackson Day banquet, and just on the critical day these words of Dr. Wilson's were published.

They were part of a letter written in 1907:

... would that we could do something at once dignified and effective to knock Mr. Bryan once for all into a cocked hat ...<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Wilson to Joline, April 29, 1907, in Literary Digest (New York), Vol. 44, 10-12, January 20, 1912; also in Tumulty, 94.

To offset the bad impression of recalling this former attitude, Mr. Bryan was given the tribute of being a leader in the dark ages, but press comments kept the matter before the public. Three papers took the attitude that, if only five years previously Dr. Wilson had held such hostile views of Mr. Bryan and of the Progressive movement, he could not now hope to gain the support of steadfast Bryanites.<sup>125</sup> However, other papers tried to show that he had had an honest change of heart and that it was Wall Street who was treacherously trying to undermine him.<sup>126</sup>

An impartial paper stated:

After the last mine has been exploded in this anti-Wilson campaign, the final question that will be asked probably is whether the Governor is intellectually honest ... Many public men of the first rank, however, change their views from time to time, and they manage to survive in politics because the mass of the people still believe in their intellectual honesty.<sup>127</sup>

Another point of attack was on the extravagant publicity of Dr. Wilson. Harper's Weekly, Harper's Publishing Company, was financed, according to general opinion, by the very center of the money trusts of the country. Was it consistent for a progressive candidate, who was working in the cause of the common

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<sup>125</sup> Boston Advertiser, The New York Times, Chicago Daily Tribune in The Literary Digest (New York), XLIV, 10-12, January 20, 1912.

<sup>126</sup> Progressive and Democratic Papers in The Literary Digest (New York), XLIV, 10-12, January 20, 1912.

<sup>127</sup> The Springfield Republic in The Literary Digest, Ibid.

people against the moneyed interests, to accept this publicity? Perhaps this question was in Dr. Wilson's own mind because when Mr. Harvey asked him directly if he thought he was being hurt by that support, he answered promptly and bluntly: "Yes." Correspondence between the two men, directly following this incident, showed no ill feelings on either side,<sup>128</sup> but Col. Watterson, editor of the Louisville Courier Journal, who was also at the interview, branded Dr. Wilson as cold, tactless and unappreciative.<sup>129</sup> The press was soon using the story to Dr. Wilson's disadvantage.

This statement appeared in Harper's Weekly:<sup>130</sup>

The name of Woodrow Wilson, our candidate for President was taken down from the head of these columns in response to a statement made directly to us by Governor Wilson to the effect that our support was affecting his candidacy injuriously. The only course left open to us, in simple fairness to Dr. Wilson, no less than in consideration of our own self respect, was to cease to advocate his nomination ...

A very considerable number of our readers who have cooperated earnestly and loyally in advancing a movement which was inaugurated solely in the hopes of rendering a high public service are entitled to the information.

The Independent carried the comment that Mr. Harvey's support was honest and his admiration sincere,<sup>131</sup> and added:

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128 Kerney, 154. Tumulty, 82.

129 Tumulty, 83.

130 Vol. 56, 4, January 20, 1912.

131 "Woodrow Wilson and the Two Colonels", Vol. 72, 207-8, January 25, 1912.

Governor Wilson's public addresses, his appeals to the people have been admirable and strong. We have seen no better candidate for the party. It is much to be regretted if mere temperament has alienated some of his ardent friends and has injured his chances for a nomination which might have given him the Presidency.<sup>132</sup>

Another version was that if the incident was interpreted in the light that Governor Wilson had permitted himself to be governed by reasons of political expediency, to break a friendship in a tactless manner with a man for whom he has expressed personal regard and friendship, the American people would not like it, but that probably he had failed to realize what effect a blunt answer to a question of fact would have upon a sensitive and admiring friend.<sup>133</sup>

In general, the press accounts showed that the Conservative Democrats and the Republican editors felt that the Wilson movement had been damaged by this event, but the Progressive, Democratic, radical Republican, and Independent papers thought it would further his cause. It brought him the goodwill of The Commoner, And the New York World, not one of his consistent admirers, said, "What we need in public life is a great deal more of discriminating ingratitude."<sup>134</sup>

This was Dr. Wilson in 1912 as his friends and his enemies

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> New section of The Outlook (New York), Vol. 101, 294-5, February 11, 1912.

<sup>134</sup> Press comments on "Topics of the Day", in The Literary Digest (New York), Vol. 44, 252-253, February 10, 1912.



saw him. It is evident that he had changed many of his opinions but he explained that he was "a conservative on the move." He considered people who did not change their minds as impossible people.<sup>135</sup> He apparently did not want to appear inconsistent. No doubt, as one author says, he did play practical politics on occasions.<sup>136</sup> Mr. Dodd pronounced him more an English Liberal than an American Democrat.<sup>137</sup> We shall next consider the theories he set forth after he was launched into national politics.

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135 "Political Transformation of Woodrow Wilson", in Current Literature(New York), Vol. 52, 153-7, February, 1912.

136 Kerney, 241.

137 Dodd, 87.

## CHAPTER V

### DR. WILSON, A LIBERAL CANDIDATE IN 1912

The Democratic party had three possible candidates in 1912 who would have been satisfactory to the bosses--Mr. Harmon, Mr. Clark, Mr. Underwood and, in addition to these men, there was Dr. Wilson, considered by many as their strongest man.<sup>1</sup> But the attacks on Dr. Wilson had weakened him to some extent. He was not so strong in 1912 as he had been in 1911, because some people had been influenced into believing that he was too ambitious and not sincere.<sup>2</sup> Yet we find some statements to confirm his strength. Dr. Robert Hudspeth, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is reported to have said that twenty-six of the fifty-two members of the Committee were for him while nine more would have chosen him as second choice. Mr. Mark Sullivan is quoted from an article in Collier's:

If the Democratic party should hold a primary election tomorrow, Woodrow Wilson would get two-thirds of the votes and carry three-fourths of the states ... He is really the only one of the Democratic candidates who, outside in his own state, in the country at large, has a

1 Dodd, 99. "Wilson and the Third Party", editorial in The Nation (New York), Vol. 96, 26, July 11, 1912.

2 Howland, 208.

3 "Governor Wilson's Candidacy, a Poll of the Press", in The Outlook (New York), Vol. 100, 307-8, February 10, 1912.

personal following--the kind of following that would go with its candidate into a third party if the occasion arose.<sup>4</sup>

It was prophesied that if he could get the nomination he would carry the Democratic vote solid, would get many Progressive Republican votes and votes of Insurgents who were against high tariff and privilege.<sup>5</sup> But first he had to get the nomination. The political maneuvering of a National Convention is very intricate and involved. It is expensive to carry a candidate to success. Dr. Wilson insisted upon publicity of all campaign funds. It was said that no one would ever know how much it cost his friends to put over his nomination. After the results of the Chicago Convention were known, it was felt that the Democrats needed a liberal man to offset the new party. Mr. Bryan sent an appeal to all the candidates requesting a Progressive temporary chairman. At first, Dr. Wilson did not seem to realize the importance of this matter but, urged on by his secretary, Mr. Tumulty, he sent just the right kind of a reply: "You are quite right ... The Baltimore Convention is to be a Convention of Progressives; of men who are progressive in principle and by conviction."<sup>6</sup> The Progressives were in great need of a leader, and that message changed their attitude toward him,

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<sup>4</sup> Vol. 48, 20, January 20, 1912.

<sup>5</sup> "Some Possible American Presidents", by H. Hamilton Fyfe, in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 272, 3-8, January 6, 1912.

<sup>6</sup> Tumulty, III.

and gave him that place of leadership.<sup>7</sup>

How much Mr. Bryan had to do with the final results is questionable. According to Mr. Dodd<sup>8</sup> there never was any alliance between the two men. Mr. Lawrence<sup>9</sup> says that the country at large was given the impression that he did play an effective part in the nomination, but Mr. Inglis states that he did all he could to prevent it and was very much surprised when it came.<sup>10</sup>

At one critical time of the convention, when New York was showing an inclination toward Mr. Clark, Dr. Wilson was on the verge of withdrawal.<sup>11</sup> Mr. McCombs, his campaign manager, felt that Dr. Wilson was out to win, never to lose, that he saw only his own personal exaltation and was insensible of political obligations.<sup>12</sup> Others seem to feel that he was sincerely indignant over boss control of the Democratic party and that he was not unsympathetic to a new party formed of the progressives of both parties. It is recorded that he was suggested as a possible running mate for Mr. Roosevelt and that he had replied, "Circumstances might make such development possible."<sup>13</sup> But he was not put to the test of how far he would have gone in his fight for

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7 Ibid. Kerney, 223.

8 P. 99.

9 P. 53

10 "Helping to Make a President", by Inglis, in Collier's, Vol. 58, 99, October 21, 1916.

11 Tumulty, 117.

12 William F. McCombs, "Making Woodrow Wilson President" (Fairview Publishing Company, New York, 1921), 17.

13 Lawrence, 52.

progressive principles because, with Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Sullivan to the rescue, the "Progressive element" triumphed after a long, stubborn fight for "enlightened progressivism."<sup>14</sup>

Judge Westcott announced the results of the convention in such great praise of the successful candidate that we find this description: "Men in the Convention, overwhelmed with the emotion of the great hour and the vindication of the bold, liberal, Woodrow Wilson, bowed their heads."<sup>15</sup> The following words gave this interpretation:

The swift current of liberalism that was running across the civilized world here in America was revealed in the Progressive movement--and in the Democratic Party was localized the spirit of Woodrow Wilson, the spirit of a constructive evolutionary statesman who believed intelligently and with some passionate interest in the new doctrine which Bryan had preached and Roosevelt had explained and championed.<sup>16</sup>

How was the nomination commented on by the press? The Democratic papers seemed united in their expression of loyalty and confidence, and such papers as the New York World, The New York Times, and the Brooklyn Eagle, and the Hartford Times, which had been against Bryan, were now offering enthusiastic support to the Democratic ticket.<sup>17</sup> Such excerpts as the following show their attitude:

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<sup>14</sup> Tumulty, 117. McCombs, 173.

<sup>15</sup> Tumulty, 124.

<sup>16</sup> White, 247.

<sup>17</sup> The Chicago Daily Journal, July 13, 1912. "Effect of Woodrow Wilson's Nomination", in The Literary Digest (New York), XLV, 43-6, July 13, 1912.

There is not a Democrat who can find a sound and sufficient reason for withholding his vote from Woodrow Wilson.<sup>18</sup>

And,

Woodrow Wilson will be the next President of the United States. But he will be more than that. He will be the first President of the United States in a generation to go into office owing favors to nobody except the American people and under obligation to nothing except the general welfare.<sup>19</sup>

The same idea:

The result is to make him his own man as few candidates have ever been ... No pledges have been exacted from him ... It was not a series of trades and dickers which brought him to the head of the poll at Baltimore, but simply the deepening of the general conviction, until it became invincible, that he was the candidate best fitted to lead the party at this juncture.<sup>20</sup>

Although Mr. Roosevelt declared that the Baltimore Convention had been controlled by the bosses even in the choice of Dr. Wilson, many of his papers viewed the candidate favorably:<sup>21</sup>

... he represents intelligent progressivism within his party and is in full sympathy with the nation-wide movement to overthrow the alliance between professional politics and organized money which is the most important factor in American public life today ... Fought bitterly by plutocrats, reactionaries, and bosses, and made, more recently, the victim of a campaign of misrepresentation and journalistic demagoguery, he had grown steadily in public favor and confidence.<sup>22</sup>

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18 The New York Times cited Ibid.

19 New York World, Ibid.

20 New York Evening Post (Ind.), Ibid.

21 Current Literature (New York), LIII, 127-8, August, 1912.

22 Editorial in Chicago Daily Tribune, July 3, 1912.

Another paper claimed that before the American people Roosevelt and Wilson stood for the same things, and that if Wilson were the nominee of a progressive party, he would appeal without reservation to the dominant thought of the time.<sup>23</sup> The same thought was expressed by another editor: "The Democracy now becomes the party of progress and the vote of every progressive community whether heretofore it called itself Democratic or Republican."<sup>24</sup>

As might be expected, both the progressive and conservative Independent papers accepted this highly respected Democratic candidate, and it was reported that the Sacramento Union, fifty years a staunch Republican, had launched into the Democratic campaign.<sup>25</sup> Harper's Weekly,<sup>26</sup> in spite of the controversy,<sup>27</sup> commented very favorably. The editor of The Independent,<sup>28</sup> definitely in favor of Mr. Taft, acknowledged Dr. Wilson as the best possible Democratic nomination. From abroad came the expression that one of the results of Dr. Wilson's nomination was to place the relations between the Democratic party and the outside world on a basis of mutual understanding; and, also, this comment:

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23 Kansas City Star. Current Literature, Vol. 53, 127-8, August 1912.

24 Louisville Post, Ibid.

25 "Effect of Woodrow Wilson's Nomination", in The Literary Digest (New York), XLV, 43-6, July 12, 1912.

26 Vol. 56, 4, July 13, 1912.

27 P. 105.

28 "Our Position in This Campaign", editorial, in Vol. 73, 99, July 11, 1912.

As a radical and as a man of ideas he will command the sympathy of the same people to whom Mr. Roosevelt appeals--those who are dimly groping after social and political reforms which they can as yet hardly formulate. At the same time, he approaches such questions from a more pronouncedly intellectual stand-point.<sup>30</sup>

One editor<sup>31</sup> pointed out that little was actually known, at the time, of Dr. Wilson's National policy, and so it will be interesting to learn how his acceptance speech and his campaign talks revealed those policies. Critics called the Democratic platform vague,<sup>32</sup> others, the most progressive ever presented the country by the Democratic party.<sup>33</sup> How would Dr. Wilson interpret it and how would the interpretation be accepted by the voters?

He accepted:

... with a deep sense of its unusual significance and the great honor done me, and also with a profound sense of my responsibility to the party and to the nation. You will expect me, in brief, to talk politics and open the campaign in words whose meaning no one need doubt.<sup>34</sup>

30 "Woodrow Wilson's Winning in England", The Literary Digest, XLV, 180, August 3, 1912, quoting London Times.

31 "Dr. Wilson's Task", editorial in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 274, 252-253, July 27, 1912. Current Literature (New York), L, 375-378, June, 1911.

32 "Dr. Wilson's Task", editorial in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 274, 252-253, July 27, 1912.

33 The Outlook, Vol. 102, 27-28, September 7, 1912. Called not very progressive by The Independent, Vol. 75, 162, July 11, 1912.

34 Chicago Daily Tribune, August 8, 1912; New York Daily Tribune, August 8, 1912; The Chicago Daily Journal, August 7, 1912.



He spoke of a nation awakened to its neglected ideals and duties, and of a new age which "requires self-restraint not to attempt too much and yet it would be cowardly to attempt too little." Then he took this attitude:

The platform meant to show that we know what the nation is thinking about, what it is most concerned about, what it wishes corrected, and what it desires to see attempted that is new and constructive and intended for its long future. We are not going to ask the people to accept the platform but to entrust us with the office and power and guidance of their affairs.<sup>35</sup>

He further explained that a platform is not a program, that the administrative and legislative acts constitute a program, and that they come after the election.

He divided the task to be done into two parts:

One is to set up the rules of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts and 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 our great industrial undertakings, and the political life of the Philippines, for whom we hold government 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 contentment, in peace ...<sup>36</sup>

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35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

He looked upon tariff as a system of favors. He agreed with the Democratic view that the only legitimate object of tariff was for revenue, but he recognized the fact that business was sensitive to changes and would recommend acting with caution and prudence, but, "There must be an immediate revision, downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward."<sup>37</sup> He claimed that tariff had had a demoralizing influence and had been responsible for raising the cost of necessities and for establishing monopoly in domestic markets. He objected to the way tariff schedules had been determined in committee rooms, and he advised that the tariff question be made a matter of business in which Congress and the whole people of the United States had a partnership and understanding.

He blamed the tariff for the evils of the trusts, which he contended had grown big because of unwholesome inflation, created by privileges and exemptions. He explained:

I am not one of those who think that competition can be established by law against the drift of world-wide economic tendency, neither am I one of those who believe that business done upon a great scale by a single organization ... is necessarily dangerous to the liberties, even the economic liberties of a great people like our own, full of intelligence and of indomitable energy. I am not afraid of anything normal. I dare say we shall never return to the old order of individual competition, and the organization of business upon a great scale of co-operation is up to a certain point in itself normal and inevitable.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

His attitude was, therefore, that vast confederates bound together were not necessarily illegal, and that there was no necessity of destroying nor disrupting any sound or honest business, but that there should be an anti-trust law that would eventually punish and prevent dishonest methods.

He advocated presidential primaries and direct election of senators so that the action of the government might be determined by persons whom the people had actually designated as men whom they were ready to trust and follow.

He spoke of the working people as the backbone of the nation. He said:

No law that safeguards their life, that improves the physical and moral conditions under which they live, that makes their hours of labor rational and tolerable, that gives them freedom to act in their own interests, and that protects them where they cannot protect themselves can properly be regarded as class legislation or as anything but as a measure taken in the interest of the whole people, whose partnership in right action we are trying to establish and make real and practical.<sup>39</sup>

With regard to currency, he suggested consulting more than the bankers, because, "No mere bankers' plan will meet the requirements ... It should be a merchants' and farmers' plan as well."

In conclusion, he stated:

We represent the desire to set up an unentangled government, a government that cannot be used for

private purposes, either in the field of business or in the field of politics, a government that will not tolerate the use of the organization of a great party to serve the personal aims and ambitions of any individual, and that will not permit legislation to be employed to further any private interest. It is a great conception, but I am free to serve it, as you, also, are. I could not have accepted a nomination which left me bound to any man or any group of men.<sup>40</sup>

There were those who saw in this speech an appreciation of the problems of the day, with a desire to solve them with wisdom and fearlessness and devotion to the common good, and who commended its freedom from political boasts;<sup>41</sup> who saw the candidate as a clear-visioned, hard-headed, capable man who knew what the people wanted and knew how to get it for them.<sup>42</sup> It was stated:

In a word, Governor Wilson shows that he has very definite views of the popular unrest and complaint and their causes, and very clear convictions of his own as to what ought to be done, but that he is, withal, a man who looks before and after and does not propose to abdicate his reason even in the heat of political combat.

For nothing else is Governor Wilson's speech more notable than for its sure reading of the signs of the time ... He offers himself, in unaffected simplicity, as a servant of the people in helping them to recover what, in their lives,

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40 Ibid.

41 "Following the Campaign: A Weekly Digest of Political Opinion" (as expressed by people and newspapers). The Outlook (New York), Vol. 701, 864-867, August 17, 1912. Harper's Weekly (New York), LVI, 4, August 17, 1912.

42 Editorial in The Chicago Daily Journal, August 8, 1912.

and in their government, they feel has been filched away from them.<sup>43</sup>

It was called a fine, worthy speech,<sup>44</sup> and in general the press remarked on its moderation, its caution, its scholarly tone, its literary flavor.<sup>45</sup> But that very moderateness and caution was to the Republicans its weakness. They claimed he was temporizing.<sup>46</sup> Some felt that he had betrayed his party by the omission of such issues as restricting the Presidency to a single term, and of enacting a law exempting American vessels from payment of Panama Canal tolls, and by discussing tariff, trust and other problems without giving a program. The treatment of the platform as inconsequential was regarded as an attempt to satisfy the eastern Democratic papers.<sup>47</sup> Many criticized the speech as not specific;<sup>48</sup> where Mr. Roosevelt offered to solve problems, Dr. Wilson laid down principles.<sup>49</sup>

In spite of criticism, Dr. Wilson continued with that policy that a platform was not a program and that campaign speeches need not solve problems. He, therefore, never revealed himself fully. He showed a cautious, thoughtful mind, not sure how far

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43 "What Woodrow Wilson Would Do", in The Literary Digest (New York), XLV, 274-278, August 17, 1912.

44 American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), XLVI, 265-267, September, 1912.

45 The Literary Digest (New York), XLV, 274-278, August 17, 1912.

46 Ibid.

47 "Parkerizing Himself", editorial in New York Daily Tribune, August 9, 1912.

48 The Independent (New York), Vol. 73, 393, August 15, 1912.

49 The Literary Digest (New York), XLV, 274-278, August 17, 1912.

his countrymen wished to go.<sup>50</sup> He was not so interested in specific measures and programs as in the new spirit in politics.<sup>51</sup> It gave his opponents the chance of depreciating him as a "doctrinaire" and a "theorist", and of contrasting him with Mr. Roosevelt, the practical and efficient man of action.<sup>52</sup>

The stand Dr. Wilson took was that the laws of our country were still for the individual and had never been adjusted to business done by great corporations, so the task before the statesmen was to adjust these laws.<sup>53</sup> He said:

I am, therefore, forced to be progressive, if for no other reason, because we have not kept up with our changes of condition, either in the economic or in the political field.<sup>54</sup>

But he added:

All progress depends on how fast you are going and where you are going, and I fear there has been too much of this thing of knowing neither how fast we were going nor where we were going.<sup>55</sup>

He insisted that society was a living organism and must be treated as such:

... All patriotic progressives ask or desire is permission to interpret the Constitution according to the Darwinian principle; all they ask is recognition of the fact that a nation is a living thing and not a machine.<sup>56</sup>

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50 Dodd, 105.

51 Muzzy, 530.

52 The Nation (New York), Vol. 95, 500, November 28, 1912, quoting The Manchester Guardian.

53 The New Freedom, 3.

54 Ibid., 34, 35.

55 Ibid., 40.

56 Ibid., 48.

The philosophy which he was preaching to the nation during this campaign was "The New Freedom". It has been interpreted as New Stateism, as against New Nationalism.<sup>57</sup> To be sure, Dr. Wilson did favor States' Rights,<sup>58</sup> and wished to see the states make their governments effective enough to counteract this demand for nationalism, but his teachings went further than that. He was proclaiming a gospel of the liberation of private enterprise from the domination of trusts and corporate powers.<sup>59</sup> His theory was the emancipation of the people rather than their protection, or, "Free men need no guardians."<sup>60</sup> His doctrine of economic liberty was based on the idea of working through the people rather than for them.<sup>61</sup> His program was similar to that of the Progressives but he wanted it carried out by Jefferson's methods in the several states and communities as it might be worked out by the genius of the people.<sup>62</sup> His followers believed that he had a more democratic theory than that of Mr. Roosevelt. The New Democracy, they contended, might be better or might be worse than present conditions.<sup>63</sup>

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57 "New Stateism as Against New Nationalism", in The North American Review (New York), Vol. 193, 808-15.

58 The Chicago Daily Journal, September 27, 1912, quoting Governor W. McGovern of Minnesota.

59 Ogg, 204-205. Bassett, 192.

60 "Opinion on Wilson's New Freedom", in The World's Work (London) XXV, 137-9, December, 1912. The New Freedom, 55. New York Daily Tribune, September 21, 1912, speech at Columbus, September 20.

61 Muzzy, 530. The World's Work, XXV, 137-9, December, 1912.

62 The World's Work, XXV, 137-9, December, 1912.

63 Ibid.

Dr. Wilson did recognize, however, that it would be necessary for the law to come to the assistance of the individual. As he put it, "Without the watchful interference, the resolute interference of the government, there can be no fair play between individuals and such powerful institutions as trusts. Freedom today is something more than being let alone."<sup>64</sup>

His own expression of his philosophy and ideals were stated thus:

... the meaning of liberty has deepened. But it has not ceased to be a fundamental demand of the human spirit, a fundamental necessity for the life of the soul. And the day is at hand when it shall be realized on this consecrated soil--a New Freedom--a Liberty widened and deepened to match the broadened life of a man in modern America, restoring to him in very truth the control of his government, throwing wide all gates of lawful enterprise, unfettering his energies and warming the generous impulses of his heart, ...<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps Dr. Wilson was idealistic, but he did have some practical ideas to bring to the issues at hand. He firmly believed that the machinery of political control should be put into the hands of the people,<sup>66</sup> because he felt that back of all reform lay the method of getting it.<sup>67</sup> He contended that the whole method and spirit of conducting our government should be

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<sup>64</sup> The New Freedom, 294.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> "The Democratic Party's Appeal", by Woodrow Wilson, compiled from his campaign speeches by his secretary, in The Independent (New York), Vol. 73, 937-43, October 24, 1912.

<sup>67</sup> The New Freedom, 223.



changed, that the people should insist on being actual partners again and upon knowing how their business was conducted, and in whose interest.<sup>68</sup> He advocated direct primaries, direct election of senators, and initiative, referendum and recall wherever necessary and practical. He explained that through initiative people would have a chance to get measures passed in which they were interested, that by referendum they could see to it that unrepresentative measures were not passed, and that recall would make government officials realize whence their powers came.<sup>69</sup> He did not favor recall of judges because he felt that it would only mean the reappointing of judges of the same kind unless the people had the right of selecting judges.<sup>70</sup> He declared that with the existence of these powers the battle would be more than half won. He said:

Let no man be deceived by the cry that somebody is proposing to substitute direct legislation by the people or the direct reference of laws passed in the legislature to the vote of the people, for representative government. The advocates of these reforms have always declared and declared in unmistakable terms that they were intending to recover representative government not to supersede it.<sup>71</sup>

But in one speech he did qualify his attitude by saying:

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68 Chicago Daily Journal, September 7, 1912; at William's Grove, Pennsylvania; The Outlook, Vol. 102, 56.

69 "The Democratic Party's Appeal".

70 New York Daily Tribune, September 21, 1912; at New Haven, September 25.

71 The New Freedom, 223.

We ought to go very slowly and very carefully about the task of altering the institutions we have been a long time in building up. I believe that the ancient traditions of a people are its ballast. You must knit the new into the old. If I did not believe that to be progressive is to preserve the essentials of our institutions, I, for one, could not be a Progressive.<sup>72</sup>

Dr. Wilson, also, had some very definite ideas on leadership, which were related to his attitude toward representative government. He claimed that the government, for over a century, had been governed by persons not invited to govern it. He defined the boss as the business agent in politics of the special interests, the manipulator of a "machine". A "machine" he described as that part of a political organization which had been taken out of the rank and file of the party, the part that had ceased to be political and had become an agency for the purposes of unscrupulous business. Against the machine methods of nomination and of election, representative government had broken down.<sup>73</sup> By selection of representatives through direct primaries and direct election of senators, the people would be more properly represented, and with proper leadership the legislative methods could be given more publicity. His slogan was, "Let there be light". He felt that the people were entitled to know

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<sup>72</sup> New York Daily Tribune, September 26, 1912; at New Haven, September 25. Editorial in The Nation (New York), Vol. 95, 300, October 3, 1912.

<sup>73</sup> The New Freedom, 223.

who was back of every bill and back of the opposition to bills.<sup>74</sup>

In his opinion, it was the president who should assume that leadership. He was the chosen representative of his party, its purposes, and principles and, more than that, the country often showed stronger belief in the man than in the party, so he must represent the country in its national life and ideals. The president is the one national voice and must speak the nation's real sentiments and purpose and direct its political opinion.<sup>75</sup>

Dr. Wilson described the ideal president as:

... a man who will be one who will seem to the country in some sort of embodiment of the character and purpose it wishes to govern, a man who understands his own day and who has the personality and initiative to enforce his views both upon the people and upon Congress.<sup>76</sup>

But he also said:

Every leader of the government must hear what the nation is saying and enduring. It is not his business to judge for the nation but to judge through the nation as its spokesman and voice.<sup>77</sup>

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74 The New Freedom, 111.

75 "Woodrow Wilson's Ideas of the Presidency", by James W. Garner, in The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), Vol. 47, 47-51, January 1913 (quoted Oregon speech of 1911) "Leaders in Democracy", editorial in The Nation, Vol. 95, 604, December 26, 1912.

76 "Woodrow Wilson's Ideas of the Presidency", by James W. Garner, in The American Monthly Review of Reviews, Vol. 47, 47-51, January 13, 1913.

77 The New Freedom, 73.

In aspiring to be that leader he declared:

I tell you the men I am interested in are the men who, under conditions we have had, never had their voice heard ... but went silently and patiently to their work every day carrying the burden of the world.<sup>78</sup>

He had another theory which he brought forth in his talks. He believed that the people of the country should get together for consultation in school houses or other community centers, for discussion and debate on the fundamental questions affecting their lives. He explained his idea:

And so, at this opening of a new age, with a new age to realize as well as to dream in of those things being done that America has attempted again and again to do, and has found herself disappointed--in this age of growing and somewhat justified discontent--it is our duty to clear the air; to bring about common counsel; to say that we are fighting no man. We are bringing all men to understand one another. We are not the friends of any class as against any other class. But it is our duty to make the classes understand one another; our duty is to lift so high the incomparable standards of the common interest and the common justice that all men with vision, all men with hope, all men with convictions in America, will crowd to that standard and a new day of achievement may come for the liberty we love.<sup>79</sup>

Dr. Wilson had arrived at these political theories after years of study and thought; he must have believed in them and

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>79</sup> The New Freedom, 90. The Chicago Daily Journal, October 10, 1912, at Chicago.

was no doubt sincerely looking forward in 1912 to being a leader in national political reform as he had been in state reform. We must now turn our attention to his ideas of social and economic problems.

He expressed his sympathy with the social betterment of the laboring class frequently throughout the campaign, and indirectly he showed what reforms he considered necessary. He frankly admitted his approval of every project of social betterment expressed in the Progressive platform except that of minimum

wage.<sup>80</sup> He spoke of the need of preserving the health and energy of the American people by protecting them against wrongful

forms of labor.<sup>81</sup> He indicated what he meant by poor working conditions by mentioning overcrowding, bad sanitation, unnecessary spread of disease, necessary precaution against accident,

difficult tasks set for women, and child labor.<sup>82</sup> He said, "I am interested in having the United States more concerned about

human rights than about property rights."<sup>83</sup> His personal attitude he declared in these words:

I would (were I a manufacturer) create such conditions of sanitation, such conditions of life and comfort and health as would keep my employees in the best physical condition, and I would establish such a relationship with them as would make them believe that I was a

80 "The Democratic Party's Appeal", by Woodrow Wilson, in The Independent (New York), Vol. 73, 937-43, October 24, 1912. New York Daily Tribune, September 8, 1912; at Buffalo, New York, September 2.

81 Ibid. Lawrence, 54.

82 The New Freedom, 271.

83 Ibid.

fellow human being, with a heart under my jacket and that they were not my tools but my partners."<sup>84</sup>

He admitted that working conditions must be definitely changed for the benefit of mankind and that the people should have confidence that the Democratic party would meet modern conditions and would correct evils.<sup>85</sup> According to his policy of campaigning, he offered no definite program. He stated his ideas and asked that he be accepted as a leader in social as well as political reform.

In dealing with the economic situation, he treated tariff, trusts, and currency as one problem.<sup>86</sup> He assured his audiences that his party had no intention of striking at any essential economic arrangement, but it was its purpose to drive all beneficiaries of government into the open and to demand of them by what principle of national advantage, as contrasted with selfish privilege, they enjoy the extraordinary assistance extended to them. His policy was to apply the rule of general interest. He claimed that the Democrats would act on their fundamental principle of tariff for revenue and would approach it by those avenues, and those stages, and at that pace consistent with the

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<sup>84</sup> Hosford, 156.

<sup>85</sup> New York Daily Tribune, September 26, 1912; at New Haven, September 25.

<sup>86</sup> "Woodrow Wilson", by Alfred L. P. Dennis, in The Contemporary Review (London), Vol. 102, 796-800, December, 1912.

stability and safety of the business of the country.<sup>87</sup> He argued that tariff was restrictive<sup>88</sup> and that it kept the country from freely participating in the world's commerce.<sup>89</sup> He appealed to the farmer as the class who had never been protected but who had borne the burden of protection.<sup>90</sup> He advised the workmen that, although protective tariff was supposed to be to their benefit, the workmen in unprotected industries were better paid.<sup>91</sup>

He explained why he considered tariff a tremendous factor in the high cost of living:

... it was once arguable that the high tariff did not create the high cost of living; it is no longer arguable that these combinations do not --not by reason of the tariff, but by reason of their combination under the tariff--settle what prices shall be paid; or still, moreover, what shall be the market for labor.<sup>92</sup>

He felt that if the country were freed from the restrictive policy of tariff, undertakings in the country would multiply, a wider market would result and there would be greater competition for labor.<sup>93</sup> To those who argued that taking the protection of tariff away would be placing the business men in competition

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87 "The Democratic Party's Appeal" by Woodrow Wilson in The Independent, Vol. 73, 937-43, October 24, 1912. The Chicago Daily Journal, November 2, 1912. Rally Day Message.

88 New York Daily Tribune, August 15, 1912, at Gloucester (New York), August 14.

89 Ibid., August 30, at William's Grove, Pa., August 29. The Literary Digest, XLV, 408-9, September 14, 1912.

90 Ibid.

91 The New Freedom, 145.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., 157.

with the world, he asked, "Where is America's boasted genius?"<sup>94</sup>

Dr. Wilson declared that big business, through the aid of tariff and by unfair practices, had killed competition by crushing it out and buying it out. He knew that popular theory defended the combinations that were controlling the economic development on the ground that they had come into existence naturally and inevitably, and must be accepted as unavoidable. But he made the distinction that a trust was an arrangement to get rid of competition and big business was a business that had survived competition by conquering in the field of intelligence and economy.<sup>95</sup> He was willing to agree that the elaboration of business upon a great co-operative scale was characteristic of the times and had come about by the natural operation of modern civilization, but he said,

I take my stand absolutely where every progressive ought to take his stand, on the proposition that private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.<sup>96</sup>

He argued:

Many say that the theory that by restoring competition you can restore industrial freedom is untrue, because happenings of the last decade show it is free competition that has made it possible for the big to crush the little--I say it is not free but illicit competition that has done it. It is competition of the kind that the law ought to stop and can stop.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>95</sup> The New Freedom, 163. New York Daily Tribune, September 3, 1912, at Buffalo September 2.

<sup>96</sup> The New Freedom, 172.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 177.



He realized the seriousness of the general question of monopoly, and he hoped that measures would frame themselves soberly enough as they thought their way forward.<sup>98</sup> He saw a need for laws to look after the men on the make rather than men already made. He accepted the fact that it used to be the ideal of government for every man to be left alone except when he interfered with somebody else, that the best government did as little governing as possible. But life had become so complicated that the law had to step in and create new conditions under which life would be tolerable to all, and so he announced:

We propose to prevent private monopoly by law, to see to it that the methods by which monopolies have been built up are legally impossible.<sup>99</sup>

Then, as has been said, he related the currency problem to tariff and trusts. He declared that the greatest monopoly was the money monopoly. The growth of the nation and all its activities were in the hands of a few men who, even though they were honest and interested in public welfare, were necessarily concentrated upon the great undertakings in which their own money was involved and who necessarily by every reason of their own limitations, chill, check and destroy genuine economic freedom.<sup>100</sup>

98 "The Democratic Party's Appeal", by Woodrow Wilson, in The Independent (New York), Vol. 73, 937-43, October 24, 1912.

99 The New Freedom, 222.

100 "The Democratic Party's Appeal", by Woodrow Wilson, in The Independent (New York), Vol. 73, 937-43, October 24, 1912.

He said,

One of the things that makes the currency question most pressing and significant at this moment is that we are certain now, in my judgment, to remove some of the artificial obstacles to our prosperity in business, and the minute you do that there is to be such an increase in economic activity in America that this stubborn, stiff, antiquated currency system of ours can't stand the strain. You've got to make it elastic, you've got to change it, or else you can't stand your own prosperity.<sup>101</sup>

These were the theories the Democratic candidate advanced toward the vexing economic problems. He seemed thoroughly convinced that his ideas were as near the solution of the questions as it was possible to come at this time. He felt that statesmen must attack these problems with an earnest determination "to serve the long future and true liberties of men". That was the type of statesman he promised to be--a leader in economic reform as well as in social and political reform.

But in political campaigns, a candidate must not only put forth his own ideas in the best possible light, but it is also customary for him to disparage the theories of his opponents and sometimes the opponents themselves. Dr. Wilson carried on this side of his campaign in a dignified manner.<sup>102</sup> He said, "I believe party battles should be fought without personal participation, I am not in the least bit interested in fighting persons,

<sup>101</sup> New York Daily Tribune, September 21, 1912, at Columbus, Ohio, September 20, and Rally Day Message, November 2, 1912.

<sup>102</sup> Kerney, 246.

but I am tremendously interested in fighting issues."<sup>103</sup> The issues he was most interested in fighting were those of his progressive opponent.

He considered the third party program good on social betterment but dangerous on tariff and trusts. He opposed the idea of a tariff commission, saying, "Bodies of experts to guide legislation have always been the machinery of one thing, and that is delay."<sup>104</sup> He called attention to the fact that Mr. Roosevelt, in adhering to protection, was not concerned with the fact that large amounts of money got into the hands of particular classes, but that some got into the pockets of the employees. He asked how he proposed to carry that out:

I have searched his program very thoroughly for an indication of what he expects to do in order to see to it that a large proportion of this prize money gets into the pay-envelope. There is a plank in the program which speaks of establishing a minimum or living wage for women workers and I suppose that we may assume that the principle is not in the long run, meant to be confined in its application to women only ... the identical program suggested to committees by Mr. Gary and Mr. Perkins ...<sup>105</sup>

He argued,

They would reduce all wages to a level of that minimum, set up the employers as wards and proteges of the Government and strengthen the very partnership between Big Business

<sup>103</sup> Lawrence, 50.

<sup>104</sup> The Chicago Daily Journal, September 2, 1912, at Buffalo, New York.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., September 21, 1912, at Columbus, Ohio.

and the Government, which most of us are trying to break up.<sup>106</sup>

That government association was the alarming feature of Mr. Roosevelt's program, in Dr. Wilson's opinion. He claimed that it would legalize monopolies and give the chief employers of the country a tremendous authority behind them. He argued that it had always been the policy of the masters of consolidated industries to undermine organized labor in a great many ways, and federal control, as advocated by the new party, would subordinate the working men to monopolies which looked strongly like economic mastery over the lives and fortunes of those who do the daily work of the nation.<sup>107</sup> He contended that history was strewn with wrecks of governments that had tried to be humane and to carry out humane programs through the instrumentality of those who controlled material forces.<sup>108</sup> He said,

I reject the guardianship theory. No man knows how to take care of all the people of the United States. The people understand their own interests better than any group of men in the confines of the country understands them.<sup>109</sup>

He admitted that a new combination between government and money might be benevolent and carry on social betterment, but he

106 Ibid., September 2, 1912, at Buffalo, New York.

107 Ibid., also The Literary Digest (New York), XLV, 499-501, September 28, 1912.

108 The New Freedom, 206.

109 Ibid., 61.

asked how one could be assured of it and he declared,

The trusts are our masters now, but I for one don't care to live in a country called "free" even under kind masters.<sup>110</sup>

He also accused Mr. Roosevelt of getting his ideas from the gentlemen of the United States Steel trust, and for that reason considered his views as undesirable for the man in the White House. He told the workmen:

Carry out the plan of Judge Gary and Mr. Perkins and you will have given control in the market for labor which will suit these gentlemen perfectly. They don't want competition in the market for labor, because new competition will mean new wage scales and these are the very men and almost the only men who successfully opposed union labor in the United States, and shut it out of their shops, and bribed it to be content to be shut out by all sorts of benevolent schemes of profit sharing which a man would forfeit if he joined a union.<sup>111</sup>

With regard to Mr. Roosevelt's elaborate promises, and to justify his own lack of a definite program, Dr. Wilson said, "I cannot tell what is around the corner. The successful leader ought not to keep far in advance of the mass he is seeking to lead, for he will soon lose contact with them."<sup>112</sup>

So much for what the Democratic candidate had to say for himself and against his opponent and a consideration of what was

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<sup>110</sup> The Chicago Daily Journal, October 10, 1912, at Chicago.

Also in Rally Day Message, November 2, 1912.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., at Springfield, October 9, 1912.

<sup>112</sup> Kerney, 241.

said about him. In criticism of Dr. Wilson's attack on government control of trusts, it was said:

Governor Wilson seems to have lost the thread of progressive ideas. He apparently does not know that when the people own the Government the surest way to guard people's liberty is to enlarge the people's power. This the Progressives propose to do, not only by extending the powers of the government but by insuring that the people shall be the Government.<sup>113</sup>

One newspaper,<sup>114</sup> which was his supporter editorially, took exception to his statement that the Roosevelt method for trust control was devised by the trusts themselves and was supporting his candidacy because it was a matter of history that Colonel Roosevelt's foes have been corporations and their retainers.

He was criticized for not explaining in detail his plan for regulation of competition,<sup>115</sup> and for his weakness in not stating facts plainly and logically from undeniable premises.<sup>116</sup> His tariff policy was called inconsistent in that he called protective tariff unconstitutional, but seemed to forget that unconstitutional procedure must be stopped not gradually but immediately,<sup>117</sup> and that since he was against all class legislation,

<sup>113</sup> The Literary Digest, (New York), XLV, 408-9, September 14, 1912, quoting The Philadelphia North American.

<sup>114</sup> The New Jersey Evening News, quoted in The Outlook (New York), Vol. 102, 370-1, October 26, 1912.

<sup>115</sup> The New York American, in The Literary Digest (New York), XLV, 499-501, September 28, 1912.

<sup>116</sup> The Outlook (New York), Vol. 102, 370-1, October 26, 1912.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

he should want to have the things used by the artisan, the factory hand, and the railway employee as well as the farmer put on the free list; that he should frankly say he believed in throwing down all barriers against free trade.<sup>118</sup>

Another view of his tariff policy of steady downward revision was that, if he were steadfast in his purpose, able to resist the pressure of vested interests, and understood the economic policies, there was hope that the high cost of living might be reduced. Considering the importance of the tariff issue in the election of 1912, the author predicted that he would gain many votes on his policy.<sup>119</sup>

Others believed his qualities of leadership would be a great consideration to the voters.<sup>120</sup> It was observed that he possessed in a singularly high degree the great administrative faculty of the prompt apprehension of the nature of a case, and that he had the attractiveness and magnetism of a leader.<sup>121</sup> So they had confidence that he was a progressive of the constructive

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118 The Literary Digest (New York), XLV, 408-9, September 14, 1912, quoting New York Daily Tribune, after speech to farmers at Williams Grove, Pennsylvania.

119 "The Political Platform", in The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 274, 621-23, September 7, 1912.

120 "Woodrow Wilson", by L. P. Dennis, in The Contemporary Review (London), Vol. 102, 796-800, December, 1912.

121 "Woodrow Wilson, A Character Sketch", by Henry J. Ford, in The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), XLV, 408-9, September 14, 1912.

type who would see that necessary legislation would be passed with prudence and without injury to the country's prosperity.<sup>122</sup>

One biographer declared that he had moderated much of his radicalism and had become a conservative liberal.<sup>123</sup> He had become a master of mob psychology and had learned the arts and tricks of getting the best out of political situations. He had become a politician, but, nevertheless, he was no doubt sincere. As one writer said of him:

He wanted to govern because he saw such superb possibilities of government, and fully appreciated the defects which had hitherto kept those policies unattained. He was not mad enough to say he could remedy the defects, but he was man enough to say that he would give his brain and his whole soul and his very life to try ... Wilson believed that Democracy, for all its failures and defects, held the future of the world. He believed that Democracy, rightly guided and interpreted, held the only possible hope of the future, and he was ready to give all that was in him in every way to the attempt to realize that hope.<sup>124</sup>

He was elected and both America<sup>125</sup> and Europe<sup>126</sup> looked upon the President-Elect as a new type of political leader for America and were ready and eager for his program. A foreign

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122 The World's Work (London), XXV, 137-9, December, 1912.

123 Kerney, 241.

124 Bradford, 67.

125 The World's Work (London), XXV, 137-9, December, 1912. The Chicago Daily Journal, November 2, 1912. "Why I Am For Woodrow Wilson", by James A. O'Gorman, in The North American Review (New York), Vol. 196, 460-7, October, 1912.

126 "What Europe Thinks of the President", in The World's Work (London), XXV, 137-9, December, 1912. The Living Age (Boston), Vol. 275, 567-569, November 30, 1912.



paper called him, "a sincere, honest, and independent progress-  
ist."<sup>127</sup> His sincerity might be judged by his own first words  
as elected Chief Executive:

I do not feel exuberant or cheerful. I feel  
exceedingly solemn ... a weight of seriousness  
and responsibility seems to be pressing on me.  
I feel more like kneeling down and praying  
for strength to do what is expected of me.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), Vol. 47,  
115, January, 1913, quoting The Ryetch of St. Petersburg.  
<sup>128</sup> Lawrence, 63.

## CHAPTER VI

### C O N C L U S I O N S

I have reviewed the political policies and theories of two great American statesmen to determine how I would class them as liberal leaders. First I should like to quote a periodical of 1912<sup>1</sup>:

Both Wilson and Roosevelt are remarkably versed in the two kinds of political knowledge. They know about governments through vast historical study and reading and they know about political matters in their working manifestation. Obviously, Mr. Roosevelt has had very much more practical experience than Dr. Wilson. But they belong to the same class. They would both be great public men and leaders in England, or Canada, or France, or Germany where public life is a career ... Wilson and Roosevelt are essentially public men. They act upon public questions for open, public reasons.

Second, I think this contrast is worth considering. Mr. Roosevelt came to the White House after wrestling in ward caucuses, after fighting through county and state conventions, after leading a struggle in his party's national convention nearly thirty years before that struggle in which he met the foes of liberalism. He had championed Civil Service, had struggled for police reform, had served in Federal positions in Washington, had been governor, was acquainted with all the by-ways

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<sup>1</sup> American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York), XLVI, 147, August, 1912.

and avenues of politics that led to the goal. On the other hand Dr. Wilson had never been in a county convention before he was nominated for Governor, had never been in his State capitol until he was Governor, and had never been in the White House until he became President.<sup>2</sup> So in 1912 we find the Progressive candidate to be a man who is reaching the end of his political career after many years of service to his country in both minor and major offices, even as its chief executive, and who will naturally be judged by what he has accomplished as well as what he promises to accomplish. His Democratic opponent is a man at the beginning of his career, who in his two years' service to his state had done enough to gain him recognition and confidence.

There is much similarity in their careers and in their policies in spite of so great a contrast as has been pointed out. Both of them were nominated and elected governors through the aid of political bosses and political machines, but at times when the bosses realized that they must meet the demands of the public for better statesmen, each of these men was recognized as the type of statesman above pledges, so none was demanded and each of them entered the elected office free to act as he chose. Mr. Roosevelt felt that he owed some appreciation to the bosses and, also, that he could accomplish more by working with them. This decision disappointed many of his followers, but it must be

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<sup>2</sup> White, 245.

said that he never gave in to these men in what he considered a moral issue, and the first year of his term was praised for its liberal reform at a time when such reforms were not easily accomplished. It was in the second year that he became the practical politician in the hopes of having a second term as governor. This only brought criticism to him, and his compromising with the bosses did him no good because they were the ones who got him out of the way, for the time, by using their influence to make him vice-president.

Dr. Wilson was uncertain which was the wiser path to follow. He argued the matter with himself and his friends and came to the conclusion to fight the bosses. This helped greatly to establish his reputation as a liberal leader, and when the bosses worked against him in the next election and gave him a Republican legislature to work with in the second year of his term, it gave his followers the opportunity of using this as propagan-da in his favor when they were trying to bring about his recognition as a presidential candidate. His first year in office was considered remarkable for liberal reforms, but the second year was not so fruitful, partly due to political reasons because he was touring the country much of the time in order to let the people become acquainted with him as a possible candidate for president.

These two political leaders were party men who hoped to

accomplish their ends through their respective parties. Mr. Roosevelt was a staunch Republican and was firmly convinced that he could accomplish more within his party than without. He worked through this policy for the many years of his political career, and congratulated himself at the close of his presidential term on having made the Republican party a party of progress. But one writer says:

The campaign of 1908 materially aggravated the illness which was already affecting the Republican party. The G.O.P. was seriously stricken and it is doubtful whether any political doctor, even Roosevelt, could have brought it back to reasonable good health.<sup>3</sup>

Then came the critical time in 1912 when Mr. Roosevelt felt convinced that the party was not what he had thought it was, and he at length set out to lead a new party in the field of reform.

It is the opinion of one biographer that Dr. Wilson had in his nature a streak of independence that would not bind him to the Democratic party as a life long proposition, and that it would not be hard to conceive of him as the candidate of some other party than the Democratic.<sup>4</sup> He sensed and advanced the opinion that there might be a division in American politics along the line of conservatives and liberals. But the one important feature of Dr. Wilson's theory was that the parties stood for the leadership given them and he was sincerely convinced

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<sup>3</sup> Davis, 93.

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence, 54

that he could rid the Democratic party of some of its bossism and old fashioned conservatism and make it the instrument of progress and liberalism.<sup>5</sup>

Each of these men had at one time or another publicly scorned the populistic movement as a jealous attack on wealth, but through study and experience, had come to realize the justice of the demands of the people. They had had no sympathy with Mr. Bryan's doctrines, nor his manner of preaching them, but both of them, by 1912, were advocating the same policies. As liberal leaders in 1912, both Mr. Roosevelt and Dr. Wilson accepted the fact that something must be done to restore representative government. Each of them was willing to accept initiative, referendum and recall to the extent necessary for accomplishing that purpose. Neither of them advocated them for the federal government and each of them qualified their acceptance of these means to an end, but criticism made Mr. Roosevelt less cautious in his speeches. Neither of them was in favor of recall of judges, but Mr. Roosevelt appeared very radical in his demand for recall of judicial decisions. His attacks on the courts, begun during his presidency, became more and more critical and lost for him the respect of many people. Both of these men were devinitely in favor of direct election of senators and for primary elections for selection of candidates.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

They both saw the need of social reform, and their ideas of what type of reform was necessary were practically the same. If there was any difference, it was that Mr. Roosevelt was working for reform for the people and Dr. Wilson was for reform through the people.

Each of them saw the evils in the economic life of the country, but they did not agree on the cause of these evils, and therefore their methods of remedying the situation were different. Both of them sincerely hoped to bring about the very necessary reform.

Mr. Roosevelt was a popular hero. Dr. Wilson never reached that height. He wanted to rule men, to work for their good, to manage them, but somehow he never quite had the tact or the touch to enable him to do so. He wanted to understand the motives of men and women, their tastes, habits and traditions, yet he held them off.<sup>6</sup> He never was the "good fellow" that Mr. Roosevelt was.

Dr. Wilson carried on his campaign in a dignified manner and held the respect of the nation. Mr. Roosevelt, in the face of criticism of forming a third party, seemed to feel it necessary to justify himself and his new party by bitter attacks on his opponents, on their policies, and on the old parties, even his one time highly respected Republican party. This was too

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<sup>6</sup> Bradford, 70.

bad because, no matter how sincere he was in his belief that a new party was needed, such a method brought neither respect nor assurance of sincerity.

There is no doubt that Mr. Roosevelt served his country well as a teacher of liberal ideas. We may feel that he talked too much, repeated too often, and attracted too much attention to himself and his reforms, but that is the only way a country can be completely aroused to take action against passively accepted evils. It takes a man like him to pave the way for the man like Dr. Wilson. Mr. Roosevelt gave the impression of arriving at his conclusions suddenly and preaching them immediately. Most of his biographers agree that they were arrived at after considerable thought, but in spite of that he is considered to be the opposite of Dr. Wilson, of whom it was said, "To those who have known him the longest, he has always seemed to be growing according to a well thought-out plan."<sup>7</sup>

Both of these men seemed to realize that a leader should go in the same direction with the people, but a little ahead of them so that he could stimulate them to look ahead. Mr. Roosevelt seemed, all through his political career, to have felt that necessity of not getting too far ahead, but during the campaign that characteristic was less evident in him than in Dr. Wilson.

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<sup>7</sup> "Woodrow Wilson, Presidential Possibility", in Current Literature, (New York), XLIX, 381-4, October, 1910.



The formation of the new party, the manner in which he carried on the campaign, and the elaborate promises tended in 1912 to make Mr. Roosevelt appear less sincere, more a radical liberal, and more interested in power for himself, and left the impression that Dr. Wilson was the sincerely conservative liberal. But certainly both of these men realized the evils of the day and had the courage to attempt to correct them, even though it meant going against precedent and established principles. Each of them was a statesman who had the conviction and the energy to move forward in spite of opposition, and they deserve admiration and respect.

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31:589, November, 1901.

"President Roosevelt's First Year", by a Progressive Republican, in The North American Review (N.Y.), 175:721, December, 1902, showing a warm, personal admiration. "Mr. Roosevelt's First Year in Office", by a Jeffersonian Democrat, Ibid., p. 731, surprisingly favorable view of all things considered, is comment in review in The American Monthly Review of Reviews, 27.

"Theodore Roosevelt: A Personal Sketch", by Lyman Abbott, in The Outlook (N. Y.), September-December, 1904, very favorable. "A Foreign Estimate of Mr. Roosevelt", by an Anglo-American, in The North American Review (N. Y.), 179:118, July, 1904, favorable to all except tariff policy, and gives the opinion that America will think twice before she parts with him. "President Roosevelt as Europe Sees Him", by Louis E. Van Norman, in The American Monthly Review of Reviews (N. Y.), 30:299-305 (July-December, 1904), quite favorable. "Theodore Roosevelt as Presidential Candidate", by a Delegate of the National Convention, in Ibid., 30:35-42, July, 1904. Favorable. "Mr. Roosevelt Abroad", by Sydney Brooks, in Harper's Weekly (N. Y.), 48, July-December, 1904, and "England and the President", by the same author, Ibid., p. 720, show he was respected abroad.

"The President's Policies" by George Griswold Hill, in The North American Review, (N.Y.), 185, August, 1907. Favorable.

"The Temper of Roosevelt, Is it Radical or Conservative?", in Cur-

rent Literature (N.Y.), 44:499-503, May 1908, evidence of constructive rather than destructive instinct shown in hold he has kept on his party. "Roosevelt as a Reactionist" by George Llewellyn Rees in The Arena (Trenton and Boston) 39: 289-299, March, 1908, very critical, claims not a solitary reform measure that goes straight to the life of the people. "A Glance at President Roosevelt's Administration" by Honorable John D. Works, Ibid., pages 156-159, February 1908, critical, but concludes that although he did not accomplish what was expected of him, the country considered him sincere and honest in his intentions and purposes. "Roosevelt-Taft-La Follette on What the Matter in America Is and What to Do About It," by Lincoln Steffens in Everybody's Magazine (N.Y.) 18: 723-736, June 1908, reviewed in The Arena (Trenton and Boston) 40: 89-99, July 1908, under heading "Lincoln Steffens' Quest for a Moses"; the author claimed that the best thing he had done not only as a president but as a public man was to lead the American people to think for themselves about their common problems.

A tribute to Roosevelt was in Everybody's Magazine (N.Y.), 20, January-June 1909, inserted between pages 464-465. "President Roosevelt" by Harry Thurston Peck, in The Bookman (N.Y.), 29:25-31, March, 1909, very analytical and quite critical.

"Theodore Roosevelt" by Archibald Colquhoun in The Living Age (Boston), 265: 505-525, May 28, 1910, critical but fair.

"Theodore Roosevelt" by Sydney Brooks, Ibid., 525-32 and

"The Confusion of American Politics", by the same author, Vol. 267; 323-331, November 5, 1910, claimed Roosevelt had declared nothing new in "The New Nationalism" and prophesied a third party in 1912. "The Mythical Roosevelt", an article by Mr. E. French Strother, in The California Weekly, reviewed in The American Monthly Review of Reviews, 42: 125, December 1910, very interesting as the name might imply. "The New Nationalism and Old Moralities" by Ernest Hamlin Abbott, 96: 157-60, September 4, 1912.

"Two Divergent Views of Theodore Roosevelt" in Current Literature (N.Y.) 53: 516, November 1912, one by LaFollette, very critical; the other by a friend, very complimentary. "American Affairs" by A. Maurice Lowe in The Living Age (Boston), 273: 259-266, May 4, 1912, very interesting and fair article. "Mr. Roosevelt's Opportunity", by the same author, in Harper's Weekly (N.Y.), 56: 9, July 20, 1912, and "American Affairs" by the same author in The Living Age, 274: 515-522, August 31, 1912, and "Mr. Roosevelt's New Issues" in Harper's Weekly (N.Y.), 56: 8, July 20, 1912, showing that the author had become very critical of Mr. Roosevelt, had lost all confidence in him and claimed that he lost his opportunities by not allying himself earlier with the progressive Republicans.

"A Chapter of National Dishonor" by Leander T. Chamberlain in The North American Review (N.Y.), 194, February, 1912, the Panama case from Mr. Roosevelt's side and from Panama's with no

justification of his action except his own conscience.

"Why I Am for Roosevelt" by Miles Poindexter, a U. S. Senator in Ibid., 196: 468-483, October, 1912. "The Republican Presidential Nomination" by Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University in The Independent (N.Y.) 72: 600, March 21, 1912.

"How President Taft has followed the Roosevelt Policies or Improved Them" by Franklin Mac Veagh, Secretary of the Treasury under Taft, in The Outlook (N.Y.), 101: 110-116, May 18, 1912.

"How President Taft Pledged Himself to Follow Roosevelt's Policies and Failed", by James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior under Roosevelt, Ibid., 116-122. "Roosevelt the Politician," by

Frances E. Leupp in The Atlantic Monthly (Boston & N.Y.), 109: 843-52, June 1912. "Weight in the Candidates", by Erman J. Ridgeway, in Everybody's Magazine, (N.Y.), 26: 579-592, May, 1912.

"The Keynote of Theodore Roosevelt's Character" by a College Classmate, in The American Monthly Review of Reviews, (N.Y.), 46: 303, September, 1912, states sincerity was the keynote.

An interesting article, "Roosevelt I", appeared in Fortune, 17: 69, April, 1938.

#### ARTICLES BY CONTEMPORARIES OF WILSON

"President Wilson and College Earnestness" by R. Bridges in World's Work, (London) 15: 9792-7, January, 1908; "Presidential Skirmish Line", by F. B. Stevenson, in Harper's Weekly, (N.Y.), 52: 11-12, May 16, 1908. "Woodrow Wilson, a Presidential Possibility" in Current Literature (N.Y.), 49: 381-4, October, 1910,

a good article giving Wilson's ideas with some contrast to Roosevelt. "New Democratic Governor", by Fabian Franklin, in The Independent, (N.Y.), 69:1067-9, November 17, 1910, a good article. "Possible President", by William B. Hale, in World's Work (London), 22:14339-53, May, 1911. "New Jersey and the Bosses" by William E. Sackett, in Harper's Weekly, (N.Y.), 55:8, April 8, 1911, describes corrupt conditions but confidence in Wilson. "Virginia Democrat" by E. A. Alderman in Harper's Weekly, 55:7, May 6, 1911, some worthwhile thoughts expressed. "Woodrow Wilson for President" by E. Lissner, in Ibid., 55-6, July 29, 1911, a letter to the editor favoring candidacy of Wilson. "Possible American Presidents" by H. H. Fyfe, in The Fortnightly, (London), 96:899-906, November, 1911, good explanation of Wilson as governor and the bosses. "With Governor Wilson in the West", by F. P. Stockbridge in The World's Work (London), 22:14713-6, August, 1911. "Political Leader", by B. J. Hendrick, in McClure's Magazine (N.Y.) 38:217-31, December, 1911, a good article. "Woodrow Wilson, Governor", by J. Kerney, in The Independent (N.Y.), 70:986-9, May 11, 1911, favorable to him as governor. "Woodrow Wilson's Views, by H. B. Needham, in The Outlook (N.Y.), 98:939-51, August 26, 1911, a good account. "Woodrow Wilson, a Biography" by W.B. Hale, in World's Work (London), 22:14940-53, October, 1911; 23:64-77, 229-35, 297-310, 466-72, 522-34, January-March, 1912. "As a Foreigner Sees Them, Wilson, Taft, Roosevelt", in Ibid., 24:575-8, September, 1912.



"Wilson, Taft, Roosevelt Compared", in Ibid., 24: 569-75, September, 1912, interesting. "Why I Prefer Wilson to Roosevelt", in The American Magazine, (N.Y.) 75: 14-7, November, 1912. "Political Evolution of a College President" by S. B. Griffen, in The Atlantic Monthly, (Boston and New York) 109: 43-51, January 1912, a very good article. "Career of Wilson" by A. L. R. Dennis in Contemporary Review (London), 102: 790-800, December 1912; Good. "Bryan, Wilson and Democracy" by Sydney Brooks, in Harper's Weekly, (N.Y.), 56: 22, August 10, 1912, a good account. "The Political Transformation of Woodrow Wilson" in Current Literature, (N.Y.), 52: 153-7, February 1912, a very interesting and pertinent article. "The Effect of Woodrow Wilson's Election" in The Literary Digest, (N.Y.), 45: 436, July 13, 1912, good. "Why I am for Woodrow Wilson" by J. A. O'Gorman in The North American Review, (N.Y.), 196: 460-7, October, 1912, very favorable to Wilson, much praise. "Political Predestination of Woodrow Wilson" by George Harvey in Ibid., 193: 321-30, March 1911, 196: 145-53, August, 1912. "New Stateism" by J. M. Mathews in Ibid., 193: 808-15, June, 1912. A character sketch in The American Monthly Review of Reviews, 46: 177-84, August, 1912. "Woodrow Wilson, an appraisal" by W. M. Daniels in The Independent, 73: 1111-4, November 14, 1912, a well-organized, fair appraisal. "Bryan's Views of Governor Wilson and the Democratic Platform", in The Outlook, 102: 27-8, September 7, 1912. "Possible American Presidents" by H. H. Fyfe in The Living Age, (Boston) 272: 3-8, January 6, 1912.

"The Kind of a Man Woodrow Wilson is" by W. G. MacAdoo, in The Century Magazine (N.Y.), 85: 744-53, March 1913. "Helping to Make a President" by Wm. Inglis in Collier's, The National Weekly, 58: 14, October 7, 1916, continued through several copies, a very helpful article. "Wilson" by Ray Stannard Baker, Ibid., 58; 5, October 7, 1916, helpful.

#### BACKGROUND MATERIAL

"Necessity for the People's Party", in The Arena, Alliance Publishing Company, New York, 30: 410-414, July-December 1903, summed up the situations which were to bring united action against existing conditions. "The Forward Movement in the Republican Party", in The Outlook, New York, 96: 161-172. "The Discontented Farmer", an editorial in The Nation, New York, 71: 66, 67, a very sarcastic account of the farmer's complaints. "How We Got Our Constitution", condensed from Fortune, July, 1936, (N.Y.), in Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, New York, 29; October 1936. "The Federal Tax System" in Fortune, New York, 17: 46-47, January 1938.

#### BIOGRAPHIES

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and is very favorable to the subject of the biography; it has been criticized for lack of real insight into the material and occurrences recorded.

Perhaps the most interesting and most justly critical biography of this great man is a fairly recent one, Pringle, Henry F., Theodore Roosevelt, a Biography, Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1931. This book is based on research, is well-annotated, but the author states in his preface that he has expressed his own opinions. McCaeb, Walter, F., Theodore Roosevelt, Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1931, is another critical biography and it is this author who criticizes Mr. Bishop. In his criticism of Mr. Roosevelt he seems to be fair.

Two biographies written in rather interesting and different styles and containing some unusual conclusions are these: Leupp, Francis, E., The Man Roosevelt, A Portrait Sketch, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1904, written by a reporter and a commentator of the New York Evening Post, reviewed in The Independent (N.Y.), Vol. LVI; 1501, June 30, 1904, as not so indiscriminately laudatory as the biography by Mr. Riis, published in the same year. Einstein, Lewis, Roosevelt, His Mind in Action, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1930. This book is annotated at the back.

Thayer, William Roscoe, Theodore Roosevelt, an Intimate Biography, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York, 1919. The biographer was very evidently a friend and admirer of Mr. Roosevelt, although there were times that they were in opposite

camps over certain issues; it is a fair criticism, not a very well annotated volume. Lord Charmwood, Theodore Roosevelt, Constable & Company, Limited, London, 1923, has given an interesting story of an American statesman he admired and American affairs from an English viewpoint. Lewis, William Draper, The Life of Theodore Roosevelt, another friendly biographer who admits his admiration of his subject but tries to be fairly critical; the introduction by William Howard Taft shows no animosity toward Mr. Roosevelt.

On the period of the Progressive movement, I found these books especially helpful: Howland, Harold, Theodore Roosevelt and His Times; A Chronicle of the Progressive Movement (Chronicles of America) in 50 volumes, Vol. XLVII. New Haven; Yale University Press, 1921. Davis, Oscar King, Released for Publication, Some Inside Political History of Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, 1898-1918, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1925. Mr. Howland and Mr. Davis were both contemporaries of Mr. Roosevelt and closely connected with him and his movements during the year 1912. Mr. Davis was formerly a correspondent of the New York Times and was secretary of the Progressive National Convention.

Some of the biographers were such friends and admirers of Mr. Roosevelt that they could see nothing but good in him and all his actions. Riis, Jacob A , Theodore Roosevelt, The Citizen, Johnson, Wynne Co., Washington, D. C., 1904; this is the book

reviewed as indiscriminately laudatory in The Independent, (N.Y.) Vol LVI: 1501, June 30, 1904, and to which most critics refer in the same manner, but it is a sincere account of a friend and a contemporary of the early political career of Mr. Roosevelt.

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Thomas, Addison C., Roosevelt Among the People, being an account of the 1400 mile journey from Ocean to Ocean of Theodore Roosevelt, Twenty-sixth President of the United States, together with the Public Speeches Made by him during the Journey, the L. W. Walter Company, Chicago, 1910, by a man who admired Roosevelt for his sterling Americanism and his steadfast belief that he was carving a destiny for himself and the people.

Contemporaries of Mr. Roosevelt's early political career have rewritten laudatory, uncritical accounts of those days and most of these books are not annotated, although they do sometimes contain speeches and messages and letters. Meyers, Robert C., Theodore Roosevelt, Patriot and Statesman; The True Story of an

Ideal American; Youngest President of the United States; A Complete Account of his Ancestry, Home Training, Education, College Life, Political Career As Member of New York State Assembly, Civil Service Commissioner, Police Commissioner of New York City, Assistant Secretary of Navy, Governor of New York, Vice-President and President of the United States; His Military Career-Organization of the Famous Rough Riders; His Spanish War Record; His Literary Work; P. W. Ziegler & Company, Philadelphia, 1904, (many of Roosevelt's speeches and messages quoted); Hanford, Thomas, The Life and Sayings of Theodore Roosevelt, the Twenty sixth President of the United States; M. A. Donohue & Company, 1903, Halstead, Murat, The Life Of Theodore Roosevelt, Twenty-fifth President of the United States, The Saalfield Publishing Company, Chicago, and New York; Cotton, Edward H., Theodore Roosevelt, The American, The Beacon Press, Inc. Boston, 1926; Gillman, Bradley, Roosevelt, the Happy Warrior, Little, Brown & Co., 1921; Clemens, Will M., Theodore Roosevelt, The American, Tennyson Neely, Publisher, London and New York, 1899; the writer sees in Roosevelt the maker of Good Government, the man of truth, of courage, of earnestness.

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October 27, 1922, the author of which said, "Let me not consider myself a Democrat among Republicans, but a neighbor among neighbors", and who had a good many words to say for Mr. Roosevelt.

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Letters, in 5 volumes, Vols. II and III, Doubleday Page & Company, New York, 1927, contains a vast amount of source material, speeches and letters. Daniels, Josephus, The Life of Woodrow Wilson, 1856-1924, The John C. Winston Co., Chicago, Philadelphia, Toronto, 1924; very simple, not annotated, no bibliography. Winkler, John K., Woodrow Wilson, The Man Who Lives On, The Van Guard Press, New York, 1933; complimentary, no bibliography or footnotes. McCombs, William F., Making Woodrow Wilson President, Fairview Publishing Company, New York, 1921; a very personal account of the campaign, a very uncomplimentary view of the subject whom he considers very selfish and ambitious.

#### MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

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Bradford, Gamaliel, The Quick and the Dead, Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1931; an interesting chapter, "The Fury of Living", on Theodore Roosevelt; quite complimentary, an annotated work. Also an interesting chapter on Woodrow Wilson. Muzzy, David Saville, The American Adventure From the Civil War, in 2 volumes, Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1927, several chapters in Volume II, 375-535, devoted to "Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement". Rhodes, James Ford, The



McKinley and Roosevelt Administration, 1897-1909, The Macmillan Company, 1922; some valuable material, quite in favor of Roosevelt.

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Hollis, Christopher, The American Heresy, Sheed and Ward, London, 1927, p. 247, chapters on Wilson, satirical to a certain degree, of no special value. Beck, James Montgomery, The Passing of the New Freedom, George H. Doran Company, New York, 1920; really an account of the Peace Conference, but a few ideas given

on the meaning of the New Freedom.

Hobhouse, L. T., Liberalism, Henry Holt & Company, New York n.d. good background material.

GENERAL HISTORIES

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The thesis, "A Comparison of the Liberalism of Theodore Roosevelt with that of Woodrow Wilson as Revealed by their Political Lives and Especially Their Speeches in the Campaign of 1912," written by Margaret M. Colford, has been accepted by the Graduate School with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below, with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Paul Kinery, Ph.D.	May 16, 1938
Rev. Joseph Roubik, S.J.	May 23, 1938
Rev. W. Eugene Shiels, S.J.	May 24, 1938