

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

VOLUME VIII

The Days of Armageddon

1914—1919

THE LETTERS OF
Theodore Roosevelt

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The Service He Can Render,
continued

September 1914—June 1916

SYMBOLS

- () Single angle brackets indicate material crossed out but decipherable.
- « » French quotation marks indicate editorial interpretations of illegible words.
- [] Square brackets indicate editorial interpolations.
- . . . Three dots indicate a missing word.
- Four dots indicate two or more missing words.
- ⁰ A superior zero placed after the manuscript source indicates that the entire letter is in Roosevelt's handwriting.
- A, B, C, . . . A small capital, A, B, C, etc., placed after a letter number indicates that that letter was acquired and inserted after the original manuscript had gone to press.

Oyster Bay, September 4, 1914

Dear Arthur: I cannot refrain from sending you a line of affection and sympathy in these terrible and trying hours. It is very difficult to gain a clear idea of what has happened. It seems, however, to have been shown that the British Army has fought admirably. There is no use of my commenting in any way on the military situation, because it will doubtless have changed completely by the time you receive this. The attitude of the English people seems to be on the whole admirable. I have been greatly impressed by everything that Kitchener has said and done. He is indeed a strong man. I have also been immensely pleased with all that Lord Roberts has done.¹ How completely this war seems to have justified his teachings for the past few years! I was particularly pleased at his severe comment on people who persist in making a fetish of sports and pastimes in this moment of the nation's need. Of course you have some creatures who represent types with which we over here are only too familiar — the unhung traitor Keir Hardie, the blue-rumped ape Bernard Shaw, and the assemblage of clever and venomous but essentially foolish and physically timid creatures of the type of the editors of the *Nation*.

If it is any comfort to you to know that there are others who in minor degree have cause for suffering, we on this side of the water can give you that comfort. With all your suffering you are playing a heroic part, and whatever Germany's successes or failures on the continent, England is as certain to win now as she was to win against Napoleon a century ago if only she will be true to herself; and so far she has given every proof that she intends to be true to herself. On this side of the water at the moment there is no opportunity for the display of heroic qualities, and not the slightest indication that there will be a desire to display them if the need arose. Wilson

¹ Lord Roberts in the decade before the First World War had devoted himself to the cause of national service — that is, compulsory military training. Approving of Haldane's army reforms, he nevertheless believed they were insufficient to prepare a force to deal with the conditions of modern warfare. In the few years immediately preceding the war he tried to rouse public opinion in support of more drastic changes in army recruitment and training. With the coming of the war he joined at Asquith's request the first war council which determined the destination of the original British Expeditionary Force. Early in November he was appointed at the age of eighty-two the colonel-in-chief of a force dispatched from India into France. Leaving England on the eleventh of November to "hearten the men of the country which had been so long his military home," he died three days later at Saint-Omer on active service. "Three hundred miles of cannon spoke / When the master gunner died."

and Bryan leave the navy scattered, and slightly but steadily deteriorating because not assembled for maneuvers. They have passed a procession of idiotic universal arbitration treaties with Paraguay and similar world powers, and all the apostles of the utterly inane scream joyfully that this shows that the United States does not need any battleships, and that if Europe had only had these treaties there never would have been any war! One curious feature of the professional pacifists, the peace-at-any-price men, is that in the crisis they always tend to support the apostles of brutal violence. Most of them now have a sneaking admiration for Germany. I think this admiration proceeds primarily from fear, for the great bulk of them are physically timid men, and at bottom are only concerned in covering their own abjectness with high-sounding phrases. Therefore their tendency is to lick the hand which they fear may strike them, and to confine their assaults upon honest men who fight for right.

It seems to me that Edward Grey has borne himself peculiarly well in these trying and difficult times. He showed clearly that he was a statesman of the Timoleon and John Hampden, the Washington and Lincoln school; that nothing could persuade him to do wrong to any other nation, weak or strong, or to be a party to such wrongdoing; but that on the other hand, no menace of danger could make him shrink from insisting upon right being done in return; and he has not hesitated to draw the sword rather than submit to wrongdoing.

Give my dearest love to Ruth, and remember me to any friend who you think would care to have such remembrance from me. *Faithfully yours*

5917 · TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 14, 1914

Dear White: Oh Lord, I wish you could be in my place for a little while! I am speaking literally, not figuratively, when I say that there are certainly a dozen states, each of which has demanded that I spend so much time with it this fall that I could not devote very much time to all the other states combined. Here in New York the situation was that we could not get anybody to run on the Progressive ticket whom we were willing to support, until I gave my solemn pledge to give practically all of October to the ticket. I do not expect that we shall do very well in New York, but when it became evident that there was no element worth considering in the Republican Party which would join with us in a fight against the Republican machine, the only alternative was to get as good a ticket as possible and make the fight; and that could not be done if I did not give the pledge I did.

I have told them to wire you that I will give you two speeches in Kansas.

My dear fellow, it is not because I am disagreeable that I refuse to do more. I appreciate absolutely all you say about Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Colorado, Louisiana and California, but I have done the best I could with letters in both places.¹ In California Hiram Johnson and Heney are entirely satisfied with what I did, and I think Costigan, Casement and Dodge² are satisfied also about Colorado. You have forgotten Pennsylvania, which I can assure you hasn't any idea that there is anything for me to go anywhere else and is genuinely indignant at my not spending practically the entire time there. There are, moreover, three or four states, Iowa, Michigan and Nebraska, for instance, where the appeal to have me go is specifically on the ground that they do not expect to win but have made such a gallant fight that I have no business not to help them out.

Well, I hope I shall see you soon. *Faithfully yours*

5918 • TO ALBERT APPONYI

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, September 17, 1914

My dear Count Apponyi: Your letter without date has just been received together with the very interesting article that you sent me. I am not able to secure its insertion into any magazine unless the *Outlook* will accept it. I am no longer a member of the *Outlook* staff or connected with it save as a contributor but I have at once forwarded the article to them and have advised them to publish it. I earnestly hope they will do so.

I am interested in what you say as to this case not being arbitrable nor fit to be submitted to an international inquiry. My dear Count Apponyi, I have felt so out of sympathy with much of the pacifist movement precisely because its leaders insisted that all cases were arbitrable and that all cases could be submitted to an international inquiry. At this moment our own Governmental authorities are committing an act of folly which is saved from being a crime against the nation only because it is so unspeakably foolish in promising to arbitrate every matter whether or not it is fit to be submitted to international inquiry. Such an attitude is either consciously or unconsciously

¹ Roosevelt spoke in 1914 in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, and Louisiana and also in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Michigan, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Maine, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. To the Progressive candidates in other states, including California and Colorado, he sent public letters of endorsement.

² Daniel D. Casement, Costigan's campaign manager, and Clarence Phelps Dodge, publisher of the *Colorado Springs Gazette*, a Progressive candidate for Congress in 1912, and chairman of the Progressive State Committee.

hypocritical and insincere, for it is a promise to do what certainly would not be done.

I have been inexpressibly saddened by this war. I have no question that you state with absolute correctness the deep and sincere conviction of the Hungarians, Austrians and Germans. I do not think that you realize that the Russians, French and English feel just as sincerely on the other side. Moreover, there is one nation as to whose wrongs in the present contest there can be no question whatever, in my judgment. That is Belgium. If treaties are ever to amount to anything, if any respect is ever to be paid to pledged and plighted faith, then some efficient way must be designed for preventing the recurrence of the kind of thing that has happened to Belgium and, moreover, Belgium's wrongs must be redressed.

I can do little but reiterate the deep sadness I feel. It is my good fortune to number among my personal friends Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Hungarians and Austrians, and while I cannot say that I have any friends in Russia, there are Russians whom I know only slightly but whom I esteem and respect. All of these men are in substance precisely like my American friends. I regard them and esteem them for the same reasons that I regard and esteem my American friends and it is indeed to me lamentable to see what is happening.

Pray present my regards to the Countess and my other friends. *Very sincerely yours*

5919 · TO HENRY E. COONLEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Kansas City, Missouri, September 21, 1914

*My dear Mr. Coonley:*¹ It seems to me that everything I have ever written and the things I am about to write exactly bear out the plank which Mr. Robins, I understand with you, helped to draw and had adopted in your Illinois platform, when you declared in favor of the three-battleship policy until such time as the great powers of the world can be federated so as to secure an international court with international police behind it; so that, in other words, we may be able to put force behind righteousness.²

I stand unalterably for the power and the duty of this nation to defend its own rights with its own strong hand, while at the same time I stand no less strongly for the principle that it is our duty to try to bring about the day when arbitration shall be substituted for war as the normal method of solving international disputes; and when real steps towards disarmament can be taken as a consequence of putting the armed strength of civilization behind the sincere purpose of united civilization to work for international justice. *Sincerely yours*

¹ Henry E. Coonley, a Chicago Progressive.

² The Wilson Administration until 1916 supported the old Roosevelt program of two new battleships a year.

Oyster Bay, October 2, 1914

*Dear Sally:*¹ I am more than pleased at your letter. It was the first notice I had that we were supposed to stay with you. Now, Sara, I am very doubtful, from Franklin's standpoint, whether it is wise that we do so and I have communicated with Teddy to this effect. I shall be in the middle of a tour in which I am attacking the Administration and I think it might well be an error, from Franklin's standpoint, if we stayed with you. If it were only not during the campaign there is literally no place where I would rather go. And, of course, if the matter has been made public, it may be better to go anyhow.

I hope you understand, dear Sally, that it is the exact truth to say that I am only thinking of Franklin's interest. *Faithfully yours*

5921 • TO CECIL ARTHUR SPRING RICE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 3, 1914

Dear Cecil: I have received your letters. I am glad you liked the *Outlook* article and the others.¹ I see the *Cologne Gazette* has attacked me.² With this I am pleased, because, while I wished to be scrupulously fair and not in the least bitter toward Germany, I yet wished to make my position as clear as a bell. As a matter of fact, it has been very hard for me to keep myself in. If I had been President, I should have acted on the thirtieth or thirty-first of July, as head of a signatory power of the Hague treaties, calling attention to the guaranty of Belgium's neutrality and saying that I accepted the treaties as imposing a serious obligation which I expected not only the United States but all other neutral nations to join in enforcing. Of course I would not have made such a statement unless I was willing to back it up. I believe that if I had been President the American people would have followed me. But whether I am mistaken or not as regards this, I am certain that the majority are now following Wilson. Only a limited number of people could or ought to be expected to make up their minds for themselves in a crisis like this; and they tend, and ought to tend, to support the President in such a crisis. It would be worse than folly for me to clamor now about what ought to be

¹ Sara Delano Roosevelt, wife of James, mother of Franklin.

¹ Roosevelt had begun the series of articles which, slightly changed, he later published as *America and the World War* (New York, 1915; Nat. Ed. XVIII). These articles he wrote for newspaper distribution by the Wheeler Syndicate or for the *Outlook*, *Everybody's*, and the *Independent*.

² After the appearance of Roosevelt's first war article in the *New York Times* of September 27, the *Cologne Gazette* attacked him as a man "never gifted with modesty," lacking "a full insight into European affairs." "When anybody is in office," the editorial concluded, "other people have respect for the fact, and foreigners are treated in accordance with the prestige which they enjoy at home. That was why Roosevelt was formerly treated with special respect in Germany. At the last Presidential election he lost all his prestige."

done or ought to have been done, when it would be mere clamor and nothing else.

The above is only for yourself. It is a freer expression of opinion than I have permitted myself in any letter hitherto.

Of course, I only acted in the Japanese-Russian affair when I had received explicit assurances, verbally from the Russians and in writing from the Japanese, that my action would be welcome; and three or four months of talk and negotiation had preceded this action on my part.

As for the people who clamor for peace now, I shall take the opportunity of reminding them that there were in the northern United States in 1864 several hundred thousand men who in the loudest terms declared their extreme devotion to peace and that these to a man voted against Abraham Lincoln; and if in that year England and France had joined, as certain of their public men wished them to join, in offering mediation so as to bring about "peace," we should have treated it as an unfriendly act.

I believe that you will put the war through. I am glad the opinion of our country is on your side. It is perfectly possible that Russia may in its turn become a great military danger in the future, but it is also possible that this war may see the dawn of the reaction against militarism and that Russia may tend to grow more civilized and more liberal. At any rate there is no question as to where the interests of civilization lie at this moment.³ *Faithfully yours*

5922 · TO HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

Roosevelt Mss.

Personal

Oyster Bay, October 3, 1914

My dear Professor Münsterberg: I have received your very interesting book¹ and it impresses me very much. But, my dear Münsterberg, there are two or three points that you leave out of calculation. The first and most essential is that when a nation faces immediate death or humiliation because of the deed of another nation, it cannot look to the future with lofty philosophy, see the possible resulting good of its own ruin, and disregard the moral question of the moment. I firmly believe that in 1812 it was an essential thing to overthrow Napoleonic France. I feel that the German movement against France and the English resistance to France represented the struggle for light. (Let me remind you that Russia, that Asia, as you call it, was then on the side of Germany and that Germany could have done nothing without Russia and would have acted inexcusably if she had remained under France's yoke because it could be truthfully said that France represented far more enlightenment than Russia.) At that time the United States made war on England and by just so much gave comfort and strength to the Napoleonic side in the

³ Roosevelt wrote similar letters to Edward Grey and to Rudyard Kipling, endorsing the articles he had sent Spring Rice.

¹ Münsterberg's *The War and America* (New York, 1914).

European struggle. Yet the action of the United States was absolutely necessary. My criticism of the United States in 1812 is heavy but it is not because she went to war with England; it is because she did not prepare effectively in advance for the war and wage it effectively; and indeed, as far as I am concerned, I think she ought to have declared war on both France and England.

Now, this is the exact case with Belgium today. The more I have studied the case, the more keenly I have felt that there can be no satisfactory peace until Belgium's wrongs are redressed and until there is some kind of effective guaranty against the repetition of them as against her and others. I do not for a moment believe that the predominant German motive in this war was aggression. I regard the talk about the Kaiser "wishing a blood-bath" as preposterous. I am sure that nine tenths of the German people have acted primarily from fear—from an honorable fear, just as you phrase it, that German civilization would be wiped out if they did not strike their foes. But, my dear Münsterberg, there was a ten per cent remainder, including the bulk of the men high up, who have for fifty years cultivated a theory in international matters quite as aggressive, quite as regardless of the rights of others and of all questions of international morality, as that which the French and to an only less extent the English had cultivated in the preceding seventy years. This country was strongly anti-English for a generation after the Civil War, because of the attitude of England and (also France) during the Civil War. But you probably do not realize the deep impression made upon this country by the attitude of Germany toward us in the Spanish War, especially in connection with Admiral Diederichs at Manila, and also by the attitude of Germany in South America.

Now, not for publication, but frankly between ourselves, do you not believe that if Germany won in this war, smashed the English Fleet and destroyed the British Empire, within a year or two she would insist upon taking the dominant position in South and Central America and upon treating the United States precisely as she treated Japan when she joined with Russia and France against Japan twenty years ago and took Kiaochow as her share? I believe so. Indeed I know so. For the great Germans with whom I have talked, when once we could talk intimately, accepted this view with a frankness that bordered on the cynical; just exactly as the big Russians with whom I have talked took the view that international morality had no place where Russian interests were concerned.

I am under no illusions as to any friendship for the United States that England or France may entertain. It would be worthless to us in any crisis unless it was greatly to the interest of France and England to support us. But it does seem to me that England had to act as she did when Belgium was invaded; and that as regards Belgium there are no two sides to the question.

I am not much interested in trying to get at the truth about the alleged outrages on individuals. The unquestioned fact is that Belgium has been

ruined, that wonderful and beautiful old cities have been destroyed, that millions of entirely unoffending plain people have been reduced to the last pitch of misery, because Germany deemed it to its interest to inflict upon Belgium the greatest wrong one nation can inflict upon another. I grant you that Germany sincerely believed that this was necessary to her own existence; but surely we are not to be excused if we do not try to prevent the possibility of the recurrence of such incidents.

What the outcome of this war may be no human being can tell. At the moment it looks as if both sides might hammer themselves into a state of absolute exhaustion. If the allies should win and should then wish to dismember Germany and reduce her to impotence, whatever I could do would be done to prevent such a deed. I would regard it as a frightful calamity to civilization; and if Austria falls to pieces, I very earnestly hope that the German portion and all the other portions that are willing will join the Germanic body — the German Empire. But most emphatically I hope that ample reparation will be made to Belgium and that an effectual guarantee against the repetition of such wrongs as those that she has suffered will be arranged.

Now, as to the Russian. You speak very bitterly of him, and indeed of the Slav as a whole. I freely admit that the Russian is backward. They have a long way to go, those Russians, before they leave far enough behind them the days of Tartar dominion and the days when Tartar dominion was only overthrown through the upgrowth of a government such as that of Ivan the Terrible. The attitude of the Russian toward the Finn, the Caucasian, the Pole, the Jew and the Slavonian German in the past has too often been an evil attitude. But I think that liberal ideas are gaining in Russia. The gain is slow but on the whole it seems to me that it is evident. I do not believe the Russian will become an Asiatic. I think he will in the long run be the most effective means of preventing a recrudescence of Asiatic rule over Europe. Down at bottom, my dear Münsterberg, the Russian is just about like you or like me. The Englishman thinks of the German as an alien by race and innate disposition. I know better, for I have some English and some German blood in me, not to speak of other strains. In exactly the same way I find that here in America the descendants of the Slavonic immigrants become men precisely like ourselves. Surely in the end we can aim for a better understanding between German, Englishman and Slav; and such an understanding must be based on justice and no one of them must feel for the others either fear or contempt.

You will not misunderstand me. I am not an ultrapacificist. I regard the Wilson-Bryan attitude of trusting to fantastic peace treaties, to impossible promises, to all kinds of scraps of paper without any backing in efficient force, as abhorrent. It is infinitely better for a nation and for the world to have the Frederick the Great and Bismarck tradition as regards foreign policy than to have the Bryan or Bryan-Wilson attitude as a permanent national attitude, for the Bryan-Wilson attitude is one that would Chinify the coun-

try and would reduce us to the impotence of Spain when it was under the leadership of Godoy — "The Prince of Peace," as he was officially entitled. A milk-and-water righteousness unbacked by force is to the full as wicked as and even more mischievous than force divorced from righteousness. But surely there is a goal different from either toward which we can strive. Surely we can strive for an international peace of justice, based on ability to guard ourselves from injustice, and determination not to do injustice to others, a peace in which some step shall have been taken toward putting international force behind an international desire to secure at least a reasonable approximation toward justice and fair play. *Sincerely yours*

5923 · TO GIFFORD PINCHOT

Gifford Pinchot Mss.

Telegram

Toledo, Ohio, October 18, 1914

You make it very hard for me. This is not personal matter. I am under extreme difficulties trying to do justice all around. I understood distinctly that I was to make but three speeches a day in Penna and am gravely concerned at schedule, but New York people feel and I think rightly that I must get to city three or four hours before I make my three speeches that night.¹ Under your plan I cannot possibly know situation in advance. Four o'clock is the very latest which will enable me to do any kind of justice to the speeches in New York. I understood when I saw Mr. Gifford that the New York City people were satisfied. I think that they feel it would be a serious jeopardy to campaign if I do not have some hours to go over situation before I make my first speech. I am exceedingly sorry.

5924 · TO HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 2, 1914

My dear Professor Münsterberg: I am immensely pleased and immensely interested with your letter. I do not agree with you about Belgium. I believe that this country should have emphatically interfered, at least to the extent of protest, as to the violation of the Hague Conventions in regard to Belgium. But I would no less emphatically have made it evident in advance that if what you fear and believe had proved to be true, that is, if Belgium, England and France had been proposing to act in conjunction against Germany through Belgium, that the United States would with equal emphasis,

¹ Pinchot had made the last and probably the most exasperating of the many demands of Progressive candidates for Roosevelt's time. For several weeks New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia Progressive leaders, each determined at all costs to serve his own state, had wrangled about the ex-President's speaking schedule for the end of October. Pinchot and Lewis had arranged precisely the kind of back-platform stumping tour of Pennsylvania that Roosevelt wished to avoid. Now Pinchot, asserting that never before had he asked Roosevelt for anything "personal," begged Roosevelt to remain three hours longer in Pennsylvania on October 29 than Roosevelt, for the reasons explained in this telegram, intended to.

and in that case with far more efficiency, have interfered to prevent such action. I utterly disbelieve in the effort to get world peace by silly treaties instead of by putting the might of the world behind the conscience of the world. I entirely agree with you that most Germans are actuated by a genuine fear of what will befall them if they are left helpless before Russian aggression, and I would believe in making it evident that in such case you could count upon the active support of the United States. At the outset of this war I happened to have visiting me half a dozen of our young men, including for instance Herbert Croly. Belgium had just been invaded. We all of us sympathized with Belgium, and therefore with England and France in their attitude toward Belgium, but I was interested to find that we all of us felt that the smashing of Germany would be a great calamity, and would result in the entire western world being speedily forced into a contest against Russia.

I am delighted to find that you take the view that you do about Germany's sea power. I do not agree with you as to your statement that it is impossible that England can be smashed in this war. I most cordially admire and respect German efficiency, and if I must choose between the ruthless ability of the neo-Bismarckians and the milk-and-water or diluted-mush policy of Wilson, Bryan, Taft and the like, I am certainly in favor of the neo-Bismarckians. If Germany pushes the French back beyond Calais, then I think that with the extraordinary efficiency the German navy as well as the German army have shown, that an invasion of England and the destruction of London, either or both, are quite possible. The British Empire might then fly to pieces, but such an event would be a disaster to mankind just as it would be a disaster to mankind if Germany were reduced to the condition in which she was after the end of the Thirty Years War.

I am very much interested at what you say as to the possible basis of peace if Austria breaks up. I believe that Russia is advancing towards civilization, and while I think she still holds menace, I think this menace will gradually disappear as the years go on, if only we can prevent her at the present time from becoming anything like the world mistress. One way of checking this would be the establishment of such independent Slav powers as those of which you speak. I am absolutely certain that these independent Slav powers would violently resist any kind of dominion of Russia over them if only once they could be definitely assured that Russian dominion over them was not to be accepted as the necessary alternative to some kind of dominion to which they would object even more.

You may have seen that in Chicago I took the most emphatic ground about the proposal to accept your resignation from Harvard University. Harvard cannot afford to sell the right of free speech for ten million dollars or any other sum.¹ Are you likely to be in the neighborhood of New York?

¹ An inaccurate newspaper report had stated that a Mr. Clarence Wiener would cut out of his will a bequest of \$10,000,000 to Harvard unless Professor Münsterberg

If so, I particularly hope that you will come out here either to lunch, if that is most convenient, or else to take dinner and spend the night.

You may be amused to know that I have received very violent letters of personal attacks from both Englishmen and Frenchmen on the ground of the pro-German character of my articles! *Faithfully yours*

5925 · TO ANDREW DICKSON WHITE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 2, 1914

*My dear Mr. White:*¹ In the first place the Monroe Doctrine has nothing whatever to do, and never has had anything to do with the question of avoiding entangling alliances with nations in the Eastern Hemisphere. In the next place it has nothing to do with the form of government a nation adopts here. It applied to Brazil when Brazil was an empire precisely as much as it applies now when Brazil is a republic. In the third place, the doctrine from the beginning applied only to further extensions of territory, and did not apply to existing territories owned by European powers. You say you do not understand why the fact of a foreign nation's extension of its territory to this hemisphere might require the United States to increase its army and navy. My dear Sir, I can only answer to this by asking you to consider what is happening before our eyes at this moment in Africa and Asia. There is war in Africa because jarring European nations have extended their colonies there. There is war in China purely because there has been no Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, and because Japan finds the presence of Germany a menace to itself.

But now comes my fundamental difference with you. Your fourth and fifth propositions absolutely contradict one another. In the fourth you say that we should mind our own business. In the fifth you say that we should hold a new conference at The Hague and advocate world peace, and should make all kinds of suggestions for making the Suez Canal, the Strait of Gibraltar and the Bosphorus neutral highways, and for giving Russia, apparently at the expense of some other nation, a port open the year round. Most emphatically to follow out these policies would not be to mind our own business. But there is something more fundamental yet. You open by saying, under date of October 23rd, that in your judgment the time has arrived in the history of mankind when nations must discard selfish policies and principles in dealing with one another, and must begin to try to deal in a Christian spirit with one another; and that every policy which is in the nature of a

at once left the university. Münsterberg, on the basis of this report, offered his resignation which Harvard promptly requested him to withdraw. The university's action Roosevelt had strongly commended.

¹ Andrew Dickson White, a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, long a proponent of universal arbitration, and long something of a Teutophile, had objected to the attitudes presented in Roosevelt's articles on the need for preparedness and the duty of defense.

strait jacket must be abandoned in favor of a get-together policy. Now, my dear Sir, you were writing this at the exact time when between one and two millions of men had been killed or wounded within the previous three months, in the most stupendous war of history. At the moment when you were writing it, millions of combatants were, as they are now, facing one another in Russia, Germany, Austria, France and Belgium. At the moment that you were writing, the previous Hague treaties had been trampled underfoot by Germany without this nation making a single protest against that being done, and so far as I know, without you or any of the others who think as you do demanding that we should try to secure the endorsement of these conventions. Frankly, my dear President White, it seems to me worse than nonsense to talk about the get-together policies, and the time having arrived to make immense advances, unless we are willing to do something practical in the way of securing the first advances, the advances which the foolish ultrapacificists have without the slightest warrant believed already to have been made. All that you are talking of seems to me to be utterly aside from the point of real interest today. If you wish to secure an advance in world peace and international righteousness, the first thing for you to do is energetically and emphatically to denounce the kind of action taken by Messrs. Taft, Wilson and Bryan in their ridiculous all-inclusive arbitration treaties when considered together with their absolute failure to live up to the treaties we have already entered upon. It is not merely ridiculous, it is wicked hypocrisy for us ever to talk of entering into another Hague convention unless we in good faith strive to secure the carrying out of the Hague conventions into which we have already entered. If you will devote yourself to securing the fulfillment by this nation of the promises it made at The Hague instead of considering making new promises, you will be accomplishing a real result for righteousness. The Monroe Doctrine has done more for the peace of the Western hemisphere, and if lived up to will do more in the future for the peace of the Western hemisphere, than everything done by the ultra-peace-at-any-price men during the last sixty years taken together. You speak against selfishness in international matters. Nothing is easier, and I must add cheaper, than abstract speech against selfishness. What is really needed is the concrete insistence of unselfishness in concrete cases. The unselfish thing for this nation to do is to protest at this moment against the wrong done to Belgium. If devotion to unselfishness means anything, that is the way to achieve a result. In your letter you don't make one allusion to the present war; you don't make one allusion to the violation of international agreements by any of the participants in this war; you do not make one allusion to the things that the United States ought to do and does not do under the Wilson-Bryan Administration. Bryan is a figure of fun. It is lamentable to have such a man entrusted with our foreign affairs, and Wilson is responsible for him. The proper thing to do is to protest against wrongdoing at the moment instead of talking with

inconclusive vagueness about possible right-doing in the future. *Very sincerely yours*

5926 • TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 4, 1914

Dearest Quentin: Just a line to say how really pleased I was with your piece *In The Grot*.¹ Your grandfather, my father, used now and then to say that he hesitated whether to tell me something favorable because he did not think a sugar diet was good for me. Perhaps, in my turn, I ought not to give you a sugar diet! But I cannot resist saying that I was really immensely pleased with the article in question.

I am also sending Kipper La Farge² a line on his Quatrain, which I wish you would hand him.

Your piece I regard as first-class.

I am very much pleased also that you have stood so well in your studies, and, finally, that you have done your work good on the football field. I shall not mind a bit if, as you seem to think, you do not get into the game. Altogether I feel you have done pretty well in the last six months! *Your loving father*

5927 • TO RUDYARD KIPLING

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 4, 1914

Dear Kipling: Before receiving your letter of September 20, I had written the enclosed two additional articles,¹ which I send you. My first four were leading up to them. You need not heed anything of the first of these two articles, excepting the two verses of Lowell, which are pretty good medicine. (I have always explained to my four sons that, if there is any war during their lifetime, I wish them to be in a position to explain to their children, why they did go to it, and not why they did not go to it.) In the two articles, you will notice that I have publicly come out not only as to our duty as regards the navy and army, but as to our duty to interfere on behalf of Belgium. I purposely abstained from saying the form this interference should take. If I should advocate all that I myself believe, I would do no good among our people, because they would not follow me. Our people are shortsighted, and

¹ In the October issue of the *Grotonian* had appeared Quentin's sketch, "From a Train Window," a sensitive and perceptive bit of writing in which he imagines the home life of a family of which he gets only a fleeting glimpse.

² Christopher La Farge, Groton '16, Harvard '20, poet, author, and writer of short stories.

¹ "The Peace of Righteousness" and "The International Posse Comitatus," *New York Times*, November 1, 8, 1914. These articles are reprinted in *America and the World War*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, chs. vi and vii.

they do not understand international matters. Your people have been shortsighted, but they are not as shortsighted as ours in these matters. The difference, I think, is to be found in the comparative widths of the Channel and the Atlantic Ocean. Because you had the Channel, your people have not thought it worth while to arm when Europe was arming. If you had had an army as effective in preparation to your size, as Switzerland has had, there would have been no war, for Germany would not have entered upon the war. Thanks to the width of the ocean, our people believe that they have nothing to fear from the present contest, and that they have no responsibility concerning it. In my first articles, I was endeavoring to lead them up to the points I make in the last two articles, and especially in the last article. I hope that these articles will do some good, but I doubt it. Nevertheless, there is a chance that they will accomplish something, and I should not feel willing to lose the chance.

I should be glad to have you write me again, after reading the sixth article, making any suggestions with entire frankness.

As I said, I wrote these articles before receiving your letter, but I think they meet the points you have raised. I am simply preaching to my own people what I preached to the English people in the Guildhall speech. It is the doctrine of "put up or shut up," with, as a modification, the further doctrine, which I learned thirty years ago in the cow country, "never draw unless you mean to shoot."

Bryan, of course, is the most ridiculous creature that we have ever had in a high public office in this country. Wilson is a scholarly, acrid pacifist of much ability and few scruples. He was born in Virginia, and comes of a family none of whose members fought on either side in the Civil War. His most enthusiastic supporters are men of the type of your man, Massingham, and, of course, at the moment, he also counts upon getting the large German vote, which, to my real regret, I am obliged to alienate by the course I am following. I have a very genuine respect and admiration for the Germans, and I alienate them with great reluctance, and only because I feel that it is my imperative duty to follow the course I am following, with no more regard to their feelings than to its effect upon me personally.

Now, as to those outrages.² First-class men, personal friends of mine, who have followed the German armies in Belgium, have told me that they have never been able to get statements from men who have actually seen the outrages committed or at whose expense they have been committed, not to speak of women and children. What is needed is authoritative statements, backed by official authority, about these outrages. Your Government should at once

² In an earlier letter Roosevelt, after a meeting with the Belgian Commission on Atrocities, had told Kipling that he suspected that the reports had been exaggerated. He also pointed out that the British in Ireland, the Americans during their Indian wars, and the Europeans generally during the Boxer Rebellion had committed atrocities as frightful as those now ascribed to the Germans; see Roosevelt to Kipling, October 3, 1914, Roosevelt Mss.

make an investigation. They should take the Belgian refugees who have themselves seen or suffered the outrages, the women whose children have been killed, the men whose women and children have been killed, the men and women who have themselves suffered, and get these statements, with places and dates and if possible photos, and publish them in an official document. There must be something specific and absolutely authentic. That is the way to reach world opinion, and that way will reach world opinion. But general or vague or dubiously authentic statements or hearsay will not and ought not to do so. *Sincerely yours*

[*Handwritten*] I hear your son has gone to the war. I heartily congratulate you.

5928 • TO ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY

*Derby Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, November 4, 1914

Darling Ethel, Of course we think of you and Dick all the time. I know you are having a hard time, of wearing anxiety and sorrow and effort; but I am very proud of you both and very glad that you have been able to go over to do your part — and a portion of this nation's part — in helping those who suffer in this terrible cataclysm.¹ I am utterly sick of the spiritless "neutrality" of the Administration; and I have at last said so, in emphatic language, in an article that appears next Sunday; I shall send it to you.²

Richard is the dearest, merriest little fellow that ever was. He is always smiling, and is such a cuddly baby. He adores his grandmother's amber beads, puts them in his mouth, and then the string hangs out of each corner of his mouth like the moustache of a Chinese mandarin. His grandmother calls him Littlejohn Bottlejohn; and he sits up in his chair and hugs his bottle with both hands. His grandmother read aloud to me the enclosed piece from the Atlantic Monthly about merry souls that "waggle," like nice bow wows; and we send it to you because Littlejohn Bottlejohn is always so cheerful and friendly. My drawings are only good for grownups who can be caricatured! I can't draw the blessed baby. He is a great comfort; and we most earnestly hope that in another month or so you will be starting back to him.

November has opened with beautiful weather. Mother and I have had two lovely rows, and a good walk. Somehow this always seems to me one of the loveliest seasons of the year; I like the wintry sunsets, and the tang in the air, and the wood fires in the North Room and Library.

As of course I expected the Progressives went down to utter and hopeless defeat; I don't think they can much longer be kept as a party. They are way ahead of the country as a whole in morality, and the country will need

¹ Richard Derby was one of seven surgeons who left New York in September to serve in the American Ambulance Hospital in Paris. Ethel assisted in the hospital as a nurse. The Derbys returned in December.

² "The International Posse Comitatus."

too long a time to catch up with them. It will be, from the selfish standpoint, a great relief to me personally when and if they do disband. But it is rather pathetic for the remnant who stood fast. Well, they really have shoved a good many reforms quite a distance forward.

We are somewhat concerned about Kermit and Belle, in view of the harrying of English ships by the Germans; we can only hope that the too-newly-weds managed to show efficiency enough to get on the very earliest ship that went.

Good bye, darling; I wish I could stroke your neck and hair. Give my dearest love to Dick. *Your loving father*

5929 · TO HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 6, 1914

Dear Governor: California and Louisiana are the two bright spots in the election.¹ Of course, the one man whom it was more important for us to elect than anyone else was yourself. I greatly regret Heney's defeat² and regret that we did not do even better in Congressmen in California. Evidently yours was even more a personal than a Progressive victory. In Louisiana the protection issue played the chief part in securing the election of the Progressive Congressman.

As for what happened generally, while there were various explanations, I believe the main explanation after the "full «dinner pail» basically» was the perfectly simple one that the people as a whole had grown tired of reformers and most especially of me. In New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, they went with a whoop back to Penrose, to Barnes, to the heirs and assignees of Lorimer and to all their coworkers, big and little. The men of wealth, the college-bred men and the loud professional advocates of reform in the past showed up badly, but not a whit worse than the workingmen. In New York all of the men who for years have demanded that someone stand out against both Barnes and Murphy supported Barnes and Murphy, one or the other, with ardor and enthusiasm. In Pennsylvania the case was even worse. No human being could have been in any doubt about Penrose any more than about Lorimer; but the respectable men as a whole supported him. Moreover, Penrose, through his machine and by his own open directions, had at the last legislature secured the defeat of a Workmen's Compensation Act, a Child

¹ They were indeed. The re-election of Johnson as Governor of California, the election of three Progressives and of William Kent to the House of Representatives from that state, and the election of one Progressive congressman from Louisiana provided most of the small solace for the Bull Moose in 1914. Accurately interpreting the election returns, George Harvey remarked editorially that Roosevelt's party had relapsed into innocuous desuetude. Roosevelt, concurring, announced that "I am a private citizen of the privatest sort."

² Heney, the Progressive candidate for the United States Senate, lost partly because of opposition to him within the party for which Johnson was largely responsible.

Labor Bill, a Minimum Wage for Women bill and various similar legislation. He was quite open about this and you would have thought that the workingmen would have resented it. But the wageworkers in Pennsylvania as elsewhere simply took the ground that they wanted prosperity and were not concerned as to equity in dividing prosperity, and that they were quite indifferent not only as to economic reform measures but as to the personal character of the men who might bring about the prosperity.

East of Indiana there is no state in which the Progressive party remains in condition even to affect the balance of power between the two old parties. It would be foolish for me or my friends to blink the fact that as things are now my advocacy of a man or a policy is in all probability a detriment and not an aid. The people as a whole are heartily tired of me and of my views; and while from time to time in my writings, where I think it can do some good, at least for the future, I shall state these views, it would be a great mistake for me to be making speeches on political subjects or taking any part in politics at the moment. I very much wish I could see you but I suppose there is no hope of it.

Give my regards to Mrs. Johnson and to all your family.

Lord, how I wish the Republican party would come to its senses, adopt the Progressive platform, and nominate you next time! *Faithfully yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S. Of course, I am in this fight to a finish. I will never surrender one iota of the principles for which I fought. And ultimately these principles will win. This election is merely a «convulsion, not a . . . disease.»

5930 • TO EDMUND ROBERT OTTO VON MACH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 7, 1914

*My dear Mr. von Mach:*¹ I am really obliged to you for your book. I find it excellent. I think your foreword particularly good. I have at once ordered the German Classics, to get at the collection of Bismarck's speeches of which you speak.

But, my dear Mr. von Mach, while I to the full realize all that you say about the dreadful suffering of the soldiers themselves, I cannot feel that this should in any way divert us from the suffering of the Belgians and from the wrong that has been done to Belgium. I feel that this is a wrong against which all the civilized world ought to protest. It seems to me that one of the

¹Edmund Robert Otto von Mach, German-born Harvard graduate, A.B. '95, Ph.D. '00; German soldier, 1889-1891; lecturer in the history of art at Bradford Academy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1902-1915; author of various books on art and, during World War I, of several defenses of Germany, including *What Germany Wants* (1914), *Germany's Point of View* (1915), and *Sir Edward's Evidence* (1915); after the war a New York lawyer. Von Mach argued Germany's point of view to Roosevelt not only in his books and letters but also — accompanying Münsterberg — in person.

great tests of our civilization is the refusal by great powers to jeopardize the rights of weaker, well-behaved powers. Between Serbia and Austria the question was complicated and, having in view the dreadful incidents connected with the assassinations of the Serbian King and Queen, I have felt that we should refrain from passing judgment one way or the other, although Austria is a great power and Serbia a small one. As regards all the great nations involved, I can perfectly understand each feeling with the utmost sincerity that its cause is just and its action demanded by vital considerations. But it does not seem to me that any adequate defense can be made for Germany's action in Belgium.

I feel a genuine good will toward all the nations engaged in this contest. I have German, French and English blood in my veins. On the whole, I think that I admire Germany more than any other nation and most certainly it is the nation from which I think that the United States has most to learn. On the whole, I think that of all the elements that have come here during the past century the Germans have on the average represented the highest type. I do not say this publicly, for I do not think it well to make comparisons which may cause ill will among the various strains that go to make up our population. But I like your book so much that I wish to write you freely, for I desire that you should understand that in condemning Germany for what it has done to Belgium I am in no shape or way influenced by prejudice against Germany. I should have condemned France or England as quickly. I should feel it a world calamity if the German Empire were shattered or dismembered and I should feel the same about the British Empire and the French Republic. I do not believe that, as the world is now constituted, permanent good comes to any nation merely from the smashing of some other nation. I acted up to this belief when as President I insisted upon our promise to Cuba being kept and Cuba being freed and when I started the Philippines on a road which inevitably led to their ultimate independence. If Mexico governed herself as well as Canada, she would not have any more to fear from us than has Canada. Is it too much to hope that ultimately we can get the nations of Europe to live together with as little fear of one another and as little hatred for one another as the United States and Canada now feel?

With great regard, *Faithfully yours*

5931 • TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 7, 1914

Dear White: I hardly know how to write you; I wish it were possible to have you come on here and let me talk things over with you.

East of Indiana it would be mere silliness and fruitful of nothing except a trifle of mischief to endeavor at present to continue action along Progressive party lines exactly as we have done. When our vote is too small even to

hold the balance between the old parties, it is foolish to run a straight ticket *until conditions change*. From Indiana west and in Louisiana the case is far more puzzling. There the party must keep up. It may be that the wise course in the East is simply to do nothing for the next year or eighteen months and see how the situation develops. Of course, as regards myself personally, it is perfectly obvious that the bulk of our people are heartily tired of me and that as far as making political speeches or taking part in any more party activities is concerned, my duty for the time being is to obey the directions of the New Bedford whaling captain when he told his mate that all he wanted from him was "silence; and damn little of that!" From the night of election two years ago I have felt that the chances were overwhelming against the permanence of the Progressive party. The analogies drawn after election by Beveridge and others between us and the early Republican party were not based on fact. The Republican party started in 1854 without any big leader at all and it was six years before it developed a big leader. Yet at the very outset it completely crushed the Whig party and elected a majority of Congress. When the reaction came against it two years later, while it went backward, it still remained overwhelmingly the second party in the nation. The average person who was not a Democrat had to become a Republican. We, on the contrary, elected merely a handful of Congressmen in 1912 and not a Senator or Governor and very few local officers. I beat Taft, but that was all. The Republican party remained as the leading opposition party. The average American is deeply wedded to the two-party system. He wishes to vote with his own party and the name has an enormous influence over him. When he gets angry with his own party, he wishes to rebuke it by voting with the party of the opposition. When he goes with a third party, it is for temporary and usually for local reasons. When we failed to establish ourselves at the very outset as the second party, it became overwhelmingly probable that politics would soon sink back into the conditions that had been normal for the previous half century, that is, into a two-party system, the Republicans and the Democrats alternating in the first and second place. Under such circumstances it was likely that we would keep only the men of high principle and good reasoning power and the cranks. The men in between left us.

There was also a further and very strong cause at work against us. Ever since I settled the Anthracite Coal Strike in 1902, there had been a wave of reform, of discontent with abuses, of desire to remedy abuses. This had lasted for twelve years. While I was President, we had succeeded in keeping it as a sane and constructive movement. From the time I ceased being President, it went every which way. It was quite impossible that a movement in which La Follette occupied a prominent place should not in the long run alienate and disgust decent men. The insurgents in Congress were good for nothing except to insurge. Some of them, like Bourne, were on the whole, below the average rather than above the average of their fellows. The others,

like Bristow, Cummins, Borah, all went in different directions and did not have the real faith in them. Bristow was better than either Cummins or Borah; but Borah was entirely insincere; and Cummins was somewhat insincere, and moreover had no more constructive ability from the standpoint of reform than Wilson and Bryan.

It was from the outset exceedingly unfortunate that so many of our people kept talking as if Wilson and Bryan were themselves progressives. This is not true in any real sense. Wilson is a wonderful dialectician, with a remarkable command of language. But his language is admirably and intentionally designed not to reveal the truth but either to conceal his real purpose and persuade men of different views to think each that theirs is his purpose or else to conceal the fact that he has no definite purpose at all. Whether you stigmatize this action on his part as insincere or not is a mere question of terminology. There was permanent room in this country for only two parties, the party that supported Wilson and the party that was against him. The course of events convinced the average American that the party that was against him was the Republican and not the Progressive party. Bryan is of course the nearest realization of "the old hoop skirt of a man" that we have ever seen in really high national office.

The public grew to identify us with all the members of the lunatic fringe in public life, whether they were or were not members of our party. We were actually held accountable for the things that La Follette did, in addition to suffering gravely from such antics as those of Amos Pinchot. But I do not believe that these things were fundamental. The fundamental trouble was that the country was sick and tired of reform. These gusts of popular feeling always come. I had not supposed that in this case it would come to the extent that it did and so far as the Republican machine leadership was concerned. But the dog returned to its vomit. Not only did the people wish to beat all the reform leaders but they wished to beat the reform legislation. Wisconsin and California have at the polls snowed under provisions for an eight-hour law for women, provisions for the initiative, referendum and recall, all temperance legislation and the like. The identification of progressivism with prohibition in so many states hurt us. In Pennsylvania the workingmen voted enthusiastically for Penrose who had just defeated a Workmen's Compensation Bill, a Child Labor bill and other pieces of labor legislation in his state legislature. They felt the pinch of poverty; they were suffering from hard times; they wanted prosperity and compared with this they did not care a rap for social justice or industrial justice or clean politics or decency in public life. Moreover, they believed in the saloons, and they were hostile to us because ours was the temperance, although not the Prohibition, party. The average man was tired of decency in politics. He supported Barnes in New York, Penrose in Pennsylvania and the sodden ring politicians of Ohio and the heirs of Lorimer in Illinois. In this state only one in nine of the men who had voted for me stayed with us. The majority of those

that left us went with the Republicans. Some went with the Democrats. A considerable number voted for Sulzer. Sulzer is an absolute demagogue who was turned out of the Governorship because he was caught with the goods on him and it is as impossible to defend him as it is to defend Lorimer. He had no program of any kind; yet it is actually true that more of our own party Progressives left the Progressive party to vote for Sulzer than stayed in to fight for Davenport who, if elected, would have made one of the best Governors New York has ever had. Under these circumstances there was nothing whatever to be done except to go down to defeat with our flag flying.

But the revulsion is only temporary. The people are sure to wake up in the end. Our cause will eventually triumph, even altho under other leaders and under another name. And personally, I shall, if only in the ranks, fight for every one of our principles as long as I live.

I am exceedingly glad that I devoted two months to as active campaigning as when I was myself a candidate for the Presidency. We were fighting absolutely for righteousness and I wanted to go down with my friends. This year I felt that I ought to do, so far as I was physically able, whatever my friends wished me to do in the campaign. I was certain that disaster was ahead of us and I not only wished to go down on the same ship with my friends but I also wished them to know that I was willing to do anything they thought ought to be done in their interest and in the interests of the common cause. But I was all along sure that I was *not* being utilized in a way to do the cause most good and that I *was* being used in a way that minimized my influence. I shall never again, in the improbable event of my having to take part in a campaign, attempt a repetition of the barnstorming experiment. That is, I shall never attempt to speak in a great number of states and to make a number of speeches in each state. I do not think it will be wise ever to try to use me at all hereafter. But if I am to be used it must be with the idea of my making only half a dozen speeches throughout the country as a whole and making those at intervals that enable me to prepare them. Naturally each man feels that I ought to campaign in his district precisely as he does. But this feeling, although natural, is entirely wrong. It is utterly impossible for me to reach all the districts and by unceasing speech-making I use myself up to no purpose and my speeches get no attention — and deserve mighty little. Every speech I have ever made that really counted was delivered by itself and not as one of a hodgepodge of others. I am used on the theory that my speeches have a certain effect throughout the nation, and if such is the case it is unwise to attempt to combine with this the theory that I am to be used as if I were a Congressional candidate. The functions of the siege gun and of the mountain gun which is carried around on mule back are wholly different and to attempt to make the former play the role of the latter is not wise.

When I came back from South America last spring a very short investiga-

tion convinced me that in all the eastern part of the country from Maine to Ohio inclusive, the Progressive party was in no shape to undertake a straight fight and that such a straight fight would be certain to result in such disaster as to make it very problematical whether we could hold our forces together for another campaign. It was also evident that our differences with the Bryan-Wilson Democracy were really fundamental, because they were differences of principle. There was therefore the bare chance that by making some kind of an alliance with the Progressive-Republicans we could eliminate the bosses and by creating one more rift in the Republican ranks assure the permanence of our own party, under whatever name — the name is totally unimportant if we can secure the triumph of our principles. The best chance for doing this was offered in New York by the candidacy of Hinman, and at one time bade fair to be offered by the candidacy of Whitman. Extraordinary to relate, a good many of our own leaders did not understand that the rank and file of our party were already tending to leave us and return to the Republican party, and were so blinded by self-confidence as to object to the kind of action that could alone have saved us. However, their opposition was not important, as the event showed, for the old-time Republican leaders themselves took effective steps to see that no such alliance was permitted. They had become confident that they could win without our aid. They were anxious to smash us and they saw that the only danger to them lay in some such movement as that by which I sought to concentrate upon Hinman. Therefore they devoted their whole energy to defeating all such movements and they were successful.

You may have noticed that the only comment I made upon the result was to quote 2 Timothy 4th chapter, 3rd and 4th verses.¹ They covered the situation.

Personally I feel that what we did was worth while. Our movement in 1912 was the loftiest and sanest movement in our politics since the days of Lincoln and the platform we issued was the only great constructive platform for social and economic justice that has been brought forth since the days of the Civil War. When a sufficient time has passed by for some of the bitterness to subside, this platform will have to be adopted explicitly or implicitly in our governmental system if our democracy is really to amount to very much.

But I am in very grave doubt as to what now should be done. Of course, as regards myself, as I have said before, the answer is simple. I shall fight in the ranks as long as I live for the cause and the platform for which we fought in 1912. But at present any attempt at action on my part which could be construed, and which certainly would be construed, into the belief that I

¹ "For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears;

"And they shall turn away *their* ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables."

was still aspiring to some leadership in the movement would, I am convinced, do real harm. It has been wisely said that while martyrdom is often right for the individual, what society needs is victory. It was eminently proper that Leonidas should die at Thermopylae, but the usefulness of Thermopylae depended upon its being followed by the victory of Themistocles at Salamis. It was eminently proper that Bowie and Travis and Crockett should die at the Alamo, but the usefulness of the Alamo depended upon its being followed by Houston's victory at San Jacinto. When it is evident that a leader's day is past, the one service he can render is to step aside and leave the ground clear for the development of a successor. It seems to me that such is the case now as regards myself. "Heartily know that the half-gods go when the Gods arise." There are certain things I can continue to say to small audiences in my writings; and where I think that these will be helpful and not hurtful, I shall continue to say them; but to make speeches on political subjects and to try to take the lead in questions of party politics would be, for the time being, at least, mischievous and not useful.

As for the Republican party, at the moment the dog has returned to its vomit. The people have with enthusiasm reinstated in power the men whom they repudiated two years ago. They have precisely and exactly justified the views which Penrose, Barnes, Smoot, Root, Crane, Curtis, Lorimer, Taft and the rest of the gang leaders have always held of the people and which influenced them in their action two years ago. These men do not believe that the people wish virtue or are capable of governing themselves; and the people this year stamped that doctrine with their hearty approval. Nevertheless I question gravely if the victory for bourbonism in social and industrial matters and corruption in political life is more than temporary. I think there will be a revulsion against it just as there has been a revulsion against decency. It is not a nice thing that we can only secure the triumph of decency in intermittent fashion and by convulsion, with intervals of convulsive return to what is bad; but at least this is better than solemn and permanent acquiescence in what is bad. When the next revulsion towards decency takes place, I hope that new men will have arisen, free from the antagonisms that men like myself excite and that in the hands of these new men the banner whose staff has been shattered in our hands will again be moved forward to victory. But the fight is going on! And you and I will steadily fight for the same principles for which we have fought for three years — for sixteen years — past, even altho we have to try new tactics to achieve our ends.

I am afraid this is not very helpful.

Pray show this letter to Mrs. White. I hope she is now entirely well. I regard it as of real importance that I should see you. Is there no chance of your being east this year?

By the way, one of the small incidental effects of the election here in New York is that it increases very greatly Barnes's chances of winning his libel suit. The feeling against me in New York State amounts to a mania.

The newspapers and the judges heartily share in it. The general public believes in Barnes and Murphy, is indifferent to political corruption and hostile to industrial reform and is hostile to the man who wars on political corruption. All the men who are beneficiaries of privilege in any fashion, all the corrupt politicians and the nearly solid newspaper press which is backing these big financial and political leaders are desirous of seeing a stop put to all efficient assault on what they stand for and I am the only man in the state whom they have ever had real cause to fear. *Always yours*

[*Handwritten*] Provisionally, I think that the immediate thing to do is to shift headquarters to Chicago;² to announce that the National Progressive Party will of course continue (for we must remain in shape to take advantage of whatever occurs in this hair-trigger situation); but to leave the party in each state free to act as the local needs demand, without seeking to impose a uniform rule for all.

5932 · TO CECIL ARTHUR SPRING RICE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 11, 1914

Dear Cecil: Will you forward the enclosed to Grey, looking at the article if you have not happened to see it. When I wrote it, I had in mind that quotation from Dante.¹

In an article the Sunday after next, I expect to take practically the exact ground that you do about the exercising of the right of search. If I were President, I would not allow the British or any other people to exercise the right of search; but this would be because I would as emphatically interfere on behalf of neutral Belgium and would no less emphatically have prevented our people from doing anything in the way of the violation of neutrality; and so I would feel entirely at liberty to exact the justice I was giving.²

² George Perkins had suggested this to Roosevelt. At the meeting of the Progressive National Executive Committee in Chicago in December, Gifford Pinchot moved to change the location of headquarters, but the motion was defeated.

¹ That quotation was:

"The dismal company
Of wretched spirits thus find their guerdon due
Whose lives knew neither praise nor infamy;
They're mingled with that caitiff angel-crew
Who against God rebelled not, nor to Him
Were faithful, but to self alone were true."

² So Roosevelt stated in his article of November 22; see *America and the World War*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, 105-116. Attempting at all times to avoid an unneutral appearance, the President permitted loans and shipments of war materials to the belligerents. Since Britain controlled the sea, this policy helped only the Allies. At the same time, Wilson permitted Robert Lansing, the Counselor of the Department of State, later Secretary of State, to engage in a diplomatic debate with the British, protesting their violations of the Declaration of London to which they had never subscribed. These violations included British searches of American merchant vessels. For a detailed, sympathetic analysis of Wilson's neutrality policies during the early months



Ethel Roosevelt's wedding
 "The highest life, the ideal life, is the married life."



Roosevelt and Archie



"There isn't any place in the world like home — like Sagamore Hill."

But, my dear Cecil, do not forget that Grey's own letter affords the justification for Wilson's stand.³ Wilson is, I think, a timid man physically. He is certainly a timid man in all that affects sustaining the honor and the national interests of the United States and justice by force of arms. He is also a shifty and rather unscrupulous man. Finally, he is entirely cold-blooded and selfish. He believes that in the course he has followed he will keep the pacifists with him here at home and placate the German vote and the extreme Irish vote — not the bulk of the Irish vote — which simply wants to harm Britain at any price. Furthermore, he believes that whatever sense of injury the British may like to show they won't show it, that when the time comes they will turn to him for help and that he will then gain great glory as the righteous peacemaker. I think this is very probably a correct estimate of the future on his part. I think it very probable that he will profit by his wrongdoing, and that the fact that he has declined to do his duty as regards the Belgians and has his share in the guilt of those who are responsible for the present dreadful tragedy will be completely covered by the further fact that England and France will find that his own misconduct has made him available for action as a mediator between them and Germany. Now, my dear Cecil, when your own people and the French people in all probability will do just exactly what Wilson hopes and desires, how can you expect that the average American politician will not follow along the same lines? In writing my articles, I have not been under the least illusion either about my own country or about yours. I know that at the moment my own countrymen will not follow my advice and I do not know that they will ever profit much by it. I do know that it will be remembered against me personally and that my taking the action will be a harm to me, if I were ever again to wish to take any part in American public affairs. I know that my German friends will remember it against me and that it will not be remembered in my favor either in England or France or anywhere else. I act as I do act purely because I believe that I ought to — and the only satisfaction I shall ever get out of it is telling you that I expect nothing in the world of any kind, sort or description from anyone in return!

You must be under a great strain, old man, and I am very sorry for you. Give my love to Lady Springy when you write. *Faithfully yours*

of the war, see Baker, *Wilson*, vol. V, chs. iii and iv. For the British view of those policies, see Gwynn, *Spring Rice*, vol. II, ch. xxi; Viscount Grey of Fallodon, *Twenty-Five Years, 1892-1916* (New York, 1925), vol. II, ch. xxiv.

³ Wilson had begun his continuing effort to make peace in Europe. To the President's initial overtures, encouraged as they were by Germany, Edward Grey had replied that since Germany had planned and started the war, the Allies could not make peace without both reparations and security against future aggression. Since the Germans never seriously contemplated granting either condition, and Wilson had not yet accepted the British version of war guilt, the negotiations failed. For detailed analyses of these early negotiations for peace, see Baker, *Wilson*, vol. V, ch. vi; Gwynn, *Spring Rice*, vol. II, ch. xxi; Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (Boston, 1926-1928), vol. I, chs. xi and xii.



P.S. I return you the matter. The time had passed when I could utilize it but I think I have made my point anyhow. Here is the paragraph from Grey's letter to which I refer: "I still think it possible that the United States Government may play a great part in the making of the peace at the end of the war, and in securing permanent peace afterwards. But it has become a point of honor for us that there should be reasonable redress to Belgium for what she has suffered."

5933 · TO MORRIS JASTROW, JUNIOR

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 14, 1914

*My dear Professor Jastrow:*¹ I thank you for your letter. I never "advocated war as essential to the development of the full strength of the United States," any more than I have advocated fighting as essential to the development of one of my sons. I *have* advocated that the nation should keep itself fit to defend its rights and should be ashamed to be unfit, just exactly as I have advocated the same things for my sons.

Now, you say in your very courteous letter that you believe the time has come for the entire overthrow of militarism. I most earnestly hope you are right. If the time has come, then my proposal will serve completely to check it. But I never like to promise more than I believe can be performed. The utmost that can be done at present is to back some such proposal as mine.

In the same way, you ask me, again in very courteous language, to urge the necessity of putting a stop to the present slaughter. My dear sir, here again I do not wish to waste my breath uselessly. Speech that is useless is always noxious. The prayers appointed by President Wilson, the peace parades, the protests against war, the use of peace postage stamps, and the like, in this country, amount to precisely and exactly nothing. I abhor talk that does not give some outlet in practical action to achieve its purpose. My objection to the peace advocates is that they do not amount to anything, that they have not done any good.

In the village in which I live, there have occasionally been outbreaks of crime. Mass meetings of citizens, to pass resolutions against the crimes, would have been utterly futile. What we did was to get the right kind of constable, to watch out for the criminals, and to arm him, and to make the criminals understand that we would increase the police force, if it was necessary. Until in a similar manner we put force back of righteousness in international affairs, we will accomplish nothing. The ultrapacificists have on the whole represented a positive detriment to the cause of peace. *Sincerely yours*

¹ Morris Jastrow, Jr., professor of Semitic languages at and librarian of the University of Pennsylvania.

Personal

New York, November 16, 1914

My dear Lissner: Yours was a most interesting letter and I am rejoiced to write you at some length in return, as you request.

California showed itself to be a mighty queer state but nothing like as queer as the rest of the Union. The only other state where we did anything was Louisiana, where we carried one district. In July Louisiana was absolutely boiling and we could probably have swung it into the Progressive party, if the Progressive party had been an aggressive and growing party in the north; but it soon became evident to most people, and after the election in Maine to all people, that the progressive party as a separate party was hopelessly on the wane in the north. The argument was made, and successfully made, in Louisiana that it was silly to join a party that was about to die. In one district, where the tariff policy of the Administration had ruined everybody, they voted the Progressive ticket as a protest. But the chance of founding a dominant Progressive party in Louisiana has vanished. Just in the same way the result in California, as you say, is a great tribute to Hiram Johnson, the man and the public official, and shows that the state is in favor of Progressivism with a small "p." But such incidents as Heney's running a poor third for Senator make it no less evident that the Progressive party as such is not the dominant party even in California. Nowhere else is it more than the third party and from Indiana eastward it is utterly impossible, if present conditions continue unchanged, that we shall again be able to make a serious fight. Of course, it is a hair-trigger situation and we are a hair-trigger people and nobody can tell what the future may bring forth; but the above is a true statement so far as November 1914 is concerned.

In every state the party registration and the party vote at the polls completely fail to correspond; and this not only as regards the Progressives but in most places also as regards the Republicans and Democrats. In most eastern states from one third to two thirds of the enrolled Progressives voted with the Republican party or stayed at home, while a few thousand voted with the Democratic party.

The prime issue in people's minds was the economic issue. Men, high and low, were facing bad times. Businessmen were apprehensive about failure. The workingman was either suffering want or was exceedingly afraid that he would suffer want. The people believed that the Democratic administration had shown itself indifferent to prosperity or unable to bring it about — and in this belief they were quite right. They wished to vote so as to rebuke the administration and so as to do anything possible toward securing a return of prosperity. The only way as they saw it that they could do this was to vote the Republican ticket. Last spring when I returned from South America I did my best to make the Progressive party the center around which the

opposition to the administration should gather. But most of our leaders wholly failed to understand the necessity of this. In most places, and perhaps inevitably, they tended to regard the Republican party as the one against which their chief efforts should be directed. This was notably the attitude of the people in Indiana, Pennsylvania and Kansas. But it was general in most of the states, so far as the leaders were concerned. On the other hand, the rank and file were most hostile to the Democracy. Over one half of the men who voted with me two years ago this year voted for the Republican party.

Moreover, the average American in his party affiliations is largely influenced by a feeling quite as unreasoning as that which makes the average fan depressed or exultant over the victory of a professional baseball team. It is fundamentally a feeling like that which influenced the adherents of the blue and green factions of the Byzantine Circus. A half of the voters pride themselves upon never voting anything but their own straight party ticket. A half or two thirds of the remainder are willing to leave their party, but only for short periods and with the idea of rebuking it; and under such circumstances they wish to vote the opposite party ticket, or to act in some other similar way which shall not entail any permanent sundering of their connections with their own party. Not more than a quarter or a third of the men who went with us two years ago had any idea of forming a permanent new party organization. This one quarter or one third represented a larger element than the Free Soil Party was sixty-five or seventy years ago, but by no means as large an element as that which entered into the Republican party at its beginning.

Moreover, the people were sick of reformers. Johnson is the only exception so far as I now know. Aside from him, the people as a whole have had enough of all reformers and especially of me. In the State of New York, eight ninths of the men who supported me two years ago voted for Mr. Barnes's candidates or for Mr. Murphy's or for the unspeakable Sulzer. There was a general revulsion against reform. This was partly simply because they were tired of us all, and partly because they felt that when their material well-being was at stake we were obstacles in the way of their achieving it. It was also partly because the extremists among us had done us real discredit and damage. Men persisted in associating La Follette with us in spite of the fact that La Follette was our bitterest foe. I have been surprised and concerned at finding how many Californians told me that they intended to support Johnson because he was *not* an extremist but that they would not support Heney because he *was* an extremist. I believe that the attack on Johnson by Creel¹ was a very material assistance to him because it made the average man feel that he was not an extremist.

¹ George Creel, sometime editor of the *Denver Post* and *Rocky Mountain News*, during World War I chairman of the Committee on Public Information, was at this time writing pro-Wilson articles for national magazines. He had published articles in the October and November *Everybody's* attacking Hiram Johnson. He also wrote *Wilson and the Issues* (1916) and *The War, the World and Wilson* (1920), unofficial but effective Democratic campaign documents in those years.

As for the future, I have not an idea what can be done. I think our organization should certainly be kept together. But I believe that we must allow a very wide latitude for action in the different states. Nothing but harm has come from the effort of men to prevent amalgamation between Progressives and Progressive-Republicans who really felt exactly the same way in all matters of principle. Of course, the reactionary Republicans dreaded such amalgamation beyond everything else and were strong enough to prevent it, while our own foolish extremists did whatever they could to aid the Republican machine men in this effort.

I cannot see clearly as to what the future will be. I do not think we have ever had an Administration which I more cordially despised than I do this Wilson-Bryan-Daniels combine. On the other hand the Republican party has practically triumphed while it has returned to the very worst of its old leaders. It is definitely under the control of Penrose, Barnes, the Ohio gangsters, the heirs of Lorimer in Illinois, Murray Crane and his crowd in Massachusetts, Gallinger in New Hampshire, Dillingham in Vermont, the extreme reactionaries in Wisconsin, Kansas, South Dakota, Maryland, New Jersey and elsewhere. Under these circumstances it is utterly impossible to say what we are to do eighteen months hence. Of course, as far as I am concerned, I shall never abate one jot of my allegiance to the principles laid down in our platform two years ago. I will never surrender them nor compromise on them. But I very strongly feel that for the time being at any rate, and probably for the rest of my life, I can render no further service as a party leader. Be this as it may, it is evident that for a year or so to come what is needed from me is that I shall avoid political speech-making or any appearance of taking active part in the party politics of the day. I shall merely be one of the rank and file of the Progressive party, although of course always at the service of any member of the party for private consultation.

I wish I could see you and go over all this personally with you and at length. *Faithfully yours*

5935 • TO HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 16, 1914

My dear Governor Johnson: I very earnestly hope that you can get on to the conference of the Progressive party in Chicago.¹ I am not going. You are the one great Progressive leader whom we have triumphantly elected. Your victory was personal, far more than Progressive. It was an astonishing tribute.

¹On December 2 the Progressive National Executive Committee met in Chicago. At the invitation of the committee, some ninety "representative Progressives" from all parts of the country attended the meeting. Johnson, however, remained in California, sending Lissner and Committeeman Rowell to speak for him and for the state. The meeting adopted a statement drawn up by William Allen White and Rowell which expressed confidence in the future of the party and emphasized the immediate need for the creation of a permanent, expert, nonpartisan tariff commission.

Much may be done with you. I earnestly hope that you will be at Chicago to outline the course to be followed by the Progressive party. In time of defeat there is always a temptation among small men to air their grievances with one another in public quarrels and thereby to cover themselves and the cause with ridicule. Your influence would put a stop to this. Moreover, we must avoid either the action of the faint-hearted who always despair of the republic or the action of the lunatic fringe, the irreconcilables, who in every movement like to take possession of it and run it as a small and impracticable body of mere protest — often using it as a damage, instead of an aid, to efficiency and good government. I believe you would do a great public service if you came to Chicago. Of course, if you do, I very earnestly hope that you will then continue to New York and that you and, if possible, Mrs. Johnson will spend a night with us out here.

There is another matter about which I wish to write you. I am told that the situation in California about the Japanese will tend to grow acute during the next few months.² I am informed that the labor people intend to re-introduce very drastic legislation and that certain Germans are actively engaged in stirring them up to do this. Of course, the Germans would like nothing so much as to see us embroiled at this time in a war with Japan, as they hope it would entangle us in hostilities with England. I most earnestly hope that you will be able to insist upon the Japanese question remaining in abeyance pending the present European war. Under all ordinary circumstances England would be obliged to assume an attitude favorable to us because Australia and British Columbia feel that in this matter their interests and ours are identical. But when the whole British Empire is absorbed in the contest with Germany and when Japan has just come to their aid, it might well be that they would have to give aid to Japan, or, even if they did not do so, to remain neutral and leave us to challenge war under the hopelessly inefficient leadership of Messrs. Wilson and Bryan and Daniels. It would be impossible to stigmatize too harshly Wilson's attitude in foreign affairs and his literally criminal misconduct in entrusting the State Department and the Navy Department to Bryan and Daniels, the two most wretched creatures we have ever seen at the head of those great departments. Our navy has been permitted to deteriorate in efficiency at least to the extent of twenty-five per cent during the last twenty months. The Administration has promised independence to the Philippines and utterly disorganized our government there and yet has not taken efficient means to give them independence nor has it taken any efficient means to safeguard the islands. Of course, we should either govern or get out. Above all, our foreign policy should be treated as a coherent whole. If Bryan means what he says when he announces that he would like to arbitrate all questions and under no circumstances go to war, then he should apply it concretely by announcing that he will arbitrate with the Japanese the question of unlimited Japanese immigration to these shores

² It did not.

and abandon the Philippines and Hawaii on the ground that we could not keep them without a war and that he does not intend to go to war. If he does not mean this then he ought to quit his unseemly prattling and Wilson ought to take efficient steps to strengthen us so that we may be able to hold our own if our rights in any of these respects are threatened.

As things are now, it seems to me that our great object should be to avoid anything that may cause serious trouble with Japan, until the European world war has come to an end. I do hope you will be able to get the labor people to defer any such action as that of which I hear, at least for the time being. As you know, I always objected to Taft's treaty with Japan, the present treaty under which we abandon the right to keep out Japanese laborers, including small farmers and the like. I emphatically believe in treating the Japanese with the utmost courtesy but in explaining that we do not expect them to admit our people as immigrants in mass and that we do not intend to admit them here as immigrants in mass. But if we are to do this, we must keep our navy at such a pitch of efficiency as to make the cool-headed statesmen of Japan wary about going to war with us. On land we are ridiculously unable to cope with them but a year's wise and serious work would make our navy an overmatch for theirs. In dealing with them we should act on the proverb of which I am so fond: Speak softly and carry a big stick. Until this war is ended, England and Russia are no menace for Japan; and we should not give Japan a chance to deal with us, under such conditions, while we have men like Wilson, Bryan and Daniels at the head of affairs. *Faithfully yours*

5936 · TO GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Memorandum

Oyster Bay, November 23, 1914

The more I have thought over it, the more I feel that it is impossible for me even to write privately to Van Valkenburg.¹ No good would be accomplished by such a letter. It is in my judgment not only inadvisable but rather worse than useless for me at this time to be discussing our internal affairs. As I found at Princeton and as your boy said, the things that people are interested in are external affairs. They have not the slightest interest in my pointing out Wilson's inconsistency and hypocrisy in the Cotton matter.² My own belief is that they do not take any especial interest in what I say or in what any other Progressives say about a Tariff Commission, and personally I very gravely doubt whether Progressive activity about a Tariff Commission or about anything else will be of any particular

¹ Perkins had asked Roosevelt to send Van Valkenburg a declaration on domestic policy for endorsement by the Chicago conference.

² The British, under some pressure from the United States, withheld cotton from the contraband list at the beginning of the war. However, by every device at their disposal the British delayed cotton transport, seeking as they were "to prevent shipments into Germany." In the next year cotton was added to the contraband list.

consequence one way or the other during the next six months. Silence and sit tight may not represent the best policy, for at present there is no best policy and no good policy but they may represent the least bad policy that can for some months be pursued, the policy least likely to make it difficult for us to turn to good any chance of working in the future. I am very doubtful whether such chance will come but it may come and the less we do now the better off we shall be if it does come.

5937 • TO EDWIN A. VAN VALKENBURG

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 23, 1914

Dear Van: Thinking it over, I am more and more inclined to agree with your view that in the first place it would be well not to hold that meeting¹ at all and that in the next place if the meeting is held all that should be done should be an announcement that we stand unflinchingly by our principles and will never abandon them, that we stand for the entire Progressive platform and that events during the past two years have made it clear beyond possibility of doubt that the social and economic measures we have advocated are entirely right and that, for example, the only possible way of satisfactorily solving the tariff and trust questions will be the methods we have outlined and that hand in hand with the adoption of these methods should go the adoption of Workmen's Compensation and Child Labor Laws.

As a matter of fact, what we now say is of very small consequence. Immediately after election is a poor time for the beaten party to expect to be listened to or to start a propaganda. People at such times are sick of politics and above all sick of the politics of the defeated crowd. They wish to wait and see what the victors and near-victors do. They are interested at present in what the Republicans and Democrats *do* and not at all in what *we say* of the Republicans and Democrats. A year hence it may be that our words will carry great weight, and then we will be pointing out what *has* been done, and not what *may* be done; but at present silence and sitting tight (are what we are to do) are our best hold. In my judgment if Amos Pinchot and George Record turn up, we should publicly and emphatically state that we have no further connection with them.² Amos Pinchot is writing in a Socialist paper, attacking the Progressive party and is no longer a Progressive. George Record is the appointee of a Democratic Governor and is no longer a Progressive. Neither of them has any more right to address us than has for example the esteemed State Senator Crow

¹ Gifford Pinchot and other Progressives had proposed that the party hold a general convocation after the meeting in Chicago. This was not done.

² Record and Amos Pinchot did not go to Chicago. They had probably discovered that Roosevelt had sent to several members of the executive committee the instructions about them contained in this letter.

of Pennsylvania or State Senator Frawley of New York.³ I personally like both Record and Pinchot and I should treat them with all possible courtesy but I would also frankly say that in view of their attitude we are bound to feel that all they are anxious to do is to damage the Progressive party and that there is no earthly reason why we should aid them in thus damaging us. You put the situation in a nutshell when you commented on Amos Pinchot's preposterous attitude. He says that we have lost by not being radical enough. As we have lost not to the Democrats but to Penrose and Barnes, this statement is equivalent to saying that people, because they thought we were not radical enough, turned and voted for Penrose, for Barnes and for the ultraconservatives and reactionaries everywhere. Such a statement is too nonsensical to discuss and we dignify Amos Pinchot needlessly by giving the slightest heed to his antics. *Sincerely yours*

5938 · TO ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY

*Derby Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, November 26, 1914

Darling Ethel, Of course we are overjoyed at the news that you and Dick are sailing on the 12th. We only hope that it may be convenient for you both, and that poor good Dick's work will permit you, to come at once out here and stay until after Xmas.

We shall miss the baddy baby *very* much when you take him. You will find him so grown that you'll hardly know him, and as merry, vigorous, active a small soul as you can imagine. I have completely succumbed to him, and am immensely flattered because when I go into his room before breakfast he smiles and coos to be taken up and waves his little arms and legs; and then I hold him up to the gas fixture, and he strives with absorbed eagerness to get the glass globe off, and then suddenly deserts it with one hand (the other still clutched on it) and endeavors to remove my spectacles. Thank Heaven he's not a prophylactic baby! — when he's on his back and I can only amuse him with my watch, he promptly stuffs it into his mouth, microbes and all. At this moment he's sitting by me with his grandmother, on the sofa; I have to stop now and then to take him up and let him play with things. His grandmother is very well; we've had the most delightful three weeks imaginable. I *never* wish to leave Sagamore again!

Archie was down after the football game.¹ He is a dear; and I delight in the odd angle at which ideas sometimes strike him. We were speaking of the Harvard full back Eddie Mahan: —

² State Senators William E. Crow, a Penrose Republican, and James J. Frawley, a Tammany Democrat.

¹ Led by Edward William Mahan and Huntington Reed Hardwick, an undefeated Harvard football team overwhelmed Yale 36-0, to win for the third successive year the Eastern intercollegiate championship.

Myself. "Do you know him?"

Archie. "No, I don't know him. I've merely met him:" then, as an explanatory and matter-of-fact afterthought: "we slept in the same bed one night!" They were visiting Andover when this trivial incident of a purely formal acquaintance occurred. *Your loving father*

I hope you've seen my articles on the war.

5939 · TO HENRY FREDERICK COCHEMS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 28, 1914

Dear Henry: McGovern has written me a furious letter about my action in supporting Blaine, assuring me that I have thereby hopelessly damaged my standing in Wisconsin.¹ I responded that as I did not have any standing in Wisconsin I did not think I could damage it much. I asked his permission to show you his letter, which permission I have not yet received.

I hope you will be at Chicago and help to keep our men on an even keel. The lunatic fringe, of which the most conspicuous example is Amos Pinchot, may possibly attend and do a little mischief. Amos has not enough capacity for coherent thought to make him a Socialist; he is a kind of parlor anarchist or amateur I.W.W. follower of Moyer, Haywood, Giovannitti & Co. His recent articles in a Socialist paper in New York entitle us to say absolutely that he is no longer a member of the Progressive Party and that he openly announces that from the beginning he disbelieved in its platform and principles. He is utterly impotent as a foe and the only damage he can do is as a treacherous friend and he should never be allowed inside the ranks again.

I have been immensely impressed with the Haskell account of Gettysburg.² It is really a classic, and its value is added to by the heroic death that crowned Haskell's gallant career. Don't forget to send me the data about your father, uncles and grandfather in the Civil War. *Faithfully yours*

¹ The Wisconsin situation was hopelessly muddled. There were, for example, Old Guard Republicans, Bull Moose Republicans, and La Follette Republicans within the "regular" Republican fold. Because of these divisions, the liberal wing of the party had fared badly in the recent elections. E. L. Philipp, a reactionary, had defeated J. J. Blaine, a Progressive, and J. C. Karel, a Democrat, for the governorship. Democrat Paul Husting had defeated McGovern for United States Senator.

This is one of several letters to Blaine, Cochems, and McGovern in which Roosevelt tried at once to explain how difficult it had been for him to take sensible action in this confused situation and to soothe the troubled spirits of the defeated Blaine and McGovern.

² Frank Aretas Haskell, *The Battle of Gettysburg* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1908). This is a fascinating monograph, written originally as a letter to the author's brother shortly after the battle, printed privately in the late 'seventies, reprinted in 1898 as part of the history of the class of 1854 of Dartmouth College, and finally published by the Wisconsin History Commission in 1908.

Oyster Bay, November 30, 1914

My dear Mr. Ford: There are a great many things that you are doing that interest me peculiarly.¹ I am not only desirous of knowing how you handle your workingmen from the purely industrial and social side but also I want to know your method of dealing with the immigrant workingmen. I have heard a great deal about you both from Mr. Pope² and through Mr. Edison,³ and Judge Lindsey has been very anxious that I should know at firsthand some of the things you have to say. When you next come to New York will you not give me the pleasure of taking lunch or dinner with me? I should like to ask Miss Kellor at the same time. *Faithfully yours*

5941 • TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, December 2, 1914

Dearest Archie: In the first place, about David T. Abercrombie. Hereafter don't buy anything from him unless he is to render the bill with the goods at the time; and I think you had better pay cash, for I am wholly unable to make out what the bills are which he sends.

Colonel Sanger was here Sunday.¹ He was much interested in your proposals. He says he is soon going up to Harvard and he will then see you and his son and talk the whole thing over. I think he is the man through whom to work. Doubtless now nothing can be done except agitate among our people, for it needs a prolonged course of preliminary agitation before we can get them to have any sense. Young Sanger is evidently interested in the matter too. If my articles are published in pamphlet form, I will send

¹ Henry Ford's revolutionary labor policies were receiving nation-wide attention. Ford in January 1914 announced that his employees were to work an eight-hour day at a minimum wage of \$5.00 a day. The standard scale for the industry was then \$2.40 for a nine-hour day. Ford also promised to give his workers \$10,000,000 in bonuses during the year 1914. The details of Ford's labor policies in 1914 are described by Horace Lucien Arnold and Fay Leone Faurote in *Ford Methods and the Ford Shops* (New York, 1915), a study of the institutionalization of the automobile industry.

² Gustavus D. Pope, a Detroit Progressive. On December 17, 1914, Roosevelt told Pope that he had enjoyed meeting Ford and that he now wanted to talk over Ford's views.

³ Thomas Alva Edison.

¹ Roosevelt had asked William Cary Sanger to come to Oyster Bay to talk over "starting some kind of propaganda to institute something like the Swiss Military system here in the United States" (Roosevelt to Sanger, November 23, 1914, Roosevelt Mss.). Roosevelt, in the *New York Times* of November 15, 1914, had already urged the country to adopt the Swiss system of military training. This article is reprinted as "Self-Defense without Militarism," *America and the World War*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, ch. viii.

him through you a copy. His father showed me an article by him.² He is *fundamentally* right in his article; but he is entirely wrong on two points. We must under no condition guarantee the independence of the Philippines, if we leave the islands, for we thereby make ourselves responsible for them while losing all power of control over them. Again, it would be mere folly, the silliest kind of silliness, to ask Mexico, Venezuela, Honduras, Nicaragua, to guarantee the Monroe doctrine with us. It is eminently proper to ask Brazil, the Argentine and Chile to do it and it would be better still to treat them as guarantors of the doctrine so far as America south of the Equator is concerned; but to ask the other countries I have named to guarantee it would be about like asking the Apaches and Utes to guarantee it. There is no use in pretending that things are true when they are not. Indeed, it is a mark of the greatest weakness to do so and three fourths of our international troubles have come from making just such pretenses. The powers in question and Haiti and Santo Domingo are not fit to be trusted in international matters, even so far as they themselves are concerned; and to ask them to become co-guarantors of a great measure of foreign policy would be absolutely feeble-minded on our part. It is barely possible that Bryan might take such a step, if it occurred to him; but then *he* would be well capable of asking Timbuktu and Tibet to come into a similar agreement.

Mother and I are marking out a path through Smith's Field. I took the billhook and she a very small hatchet and went over it day before yesterday. Mother finally voted the war a failure after industrious but ineffectual efforts to cut down exceedingly pliable vines with the hatchet; and then she went home, evidently in nervous apprehension that in the course of my dealings with the billhook, I might leave a leg behind me — apprehensions not wholly unwarranted.

It was delightful seeing you and we enjoyed your visit more than I can say. Do let an elderly parent point out, however, that on such occasions you had better bring a bag or see that you have clothes at home to put on. You are nearly twenty-one now and you know that certain of your cousins have suffered seriously because they have been not only uncouth but at times positively soiled in appearance and I don't want to see you damage yourself by following in that particular respect in their footsteps. *Your loving father*

5942 · TO SUSAN DEXTER DALTON COOLEY

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, December 2, 1914

*Dear Mrs. Cooley:*¹ The trouble with Dickinson² is that, while he has a general purpose to see right done, he has not the slightest conception of

² William Cary Sanger, Jr., "Some Questions of Foreign Policy," *Harvard Advocate*, 98:19-23 (October 23, 1914). The young Sanger, St. Mark's '12, Harvard '16, eventually became a pacifist and Socialist.

¹ Susan Dexter Dalton (Mrs. Alford Warriner) Cooley.

² Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, British humanist, fellow of King's College, Cam-

how to achieve it; and he does not even see it very clearly. For instance, in his League of World Peace, he skips the vitally important intermediate step upon which I have insisted and upon which I see that Bryce also has insisted, as a preliminary to the creation of an international force. At present, it is utterly «useless» to talk about the creation of such a force. He might just as well have talked about universal suffrage and a minimum wage to the men who made Magna Charta; such talk at that time would not have been wisdom; it would have been folly and an aid to reaction. All kinds of steps ought to be taken first. Dickinson belongs to the school of people who treats facts as irrelevant to the work of life. In private life these individuals fail and cause great loss and suffering to their families. In public life they do damage to the government, just to the extent that they have any influence whatever. The first and vital point in any settlement is that might shall be put behind right and that the men like Dickinson shall understand that it is as ridiculous to advocate international peace not based upon might as it would be to base an aspiration for orderliness in Boston upon the «absence» of any police force. Yet this is what the Dickinsons have . . . proposed. We are not anywhere near the point as yet where internationally we can have an international force «apart» from the laws of the several states as Dickinson «proposes». The first necessary step is that all big civilized states shall guarantee to use their force against any recalcitrant state, any state that bids defiance to . . . decrees of an international tribunal. This step must precede the organization of the international force, precisely as in civil life the *posse comitatus* precedes the creation of an efficient constabulary.

This nation had it in its power to take the first and very practical step in this direction by acting emphatically on behalf of Belgium's neutrality under the Hague conventions. This was the real service it could have rendered to the peace of righteousness. It did not render it, and the pacifists were hysterical in their praise of Wilson for his treachery to the cause of peace by not rendering it.

Dickinson is one of those men who take a good case and do what they can to hurt it by basing their advocacy on false grounds. In this article he endorses the absurd Norman Angell³ who points out that war never pays; and Dickinson repeats that it does not pay. This is literally and exactly as if one should rest one's appeal for righteousness in private life purely on the

bridge, author of *The Greek View of Life* (1896). When the war came he placed himself with those who did not think it could have been avoided but who set themselves the task of forever avoiding future wars. He drafted in August 1914 a scheme for what he called a League of Nations. This draft appeared in two articles published in December 1914 and January 1915 in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He was a moving spirit in the formation of the League of Nations Union which framed some of the actual provisions of the covenant of the League. After the war he turned again to fruitful contemplation of Greece and the Greek legacy to the Western world.

³ Sir Norman Angell, author of *The Great Illusion* (1910), lecturer, and general manager of the *Paris Daily Mail*, 1905-1914. A student of international affairs, he advocated national preparedness and an international organization to enforce peace.

ground that "honesty is the best policy." Anyone who does not know that rich men in this country within the last sixty years have again and again acquired vast fortunes by dishonesty is not fit to talk on social subjects. Anyone who does not know that Germany and Japan in the last fifty years have profited immeasurably by successful war is not fit to talk on international subjects. The only way by which remedies can be provided is by looking disagreeable facts resolutely in the face and not by lying about them. I use the term "lie," which is an ugly term, because I wish to make it as clear as possible that the attitude of Dickinson in saying things that he must know are not true, if he has any sense, is essentially an immoral attitude.

Dickinson says what of course many hundreds of other people, including myself, have said again and again and what has been said ever since the «time» of . . . ; that we ought to try to make nations represent real national units whose people come together on account of their race, or their desire to unite. He is quite right, of course, when he repeats the truisms that Finland, North Schleswig, Poland, Alsace and Lorraine ought to settle for themselves their political futures; but he shows the kink in his own mind that makes him utterly unfit to give advice when he classes India with these peoples. Sooner or later, I think the English will have to get out of India; but to have them get out at present would probably be as unmitigated a calamity for India as it would be unmitigatedly a benefit for Finland if Russia ceased to rule her. Dickinson shows the besetting sin of his kind in caring for names and not for things in such a matter as this. Mexico, Colombia, India, Egypt, Turkistan, Algiers, the Philippines, do not in any way stand on a level with Chile, the Argentine, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Finland and Alsace. It is impossible in practice to treat these nations as standing on the same level. It is a mark of silliness to try. All civilized mankind have benefited immeasurably by the French conquest of Algiers, the English conquest of the Sudan, the Russian conquest of Turkistan, by our taking Lower California, and the Panama zone. It would be a calamity at this time to have those conquests undone. It would on the other hand be a calamity to have Belgium, Holland and Switzerland absorbed by any power against their will. In international matters to make believe that nations are equal when they are not equal is as productive of far-reaching harm as to make the same pretense about individuals in a community. Keir Hardie has attempted to insist that in Natal the native Kaffirs should be treated on a political equality with the white colonists. The practical effort to do this would result inside of thirty days in the annihilation of the white colonists and then in the annihilation of nine tenths of the black men at one another's hands and the return of Natal to the condition in which it was when the White colonists first went there and found it a vacant land, thanks to the extermination of the people by Chaka's Zulus.

My articles on the war have been published in the Boston *Globe* but of course you have not seen them. Equally, of course, under no circum-

stances would it be possible to utilize me in the negotiations for peace.

As for Lowes Dickinson and his kind, they will be utterly powerless, as powerless as the *Atlantic Monthly* itself, even to create good sentiment that shall be efficient. Some of the things for which they strive are right and proper. These same things are striven for with infinitely more efficiency and sanity by serious men such as James Bryce. These are the things I have advocated as strongly as I know how in the articles of which I have spoken. Unfortunately, mixed with these matters in which Dickinson and his people are right, there is so much as to which they are hopelessly wrong that the net result of what they do is slightly damaging to the cause they profess to help. In active political life at the moment, the man who comes nearest to their type is Bryan — although Daniels at the head of the Navy also approximates closely to it, and Wilson ranks well up with these, his two subordinates. Our foreign affairs were managed badly under Taft; but they have never been managed quite as badly as they are under Messrs. Wilson and Bryan and Daniels; and never have we been less effective for decency and righteousness than at the present moment.

Give my love to Sunny Jim. *Faithfully yours*

5943 · TO FRIEDRICH VON STUMM

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, December 2, 1914

*Dear von Stumm:*¹ I thank you for your letter of November 11th. Will you give my warm regards to your dear wife? I wish I could see you both, although I do not suppose you would care to see me at present. Dernburg² took dinner with me the other evening and Kuno Meyer³ takes lunch with me next Sunday. I have done my best to keep in touch with the German side of the case.

I hope you have seen just what I have said about Germany. You will not agree with it but you will also see that it has been said not only without bitterness but with hearty respect and admiration. To me the crucial point in what has been done, so far as the position of America and the interests of humanity are concerned, is what was done by Germany in subjugating and destroying Belgium. It seems to me that this can only be justified on the theory that there is no such thing as international right and wrong. The United States behaved in this way toward Spain in connection with Florida

¹ Friedrich, Freiherr von Stumm, longtime member — London, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Madrid — of the German diplomatic corps; at this time director of the political division of the Foreign Ministry.

² Bernhard Dernburg, once Colonial Secretary for Germany, in 1914 resident in New York as the cool and subtle spokesman for his country's position.

³ Kuno Meyer, German authority on Celtic philology and history, professor of Celtic at the University of Liverpool, 1895–1911, and the University of Berlin, 1911–1919; brother of Eduard Meyer, German historian who during World War I devoted his talents to justifications of his country's policies.

a century ago and England at about the same time acted in similar fashion about Denmark. France, Russia, Austria, all so acted on other occasions. But the Hague conferences were supposed to mark a step forward. They were held with the explicit purpose of preventing the repetition of such wrongs as those that have previously occurred. Things that were done a century ago no more form a justification for things that are done at the present day than the sack of Magdeburg or of Drogheda three centuries ago could be held as establishing a precedent to justify similar action in Poland or Posen, in Alsace or Belgium at the present day.

My dear von Stumm, I would not write you this if you had not yourself written me. For when war is on, then, although I hold it the duty of a citizen to try to make his country behave right, yet it probably is (and if the war is one of life or death it certainly is) his duty to render the best service he can to his country and to stand by it no matter if he thinks that on some point it has been guilty of error or wrongdoing. If I were a German, I should now be fighting for Germany; but most emphatically as soon as the opportunity came I would advocate Germany undoing and atoning for the dreadful wrong it has committed on Belgium.

You must remember that the commission of such a wrong absolutely unsettles the relations between other nations and the nation that has committed the wrong. What is the use of Germany assuring the United States, as it has done, that it never intends to seek territorial aggrandizement in America, when we have before our eyes the fate of Belgium and must know that if Germany destroyed the British Empire, it would act toward the Panama Canal and toward the Western Hemisphere generally precisely as it deemed German interest required? You quote what I did in connection with the Panama Canal as being similar to what Germany did to Belgium. The simile would have been good only if Belgium had been subject to France, had found the French yoke intolerable and had invited and demanded German interference to protect it from French tyranny. This is exactly what Panama did as regards Colombia. I have always felt that Germany had to take Holstein and German Schleswig away from Denmark and unite them, in accordance with the wishes of their people, to Germany; and this in a very rough way parallels what we did in Panama. I of course except northern or Danish Schleswig from the comparison.

At the time I am writing the chances of the war seem on the whole to be in favor of Germany, so that what I am about to say has no practical value to you. But it is as well to remember that I very emphatically stated that it would have been our duty to have interfered against France or England just as quickly as against Germany, had the wrong to Belgium been done by either of these powers, and that I have made no attempt whatever, apart from the case of Belgium, to assess blame among the contestants; and I have thoroughly understood that to each of them it may seem a life and death struggle, so that the people of each country

believe absolutely that their cause is right. I have also stated as emphatically as possible, having in view certain statements made in Russia, France and England, that I should regard any attempt to break up the German Empire or to reduce Germany to the condition in which it was prior to half a century ago as being a calamity to mankind, as great a calamity as the annihilation of France or the destruction of the British Empire. If I had my way, I would actively interfere to prevent any one of these calamities. This I suppose would merely make you feel ill will towards me if Germany were victorious; but if she were not victorious and the attempt were made to destroy her, I should as stoutly champion her cause as I would now champion the cause of Belgium.

I am a practical man. I believe that the first duty of my country — a duty which I have no hope at all to see it fulfill — is to put itself in such shape as to be able to defend its own rights. But in addition I am an idealist, as I feel every practical man ought to be, and I endeavor to reduce my ideals to practice; and one of these ideals is to strive to bring about the era when international wrongdoing shall be actively discouraged by civilized nations exactly as individual wrongdoing is discouraged within these civilized nations. I wish to judge each nation on its conduct. I happen to have a peculiar admiration and regard for Germany. More than any other European nation, it can teach us of the United States lessons we ought to learn. If Germany were wronged, I should like to see the United States stand by it to the last, and to any degree. But when Germany wrongs an entirely innocent and well-behaved small civilized power like Belgium, I would in similar fashion like to see the United States stand by Belgium. *Very sincerely yours*

5944 · TO BERNHARD DERNBURG

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 4, 1914

My dear Doctor Dernburg: I have scrupulously refrained from saying publicly or repeating to any man who would be likely to repeat it that Germany was one of the two powers to which I referred in the article of which you speak.¹ Inasmuch as you ask the question, however, I do not in the least mind saying that Germany was one of them. Moreover, my dear doctor Dernburg, it is a little bit difficult for me to treat your question as entirely serious. Surely you do not intend to tell me that when there has been even a remote and improbable danger of a conflict between Germany and the United States, Germany has not made plans in view of such a

¹ In Roosevelt's article of November 29, reprinted as chapter xii of *America and the World War*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, he wrote: "I know of my own knowledge that two nations which on certain occasions were obliged . . . to take into account the question of possible war with the United States, then planned in such event to seize the Panama Canal and to take and ransom or destroy certain of our great coast cities." The nations, of course, were Germany and Japan.

contingency! Some of your highest men have spoken to me with entire frankness about such preparations, even in their larger detail, and about the effect upon America of the seizure of New York, especially if a pacifist President was in the White House.

You of course saw in my articles that I explicitly stated that it was entirely right for any power to make such plans; that it was no evidence of ill will against us; and that it was simply evidence that military and naval men of a great nation were seriously accepting their duties to their own nation. I explicitly stated as of course you remember, that it would be childish to object to the existence of such plans but that it would be imbecile not to realize that they existed. Your countrymen have for fifty years faced facts; I am sorry to say that a large number of my countrymen refuse to face them. My dear doctor, if you wish for your own purposes and in Germany's interest to prevent America from facing facts, why, I have nothing to say in the matter; but you must not expect me to join the large number of my countrymen who do refuse to face them and who therefore wish to keep us helpless to protect ourselves if we are menaced.

You say that von Edelsheim, who published in pamphlet form a study of how Germany would proceed against America in the event of war,² was not a member of the German General Staff but merely an attaché of the German General Staff; that he was a lieutenant at the time; and that he left the service after rising to the rank of Major. As I understand it, you take the view that this robs his article of all importance. I do not agree with you. No German Army Officer, and especially no attaché of the General Staff, would have been allowed to publish a pamphlet of that kind without immediate rebuke and disavowal by his superiors, if they disapproved of his action. The German Army is the last army in the world where such conduct would, if not approved of, have been permitted to pass without rebuke. The article was widely circulated. It was sold in the bookshops in various places. I wish to distinctly state that I do not regard this article and the failure of the German military authorities to disavow it as in any way offensive to the United States or giving us the slightest ground for complaint or suspicion. I wish to reiterate that I regard your military people as absolutely within their rights, as doing what was absolutely proper, in preparing for all contingencies and in treating war with every great power as a possible contingency. In Bernhardi's book,³ as I pointed out in the articles to which you refer, war with Austria is treated as a contingency; and this although the whole purpose of the book was to show what Austria and Germany, acting together, should do in time of war.

² Translated by Alexander Gray, this pamphlet by Franz Wilhelm Leopold Heinrich Friedrich Ludwig von Edelsheim was published in New York in 1915 under the title *Germany's Naval Plan of Campaign against Great Britain and the United States*.

³ Friedrich von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War* (London, 1912).

This could give no right ground for offense in Austria. The only incredible thing is that any considerable section of our people should fail to understand that if there are any signs of our clashing with a foreign military power in our interests, such foreign military power will of course make plans as to the action it will take in the event of trouble.

The other evening, in your conversation with me, you said that the violation of Belgian neutrality and the seizure of Belgium by Germany was an absolute necessity; that in war when a great nation was fighting for its life such steps would have to be taken; and that the only way in which they would ever be prevented was by making it more dangerous to take them than not to take them. I of course entirely agreed with this conclusion of yours and that is why I have no faith in the peace and arbitration treaties which provide no method for their enforcement and why I feel so strongly that until neutral nations make it evident that they will effectively put a stop to violations of neutrality these violations will take place.

In this morning's paper I see quotations from your article for the *Independent*.⁴ Wherein you in effect say that when peace comes while Belgium is not to be included in the German Empire, in the sense that Würtemberg, for instance, is included, yet that she is to be taken in as an economic unit and that Antwerp and the other cities are to be kept for the defense of the German Empire on the North Sea. If your article means anything, it means that for military and financial purposes Belgium is to be incorporated in the German Empire as the result of this war. The Chancellor himself has explicitly stated that what was done to Belgium was a wrong;⁵ and of course it is out of the question to imagine any wrong that could be committed on any unoffending neutral nation greater than that which has been committed by Germany on Belgium. Your proposal is that as the sequence to this wrong the wrongdoer shall take possession of the wronged power. Now, my dear Doctor Dernburg, this is simply a frank avowal that there is no such thing as international morality; and in view thereof, it seems to me idle to discuss the question as to Germany's friendship to the United States or as to her keeping any promise she makes at this time. You have said in your public utterances that Germany will respect the Monroe doctrine and your Ambassador has said that Germany does not intend to expand territorially in America. But these declarations cannot possibly be made more explicit than the declarations of your government in respect to Belgium's neutrality. When you entirely disregard your solemn agreement in one case, you have no right to expect that any attention whatever will be paid to similar statements in

⁴ "When Germany Wins," *Independent*, 80:361-362 (December 7, 1914).

⁵ Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, in his Reichstag speech of August 4, 1914, said: "We are acting in self-defense, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps already have advanced into Belgian territory. This is against the law of nations. . . . We shall repair the wrong we are doing as soon as our military aims have been reached." — *New York Times*, August 5, 1914.

another case. In view of your own words about Belgium in the publication to which I have alluded and in view of what has occurred in Belgium, it seems to me idle to ask the United States to pay the slightest attention to protestations as to what Germany would or would not do in America if it become to her interest to take a given course. If Germany became master of the seas, what earthly reason is there to suppose that she will refrain from seizing the Panama Canal or establishing a colonial empire in America, if she deems it her interest so to do, without paying any more regard to international morality than she has paid in the case of Belgium? My dear Doctor, I can understand, although I do not approve, the theory of acting in accordance with national self-interest without any regard to any moral obligation to any other power; but I do not understand her so acting in one case as regards one unoffending nation and at the same time expecting outsiders to believe that you will not thus act if another similar case, as regards another unoffending nation should arise. Of course it is possible for you to persuade foolish people to take this view; but really, my dear Doctor, it does not seem to me worth while for you to try to get me or any other man of experience, of patriotism and of reasonable efficiency to take such a view.

To guard against any possible misconception, let me put my own position concisely. I have a very hearty admiration for the German people. I am myself partly of German descent. I know no American citizens superior to the American citizens of German descent. I immensely admire the efficiency of the German Empire, that is of the German people and government. I greatly wish that we in America would copy this efficiency, both military, industrial and social and we can only do that if we exercise the wise forethought and show the patriotism and the capacity for labor that Germany has exercised and shown. I understand entirely the great difficulties of Germany's position with France on one side and Russia on the other. But I do not and cannot accept and I never shall accept, the German theory of international morality as shown by Germany's action toward Belgium. What I say or do is of small moment; it is very possibly true that I represent only an inappreciable element of the American people; but I do represent a certain number of American citizens who emphatically believe in international morality, in international good faith, both on the part of the United States and on the part of other nations, and who no less emphatically believe that it is as wrong to show timidity and weakness as to show brutality and cynicism in international, no less than in private dealings. Hitherto in this war Germany has on the whole been successful and it may be that you are right in your forecast that Germany will be victorious and will keep Belgium. If so, you will not have my sympathy and if I had the power you would not have my support. On the other hand, if you and the Austrians were beaten and if there was an attempt made to take at the expense of Germany and Austria the action which you so lightheartedly propose to take at the expense of Belgium, whatever I could do by words would be done on behalf of the

Germans; and if I had the power, I would, in such a case, exercise that power in your behalf. I would as greatly regret to see the German nation destroyed as I would to see France or England or Russia destroyed and if I had the power I would interfere as quickly to prevent one calamity as to prevent the other.

In short, my belief is that this nation should judge other nations each on its conduct; and that it should fearlessly and where possible effectively take action against wrongdoing; that it should prepare itself so as to make it unsafe for any other nation to do wrong to it; and that in its turn it should scrupulously do justice to every nation that acts rightly. *Very sincerely yours*

5945 · TO ELLEN LYLE EVANS MAHAN

*Mahan Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, December 5, 1914

My dear Mrs. Mahan, In a time of sore sorrow there is nothing an outsider can say that will avail; yet I wish you to know how deeply Mrs. Roosevelt and I feel for and with you.¹ I need not tell you that, like all who try to be good American citizens, I not only immensely admired the Admiral, but regarded him as one of the greatest and most useful influences in American life. He was one of those few men who leave a permanent mark on history and literature, aside from their profound and far-reaching influence on contemporary thought. He was a great man, and a very good man and good citizen.

Remember me to your son, of whom I am genuinely fond.

I wish there were anything I could do to show my sympathy. *Very respectfully and faithfully yours*

5946 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

*Printed*¹

Oyster Bay, December 8, 1914

Dear Cabot: I am much pleased that you liked my Mexican article. I should particularly like to write a second article showing the outrages committed on American citizens.² I have general statements of these outrages but nothing

¹ Alfred Thayer Mahan died 1 December 1914.

² Lodge, II, 449-450.

² Roosevelt's first article on Mexico was published in the *New York Times* on December 6, 1914; the second, in the *Metropolitan* of March 1915; combined and slightly revised, the articles are reprinted in *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, ch. viii. The December article condemned Wilson for failing in Mexico to prevent desecration of church property and alleged outrages to priests and nuns. For his information Roosevelt relied upon Medill McCormick, Charles J. Bonaparte, and a number of Roman Catholic priests, including the editor of *America* (a Catholic periodical), the president of the Catholic Church Extension Society, and Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans. Senators Lodge and Fall, who helped Roosevelt write his second article, and many Catholic clerics, including Archbishop Ireland, commended Roosevelt's position. For other interpretations of

specific, whereas I was given the specific and detailed statements of the outrages committed upon the priests and nuns. Of course, however, incidentally in that article we have the clearest and most specific charge of the worst kind of outrage; and this charge is cheerfully made by Mr. Bryan against himself. I refer to his statement to Father Tierney about the two American women from Iowa.³ I see that both he and Wilson have announced that they will not reply to my article.⁴ If he does not, then he admits that this statement is true and unless he makes a denial speedily he is stopped from denying it at all, and when I come to deal with the outrages on American citizens I shall head my article with this outrage testified to by Bryan himself.

Your speech was an admirable one.⁵

Nothing irritated me more last summer than the attitude of my own friends and also of the Republicans toward Wilson's foreign policy, especially in Mexico. My own friends and supporters besought me not to touch him, and whatever they said themselves was really in his favor. The Republicans took just the same ground. They criticised him about the tariff, but fell over themselves to say that they supported him for his noble and humanitarian peace policy. They took this ground over and over again here in New York, vieing with the Democrats in saying how splendid it was that Wilson had kept us out of war with Mexico and had preserved such absolute neutrality in the European war.⁶ I told my own friends that as I was doing what I could for them this fall I should not make an attack which they thought would hurt them but that after election I should smite the administration with a heavy hand.

I see that Wilson is against any investigation into our unpreparedness.⁷

what had happened to the church, see Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd, eds., *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1925-1927), III, 393-405; for an analysis of the church issue in Mexico as it affected American party politics, see John M. Blum, *Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era* (Boston, 1951), pp. 88-94.

³ Father R. H. Tierney, the editor of *America*, whom Roosevelt described as "an entirely responsible man," attested that he had complained to Bryan about the rape of nuns by the followers of Carranza. Bryan, Tierney maintained, replied only that "the followers of Huerta had committed similar outrages on two American women from Iowa!" — *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, 342.

⁴ Neither Wilson nor Bryan ever replied directly to Roosevelt, but Bryan in March 1915 and Wilson through his personal secretary in November publicly denied the contentions in Roosevelt's article.

⁵ An address on the Mexican situation delivered in Worcester, Massachusetts.

⁶ Lodge had also complained that he had been told not to attack the Administration's foreign policy; see Lodge, II, 447-448.

⁷ Congressman Augustus P. Gardner, chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, had proposed the appointment of a national security commission to report upon the ability of the United States to defend itself. Wilson on December 7 announced that if preparedness were to be investigated a congressional committee should conduct the investigation. He, however, did not believe any immediate action was necessary. In his message to Congress of December 8 the President spoke out against peace-time conscription and declared that there was no "reason to fear that from any quarters our independence or the integrity of our territory" was threatened. With these statements most of Congress and most of the country apparently agreed.

Upon my word, Wilson and Bryan are the very worst men we have ever had in their positions. It would not hurt them to say publicly what is nevertheless historically true, namely, that they are worse than Jefferson and Madison. I really believe that I would rather have Murphy, Penrose or Barnes as the standard-bearer of this nation in the face of international wrong-doing.

I have accepted an offer from the *Metropolitan Magazine* to write for it anything I have to say on questions of this kind. My first article will appear in mid-January, dealing with the Panama-Colombian business.⁸ I also have an article on our unpreparedness for war in this month's *Everybody's Magazine*.⁹

With dearest love to Nannie. *Always yours*

5947 · TO MEYER LISSNER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 11, 1914

My dear Lissner: Immediately on receipt of your letter I wired you to Chicago to ask you to come on to see me. I am writing you to Los Angeles anyhow.

Now, as to what you say about Perkins. If you mean that he ought not to be the especial spokesman of the party and that a man like Murdock or Robins ought to be I entirely agree with you.¹ We wish to emphasize in every way our fundamental position as a party of sane radicalism, sane progress, a party which believes in practical politicians of the type of Murdock and Raymond Robins, a party which has its strength in the West rather than in the East; and from all these standpoints Murdock or Robins is the type of man who should speak for us. Chester Rowell would be an A-1 man. While I entirely agree that the chief spokesman should be the Chairman of the National Committee and that the Chairman should be a man of the type of Murdock or Robins, I also most emphatically feel that it is essential to give the fullest recognition to the Perkins type. I am now disassociating myself from my personal affection and regard for Perkins and even from the fact that without him we could not have made this fight at all — for, mind you, if it had not been for Perkins and Flinn, the two men who have been most attacked, we would never have been able to put up any fight at all east of Indiana. But what I especially mean is that this party is not going to be a success unless we can get in our favor the small business men, and generally the men who are leaders in the several communities and who in the long run give the tone of thought to those communities. There is an occasional state, like Nebraska, where for a long period of time the Bryanite people can gain

⁸ "The Panama Blackmail Treaty" appeared in the February issue of the *Metropolitan*; see also *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, ch. xiv.

⁹ Reprinted in *America and the World War*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, ch. x.

¹ At Chicago the national executive committee had recommended Murdock for chairman of the national committee. In February 1915 he was elected to that office.

control; but taking the Union as a whole, we progressives are not going to make progress if we do not meet the sober judgment of good citizens who revolt against injustice, who do not approve of corruption in politics or business, who believe in bettering and making fairer and juster social and economic conditions especially for the workingman and the farmer, but who thoroughly distrust the unbalanced radicals, the men of wild theories, the men who encourage the I. W. W. and who speak apologetically of the McNamaras, Moyer and Haywood. This year, as of course I need not tell you, the chief cause in our well-nigh annihilation in the East was the conservative reaction. It was very strong in Kansas, Iowa, Illinois and Indiana; and east of those states it was absolutely overwhelming. In all these states it was not in any way our association with Perkins that hurt us. It was the fact that none of the businessmen were willing to follow Perkins in standing with us and that they were all savage against the Progressives of the Amos Pinchot type and were thoroughly alarmed and incensed by them. Under such circumstances they of course held us accountable for the deeds even of some of our foes. They persisted in regarding La Follette as affiliated with us and in Pennsylvania and New Jersey they held us accountable for (what George Record did; although George Record, I am inclined to think, is now a Democrat) men who, I am inclined to think, are now Democrats. As you know this year I felt very strongly that we should have emphasized the fact that *we* were the center of opposition to Wilson, around which the opposition to the Democrats should gather and that we should also have emphasized the economic side of our program that told for prosperity. If men have not enough to eat, they are entirely uninterested in social justice; they want a job. We (have got to) *must* get a certain measure of prosperity before we can get any intelligent and efficient support for such a program as ours. We have to war equally against the sinister creature who wishes to shape our policy only for prosperity to the few, and the Bryanite lunatic who wishes to shape our system so that there won't be prosperity for anybody.

Now I am going to say something that is going to bring home to you vividly the accusations that are necessarily made against everyone in a movement like ours. Naturally, next to the attack on me there has been most attack — that is the most *extensive* attack — on Perkins because he has been particularly prominent and because, as I have said, we could not have made the national fight at all without him. The most *bitter* attack, however, has been upon Flinn without whom there would have been no fight whatever in Pennsylvania; without him for instance I would not have gotten the electoral vote of Pennsylvania. Many of the Chicago people have been crazy against Medill McCormick who, however, with the exception of Raymond Robins, has done more than anyone else in Illinois. As you know, there has been the bitterest antagonism to Henry Allen in Kansas.² He was cut tens of

² Henry J. Allen, the Progressive gubernatorial candidate in Kansas, had been defeated by the Republican, Arthur Capper.

thousands of votes. Finally, in California, I have received many bitter protests against you and Rowell (even more against you than against Rowell) and from another set of men against Heney, while recently there have come many protests to me, not from California people, but from outside, against Johnson himself, these protests coming from men who were especially interested in Heney. You see from this that all of our prominent leaders in California, all the men without whom there would have been no Progressive Party in California, are ferociously attacked; and sometimes they are attacked in exactly the language that is used in attacking Perkins. Much to my amusement, one of the men who most strongly attacked you and Rowell, in the same letter, also attacked Perkins. All three of you came in his mental field of vision!

By the way I know that Perkins would absolutely agree with you as to the desirability of having somebody else speak for the party, but during the last two years there hasn't been anyone else that would speak or that could speak. Some of Perkins' most bitter Eastern critics would spend months away on fishing trips or on other pleasure excursions, whereas Perkins never took any vacation at all, with the exception of a trip to California. For three years now, first in the primary campaign and then in the movement for the Progressive Party, Perkins has worked as hard as ever he worked for himself in business. During those three years he has spent for the Progressive Party out of his own pocket, with no possible hope of return, a much larger sum than would be represented by my entire fortune. Remember that he has not been nearly as bitterly attacked as I have been. If one pays heed only to the attacks upon a man and not to the service he has rendered, I am certainly far and away the worst item on the debit side of the Progressive account! *Faithfully yours*

5948 • TO WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 12, 1914

My dear Foulke: I agree most emphatically with all that you say in your letter to me and with all that you say in your letter to Goddard, with the exception that I think Hiram Johnson would be a first-class President and I do not think his local environment would tend to make him commit us to actions hostile to Japan.

But I entirely agree with you that it is folly to think of making nominations at this time or of even considering the availability of any man. You have also, in your letter to Goddard, put the one contingency before him which would influence me in acting with "the scoundrels who have controlled the Republican Party." Wilson, Bryan and Daniels represent the nadir of American misconduct as regards foreign affairs and national self-defense. On the whole, and only "on the whole," they are rather better than Barnes, Penrose and Crane or Murphy. Roger Sullivan and Taggart in domes-

tic affairs. But I really believe that these last six would themselves be better as regards foreign affairs and national defense, exactly as during the Civil War Tammany, in spite of its viciousness, stood for the war democracy and against the copperheads. Taking foreign & domestic affairs together I prefer the 6 to the 3!

I very much disliked Beveridge's attitude toward Germany; and strictly between ourselves, I gained the impression, from something he let slip in an incautious moment, that it was partly because he believes the German-Americans have long memories whereas the ordinary American will speedily forget which side any one of us took as regards this war.¹ If Germany smashes England I should regard it as certain that this country either had to fight or to admit that it was an occidental China. In any event I feel that an alliance between Germany and Japan, from which we would suffer, is entirely a possibility, if Germany comes out even a little ahead in the present war.

Bonaparte's articles are fine! *Faithfully yours*

5949 • TO CHESTER HARVEY ROWELL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 17, 1914

My dear Rowell: That's an awfully nice letter of yours; and I am really obliged to you for it.

I cannot resist telling you, although it is entirely irrelevant, that as soon as I found that Senator Dixon insisted upon resigning the Chairmanship, I urged very strongly that you should be put in. You have the practical ability, combined with devotion to high ideals, which this party needs; and you have the advantage of residing in a Progressive State. Through no fault whatever of Perkins, he has had to make all the statements and he would be the first person to say that this was a mistake and that it would be far better to have as Chairman of the National Committee some man who would himself make all the different statements about the party. The general feeling seemed to be however, that some such man as Murdock or Robins, because of their central position geographically, ought to be chosen; and they are of course admirable men.

You are absolutely right about the Progressive *movement*. This is a mere temporary reaction against it and the vote was purely a stomach vote, just as William Allen White says. But I think that also there was a little element of boredom in it.

Then, as you say, as to the Progressive *Party* I am not indulging in prophecy and I am not worrying much. I am a little bothered now and then,

¹ Beveridge's admiration for German efficiency and *Realpolitik* was genuine. Increased when he visited Europe in 1915, it permeated the articles he then wrote and earned him notoriety, embarrassing after 1917, as a Teutophile. For Beveridge's point of view, see his *What is Back of the War* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1915).

however, when people write me for advice or write me insisting on diametrically opposite courses of action. There are many good fellows who wish us to go on and fight, even though we are to dwindle into nothing. There are equally good fellows who write that we have no business to keep them out of some field of useful activity in politics and that, while they have been delighted to follow me, they can do so no longer because they want to count and they do not think that a separate party counts. In confidence (but not in confidence from Hiram Johnson) George Record has just submitted to me a most elaborate plan which includes my returning at the head of the Progressives into the Republican party; there to make a fight for more radical policies than we have yet touched, including the government ownership of railways by a very drastic method of acquiring them at low prices, and the encouragement of localities to take up the Single Tax. Record was most kind and friendly in all he had to say about me personally and has been so throughout in his attitude toward me; and with most, not all, of the economical and industrial features of his plan I sympathize as an ultimate movement; but I think you would agree with me, if you saw it, that it is not feasible to undertake it at this time.

As you say, it would be a wild absurdity if we have to cease to make the forward movement take place through the Progressive Party. But, at the moment, from Indiana east it will be a physical impossibility to bring the movement forward through that party. This may change entirely, for we are a "hair-trigger" people. But at present there is not much hope of this.
Faithfully yours

5950 · TO MRS. RALPH SANGER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 22, 1914

*My dear Mrs. Sanger:*¹ I am very sorry; but I cannot sign that appeal. I do not approve of it. You are asking Americans to proclaim themselves Anglo-Americans, and to sympathize with England on the ground that England is the motherland and in order to make what you call "hands across the sea" a matter of living policy. I do not believe that this is the right attitude for Americans to take. England is not my motherland any more than Germany is my fatherland. My motherland and fatherland and my own land are all three of them the United States. I am among those Americans whose ancestors include men and women from many different European countries. The proportion of Americans of this type will steadily increase. I do not believe in hyphenated Americans. I do not believe in German-Americans or Irish-Americans; and I believe just as little in English-Americans. I do not approve of American citizens of German descent forming organizations to force the United States into practical alliance with Germany because their ancestors came from Germany. Just as little do I believe in American citizens of Eng-

¹ Mrs. Ralph Sanger of New York City.

lish descent forming leagues to force the United States into an alliance with England because their ancestors came from England. We Americans are a separate people. We are separated from, although akin to, many European peoples. The old Revolutionary stock was predominantly English, but by no means exclusively so; for many of the descendants of the Revolutionary New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians and Georgians have, like myself, strains of Dutch, French, Scotch, Irish, Welsh and German blood in their veins. During the century and a quarter that has elapsed since we became a nation there has been far more immigration from Germany and Ireland and perhaps even from Scandinavia than there has been from England. We have a right to ask all of these immigrants and the sons of these immigrants that they become Americans and nothing else; but we have no right to ask that they become transplanted or second-rate Englishmen. Most emphatically I myself am not an Englishman once removed! I am straight United States!

In international matters we should treat each nation on its conduct and without the slightest reference to the fact that a larger or smaller proportion of its blood flows in the veins of our own citizens. I have publicly and emphatically taken ground for Belgium and I wish that the United States would take ground for Belgium, because I hold that this is our duty, and that Germany's conduct toward Belgium demands that we antagonize her in this matter so far as Belgium is concerned, and that we emphatically and in practical shape try to see that Belgium's wrongs are redressed. Because of the British attitude toward Belgium I have publicly and emphatically approved of this attitude and of Great Britain's conduct in living up to her obligations by defending Belgium, even at the cost of war. But I am not doing this on any ground that there is any "hands across the sea" alliance, explicit or implicit, with England. I have never used in peace or in war any such expression as "hands across the sea"; and I emphatically disapprove of what it signifies save in so far as it means cordial friendship between us and any other nation that acts in accordance with the standards that we deem just and right. On this ground, all Americans, no matter what their race origins, ought to stand together. It is not just that they should be asked to stand with any foreign power on the ground of community of origin between some of them and the citizens of that foreign power. *Sincerely yours*

5951 • TO HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 23, 1914

Dear Münsterberg: It is possible you may be interested in seeing for your private information (& von Mach's), a letter I wrote in answer to a friend who desired me to support an Anglo-American alliance movement.¹ At any rate, I try to play fair! *Faithfully yours*

¹No. 5950.

Oyster Bay, December 31, 1914

My dear little Miss Harriet: I think I must decide the bet in favor of you and against your father. I think a Teddy bear is a kind of a doll. *Your friend*

New York, January 4, 1915

My dear Forbes: Your letter is very interesting; and I understand entirely your feeling as you do; but it does not seem to me that we have any proper alternative to the course I advocate, in view of what the Wilson Administration has done.¹ Three things seemed to me essential if we were to keep the Philippines — of course accepting in the first place as axiomatic that the Islands are to be administered for the benefit of the Filipinos themselves primarily. These three things were: first, that we should ourselves administer them, as we deemed best, exercising the power and assuming the responsibility; doing this in the interests of the natives but taking the view that we were not justified in staying in the Islands at all unless on the theory that we were able to do for the natives what they could not do for themselves; second, that we should keep politics out of the Islands and administer them in accordance with a continuous and continuing policy; and, third, that we should keep ourselves fit to defend them.

In addition to all this, there was of course the necessity that we should never make them any promises that we did not intend to fulfill. It seems to be a national vice of ours to make promises that ought not to be made and could not be kept, and to break them when they have been made and can be kept. Taft started to do this with his all-inclusive arbitration treaties, and Wilson has actually succeeded in doing it over and over again in his dealings with foreign affairs.

As you know, I administered the Islands absolutely without regard to politics. Both Luke Wright and Smith were Democrats; and you, when I appointed you, were, as I understood it, either a Democrat or a Mugwump. I required the men administering the Islands to be fully responsible for them and peremptorily refused to promise Independence, save in the very careful language I used on the one or two occasions when I spoke of the subject; because to promise Independence without the sharpest qualification is inevitably taken as meaning Independence in the near future. It *must* be so taken; and it is impossible that it should be otherwise received. I do not think that you improve the Democratic position when you say that it puts in "a promise of Independence with a string tied to it." The Filipinos do not understand anything about that "string"; and the mass of our voters did not

¹ The course that Roosevelt had advocated, in the *New York Times*, November 22, 1914, was the independence of the Philippines.

understand anything about it. Bryan, who devoted himself to the subject in the election, was explicit in his statements that the Independence promised was to come in the immediate future. I admire Garrison² as you do; but it is not Garrison who is responsible for this Administration. The preamble of the present Jones bill is accepted by the Filipinos and here as meaning Independence within a short period. If that bill is passed and the Governor General, Secretary of War and the President, as you suggest, "declare the natives not ready to establish a stable government," the natives will regard themselves as having been tricked and deceived — and I shall cordially agree with them. In the same way under the new bill the Government could not make any appointments without the approval of the elected Senate. This is an abandonment of our power and nothing else. You say that Congressional action could "eliminate this concession in the future." If so, it would be taken as another instance of bad faith by the natives. In your letter you say that the Democrats have for the first time injected politics into the Administration of the Islands. You say that nothing fundamental has been changed, nothing basic has been done. Yet you say in the next paragraph that the Administration has committed the "grossest sort of a blunder" by giving a majority of the Commission to the Filipinos and "tipping out three loyal and satisfactory Filipinos" to make way for three new (and not loyal) men; and you state that this was a serious blunder and that it may take a great deal of trouble to undo the harm; and you propose a law of Congress overriding what has been done or else "a suspension of the powers of the Philippine legislature for a few months." Now, my dear fellow, I cannot help feeling that to take these actions that you suggest, in order to remedy the harm that you admit to have been done by the promises and actions of the Democrats, would put us in the position of seeming to break faith with the Filipinos. The Filipinos themselves would think so; a large part of our own people would think so; and outsiders almost unanimously would think so.

In my article I said most emphatically that I believed we should have kept steadily on the course we were following. But as things are now, I believe the only thing to do is to make the best of a bad business and not put us in the position of breaking faith. I am very sorry to disagree with you.
Sincerely yours

5954 · TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, January 4, 1915

Dear White: I think this advice of yours so far from being bad is good. But unfortunately I cannot entirely take it. Like you, I make my living largely by my pen. I don't care to go into work that will take me beyond the time

² Lindley Miller Garrison, New Jersey lawyer, had been vice-chancellor of New Jersey when Wilson appointed him Secretary of War in March 1913. He resigned in February 1916, partly because he disagreed with Wilson's Philippine policies.

when Quentin, my youngest son, is launched in the world; but that won't be for three years yet and I am anxious to work during those three years. The things that people want to hear about from me and want to pay me for — or at any rate the things they want to pay me for, and *say* they want to hear about — relate to international, social and economic questions; and the *Metropolitan* would not permit me to do the things I would most like to do, which is to deal with exactly the subjects you mention.¹ However, after this January I shall do my best to avoid mentioning Wilson's and Bryan's names. I have to, in the January number, deal with the Panama Canal and the proposed Colombian Treaty. Of course, in discussing these subjects, it is a perfect impossibility not to discuss the position that Wilson and Bryan have taken. Moreover, I wanted to tie Byran up to Wilson. We are a curiously foolish people in some ways; and any number of us have been condemning Bryan and at the same time upholding Wilson, and speaking exactly as if the two were antagonists instead of one being the hired man and agent of the other. I believe myself that it was necessary for me to make this definite assault on Bryan and Wilson; but I also believe that with my discussion of the Panama Canal it will be good to drop the matter; and I only wish that I could take your advice in full. One reason I wish it is that it is what I would like to do. There is any amount of quasi-literary writing I should like to do just at this moment.

Hinshaw² spoke to me about that matter; but I had totally forgotten it until I received your letter. As a matter of fact, the one man I would care to have do that would be yourself. But I doubt very much, just as you do, whether the time has come to have it written;³ and after all, my dear fellow, the important thing was doing the work and the record of it must take care of itself. It is in the nature of an obituary — for I am more like a corpse than like the cistern of which you spoke — and obituaries do not have to be "timely"!

¹ White advised: "Your cistern is dry on politics. If I were you I would discuss anything in the world except politics; and the Bryan and Wilson peace proposition is blood-raw politics and you can't make it anything else. Hop onto Mr. Howells if you want to, for his disparagement of Dickens as a realist, or jump Chesterton's views on Browning, or go after Maeterlinck's position on Novalis or take a spraddling jump on Bergson but let politics alone. I understand you have a contract with the *Metropolitan*. If I were you I would go strong on the discussion of modern tendencies in architecture with here and there a few sensible remarks on Sir Oliver Lodge's contribution to the literature of abnormal psychology, and I might take a side swipe at the national moving picture censorship but I would not have anything to do with friend Bryan or friend Wilson. Friend Bryan and friend Wilson will not last long at their present rate and I think you will be a lot stronger if you do not have their blood on your hands." — White to Roosevelt, December 28, 1914, Roosevelt Mss.

² David Hinshaw, the field representative of the Progressive party, later a trustee of the Roosevelt Memorial Association, director of the Latin American public relations of Standard Oil of New Jersey, author of many books including biographies of William Allen White and Rufus Jones.

³ The story of Roosevelt and the Progressive party.

I wish I could come out to Colorado; but I don't see much chance of it now. The best way for me "to merge myself into the landscape" with least trouble to outsiders and myself is to stay here at Sagamore Hill, where I hope to have you and Mrs. White not long hence — and where I am *very* happy; I don't know when I have enjoyed any two months as much as the last two.

Good luck to you! *Faithfully yours*

5955 · TO RÓMULO SEBASTIAN NAÓN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 6, 1915

My dear Mr. Ambassador: I take very great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Walter Lippmann, one of the editors of *The New Republic*. Mr. Lippmann is a personal friend of mine and is, I think, on the whole the most brilliant young man of his age in all the United States. He is a great writer and economist. He has real international sense; and I am very anxious that he should understand something about South America. What I especially desire is that he shall understand that Argentina, Chile and Brazil are in no shape or way to be considered from the same standpoint from which we consider certain of the States along the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. You may possibly have noticed that in my recent articles I have been holding up Argentina as a military model for the United States and as entitled to go into any world league of peace on the footing of a nation of the first rank and on an equality with the United States, Germany, Russia and the other powers. *Sincerely yours*

5956 · TO CHARLES O'NEIL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 7, 1915

My dear Admiral O'Neil: You do not need any letter from me; but in view of the ridiculous attack on you, I desire, for my own pleasure, to say that one of the things to which I look back with pride was my association with you during the time I was in public life. You were one of those absolutely efficient and loyal officers and public servants who make men proud of being in any way connected with the United States Navy. I followed your work intimately and can testify to how well you did. It happens, by the way, that I took some personal interest in the Gathmann Gun matter, because strong political pressure was brought to bear upon me to favor the Gathmann Gun. I went over the reports concerning it at the time very carefully and investigated the matter with some thoroughness, enough to satisfy myself that the report of the Board on the Sandy Hook experiments on November 15th, 1901, was absolutely warranted by the facts.¹ By the way, was this the gun

¹ Charles O'Neil, late chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, had been attacked in Congress for his failure, fifteen years before, to approve the Gathmann gun. The argument of Congressman W. J. Cary was that O'Neil had been influenced in his decision by armament makers opposed to the gun. The weapon, one of several designed

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or was it another gun that Senator Proctor of Vermont was interested in and which blew up on one occasion on the testing grounds? I have an idea that it was a twelve-inch gun and that the Navy or Army people (I am not sure but that it was proposed for Army Coast Defense) reported against it but that nevertheless Congress appropriated fifty thousand dollars for the experiment and that the gun blew up.

With high regard and best wishes, *Sincerely yours*

5957 · TO CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 8, 1915

Dear Charley: Herewith I am sending you the copy of the Carnegie Hall Address.

Now, as to the matter of which you spoke to me at breakfast. I have never wanted to go into the question publicly, because it would reduce itself to one of veracity; and that is not worth while. However, you are entitled to have the exact facts.

About May 1st, 1908, Taft resigned from the Cabinet, as it was then evident that he would be nominated for President. When he resigned, he, of his own initiative and without my saying a word to him on the subject, told me that he deeply appreciated the way that the other members of the Cabinet (excepting poor Cortelyou,) had turned in and tried to help him, and that he wished them to know that if he were elected President he intended to continue them in the Cabinet because he intended to make his administration a continuation of mine without a break even as regards the personnel. I answered that I was very much pleased to have him say what he did; but that I did not suppose he meant to include Cortelyou, as I supposed his relations with Cortelyou (who had been himself a . . .) would not be pleasant. Taft answered that that was true; that he did not mean to include Cortelyou; but that he meant to include all the others. I asked him if he would not tell them so. He said that he preferred not; but that he wished me to tell them so, as he wished them to know immediately what his intentions were. I said that I would gladly do it; but there must be no possible ground for misunderstanding; and I repeated the names of the men, including especially Garfield, Straus, Meyer and Wilson. Garfield at about that time was the Chairman of the Ohio meeting that put Taft forward. He told me specifically to tell these four men and the other members of the Cabinet that they were to be retained and that he wanted them to know it in advance of the campaign. I accordingly told them so. I also told Taft that when it came to appointing his

around the turn of the century to throw high explosives at naval targets, was by repeated tests from 1897 through 1901 proved completely unsatisfactory. At one test, for example, its 500-pound charge of high explosive failed to kill two of four chickens protected by a thin steel plate at which the gun was aimed.

successor I would do either thing that he desired, that is, appoint a man simply to hold office for ten months or appoint some man whom he wished to have continue to hold the place under him and in such case would notify the man that the appointment came as much from Taft as from me. He asked me whom I thought of. I told him I would like to appoint Luke Wright, for I would like to have a Southerner in the Cabinet and the outgoing President could more easily appoint a Democrat than the incoming man could. He answered that this was capital; that Luke Wright was the man of all others whom he would like to have appointed; and that he would be very much obliged if I would tell Luke Wright that the offer came from Taft as well as from me, because he was anxious that he should accept, and that he (Wright) might be unwilling to accept for ten months whereas, if the appointment was to be permanent, he might be glad to do so. I notified Luke Wright accordingly. Later, when Metcalf resigned as Secretary of the Navy, I came to Taft and made the same query as to whether I should appoint a man temporarily or appoint someone really in behalf of Taft, with the idea that he should hold through. He asked me whom I had in view. I said I should like to promote Truman Newberry to the position. He again answered that this suited him precisely; that Truman Newberry was a Yale man, who had been helping him in his campaign; and that he wished him in the Cabinet. I told Newberry this. Both Newberry and Garfield engaged houses in Washington on the strength of what Taft had said.

After election Taft changed his mind. He never spoke to me of having changed his mind and never alluded to the subject to me. He simply did not appoint the men. To Garfield he wrote a letter saying that he was sure that it was for Garfield's interest not to continue in public life and that he was refusing to reappoint him out of a consideration for his future! The others he just dropped. Cabot Lodge, however, cornered him on the subject of Meyer, extorted a promise from him, and the next day I promptly brought Meyer in and forced Taft to admit to Meyer what he had just said to Lodge. This committed him; otherwise I am perfectly convinced he would have wriggled out of the matter. He also told me in the presence of Alice, and I think in the presence of Lodge, that he intended to retain Harry White in the Diplomatic Service. He, however, turned him out.

In all these matters I spoke only when Taft himself requested me to. It was he who made the suggestion to me that he intended to retain or reappoint the different men and who requested me to tell them so. I made no request to him for any appointment save where he asked me to make the request in the case of Loeb.¹

It was delightful having you out here. Give my love to Mrs. Washburn.
Faithfully yours

¹ With this letter should be read pp. 383-387 in both Pringle's *Taft*, vol. I, and Stoddard's *As I Knew Them*.

P.S. I thank you for sending me that speech and appreciate it. Those are strong utterances of Weeks² and I am really glad you sent them to me.

P.S. Those figures are most interesting. It seems to me there should be a restriction of all immigrants with a lower standard of living than that which we here demand in the interest of our own workingmen. I want to benefit mankind; but after all we can benefit mankind first by helping to raise the standard in this country.

5958 • TO THE NEW YORK SHORT BALLOT ORGANIZATION *Roosevelt Mss.*

Oyster Bay, January 19, 1915

Gentlemen: I have examined with interest your pamphlet which describes your full program for the application of the Short Ballot principle to the government of New York State.¹ I have frequently spoken on behalf of the Short Ballot in general and I concur heartily in your specific proposals.

You would make the Governor and Lieutenant Governor the only elective state officers, leaving the others to be appointed by the Governor. I approve of this. Those little offices ought to be taken out of politics. There is no legitimate Republican way or Democratic way or Progressive way of being Comptroller or Attorney General or Secretary of State. The only issue is as to who shall get the jobs and hand out the patronage — a matter of vast interest to politicians but a very small matter in the public mind. Those little offices are appointive now, even with direct primaries, and public control over them will be increased if the appointment is taken from the master mechanics of the political machines and vested in the first citizen of the state. The measure will not make the Governor too powerful; it will add only a small percentage to his present wide appointive power and will still leave him a very modest figure indeed compared with the Mayor of New York or the President of the United States. Superficially it seems to some honest men undemocratic to take offices off the ballot in this way. In reality it is the only thing that *is* democratic. It is six times as hard for the people to control the

² John Wingate Weeks, since 1913 Republican senator from Massachusetts; an active aspirant for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1916; Secretary of War, 1921–1925; father of Sinclair Weeks, long a dominant figure in Massachusetts Republican politics and Secretary of Commerce in the Cabinet of Dwight D. Eisenhower. Washburn had probably sent Roosevelt a speech made by Weeks in Congress on December 11, 1914. Weeks spoke in favor of a 500,000-man reserve and made specific recommendations for improvements in various branches of the armed services. In direct conflict with his Massachusetts colleagues, however, he sided with Wilson in opposing a formal public inquiry into the state of our military preparedness, partly on the ground that this would give information to the enemy.

¹ *The Short Ballot in the State of New York* (New York, 1914), issued by the New York Short Ballot Organization. The executive committee of this organization included Henry L. Stimson, Elihu Root, Jr., George H. Putnam, George W. Alger, and Horace E. Deming.

Governor and his five confreres separately as it is for the people to control the Governor alone, and, through him, all the minor offices.

I notice some sincere but as I believe misguided opposition to making the Comptroller appointive with the rest. The fear is that some day a Governor of New York may select a weak Comptroller who will let him rob the state. In my judgment this is a remote and theoretical danger. The real danger is of having the Comptroller so much under private political influence that he will protect political favorites of the machine. In view of recent history I should not think that anyone would relish the task of proving that the present method of "independent" audit has been really independent or that it had been successful in preventing frauds upon the state!

I concur in the idea of abolishing the confirmation of the Governor's appointments by the Senate. The original theory of that device is obvious enough but there is no use in shutting our eyes to the fact that the theory has never been known to work as intended and probably never will. It has been constantly mischievous in practice. Meanwhile New York City, working on a much bigger scale, has conferred undivided responsibility upon its Mayor for many years and, although the city has had all kinds of mayors, the plan works admirably.

The four-year term for Governor is desirable. The State administration cannot develop the stability which must necessarily precede efficiency as long as chief executives come and go with such rapidity.² *Yours very truly*

5959 · TO EDWARD GREY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 22, 1915

My dear Grey: Through Spring Rice I am sending you this letter. If you choose to show it to your colleagues in the Cabinet, you are welcome to do so. But I need hardly say that outside of such action, it is strictly confidential — not from reasons personal to you or me, but because of what I have at heart in writing.

You probably know my general attitude toward this war, as set forth in the little volume I have just published. (It would be entirely unnecessary for you to read this volume. It is addressed to and intended for my own countrymen.)

To me the crux of the situation has been Belgium. If England or France

² The short ballot, involving as it did a major reorganization of the state government, became one of the major issues of the New York Constitutional Convention of 1915. Elihu Root, the convention's president, finally overcame the opposition of Barnes, Brackett, and other machine politicians by agreeing that the offices of comptroller and attorney general should remain elective. The new constitution was defeated at the polls, but the Short Ballot Organization continued active in the cause of administrative reform. In 1925 the New York Legislature, recognizing both the wisdom and pressure of the organization, adopted most of the proposed reforms.

had acted toward Belgium as Germany has acted I should have opposed them, exactly as I now oppose Germany. I have emphatically approved your action as a model for what should be done by those who believe that treaties should be observed in good faith and that there is such a thing as international morality. I take this position as an American who is no more an Englishman than he is a German, who endeavors loyally to serve the interests of his own country, but who also endeavors to do what he can for justice and decency as regards mankind at large, and who therefore feels obliged to judge all other nations by their conduct on any given occasion.

I do not think you need to have me show a precedent for writing you; but, if you do, I shall ask you to turn to young Trevelyan's *Life of John Bright*, pages 314 to 316. Bright was writing to Sumner at the time, when the bulk of the leading English politicians, from Palmerston and Derby to Gladstone and the editor of the *Times*, were more or less openly hostile to the cause of the American Union and of the freeing of the slaves. Bright's letters were written to Sumner in order that they could be read aloud by Lincoln to his Cabinet, which was actually done. He was afraid the United States would drift into war with England. His letters run in part as follows:

"You know that I write to you with as much earnest wish for your national welfare as if I were a native and resident of your country. I need not tell you, who are much better acquainted with modern history than I am, that nations drift into wars. I fervently hope that you may act firmly and courteously (towards England). Any moderate course you may take will meet with great support here. I have no doubt you will be able to produce strong cases from English practice in support of your actions but I doubt if any number of these will change opinion here. You must put the matter in such a shape as to save your honor and to put our government in the wrong if they refuse your propositions. *At all hazards you must not let this matter grow to a war with England, even if you are right and we are wrong.*" The italics are mine. I am as little in sympathy with Wilson and Bryan in their attitude now, as Bright was in sympathy with the Palmerston-Derby view of our civil war in '61-'65. "War will be fatal to your idea of restoring the Union. I am not now considering its effects here; but I am looking alone to your great country and I implore you, not on any feeling that nothing can be conceded and that England is arrogant and seeking a quarrel, not to play the game of every enemy of your country. Nations in great crises and difficulties have often done that which in their prosperous and powerful hour they would not have done; and they have done it without humiliation and disgrace. You may disappoint your enemies by the moderation and reasonableness of your conduct; and every honest and good man in England will applaud your wisdom. If you are resolved to succeed against the South, have no war with England. Make every concession that can be made. Do not hesitate to tell the world that you will even consider what two years ago no power would have asked of you rather than give another nation a pretense

for assisting your enemies. It is your interest to baffle your enemies even by any concession which is not disgraceful."

America then acted along the lines John Bright advised. I do not know whether his advice carried any weight. I have not the slightest idea whether you may not resent my giving advice; but I assure you that it is given with as much friendliness and disinterestedness as fifty-odd years ago John Bright gave his to Sumner and Lincoln, and with as sincere a purpose to serve what I believe to be the cause of justice and morality; and with reversal of names the advice I am giving is the same as John Bright gave; and my reasons are the same.

There have been fluctuations in American opinion about the war. The actions of the German Zeppelins have revived the feeling in favor of the Allies. But I believe that for a couple of months preceding this action there had been a distinct lessening of the feeling for the Allies and a growth of pro-German feeling. I do not think that this was the case among the people who are best informed; but I do think it was the case among the mass of not very well-informed people, who have little to go upon except what they read in the newspapers or see at Cinematograph shows. There were several causes for this change. There has been a very striking contrast between the lavish attentions showered on American war correspondents by the German military authorities and the blank refusal to have anything whatever to do with them by the British and French governments. Our best war correspondent, on the whole, is probably Frederick Palmer. He is favorable to the Allies. But it was the Germans and not the allies who did everything for him. They did not change his attitude; but they unquestionably did change the attitude of many other good men. The only real war news written by Americans who are known to and trusted by the American public comes from the German side; as a result of this, the sympathizers with the cause of the Allies can hear nothing whatever about the trials and achievements of the British and French armies. These correspondents inform me that it is not the generals at the front who raise the objections but the Home Governments; and in consequence they get the chance to write for their fellow countrymen what happens from the German side and they are not given a chance from the side of the Allies. I do not find that the permission granted them by the Germans has interfered with the efficiency of German military operations; and it has certainly helped the Germans in American public opinion. It may be that your people do not believe that American public opinion is of sufficient value to be taken into account; but, if you think that it should be taken into account, then it is worth your while considering whether much of your censorship work and much of your refusal to allow correspondents at the front has not been damaging to your cause from the standpoint of the effect on public opinion, without any corresponding military gain. I realize perfectly that it would be criminal to permit correspondents to act as they acted as late as our own Spanish War; but, as a layman, I feel sure that there has

been a good deal of work of the kind of which I have spoken in the way of censorship and refusing the correspondents permission to go to the front which has not been of the slightest military service to you and which has had a very real effect in preventing any rallying of public opinion to you.

I have also just written to Spring Rice a letter¹ of which I shall ask him to send you a copy, which I should like you to consider in connection with this letter I am writing to you and as part of it.

Now, as to the question of contraband. You know that I am as little in sympathy with President Wilson and Secretary Bryan as regards their attitude in international matters as John Bright was in sympathy with Lords Palmerston and Derby and Mr. Gladstone in their attitude toward the American Republic when it was at war fifty years ago. But they speak for the country; and I have no influence whatever in shaping public action and, as I have reason to believe, very little influence indeed in shaping public opinion. My advice therefore must be taken or rejected by you purely with reference to what you think it is worth.

President Wilson is a pacifist, with apparently no adequate understanding of any military problem — at least his action on our own affairs seems to show this. He is certainly not desirous of war with anybody. But he is very obstinate, very anxious to be president again, and he takes the professorial views of international matters. I need not point out to you that it is often pacifists who, halting and stumbling and not knowing whither they are going, finally drift helplessly into a war, which they have rendered inevitable, without the slightest idea that they were doing so. A century ago this was what happened to the United States under Presidents Jefferson and Madison — although at that time the attitude of both England and France rendered war with one of them, and ought to have rendered war with both of them, inevitable on our part. I do not know if you have seen the letter I wrote to Spring Rice on this question a couple of weeks ago.² I presume he has sent it to you, or, if not, that he will send it together with this letter. I regard the proposed purchase by the Administration of German ships as entirely improper. I am supporting the Republicans in their opposition to the measure. I regard some of the actions of the Administration, in, for instance, refusing to make public the manifests in advance and the like, as improper. I think Great Britain is now showing great courtesy and forbearance. I believe that she has done things to our ships that ought not to have been done; but I am not aware that she is now doing them. I am not discussing this question from the standpoint of right. I am discussing it from the standpoint of expediency, in the interest of Great Britain. Our trade, under existing circumstances, is of vastly more service to you and France than to Germany. I think I underestimate the

¹No. 5961.

²This letter of January 5 to Spring Rice set forth the opinion about the British attitude toward contraband which Roosevelt repeated to Grey.

case when I say that it is ten times as valuable to the allies as to Germany. There are circumstances under which it might become not merely valuable but vital. I am not a naval man. I do not know what the possibilities of the submarine are. But they have accomplished some notable feats; and if they should now begin to destroy ships carrying foodstuffs to Great Britain, the effect might be not merely serious but appalling. Under such conditions, it would be of the utmost consequence to England to have accepted the most extreme view the United States could advance as to her right to ship cargoes unmolested. Even although this possibility, which I do not regard as more than a very remote possibility, is in reality wholly impossible, it yet remains true that the trade in contraband is overwhelmingly to the advantage of England, France and Russia, because of your command of the seas. You assume that this command gives you the right to make the advantage still more overwhelming. I ask you merely to take careful thought, so that you shall not excite our government, even wrongfully, to act in such a way that it would diminish or altogether abolish the great advantage you now have. I do not question that there are in Mr. Wilson's Cabinet men who will protest against improper action being taken to favor Germany at England's expense. But they are in the minority in the Administration, and the majority see that the political advantage will unquestionably lie with those who try to placate the German-American vote and the professional pacifist vote. It would be extraordinary, were it not characteristic of the professional pacifist mind, that the pacifists applaud action which would be to the advantage of the power whose invasion of Belgium has been the greatest blow to peace and international morality that has been struck during the lifetime of the present generation. The German-Americans wish to put a stop to all exportation of contraband because such action would result to the benefit of Germany. The pacifists are inclined to fall in with the suggestion, because they feebly believe it would be in the interest of "Peace" — just as they are inclined heartily to favor any peace proposal, even though it should leave Belgium in Germany's hands and pave the way for certain renewal of the war.

Now, in all this I cannot advise you in detail. Many different cases come up; and the circumstances vary completely from case to case. I very earnestly hope that you will ostentatiously show every possible consideration to the American Flag and the American position and that, wherever possible, you will yield the point, even though you think you are right, rather than increase friction with this country and make our well-meaning but not well-informed people feel a sense of irritation and grow to regard England as trying to wrong America and being with difficulty prevented by the patriotic activities of the American Administration, the American government. Exactly how far you can go in any given case, I cannot say. But where it is so very important for you that there should be no American hostility, I hope you will not only avoid doubtful action but will not insist

on your rights, even when these rights are clear, unless you are convinced that the gain to you will more than offset causing an irritation in this country which might have effects that I will not even contemplate, because they would cause me real horror.³

I have publicly taken the position that, inasmuch as we did not stand up for Belgium's rights, it is a base and ignoble thing to take any action for our own moneyed interests as regards neutral affairs which may bring us into collision with the warring power; but I need not say to you that in countries like England and the United States, although in times when there is no strain everybody is willing to applaud the most foolish pacifist utterance, yet under strain there is always a tendency to assert the overwhelmingly superior claim of pure self-interest, untinged by any regard for international morality. I am as wholly hostile to the one tendency as to the other; but it is the part of wisdom to recognize that these tendencies exist.

I make no apology to you for writing; for I am certain that you understand the spirit in which I write and the reason for my doing so; and you are under no obligation to pay a moment's heed to what I have written or to answer the letter.⁴ *Yours very truly*

5960 · TO CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 22, 1915

Dear Bonaparte: That's an admirable letter of yours to the Editor of the *Sun*! I hope it will be published. Them's my sentiments! As a rough guess, and not for publication, I should say that at the moment the likelihood was that I personally would have to, in your words, "hold my nose and swallow the nauseous dose" in 1916, simply because if the Wilson-Bryan type of captain is obviously bound to run the ship on the rocks, I will vote to substitute for him even an escaped criminal, who will at the moment keep it clear of that particular danger. But this does not mean any cordial feeling on my part toward the criminal.

If you happen to see the little book I have just published, called *America and the World War*, glance at the rather extensive quotation from yourself six or eight pages from the end.¹

Yes, I saw Bryan's letter to Vick.² As with all that Bryan does, I feel

³ "We do what we can to avoid provoking neutrals, and especially the United States," Grey replied; "but, with German submarines round our coast, torpedoing merchant vessels and drowning merchant seamen, people here will not stand letting goods go past our doors to Germany." — Grey, *Twenty-Five Years*, II, 154.

⁴ Roosevelt sent a copy of this letter to Arthur Hamilton Lee.

¹ *America and the World War*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, 178–180. Roosevelt quoted Bonaparte's bitter statements on Wilson's failure to prepare for war.

² In this letter the Secretary of State had requested Walker W. Vick, the receiver general of customs in Santo Domingo, to find jobs there for "deserving Democrats." This was but one of many embarrassing documents then being revealed by an in-

that the responsibility rests with Wilson. Writing to you, I can write as freely as I talk, as you don't leave my letters around. When I had put Shaw in my Cabinet and gradually began to find out that he was not a fit man, I thoroughly understood that I was responsible for him and responsible for all his deeds. I became convinced that, as regards the relations of his department with the indicted banker, Walsh of Chicago, and as regards a certain sandstone quarry in Ohio, things were not as they should be. It was important to avoid a purposeless scandal.³ I therefore told Mr. Shaw that I would like him to resign but would give him leeway and would say nothing publicly that would harm him—I did not think it necessary to go as far as Lincoln did with Simon Cameron, when he took him out of the Cabinet and put him into a foreign mission. Shaw protested a good deal; but I put him out. I made him understand that he had to go and that I wished him to go nominally of his own accord. Then, while he was in, I kept a sharp personal eye on what was being done and prevented any shielding of Walsh or favoring of the sandstone quarry in question, thereafter. Wilson has the same moral responsibility that I had. The one place where the spoils system is a capital crime is when we are dealing with non-American peoples, so that the honor of the United States is engaged either to prevent wrongdoing to those who are helpless or to prevent discredit attaching to our people in international matters. Postmasters and Internal Revenue Collectors are our own affair. If the public prefer to have them recommended for political reasons, why, they will have them so recommended; and the discredit, loss and absurdity will fall where it belongs and will be felt where it ought to be felt. But an improper Indian Agent does wrong not to the whites by whom he is appointed but to the Indians among whom he lives; and the same is true as regards our service in Panama, the Philippines or Santo Domingo. To write such a letter as Bryan wrote to Vick about service in Santo Domingo is a direct invitation to the basest type of corruption. I happen to know at firsthand that it was really only the knowledge that Colonel Goethals intended to resign that prevented Wilson from permitting Bryan, through Bryan's former editorial partner, to debauch the Panama service. There has been considerable debauching of the Philippine service. Santo Domingo is merely the place where this type of misdeed happens to have been discovered.

vestigation of the discreditable Democratic administration of Dominican affairs. For three different assessments of the degree of Democratic iniquity, see Baker, *Wilson*, IV, 36-43, 441-450; Blum, *Tumulty*, 110-115; Knight, *Americans in Santo Domingo*, ch. vi.

³ John R. Walsh, twice president of the Chicago Clearing House Association, in 1905 president of three Chicago banks and a director of a dozen Midwestern industrial enterprises. In December 1905 his three banks suddenly failed. After the resulting investigation, Walsh was indicted, found guilty, and sent to Leavenworth for the misapplication of funds. His banks had loaned heavily to the Ohio Quarries Company and the Bedford Quarries Company.

In all of this the thing that appeals to me most is the attitude of *The Evening Post*, *The World* and the *Times*, and the rest of that crowd in condemning Bryan more or less halfheartedly and at the same time enthusiastically disassociating Wilson from him. Wilson is absolutely responsible for Bryan in every way. *Faithfully yours*

5961 • TO CECIL ARTHUR SPRING RICE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 22, 1915

Dear Cecil: It does not seem to me that your Government is doing enough to inform public opinion in America about certain matters as to which it should be informed. Nor is the French Government doing what it should do. Undoubtedly the Germans have overdone the thing in trying to influence American public opinion; but there is a happy medium between the course pursued by the Germans and the course pursued by you and France. For example, the other day Mrs. Roosevelt read in the London triweekly *Mail* a translation of the French report on German atrocities. It was an official report of the very kind which I have continually demanded should be produced before any expression of opinion from Americans was hoped for concerning these alleged atrocities. It is a most important document. It should have been prepared in English for dissemination throughout the United States as an official document. It would have a very great effect. I wish you would tell Jusserand this. Now, this morning, we see a report in the *Times* of a translation by Professor J. H. Morgan of the University College, London, of the manual issued by the General Staff in Berlin,¹ in which there are a number of rules laid down as to the conduct of war, which seem to me very shocking and which, I think, the average American will find very shocking. It is simple foolishness to let this go as a newspaper report, speedily forgotten and doubtless immediately denied. If there exists such a translation, special extracts from it should be made, and in the important parts the original German should be given, and reference should be made as to where the original manual can be found, so as to be a guaranty of the authenticity of the translation. This translation should be prepared especially for distribution in the United States, both to the press and to private individuals; and it should be put in such shape that the points visualize themselves at once to the ordinary reader.

You remember the time I got you to give me information about the translation of the pamphlet by the attaché of the German General staff, who had prepared plans for war against America. Of course, that should have been put out in pamphlet form in such shape that the authenticity

¹ *The German War Book*, first published in 1902, translated in 1915 by John Hartman Morgan, lawyer, journalist, professor of constitutional law, in 1915 a staff captain on the British Adjutant General's staff, later a brigadier general, author of several books on Germany and on the war.

could not be successfully disputed, and distributed throughout the United States. Almost all the benefit that could be hoped for from the English side was lost by the inattention and sheer bungling in the use made of this matter. I am sending to you herewith a letter I have written to Sir Edward Grey, which I wish you would read and forward to him with a copy of this letter, and of my last. Apparently the English public desires the sympathy of the United States. I assume that the English government also desires it. If this assumption is correct, it is worth while to take some pains to secure it. My suggestions relate only to securing the circulation of unimpeachable facts in such form that it will be impossible to contradict them. I should most heartily reprobate putting out any fact which was not absolutely established or making any argument that could not be justified by the highest standard of international ethics if made for any nation. But if these facts exist and if these arguments can be made and if the English people think it worth while to keep American opinion on their side, then it seems to me that the American people should be sedulously given the chance to know the facts and see the arguments.²

I suppose you have seen my little book on *America and the World War*.³
Faithfully yours

[*Handwritten*] Love to dear Lady Springy and the nice small people. I wish I could write "crocodile, «Johnny crocodile»" for *them*!

5962 · TO WILLIAM EMLÉN ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 24, 1915

Dear Emlen: My withers are unwrung by your assault on the Income Tax. I have always made my fight for an Inheritance Tax. However, I must plead guilty to the fact that inasmuch as all the leaders, not only in the Progressive Party but in the Democratic and Republican Parties also, went in favor of an Income Tax, I did not oppose it; and I am still of the opinion that an Income Tax, something on the line of those used in Germany and England, would do good. But ----- this income tax! *Always yours*

5963 · TO DWIGHT BANCROFT HEARD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 29, 1915

Dear Mr. Heard: I wish I could improve on your letter to Mat Hale, with its recommendations; but I don't think that it is possible. The only difference that I would make is that you speak altogether too favorably of Wilson. To my mind he does not represent the Progressive ideal at all. I do not

² This thought had also occurred to the British government which had authorized the Bryce investigation of and report on atrocities. Issued in May 1915, this effective piece of propaganda contained accounts of horrors both authentic and apocryphal.

³ Roosevelt sent a copy of this letter to Arthur Hamilton Lee.

think we have ever had a more reactionary President than Wilson, in every real sense of the word "reactionary." Moreover, I think him entirely insincere; and he and Bryan, with the able assistance of Daniels, have in all international matters put this country lower than it has been for a century. I rank Wilson with Buchanan. The one achievement of his Administration which seems to me to have something of good in it is the finance measure; and this measure was taken almost bodily from that prepared by the standpat Republicans under Aldrich. Even as regards this, I may be mistaken in my belief that it is a good measure; for I know mighty little about Finance. In halfhearted fashion he finally, in his trust policy, adopted a little of the Progressive Platform; but it is quite impossible to be sure that he adopted enough really to help the situation; and in what he did do, he broke faith. As regards Mexico and the European War, he has been beneath contempt. I firmly believe that he has yielded to the pressure of great commercial interests in pushing his Ship Purchase Measure, a measure which may very well embroil us with both England and France. I speak quite seriously when I say that I think Charles Murphy and Roger Sullivan would be preferable at this moment at the head of our nation to Wilson and Bryan.

All that you say in your letter to Mat Hale is true. We represented the principles to which this country ought to have come. But the country would not come to them. One reason was that it got it fixed in its head that we were presenting reform as an alternative to prosperity; and, if they had to make the choice, they intended to choose prosperity. As a matter of fact, I do not think that Perkins had cold feet at all; some of the men who were at that dinner at Medill McCormick's who accused him of timidity, were really timid themselves.

My judgment is that we ought to do as you say, that is, do nothing for a year or thereabouts and see how things shape themselves. Unless there is a complete change, it would be merely silliness to try another fight for a straight Progressive ticket, east of the Rockies. Medill McCormick has written me that the attempt would be entirely hopeless in Illinois. Most of the Indiana men feel the same way; and Flinn tells me the same thing in Pennsylvania, as does Murdock, of Kansas.¹ In New York and New Jersey we would simply make ourselves a laughingstock, if we tried to make an active fight as things are now. In this state we could not get any man worth standing beside to make such a fight at this time. I spent every ounce of time, effort and money I could put into the campaign last fall; and it was flogging a dead horse. Of course, it is a hair-trigger situation; and it may entirely change; but at present all I see is for us to sit tight and await events.

It may be that the Republicans will take such an attitude that men like myself will have to vote for some third ticket merely as a conscience vote.

¹ As also did Vernon of Maine whose intention to work for a merger with the Republicans Roosevelt on January 22 endorsed.

Under no circumstances does it seem to me that I could vote for Wilson. I am not even sure that I could vote for him if the Republicans put up Taft or Nicholas Murray Butler! Still, I won't definitely commit myself, if there was such a frightful alternative offered! I certainly wouldn't vote for either of *them*. Of course, the ideal thing would be if we could get the Republicans to endorse a man of the type of Hiram Johnson; but I don't suppose there is any chance of this.

Please treat this letter as entirely confidential. I do wish I could see you in person. *Faithfully yours*

5964 · TO MILES POINDEXTER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 30, 1915

My dear Senator Poindexter: I thank you for your letter. Now it seems to me clear that this is not a real case of a desire to purchase ships for use by the Government at all. It is really an effort to interfere in this war on behalf of one of the belligerents by purchasing its interned ships.¹ I am informed that all amendments to prevent the purchase of belligerent-owned ships have been voted down. If this is so, I feel most strongly that it is the duty of every good American to vote against the bill in question. The voting down of such amendments shows that the intention of the Administration is to buy the German ships. If that is done, and these ships, owned by the United States Government, go to sea, the Allies will have a perfect right to refuse to recognize the transfer of the flag. If they do so and treat them as German ships, they are liable to be captured or in case of resistance to be sunk. This would bring us very close to war not only with England

¹ The purpose of the ship purchase bill was, of course, to relieve the desperate shipping shortage. In August 1914 Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo proposed to meet the transport crisis by creating a government-controlled corporation to purchase, construct, and operate merchant vessels. Almost the only ships available for purchase were German ships interned in American ports.

By January 1915, when the debate on the ship purchase bill opened in the Senate, opposition to it had crystallized. Shipping interests, fearing government competition and the loss of lush profits, were actively lobbying against the bill. Conservatives in both parties agreed with Senator Root that a government-owned shipping service was a dangerous experiment in "state socialism." Other senators, like Burton, were afraid the passage of the bill would involve the United States in a needless controversy with the belligerents. Still others, like Cabot Lodge, saw the bill as a plot to aid Germany at the expense of the Allies. Finally, Wilson's repeated demands that the bill be passed aroused the Senate's traditional distrust of executive dominance. By skillfully playing on these different attitudes, the Republicans prevented the passage of the bill; see No. 5967. The best detailed account of this first serious legislative defeat for the Wilson Administration is Baker, *Wilson*, V, 112-134.

The fight over the ship purchase bill brought Roosevelt closer to the Republicans. Throughout, Roosevelt was in close contact with party leaders. At the request of Lodge and Borah, he wrote Poindexter, Clapp, Norris, and Murdock to defeat the bill. After the bill was killed, Lodge spent a weekend at Sagamore Hill for the first time since 1911.

alone, but with all her allies, with England, France, Russia and Japan. I think it is literally a criminal act for this Administration to go into this without considering the gross breach of neutrality which it would be to relieve Germany of these ships and pay her thirty or forty million dollars of public money. I most earnestly hope that you can see your way clear at least to vote for the Cummins substitute. Of course, I hoped you would be against the whole bill. But under no circumstances ought we to be put in the position where it is possible for the Administration to purchase these ships owned by Germany and interned in our ports. *Faithfully yours*

5965 • TO ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 4, 1915

*My dear Cochran:*¹ Will you read the enclosed letter through? Have you any acquaintance with the poems of Bliss Carman?² Some of his Ballads have really been capital; and I wish to Heaven there were some way that we could be saved the discredit of having a man like him die of want, because the advertisers of automobile supplies do not think his poetry is "breezy" and "snappy" and "up-to-date." From the letter you will see that what is wanted is some employment at a salary of five hundred dollars a year for Carman or five thousand dollars to get him the annuity. When I was President, I cheerfully outraged the feelings of the ultra-Civil-Service reformers by fishing a similar poet — I think an even better man — Arlington Robinson, out of a Boston Millinery store, where he was writing metrical advertisements for spring hats, and put him in the Customs House. This got him a start; and he has done well ever since, although it is perhaps needless to say that Taft promptly turned him out. I write you chiefly as founder of the Elizabethan Club. Would there be anything he could do at a salary of five hundred dollars a year annually that could be given him or any steps that could be taken toward getting that annuity for him? The demands made upon me are so innumerable that I am not physically able to meet one in ten of them — and, as you may have noticed, Congress won't even give me back the Nobel Peace Prize to make use of.

It was delightful having you and Bob Perkins out here. Do you know

¹ Alexander Smith Cochran, a very wealthy man — carpets, railroads — used his wealth to encourage the arts (he was a founder of the New Theatre in New York) and to promote Progressive politics; a heavy contributor to the Bull Moose in 1912. He gave to Yale the "Arabian-Nightish" gift of the Elizabethan Club, "a center for men of literary tastes, irrespective either of 'prominence' or actual performance."

² William Bliss Carman, lyric poet; author, with Richard Hovey, of *Songs from Vagabondia* and, alone, of *Pipes of Pan*. Cochran immediately arranged to provide for Carman as Roosevelt requested. Roosevelt, in turn, sent to the Elizabethan Club a two-volume edition of the poet's works. Later in the same year, Roosevelt sent from his own pocket a sum of money to the widow of the Kentucky poet, Madison Cawein. At the same time he persuaded Carnegie to send a far larger sum.

Alec Lambert? If you do, would you care to include him on that trip, when we go up to the Elizabethan Club in the spring? He is an awfully good fellow. *Faithfully yours*

5966 · TO CECIL ARTHUR SPRING RICE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 5, 1915

Dear Cecil: Just after sending you another letter to Grey, I received one from him dated December 18th. I don't know why it took six weeks to reach me.

Since I wrote the long letter to Grey, the success of German submarines against merchant vessels has given me a very uneasy feeling lest what I hinted at may come to pass, and the submarines may make effective war against the merchant vessels going into England. This would be a very serious business and might mean that your whole chance of going on with the war at all depended upon American merchantmen bringing you in food. This is something, of course, that your own people ought to consider when they make protests about neutrality rights or confiscate cargoes. However, I assume they know their own interests and their own capabilities. I have felt that if they choose to protest against our Government purchasing German interned ships, they had a right to do so; and accordingly I have done all I could to prevent the passage of this bill of the Administration, a bill which is pushed by the German interests here and by the Jewish bankers who are doing Germany's business. Now, my dear Cecil, I hope your people will remember that it is they who must determine what their own interest is and that if they find afterwards that they were mistaken, the responsibility will be upon them and not upon those who have tried to help them.

Moreover, do let me say as strongly as I know how that I hope that at all costs your people will avoid a clash with us, *where we are right*. On grounds of expediency, as you know, I hope you will not have a clash with us if it can possibly be avoided, even although we are wrong — just as it was expedient for the United States to avoid a clash with Great Britain or France during the Civil War, even although they were wrong. For it would be a veritable calamity for you to put yourselves in a position where you were wrong and where America had to stand against you or else herself abandon the right. In such a case I and those who think as I do would, however reluctantly, be obliged to take a stand against you, because we would be obliged to do the thing that was right. Your government evidently feels a great contempt for the Wilson-Bryan Administration; and I don't wonder. They are truckling to the German vote; they are utterly selfish and insincere; and they are timid to the last degree. Doubtless your people feel that they could not be kicked into a war. But it is just weak and timid but shifty

creatures of the Wilson-Bryan type who are most apt to be responsible for a country drifting into war. I would regard it as an unspeakable calamity if a war should come between the United States and Great Britain. You do not need to be told that everything I can do I am doing, have done and shall do to prevent wrong conduct, offensive conduct, by this administration and to make your path smooth; I feel that the case of Belgium alone ought to put us absolutely on the side of the Allies. It is for this very reason that I so earnestly hope that you will under no circumstances yourselves do something wrong, something evil, as regards which I and the men like me will have to clearly take the stand on the other side.

By the way, if the Allies have to act against us on some point, where they are clearly right and we clearly wrong, I wish it could be a French and not a British ship that took the action. *Faithfully yours*

5967 · TO GEORGE WILLIAM NORRIS

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

New York, February 6, 1915

My dear Senator Norris: Because of our old acquaintance I venture to write you as regards the Shipping Bill; for the issue here is one vitally affecting the honor and welfare of our beloved country and far transcends any question of ordinary party politics. I feel that the seven Democrats who took their political lives in their hands to beat the Wilson-Bryan machine in this matter are entitled to the highest praise and to the heartiest support. As of course you know, I feel that Wilson and Bryan are fast putting us in a position where they imperil the safety of the country and that everything else ought to be laid aside in order to stop this danger.¹ Not since the days of Buchanan have we had a President who has been as untrustworthy in vital matters as Mr. Wilson; and we have never had a Secretary of State as unworthy of the position as Mr. Bryan. It is our duty as good Americans to shear them of their influence for harm.

The Bill for government-owned ships in its present shape, especially after the German notice of yesterday,² is setting us in the pathway toward

¹Norris, Kenyon, Clapp, and La Follette were the only Republicans known to favor the ship purchase bill. The refusal of the seven Democratic senators to support the Administration made the votes of these four Republicans essential for the passage of the bill. On February 2, the day after the Democratic bolt, Wilson called Norris, Kenyon, and Clapp to the White House. Though Clapp refused to back Wilson, Norris and Kenyon agreed to vote for the bill if it were amended to make the shipping corporation a permanent organization. When Administration forces failed to propose such an amendment, Norris and Kenyon, on February 10, came out against the bill. On February 17 they, with La Follette, spoke against the compromise measure passed that day by the House. The House and the Senate then sent the bills back to committee without instruction or amendments. There they remained until the end of the session.

²Germany on February 4, 1915, had declared the waters around the British Isles a war zone within which neutral ships, because of the difficulty of identification, sailed at their peril. In effect, this was a declaration of Germany's intent to torpedo any vessel in the defined area. It was also a violation of international law.

war. Messrs. Wilson and Bryan are pushing us to a position which may finally force the nation to face the alternatives of war or shameful humiliation. It is not the first time that an incompetent and incapable administrator from sheer vacillating indecision, has brought a country into the very war which in theory he desired to avert. It seems to me that the essential thing now is for every Republican and every Progressive to fight straight with the seven Democrats until the bill is recommitted to the Committee without instructions as to amendments or as to the time of reporting it. I do not trust the Wilson-Bryan people to prepare or stand by any amendments that will really meet the difficulties of the situation. My interest in the bill is to see it rendered impossible to purchase the ships of the powers now at war — and the big foreign banking firms that are pushing the bill here in New York undoubtedly hope to make a profit on a very large scale by selling to the Government these interned ships. But this amendment in order to make it satisfactory should be prepared by the opponents of the present bill, after it has been put back into Committee. It seems to me that all good citizens should join on this issue to beat Messrs. Wilson and Bryan, because they are imperiling the safety of the country and that the issue should be forced straight on them, and all the men opposed to them kept together, until the bill is recommitted to the Committee. Then the time for conferences and for possible future movements will come.

There is no use of appealing to Senator La Follette's patriotism, for I regret to say that I am not sure that it exists; but I have written to you just as I have written to my party opponents, Lodge and Borah, and to my party associates, Poindexter and Clapp, in this matter.

With good wishes, *Sincerely yours*

5968 · TO CECIL ARTHUR SPRING RICE

Roosevelt Mss.

Washington, February 18, 1915

Dear Cecil: I think I have been writing you in rather too somber a vein recently; and this is just to say that everything will come out all right. Tell this to Jusserand also. The one thing of which I feel certain is that England and France will be immensely benefited as the result of this war. Personally I think the Allies will win. I know they ought to win. Indeed I am sure the victory will to some degree «be» theirs. I am not sure that the victory will come in such fashion as to secure justice being done to Belgium and a chance being given for the peoples of middle and southeastern Europe to develop as they should develop. But I am as nearly sure as can be that England and France will benefit immensely by the war. Both of them have shown ugly traits at times during the lifetime of the generation that has recently grown to manhood and perhaps it was necessary that their manhood should be tried and purged in the ordeal of this dreadful fiery furnace. We Americans have known better times; perhaps such an ordeal. . . . You

and Jusserand are doing what is very fine, perhaps the finest thing that men can do; that is, you are rendering the utmost service to your country when your country most needs such service and when your country is engaged in a struggle in which your success is for the benefit of mankind. I would not have said this of England and France in the time of our Civil War, whereas I would most emphatically have said it of our own people at the time of our civil war. I would not even have said it of England and France in the Crimean War or of England in 1878 in connection with Russia or of France in 1882 in connection with Egypt. But in this great crisis you stand for the vital interests of your own two nations and you stand for humanity, for mankind; and in all human probability the war will come out to the benefit of both of you. I earnestly hope that it will come out so much to the benefit of both of you as to ensure the wrongs of Belgium being righted, as to give the people of Alsace and Lorraine the chance to determine their own destiny, and to give the lesser Slav peoples the chance to develop that they ought to have. But even if my hopes are fallacious in these respects, I am sure they are not fallacious as regards England and France. Both of these nations will come out immeasurably better because of what they have done and of what they have suffered in this war. If I were willing to let myself grow cast down, I should be pretty well cast down at the fact that in this great crisis America, because of having unworthy leaders, has played an unworthy part. But there is no use in people of our age feeling needlessly cast down. In our Civil War France and England did ill; and yet they have now risen to great pitches of patriotism and heroism. I do not doubt that the same thing will be true of the United States.

Give my love to dear Lady Springy. I do wish we could see you both. Bakhméteff¹ and his wife came out here the other day for lunch. Don't you think that very unostentatiously you could come out for a night or for lunch sometime? I don't believe that anyone would know it. If that is impossible and if you will give me sufficient warning I will come in town to meet you.

By the way, I am rather amused at the fact that Maxse's *National Review*,² which is fairly jingo about Britain, should keep Maurice Low as its American correspondent, in view of the fact that Maurice Low is perfectly willing to do all he can for any anti-English creature here, if it will suit his own book.

When I see Lady Springy, I want to tell her all about my grandchildren. I question if even the good diplomatic father would tolerate the kind of

¹ George Bakhméteff, Russian Ambassador to the United States.

² The *National Review* had been given to Leopold James Maxse in 1893 by his father, Admiral Maxse, as a means of restoring the son to health after a serious illness. Though the device was not wholly successful as a therapeutic measure, the new and young (twenty-nine) editor turned the *Review* into a robust and influential periodical. Using the pages of his magazine to express with wit and clarity his own positive views, Maxse foresaw the "German danger," deplored the return to the gold standard, opposed woman suffrage, defended France at all times, and in the years from 1912 to 1917 opposed Wilson's policies.

anecdote which this grandfather would like to inflict upon a presumably equally fond mother.

I received a very pathetic letter from Winty Chanler the other day. Winty is such a delightful person and such a real faun that I hate to think of the misfortunes of our common humanity falling on him — you and I are eminently human and it is all right we should have those misfortunes; but Winty ought by rights to enjoy himself to the very last. In his letter he made it evident that he was thinking often of the old times when, even if we were not all of us completely carefree, we all of us had youth and the power of looking forward that gives youth its unconquerable spirit. But, Springy, the true way to look at things is to realize how very fortunate we have all been, taking it as a whole. You and your wife, and my wife and I — we have encountered troubles and at times disaster and we cannot expect to escape a certain grayness in the afternoon of life — for it is not often that life ends in the splendor of a golden sunset. But all four of us have led the kind of life that is emphatically well worth living and we all have cause to be deeply thankful that our lives have laid in the places where they have laid. *Always yours*

5969 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Washington, February 18, 1915

Dear Cabot: I think this Administration is the very worst and most disgraceful we have ever known. My Mexican article is already in type and I can add nothing to it. In any event, I should be doubtful whether these frightful cases of which you speak are sufficiently authenticated for use. I have not a question that they are true. Have you any idea how I can get at them accurately? I am writing another piece on military preparedness and I might use this in that piece. Thank Heaven, I no longer have to consider the effect of my actions upon any party; and accordingly I have temperately but with the strongest possible emphasis attacked the German-American propaganda and the effort by German-Americans to use the United States as an instrument in the interest of Germany.

Cal O'Laughlin tells me that Smoot spoke of my having written to you that I would accept any Republican save Taft. I think you had better not quote what I said to you in any way to have it get around, as it would be a very unwise thing for me now to be announcing my position, and especially to be announcing it through indirection.

I congratulate you on the Shipping Bill. I had what was on the whole a pretty satisfactory letter from Norris.¹ It seems to me that you have made

¹ George Norris had written Roosevelt that "in the main we are in agreement as to the Shipping Bill." In an enclosed interview with a correspondent of the United Press, Norris explained that unless the bill was amended to prevent purchase of vessels from belligerents without the consent of all other belligerents the legislation might bring us into the war. He also felt the government ought to retain the ownership of vessels and of all shipping profits.

no mistakes. I think Wilson worse than Bryan; and that's saying a good deal, for I loathe Bryan! Root has done capitally.² *Always yours*

5970 · TO VICTOR MURDOCK

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 19, 1915

Dear Victor: I wish to congratulate you upon your admirable speech at Philadelphia.¹ It seems to me you struck the keynote. The thing to do is to fight for our principles and get all of them if we can and if, as appears likely, our countrymen at the moment won't accept more than a few of them, then good-humoredly to get these few without abandoning our faith in the others and when the time comes to strive for the others likewise. At present it does not seem as if it was likely that we could fight for these principles through the medium of the Progressive party as a separate national party. But while this does not seem likely, it is possible; and what we have to do now is to sit tight, keep our organization together and hold ourselves ready to meet whatever the emergency may demand a year hence. Such speeches as that you have made do real good.

As George Record sent to Flinn a copy of the speech which he wished me to make in advocating our immediate return to the Republican party and my announcement that I intended to be a candidate for the nomination for President in the Republican primaries, I send you the copy that Record sent me. Please return it to me. I did not agree with all the principles he set forth (some of them I entirely disagreed with) and I think that as a matter of expediency the action he advised would have been unwise to the last degree. *Faithfully yours*

5971 · TO MICHAEL A. SCHAAP

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 22, 1915

My dear Schaap: Sometime or other come in to see me. I see you appeared against the bill making compulsory the reading of the Bible in the Public Schools. If I were in the Legislature or Governor, I should vote against or veto that bill, because I believe in absolutely nonsectarian public schools. It is not our business to have the Protestant Bible or the Catholic Vulgate or the Talmud read in those schools. There is no objection whatever, where the local sentiment favors it, for the teacher to read a few verses of the ethical or moral parts of the Bible, so long as this causes no offense to anyone. But it is entirely wrong for the law to make this reading compulsory; and the

²Root had been a leader of the opposition to the ship purchase bill. Perhaps the most compelling attack on that measure was his speech in the Senate on January 25.

¹In this speech as in a letter to George Perkins of February 24, Murdock emphasized the need for fidelity to the principles of 1912. Commenting on the letter, Roosevelt urged that "we ought also to lay special stress upon the immediate need of national defense."—Roosevelt to Murdock, March 5, 1915, *Roosevelt Mss.*

Protestant fanatics who attempt to force this through are playing into the hands of the Catholic fanatics who want to break down the Public Schools system and introduce a system of sectarian schools. I shall ask you to treat this letter as private, because I have so many fights on my hands that there is no use my going into another; and just at present our people do not wish me to embark on a general course of lectures to them as to what they should do in the public schools. You can show this letter, however, to Hamilton Fish, our one Progressive legislator, if you wish. *Faithfully yours*

5972 · TO HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 22, 1915

My dear Governor: Many thanks for «your» last letters. If I had known that Fremont Older was taking that view of Wilson, I doubt if I would have written him «anything»! Wilson and Bryan by their attitude toward the European War and toward Mexico have not only put the United States in a humiliating position but have run the risk of letting «us» drift into war when we are utterly unprepared for it. As «soon» as this war broke out, they should have begun to put the «army» and navy into good shape to fight and raised them to the highest point of efficiency. This would have tended «immensely» for peace. Then they should have been scrupulously careful to live up to our obligations and to insist upon our rights. They have done neither. In the case of Germany they have taken an attitude which was equivalent to making a demand upon Germany itself to do something and then when Germany refused, they have sat supine and refrained from making their threats good. I cannot too strongly express my abhorrence of the position in which they have put us. I speak seriously when I say I would quite as lief have returned to the days when Buchanan was President. Taft is backing up Wilson.¹ One is as bad as the other.

On the other hand, I strongly agree with you about the attitude of what seems to be the dominant force in the Republican party at the moment. Here in New York especially the powers of reaction believe that their triumph has been complete. That is one explanation of Barnes's libel suit. He is a man of much ability, as of course a boss has to be; and he feels that this is the chance once and for all to establish himself. Inspired by Penrose's success in Philadelphia, I am told that he regrets he did not himself run for Senator this year and believes he would have been elected. I am inclined to think that he is right. The people of this state last fall simply declined to consider any question of immorality in either business or politics and took the view frankly and openly that they were sick and tired of reformers and muck-

¹ On the day this letter was written, Taft for the third time in February 1915 praised Wilson's war policy. He had also, however, endorsed the preparedness campaign of the Army League.

rakers of all kinds and that they did not care a rap whether there was corruption in business and politics or not so long as they could have a reasonable return of prosperity. Workingmen, businessmen and farmers all took this view alike. As you know, for Governor, we did not poll more than one vote in twenty-five or thirty. The other voters went for the Barnes and Murphy candidates or else for the impeached Governor, whose record was no more open to question than Abe Ruef's. Barnes is reported to have said the other day at the Republican Club with entire cynicism that of any twelve jurymen certainly eleven, and probably all twelve, will be men who last fall voted against the things that I claim and in favor of what he claims and of what he is and that they will vote the same way when it comes to the verdict. There is not one newspaper in the state of any consequence that is now supporting our party or me personally; and the labor men are just as emphatically on the Barnes-Murphy side as are the businessmen; and of course all of the big interests are doing all they can to back Barnes. Some of them are favorable to Wilson; some of them favorable to the Republican machine; but they are very nearly as contented with one as with the other, for they know that in business affairs and as regards civic, political and social corruption or as regards the war against corruption and against wrongdoing generally, there is really not the slightest difference between the Wilson-Bryan people and the Penrose-Barnes combination. These people wish Mr. Wilson renominated and the Republican machine enthroned in absolute power on the other side; and then they will be satisfied whichever way it comes out; and they can count upon the Fremont Olders and Amos Pinchots, who claim to be their most furious opponents, to in actual fact be their most efficient allies. Our extremists have been as damaging to us as our open . . . have been.

All we can do at present is to sit tight and await events. What will happen a year hence I do not know. Of course, it is possible that we shall have to cast a conscience vote for some third candidate whom there is not a possibility of electing. It is barely possible but very improbable that the Republicans will act in such a way that it is possible to support them.

Well, California is about the only bright spot in the nation at present. I saw our Colorado chairman the other day. He told me that it would not be possible . . . fight in Colorado and that this year the overwhelming issue there, although Colorado was prosperous, was the feeling against the Federation of Miners. He said that although there was reprobation of the Rockefeller people it was swallowed up in the anger over the murders and excesses of the miners and that the cry of "Law and Order" carried the state. He said we were very much hurt because Costigan had been the counsel for the miners and that it was impossible to get the people to support him. Victor Murdock told me that Kansas was prosperous but that the people had definitely determined to oust the Democratic party; that they were against Wilson and Bryan; and that they regarded the Republican party as the only

alternative; and he said he did not see how we could run a third ticket again. But he entirely agreed with me that we had nothing to do except to sit tight and await developments, because things may change during the course of the next year. He said that Wilson's Indianapolis speech² had aroused the greatest possible indignation in Kansas and the neighboring states and that the feeling against him had grown greatly since election. Medill McCormick's course you have probably followed in the newspapers. His *actions* were all right; but his *remarks* were unfortunate.³

Well, we are in the backwash at present; but, whatever happens to us personally, as regards the cause I think everything will come out all right in the end. I still have a dim hope that the decent Republicans may wake up to the fact that you or some man like you will offer the way out, because what you are doing is really conservative, if one uses the word "conservative" in the right sense, and represents real Abraham Lincoln Republicanism. At any rate I have no doubt that in the end our principles will triumph. I turned the other day and reread the speeches and extracts of speeches of mine which are contained in the little book issued by the Progressive Service, called *Progressive Principles*; and it was quite a comfort to see that there was not one thing I had said three years ago that I now have to take back and not one principle I put forth for which I have to apologize. Of course, I am entirely willing to change the methods after they have been tested by actual experience. For instance, you have practically tried most of these reforms in office, in power; and I should largely be guided as regards the methods of applying all the things for which we have fought by your judgment based upon your actual experience.

With regards to Mrs. Johnson and all the family, including the boxer, I am *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Can you quietly find out if it is true that there has been some day set aside at the Fair as "Roosevelt Day"?⁴ Heaven knows, I don't want them to set a day aside. But if they have set it aside, I should like to know, so as to see if it is possible for me to be out at that «time.» I shall of course «appear at» the Fair at the time that . . .

² In his Jackson Day speech on January 8, Wilson irritably attacked the Republicans and those Democrats who were opposing the ship purchase bill. Among his many comments on the opposition, one, in various forms, has since become fixed in Democratic oratory. He said that the Republican party had "not had a new idea for thirty years." That party, he added, "is still a covert and refuge for those . . . who want to consult their grandfathers about everything."

³ Endeavoring with much good sense but less discretion to effect a Progressive-Republican merger in Illinois, McCormick had announced that he would vote with the Republicans in the state legislature, had resigned from the Progressive National Committee, and had pledged the support of the young and progressive to their grand old parents for the 1915 campaign.

⁴ On July 21, 1915, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition celebrated "Roosevelt Day." The honored guest spoke at length on the need for military preparedness.

Private

Oyster Bay, February 22, 1915

Dear Strachey: I am very much pleased with your letter. I am glad you liked the book. Moreover, you exactly meet my view when you say that while you love America you do not in the least place America on the same level in your affections as your own country or anywhere near it. This is exactly the attitude you ought to take. It is exactly the attitude I take about America and England; and I am convinced that it makes it far more possible for Englishmen and Americans to be cordial and deep friends when they take that attitude than when they slop and indulge in insincere gush, which makes both sides look like hypocrites when their actions are compared with their words. You say that most Englishmen are a little sore at what they consider my coolness toward England in the book and my desire to be just to Germany. I expect this. At the same time remember that I emphatically stated that England was right; and that England had made all peace lovers her debtors by her action toward Belgium; but I thought it very unwise to indulge in hysterics in the matter. I am trying to look at things as dispassionately as possible. I have more close and warm personal friends in England than anywhere else outside of America; but next to England I have these close and warm personal friends in Germany. Next to my own country I put England first; I am in closest sympathy with her. I regard the average German-American in this country as fundamentally a good citizen. He is extraordinarily bitter against me at the moment. He loathes me personally; and if (which will not be the case) I were ever again going to be in politics, he would oppose me with the utmost bitterness politically. But I wish especially to avoid being driven by his misconduct into injustice on my part. In a month I shall send you an article I am writing for the *Metropolitan Magazine*, in which I deal without gloves with the German-Americans here. I can do so, while retaining my self-respect because I am scrupulously careful to do them justice.

One word about what you say as to the temper of your people now exactly corresponding with the temper of our people in the North during the Civil War, and your saying that you will brook no interference with your right to resist a ruthless, remorseless enemy. I do not wish you to brook any interference; but I do earnestly hope in your own interest that you will so far as possible act as John Bright, through Sumner, counseled Abraham Lincoln to act in the Civil War. You will find his letters in young Trevelyan's *Life of John Bright*. Palmerston and Gladstone were acting toward the United States at that time as badly as Wilson and Bryan are now acting toward England. Indeed they were acting much worse. The friends of the United States in England earnestly besought the Union party in America not to permit themselves to get embroiled with England; and this not pri-

marily in England's interests but in the interests of the United States. In just the same way and for just the same reason, I earnestly hope you will not permit yourselves to get embroiled with the United States. Remember, my dear Strachey, that England has acted pretty roughly as regards the rights of neutrals during the past few months. She has not behaved as badly as Germany; and I hold it infamous of our people to protest when they did not protest about Belgium. But after all our neutral trade is ninety per cent of it, probably ninety-five per cent of it, to the advantage of the Allies and to the disadvantage of Germany. Germany knows this; and there is nothing she so wants as to have a break between us and England. For heaven's sake, help those of us on this side who are doing everything we can to avoid a break. I shall keep on hammering just as strongly as I know how. I am seeking in every way to influence my countrymen by dwelling on the one hopelessly wrong attitude of Germany, that towards Belgium; I am fighting Wilson's ship purchase bill tooth and nail. *Faithfully yours*

P.S. I have just read your article in the *Spectator*.¹ I very much appreciate it. Now a word as to the final paragraph. Perhaps you feel that I do not sympathize with you because of the fact that I feel very real sympathy with so many people in each of the nations. Surely you must realize, if only from the bitterness expressed toward me by the Germans, that I have unequivocally expressed my sympathies with the Allies and my denunciation of Germany and my abhorrence of a neutrality which is neutral between right and wrong. But remember that I am writing primarily to influence my own people to do what I regard as right. I have distinctly stated that in what England did for Belgium she has set the right example for the United States. I have spoken in the highest terms of your Army and Navy; of the attitude of the upper classes and of large sections of your people. I have explicitly stated that you have done better than we would have done. I have held you up as being better compared to us. I should not be telling the truth if I said that I thought that the people of England, as a whole, had in point of unity, of understanding of the situation and of a self-devotion both serious and passionate, shown to advantage compared to Germany and France. Here again I say that you have done better than we would have done. But you have not done anything like as well as if you had possessed the national foresight and character to have followed the advice of Lord Roberts. You have not shown such utter ineptitude as Wilson and Bryan have shown during the last seven months. They have actually refused to take one single step

¹In an article in the *Spectator*, 114:182-184 (February 6, 1915), Strachey had begun by saying that Roosevelt "still is, from many points of view, in very strong sympathy with Germany and the Germans." In conclusion, after stating with care the many merits to be found in Roosevelt's position, Strachey said that *America and the World War* would jar upon the ordinary Englishman. In this book Roosevelt "does not seem to have the sympathy either of approbation or of comprehension for the action of this country. We are bound to say that in our hour of need we should have expected a better understanding."

toward preparedness during these seven terrible months; and so they have made themselves of less account either as regards defending their own rights or securing the rights of others. When I without any hesitancy condemn my fellow countrymen, you I know expect me to speak with what I believe to be justice of others.

Moreover, my dear Strachey, while I most deeply sympathize with your feelings and realize the great tension you are under, yet I cannot accept your view that you have been careful to respect the rights of neutrals, or even wise from your own standpoint as regards your attitude toward neutral vessels. There has been an unpleasant resemblance in this war to what was done over a century ago when the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon and the British Orders in Council rendered it hopeless for a neutral to expect good treatment from either belligerent. If the United States had done its duty in protesting against the invasion of Belgium (and if I had been President the protest would have been made very emphatically and I would have gone very far! of course, between ourselves, I should have backed the protest by force.) and if we had protested with no less emphasis against the cruelties and brutalities on noncombatants in Belgium and France by the Germans, I should also have protested against the use of mines in the North Sea by the British and now with even more emphasis against the War Zone established by the Germans around Britain. Surely you must know that the German-Americans in the United States have been exceedingly anxious to have us put a stop to all shipments to the belligerent countries. This is because, as I have said, at least ninety per cent of the benefit of these shipments goes to the Allies. Now the English position has been that you will take advantage of your strength on the sea to secure for yourselves the ninety per cent to which you are entitled and to prevent your enemies getting the ten per cent to which under the Hague Conventions and in accordance with international law they are entitled. This is a complete abandonment of the theory of the existence of right and a substitution for it of the German doctrine that there is no such thing as right and that only might need be considered. If you had openly and avowedly taken the ground that the violation by Germany of the Hague Conventions made it imperative on you in your turn to carry out her policy to its proper development by refusing to recognize in her favor any of the doctrines which she violated so unhesitatingly, then your position would have been defensible. But I do not understand that you have ever taken this ground. It was an ignoble thing of us, when our people were screaming and yelling about our peacefulness and our neutrality, to protest about your seizure of copper destined for Germany, when we had refused to protest about Germany's invasion of Belgium. But the protest would have been quite right if we had made the original protest in Belgium's case. From your standpoint it is infinitely more important that you should continue to get foodstuffs, munitions and the like from America than that you should stop a few cargoes going into Germany. It would have been infinitely better if

our protests against the invasion of neutral rights at sea had been directed against Germany solely, instead of our being, as at present, really uncertain whether it is a British or a German floating mine that our ships have struck in the North Sea.

Another thing, my dear Strachey: don't forget that your own people in their hearts are deeply convinced that they and we are entirely separate peoples and that your people often show this conviction in very unpleasant ways. I think only trouble comes from taking the opposite view. I think *your* view is exactly the right view. I try to act on just such a view myself. I feel far greater sympathy with England than with any other people, and this although only a small amount of English blood flows in my veins. But I feel that sympathy largely because I am not a mere transplanted Englishman; I am an American pure and simple. There are any number of Americans descended from all kinds of peoples whom I can get to act with me on the grounds I set forth, who would be immediately revolted if I sought to get them to act in the very spirit which I condemn among the German-Americans, that is, if I sought to get them to act as Anglo-Americans. Most naturally, you and your people, being human, cannot look at some of your problems as an outsider must. Most of my English friends with whom I am in close touch socially look upon the Irish as my Magyar friends look upon the Slavs, my German friends on the Poles. They sincerely believe in each case that the Lord has created them superior and that it is impious for others not to accept this view. Now, I cannot accept this view in any one of the three cases. I appreciate to the full your difficulties, from the Imperial standpoint, in dealing with Ireland; but if you will read Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, you will find it set forth in full why men like myself must hold that the dreadful wrongs that have been done for centuries to Ireland must now be undone, even though undeserved trouble comes upon the descendants of some of the agents of the wrongdoers. This is exactly what I feel about the Roumanians and the Slavs whom the Magyars hold down, exactly what I feel about the Poles whom the Germans hold down, and about the Finns and Caucasians when the Russians oppress them. Remember that Lecky, when he came to present-day politics, was a violent anti-Home-Ruler; and this renders all the more impressive his extraordinary array of facts as a historian, facts which seem to me to point to action in the present the direct reverse of that which in the present he advocated.

Remember also, my dear Strachey, what I think I have already said, that the average Englishman down at the bottom of his heart feels that the American is an alien. I think the Englishman is right. I think that it is better that we should get along on the basis that we are two closely-knit and friendly nations rather than by making believe that we are the same people divided into two camps. You have no idea how even a man like myself has continually to encounter from Englishmen things which I treat as amusing but which would be exasperating if I were trying to adopt the position of being

practically of the same nationality as themselves. Of course, as I need hardly say, Englishmen have to submit to exactly as much from Americans, the irritation in this case being of a different kind but at least as bad in its manifestations. Moreover, the English businessman in South America, as I happen to know personally, does all he can to interfere with the American businessman, just as the German does; and frequently he unites with the German in order to keep the American out. I have, as you know, fought hard to prevent this nation doing anything against England in this war or seeking to profit in a commercial way by the war; I have fought hard to make us take action against Germany. But the Englishman is, I think quite properly, doing his best to turn the situation to his present and future advantage; this is especially the attitude of the English businessmen; and this country ought not, when such is the case, to refuse itself to shape its course so that as far as properly may be its own commercial future shall be cared for. You know that ever since the Spanish War — I think before that time but certainly since then — that is, for seventeen years, I have in every way shown myself a friend to England and the British Empire; and I have done it practically. But while I was President I had a rather eye-opening experience with your people about the Alaska Boundary. Literally, not figuratively, the Canadians had no more right in their claim than Norway would have to the Orkneys if she now redeemed her pledge in money and demanded to have the Orkneys back (you of course know that the Orkneys came as pledge for the nonpayment of the dowry of the Maid of Norway when she married one of the Scottish kings). Canada had not a shadow of right; and the Canadian maps and the British Admiralty maps alone should have decided the case. But Canada thought that England could get her what she was not entitled to; and England was anxious, as a reward for Canada's action in the Boer War, to show her devotion to Canada, right or wrong. I explained then that I would arbitrate the Newfoundland Fisheries or Lake Fisheries Questions or any other question excepting the question of giving to Canada territory to which she had no more title than the United States had to the Isle of Wight. I went into the arrangement finally made only after I had explicitly stated to two British Ambassadors in succession that I would not make any arrangement which would jeopardize this territory and that they must understand that I was only doing it at their request to allow them an opportunity out of a difficult situation. Now, I am not blaming England for standing up for Canada, even when Canada was wrong. But when such is the attitude of the British Government, even a most sincere friend of England, as I think I can say I have shown myself to be, must keep to his duty as an American and must not slop over or gush too much and make his words falsify his deeds. If you will read Maxse's *National Review*, you will see the kind of Englishman whose existence I have to take into account on one side just exactly as I take into account on the other side the existence of you and Arthur Lee. In exactly similar fashion you have to take into account the existence of

Americans like myself and the existence of Americans like Wilson and Bryan.

By the way, in that number of the *Spectator*, I greatly enjoyed what you said about Haldane. I thought the attack on him in the *National Review* really outrageous; and I think its attitude is a pretty doubtful attitude from the Imperial standpoint at this moment. An amusing feature of the *National Review* is that its American correspondent is a Jew of cosmopolitan sympathies named Maurice Low, a man who, because of his conduct as a representative of one of the American yellow newspapers, I had to forbid entry to the White House. In consequence he has persistently used the *National Review* to exalt Wilson and Taft, who really have been largely anti-British, and to assail me, who am the only conspicuous American leader who in time of crises has stood up for the English side. I do not in the least mind this; but it is extremely comic in view of Maxse's condemnation of the cosmopolitan Jew attitude in Great Britain itself and of his American views.

Another thing I liked was the brief memorandum in which you exposed the prophecies of the English pacifists of only a year ago. Evidently you have almost as big fools as we have in the pacifist line — in which case they have reached the nadir of timidity, weakness and folly.

One thing may be of interest to you. England has been about as bad as the United States in willingness to pass universal arbitration treaties, which cannot be put into effect. Both England and France cheerfully signed the Wilson-Bryan universal arbitration treaties or commission treaties some eight months ago. Well, Bryan the other day told a man I know that it was necessary for us to at all costs avoid getting into trouble with Germany, because we had no such treaty with Germany; but that we could perfectly well afford to get into trouble with England or France because we had those treaties with France and England; and therefore we should have to investigate for a year before there could be any resort to hostilities! This is a curious commentary on the Wilson-Bryan pacifist crowd here and a curious commentary on the wisdom of the French and English statesmen who went into these preposterous treaties with a vague idea that they were thereby advancing, if not the cause of peace, at any rate the good relations between themselves and the United States.

By the way, you exactly sized up Wilson in that statement of yours. He is, however, in addition, an absolutely cold and self-seeking man. He is a good politician; his aim is to keep the German and Irish and the pacifist votes behind him; and, if he does this, he thinks (and he is probably right) that he will be re-elected in 1916. One of the small ironies of life was shown the other day, incidentally, by the enthusiasm with which the Canadians got Taft up to lecture there. You doubtless remember that Taft openly avowed that the object of his reciprocity treaty was to make Canada tributary to the United States; and I took, at the time the not very popular ground that we should not have any such intention, that our aim simply should be to get

along on terms of closest friendship with Canada as with the rest of the British Empire. But national memories are as short as individual memories — and the memory of my countrymen is, I should think, a little the shortest of all.

[*Handwritten*] More and more I come to the view that in a really tremendous world struggle, with a great moral issue involved, neutrality does not serve righteousness; for to be neutral between right and wrong is to serve wrong. The neutrality our Government now boasts, like yours in '61 & '90, serves ease and selfishness at the moment; but it does not serve morality, nor in the long run real national interest.

My dear fellow, you & those like you are playing heroic parts; I admire and respect you; I bitterly regret that my own people are not at this time rising to the same level.

5974 • TO PRESLEY MARION RIXEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 22, 1915

My dear Dr. Rixey: There is no letter that could have touched and pleased me more than yours. Only the other day Mrs. Roosevelt and I were saying that no other man whose friendship we had won in later life had ever been as much of a friend to us and had meant so much to us as you. We talk of you all the time and the children talk of you all the time. Just the other day Archie, who is now a sophomore in Harvard and a fine fellow, was describing his experience as a very small boy when you took him out to hunt. I regard you and dear Mrs. Rixey as having been among the best influences for my children. I feel that they and we owe both of you very much. That was a fine tribute that Dr. Braisted paid you and that Admiral Dewey paid you;¹ and both were absolutely deserved.

As for me, my dear doctor, I am practically through. I am not a man like you who keeps his youth almost to the end; and I am now pretty nearly done out. I would not say this except to my old friend who was also my old physical adviser, because it is rather poor business to speak about one's personal ailments; but the trouble is that I have rheumatism or gout and things of that kind to a degree that makes it impossible for me to take very much exercise; and then in turn the fact that I cannot take exercise prevents my keeping in good condition. I am more pleased than I can say that I was able to take the South American trip. I knew it would be my last thing of the kind. I was pleased but amused, my dear fellow, at your saying that I had work to do in the future. I have none. The kaleidoscope has been shaken. All

¹ It is not clear on what occasion these tributes to the former surgeon general of the navy — 1902–1910 — were paid; that Dewey and Braisted approved of Rixey is, however, made abundantly clear in *The Life Story of Presley Marion Rixey* (Strasburg, Virginia, 1930) by Rear Admiral William C. Braisted, who was surgeon general from 1914 to 1921, and Captain William Hemphill Bell.

the combinations are new and I am out of sympathy with what seems to be the predominant political thought in this country.

With warmest love to dear Mrs. Rixey, *Faithfully yours*

5975 · TO JOHN SCOTT KELTIE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 25, 1915

*My dear Mr. Keltie:*¹ I very greatly appreciate what you were able to do about those maps. If you had not reproduced them, they would not have been reproduced at all, for I could not get the people on this side of the water to take much effective interest in the matter. I am exceedingly glad that you were able to use the information that I furnished as to the latitude and longitude in such shape as to make the maps available. Pray present my regards to Mr. Freshfield² and tell him how much pleased I am with the shape in which the matter has been put up. I have sent copies of the magazine to both Dr. Lauro Müller and Colonel Rondon. It is natural and proper that these really eminent Brazilians should be pleased at having their services acknowledged in the leading geographical magazine of the world by the leading geographical society of the world.

Will it bother you also to tell Mr. Evans how much I appreciated his review of my book in the same number of the magazine?³ Tell him confidentially, what you already know, that all he says about the lack of preparation was quite true but that it sprang from certain traits of Brazilian character which it would have been unkind and ungenerous on my part to allude to in my book. If I could have had Kermit make the preparations for me, Fiala bringing down from New York what Kermit advised, together with the four canoes which Fiala and I would on our own initiative have taken, we would have made the journey with fewer accidents, with more comfort and in two weeks less time. The enormously heavy tents were provided with the greatest pride by the Brazilian government and Colonel Rondon, although they were utterly unsuited for the work. At the very outset, before we started on the mule trip, I had to get rid of half of them. I got rid of half the remainder before we had finished the mule trip; and then when we got on the Unknown River I had to insist on throwing away those that were

¹ John Scott Keltie, secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, 1892-1915; joint editor of the *Geographical Journal*, 1915-1917. Keltie published Roosevelt's account of his Brazilian trip, including a map of the River of Doubt, in the *Geographical Journal*, 45:97-110 (February 1915).

² Douglas William Freshfield, explorer, author, president of the Royal Geographical Society, 1914-1917.

³ John William Evans, president of the British Geological Society, had been the leader of an expedition to the headwaters of the Amazon, 1901-1902. In his review of *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* Evans said: "The great charm of this book is that it is instinct with the personality of the author. Everywhere the reader has before him the man himself and his indomitable cheerfulness and courage; but the predominant note is his active interest in the myriad forms of plant or animal existence that are encountered. . . ."

left. On each occasion I had to exercise real tact, because it almost broke the heart of good Colonel Rondon. How Kermit and I used to long for Cunningham and Tarlton, the Scotchman and the Australian, with whom we went in Africa! As I say, if Kermit and I could have handled the thing entirely by ourselves, there would have been no trouble at all; but the Latin mind, or at least the Latin-American mind, puts a totally different emphasis on things from ours. Our companions cared immensely for what they regarded as splendor. It was not only the question of the tents. They had all kinds of other stuff. The government, for instance, furnished me with a most elaborate silver-mounted saddle and bridle. In my eyes they were exquisitely unfit for such a trip; but I would have given deep offense to very good and kind people if I had not used them. It was the same thing about the heavy tents. Halfway across the plateau, when our transport was breaking down, I cross-examined Colonel Rondon, just as far as I could without having an actual break, to find out if he had all the things necessary. He positively assured me that he had. I told him that if there was any question about this we ought to turn our saddle mules into pack animals; and we ourselves walk. He would not have minded the walk at all from the physical standpoint; but he simply could not bear to have us take action which he regarded as an admission that we were not doing the thing in splendid style; and in consequence when we got on the Unknown River I found out that in spite of his explicit assurances to the contrary he had left behind several mule loads of provisions for our boatmen, including the sugar, which is so necessary on an exhausting trip. Of course there was then no remedy for this: and I simply cut down our own rations one half at the outset giving the rest to the paddlers. We therefore began with half-rations. I was well aware that there was a chance of disaster because of this rather absurd lack of forethought; but I was not going to give up the trip. Of course, it would have been mere folly for me to have quarreled with my companions about what it was then too late to remedy. I simply took charge of things from that time on, exercising through Kermit a close supervision over everything that was done but being more than courteous and polite and friendly with my Brazilian companions. Inasmuch as they were doing their level best, as they were really very fine fellows and as I would not have been able to take the trip at all if it had not been for the action of the Brazilian Government, I felt that it would have been more than ungrateful to let any of these things be public. It would accomplish absolutely no good. But I am glad that you, Freshfield and Evans should, for your own information purely, know the truth. *Sincerely yours*

5976 · TO ALBERT BACON FALL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 26, 1915

My dear Senator Fall: May I make one suggestion? I earnestly hope you will not try to bring in Brazil, the Argentine and Chile to co-operate with us in

policing Mexico.¹ I have a great regard for those three countries; and I would not want to interfere with them in such a matter as Paraguay, for instance. But very naturally they are somewhat jealous and suspicious of us; and very naturally they cannot look at the Mexican situation as we may have to look at it. Mexico is *our* Paraguay. We are quite competent to do that job by ourselves; and when Wilson has accepted or asked for the aid of outside powers he has done it merely to dodge responsibility. I think we ought to be more than careful about giving him the chance thus to dodge it by acquiescing in his trying to throw the burden on other nations. I wish you would show this letter to Lodge and Borah and consult with them in the matter.
Faithfully yours

5977 · TO ALBERT APPONYI

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 5, 1915

My dear Count Apponyi: I hardly know how to answer you; for you are in the midst of a life-and-death struggle, where your country has everything at stake and I am sitting relatively at ease in a neutral country. Therefore I do not wish to increase the strain you are under. Yet, my dear Count Apponyi, I cannot be understood as acquiescing in what you say. You must remember that as late as last June you were writing to me somewhat reproachfully on the ground that I was not aiding you and your friends in their violent anti-Austrian crusade. As late as last June the Magyars of your kind, including you, were using language about Austria which was in effect exactly like what you now say about those who are fighting Austria and Germany. When you were over here, you felt I was lukewarm for liberty because I told you that I earnestly hoped the Magyars would make every effort to stay in with Austria, for otherwise they would be in danger both from Berlin and St. Petersburg. For years all your complaints to me have been against Austria. You have not said one word about Russia; and this continued until within thirty days of the outbreak of the war. You say that this is a struggle against Russia. Yet Berlin announces that it is primarily a struggle against England; and the Hymn of Hate which the Germans all sing against England certainly goes to show that this is the common German feeling. It appears that up to the very last Russia strove to get out of the war by asking that the

¹ On February 22, during the debate in the Senate on the army appropriation bill, Fall had delivered one of his periodic speeches condemning Wilson's Mexican policy. After enumerating a considerable catalogue of the thefts, rapes, and murders committed by the followers of Carranza and Villa, after bemoaning the evacuation of Veracruz before any apology from Mexico had been received, after emphatically restating his own belief "in the absolute supremacy of the United States of America on this continent," the senator stated that, since mediation by the A.B.C. powers had already been attempted, he would if he were President invite Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to join the United States in a police action to restore order in Mexico; see *Congressional Record*, LII, 4275-4284.

Hague Court (the court in which you used formerly to believe so strongly and to which you avowed your allegiance more strongly than ever I did) should take up the questions between Austria and Serbia.

As for what you say about Belgium, I can only express my profound disagreement. I do not believe the present British government would have gone into the war if Germany had immediately agreed to observe the neutrality of Belgium. France agreed to England's request that she should absolutely abstain from any infringement of that neutrality. The sufferings of the Poles have been horrible and the sufferings of the Belgians horrible. It is a lamentable thing that so far in this war the most dreadful punishment has fallen upon the peoples who are in no shape or way responsible for it. My heart has been wrung by what has occurred. You do not need to be told how I admire the Hungarians; and at present you will not object to my saying that I also admire both the Austrians and the Germans. I have many friends among them all. I have many friends among the English and French — there are very few Russians whom I know. My chief concern in this war has been, inasmuch as we cannot render any aid in bringing it to a conclusion, to see that America now does try to prepare herself so that she shall not in her turn suffer disaster; and I hope that all pacifists will understand hereafter that it is a criminal thing to enter into any agreement or convention or treaty or take part in any movement supposed to be for peace unless it is carefully considered whether such promise or agreement or treaty can be kept and unless it is understood that force will, if necessary, be used to prevent its breaking.

You will not be satisfied with this letter; but, believe me, I am as staunchly as ever your friend and admirer and the friend and admirer of your people.
Faithfully yours

5978 • TO MRS. JOHN G. GRAHAM

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 5, 1915

*My dear Mrs. Graham:*¹ I touch my hat to you, as the daughter and mother of brave men and as braver than those men themselves. You have exactly expressed my idea. I loathe war. When I went to Cuba, I left my wife not yet recovered from the birth of her last baby. I left six children behind. In the night before each fight, I never dared to think of either my wife or children because it really tended to unman me. I doubt if there exists a more thoroughly domestic man than I am or one more devoted to the homely pleasant things of the life of the home. But I should be ashamed of my sons if they shirked war, just as I should be ashamed of my daughters if they shirked motherhood. You say that you have gone down to the edge of the

¹ Mrs. John G. Graham of Louisville, Kentucky.

grave to open the door of life to your children. You have exactly expressed it. I have seen my wife, for whom of course I care infinitely more than for myself, nearer to death in childbirth than ever I was on the battlefield. Surely if it would be wrong for her to shirk one danger, it would be infinitely worse for me, infinitely more cowardly and less excusable, if I shirked the other.

I remember John Mason Brown, formerly of your city, telling me that in 1861 he returned from a year's hunt in the Rockies to find that the Civil War had broken out. His father had served in the Mexican War and was dead. As soon as he came home, his mother brought him his father's sword, saying: "My son, this is your father's sword. I hope you will draw it under the flag for which your father fought; but draw it you must, for one side or the other." That woman, like you, my dear Mrs. Graham, and «like» all the women of your stamp, represents the women whom I wish to see exercise a decisive influence in voting and in the political affairs of this country.

As a matter of fact, the present pacifist administration has «fought» one dreadful and foolish little war with Mexico, whereas during my seven and a half years of administration, not an American soldier or sailor was killed in action with any foreign power. Preparedness against war is the best means of averting war; but if it is impossible to avert war save at the cost of dishonor, then the women of your type and of the type of John Mason Brown's mother, and their sons, will face the dangers of battle, the dangers of war, just as these women faced the dangers of childbirth. It is our duty individually and as a nation to avoid all quarrels, to avoid every species of brutality, of wrongdoing, of wanton offense, to try to inculcate gentleness and fair and upright dealing as between man and man, nation and nation; but it is also our duty to keep ourselves masters of our own souls and possessed of those stern virtues for the lack of which no softness of manners, no gentleness of nature and, above all, no soft and easy course of life, will in any way atone. *Very sincerely yours*

5979 • TO WILLIAM ASTOR CHANLER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 12, 1915

Dear Willy: I have just received your letter and am much pleased with it.¹ Indeed, Willy, if you are able to hobble and I go to war, you shall have a place with me. You and I have the same views in such matters; and there are many worse ways of ending than in battle. James Jeffrey Roche once wrote

¹ Chanler, in an earlier letter from France, had written Roosevelt entreating him "to come over and head a band of 'free companions' in an assault on Germany." — Roosevelt to Winthrop Chanler, February 4, 1915, Roosevelt Mss.

a poem² of which I have always remembered four lines. The poem was about Gettysburg:

To do, to dare, to die, at need;
But while life lasts to fight;
For right or wrong — a simple creed,
But simplest for the right.

Good luck, Willy, *Ever yours*

5980 • TO JOSEPH NIC GAVOCK DICKINSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 12, 1915

My dear Mr. Dickinson: I thank you for your letter and for the address, with which of course in all essentials I agree.¹ Now, I very earnestly suggested your name for that Executive Committee,² with Stimson, Meyer, Wright and Root. Meyer is the only political friend I have on it; and he is not a supporter of mine. I wished to get both Republicans and Democrats. They asked Garrison to serve as President; but I suppose it would not be possible for him to do so. All the purpose is to get a registry of the men who would be immediately available for war with the minimum of training. Of course the government ought to do this; and in Germany the government would do it; but our government never has done, and probably never will do, it. It is in my opinion wrong to fail to do it by individual action when the government won't. By having an Executive Committee composed of five ex-Secretaries of War and the Navy, we would be able to get good practical action whenever the necessity arose. My understanding is that I am not to be Chairman. I told them I had better be Chairman of some honorary committee, because, if I am made Chairman of the active Committee, it will be utterly impossible to persuade people that there is not something political in it, whereas, if the Committee consisted merely of you five men, with from time to time one or two similar men added, there could be no charge about politics. I very much hope you will accept. Luke Wright has accepted. So has Meyer. I don't think Root has yet been asked; and Stimson has not yet answered. *Faithfully yours*

² "Gettysburg," in *Ballads of Blue Water and Other Poems* (Boston, 1895), pp. 39-41.

¹ Dickinson in an address at Chicago had deplored the failure of the nation to prepare itself adequately for possible war.

² The executive committee of the American Legion. The Legion, unofficially supported by the army, was a volunteer civilian organization, founded late in February to provide the "first reserves for national defense." Its members, former army and navy personnel and interested civilians, promised to serve the country if war was declared, to notify the Legion's headquarters of any change of address, and to pay annual dues of twenty-five cents. Roosevelt, Dickinson, Taft, Wright, Stimson, Meyer, Newberry, and Root agreed to serve on the Legion's advisory council.

New York, March 15, 1915

My dear Mr. Viereck: In view of your second letter,¹ I think it probable that your first letter was not intentionally offensive and that your sending it was due to mental and not moral shortcomings; therefore I answer your present letter.

I referred to the *two* last paragraphs of your former letter. Had you taken the trouble to read my book, *America and the World War*, you would have seen that I spoke in defense of the Kaiser and with appreciation of him. It is of course not excusable on your part to criticize what I have written without reading it.

In your last paragraph the insinuation was that I was merely a fair-weather friend, whose misdeeds would be remembered by the Germans on both sides of the water. Your present letter shows that this insinuation, which you did not venture to state frankly, was aimed at me; your basis being that until this «war» I had always «professed friendship for Germany and the German «people.»» You of course cannot be ignorant that I had equally «professed friendship» for France and Frenchmen, for England and Englishmen. I not only professed it but in each case I felt it. What I have said about Germany because of her outrageous conduct toward Belgium, I would have said exactly as quickly of France and England if they had been guilty of similar conduct. Apparently you regard it as fair-weather friendship to feel good will toward a nation and yet to condemn that nation when it is guilty of iniquity. Such an attitude on your part is of course unutterably silly; and if not silly, it would be unutterably base.

You say that I have paid no heed to the facts produced on the German side of the case. I have read these «facts» carefully; and I am astounded at the effrontery of those who produce them. They establish beyond possibility of doubt that Belgium had no intention of permitting any violation of neu-

¹ This letter is one of a series that passed between Viereck and Roosevelt in the spring of 1915. Viereck began the correspondence on February 25 with accusations that Roosevelt had «taken a point of view . . . unfair to Germany.» He asked why Roosevelt had not put in a good word for his «reputed» friend, the Kaiser, and concluded that the Germans would not «forget the attitude of their fair-weather friends on either side of the ocean.» To this Roosevelt's secretary replied that «the tone of your letter . . . is such that [Mr. Roosevelt] . . . does not desire to answer it.» Viereck in turn replied that he felt he had earned the right to speak frankly to his old friend. At this riposte, Roosevelt himself wrote this letter of March 15. Again on March 19 Viereck answered, pointing out that in 1912 Roosevelt had shown no indignation when Viereck offered to organize the German-American vote. There was more in the same vein. To this Roosevelt replied in a letter that Viereck's secretary returned on April 3 with the comment that her employer had sent it back because «it is unfit to be kept in his files.» Neither the original nor the copy of this letter can be found in the Roosevelt Manuscripts.

trality by France or England if Germany did not invade her; but that she had grown to feel it likely that Germany would do as Germany actually *did*, namely, break faith and, against every rule of right and of humanity, invade her and try to subjugate her; and that of course under these circumstances she was anxious to know whether there would be any effective protection for her by the other nations that had guaranteed to give this protection. The original statement by Bethmann-Hollweg was frank and manly.² It admitted that Belgium had been wronged and put Germany's case upon the only plea, that of national self-preservation, which «comprised» even a semblance of . . . The subsequent attempts to justify Germany by blackening the character of poor, unoffending, deeply wronged Belgium, have been peculiarly ignoble.

As you have written to me in such . . . , I give you a piece of advice in return. No man can retain his self-respect if he ostensibly remains as an American citizen while he is really doing everything he can to subordinate the interests and duty of the United States to the interests of a foreign land. You have made it evident that your whole heart is with the country of your preference, Germany, and not with the country of your adoption, the United States. Under such circumstances you are not a good citizen here. But neither are you a good citizen of Germany. You should go home to Germany at once; abandon your American citizenship, if, as I understand, you possess it; and serve in the army, if you are able, or, if not, in any other position in which you can be useful. As far as I am concerned, I admit no divided allegiance in United States citizenship; and my views of hyphenated Americans are those which were once expressed by the Emperor himself, when he said to Frederick Whitridge that he understood what Germans were; and he understood what Americans were; but he had neither understanding of nor patience with those who called themselves German-Americans. *Very truly yours*

5982 · TO JOSEPH BUCKLIN BISHOP

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 18, 1915

Dear Joe: Your letter is most interesting. I agree with you in your estimate of the situation and of its dangers. Wilson and Bryan have created such a revulsion of feeling that the Republicans, I believe, can elect anyone against him; and they know it and will tend to nominate anyone. I really believe that I myself would vote for Root against Wilson or Bryan — of course when the actual time came it might be impossible for me to do so, having in memory his action at the Chicago convention; but on genuinely patriotic grounds I feel that any man who will stand for national defense and national honor

² See No. 5944, note 5.

is to be preferred to the present combination. Did you notice that Bryan, who cannot take the trouble to deal with the *Eitel Friedrich* case¹ or the murder of McManus in Mexico City,² goes off and holds a revival meeting in the place of Billy Sunday? ³ *Faithfully yours*

5983 · TO MUNROE SMITH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 24, 1915

My dear Professor Smith: ¹ I thank you for your pamphlet on Military Strategy versus Diplomacy.² It is capital.

Will you allow me to make, however, a correction of fact, where you have very naturally been misled, in connection with your allusion to me on Page 80?

It is always difficult to know the extent to which a man ought to go into controversy with somebody else, especially when that somebody else is on the whole a tepidly well-meaning person. I served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Long; and he was three or four months Secretary under me, when I was President — I knew he was about to leave and was anxious to treat him with the utmost consideration. He was a high-minded, honorable man; and it was the greatest possible relief, from the standpoint of honesty and decency in politics, to serve under him after the squalid unpleasantness of the fighting that I had had to do with every variety of political corruptionist while Police Commissioner in New York City. But Long, while not by any means a ridiculous figure like our present Secretary

¹ The German converted cruiser, *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, had entered Hampton Roads for repairs on March 10 after a seven-month voyage from the Orient. On this cruise the commerce destroyer had sunk eleven merchant ships including the American-owned sailing vessel, *William P. Frye*, out of Seattle for Queenstown carrying wheat. Although the German government claimed that the sinking of the *Frye* was permissible because wheat was contraband, it agreed on April 8 to indemnify the American owners. The previous day the American government had announced that the *Eitel Friedrich* would be interned for the duration of the war.

² While the forces of General Zapata were driving those of General Obregon out of Mexico City, John B. McManus, an American citizen, was murdered while defending his own home. Wilson had earlier warned the leaders of the Mexican factions that they would be held "personally responsible" for such episodes. Late in March Bryan demanded an apology for the McManus murder which one of Zapata's generals at once submitted.

³ William Ashley Sunday, for seven years — 1883 to 1890 — a professional baseball player in the National League; from 1891 to 1895 an assistant secretary for the Y.M.C.A. In 1896 he began his spectacular career as an evangelist. At high tide, 1904-1907, he received by his own estimate from 1000 to 5000 converts a month. In all, he believed, 80,000,000 people heard him preach.

¹ Munroe Smith, professor of law at Columbia, authority on Roman law, legal history, and comparative jurisprudence, author — among other books — of *Bismarck and German Unity* (1898), *The Disclosures from Germany* (1918), *The Development of European Law* (1928).

² A reprint from the *Political Science Quarterly*, this essay was later expanded and published as *Militarism and Statecraft* (1918).

Daniels, was wholly unfit to be Secretary of the Navy. One reason for his unfitness was his absolute incapacity to understand what military proposals were. When I took office, he had a great theory that the way to handle the Navy was to lay up all the warships and not launch them until there was danger of war. When I headed wild-eyed naval officers to protest against this and to explain that a ship thus launched and manned would be merely a gift to the enemy, he translated my opinion into being advocacy of militarism—I don't know that militarism was the term then used; but the idea was the same. After the blowing up of the *Maine*, he consistently refused to prepare the Navy for war, because he said that preparation would tend to bring about war, occupying exactly the position that Wilson and Bryan now do. He became a good deal irritated at the things that I did in preparing the Navy on every occasion when he was away or when I could take action that he would not venture to countermand afterwards. John Callan O'Laughlin informed me the other day that one of Long's books was written by him, O'Laughlin, who was paid one hundred dollars a chapter for it, Long making only a few verbal corrections and having a quarrel with O'Laughlin over paying for the final chapter and being forced in the end to pay. I don't know whether it was this book or not; but, if so, O'Laughlin was not responsible for the statement in question.

What I really urged President McKinley to do was to notify the Spanish Government, when it was announced that it would send its battle fleet into American waters, that, if they did so, we should treat the act as a declaration of war; and, if the battle fleet then sailed, would then promptly attack it on the high seas. This of course is an utterly different proposition from the one related by Mr. Long; but from a conversation I had with him I gather that he does not see that there was any distinction at all. I did not for some time see his book and thought that the statement he had made was in an address or something of the kind. I am now sorry that I did not give the facts in my *Autobiography*; but if I had done so it probably would have been necessary to take up Long's administration of the Navy Department and show just why he had worked himself into a position of irritation toward me.

Would there be any chance of getting you out here to lunch sometime? Say on Saturday, April 3d? Take the 11 a.m. train from the Penna. station.
Sincerely yours

5984 • TO JAMES BRYCE

Bryce Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 31, 1915

My dear Bryce: I thank you for writing me. I have received the papers to which you refer. Frankly, I do not think that this is an opportune time to go into details about a World League for Peace, as your friends have attempted to do; and I think that only mischief comes from trying to

develop any such plan as that of which you speak, unless they make it clear beyond possibility of doubt that the prime duty at present is to insist upon putting into effect all treaties entered into; and therefore that the prime duty of the great free nations is to prepare themselves against war.

If you saw a little book I wrote, called *America and the World War*, you doubtless saw how warmly I spoke of an article you wrote a couple of months after the war began, in which you dwelt on the fact that this was our first duty; that the one prime requisite to accomplishing anything was to insist upon treaties being enforced, upon putting force back of the stipulations for right. This was the important lesson in your article. You have very great influence in the United States; and I regret that you did not make this point much more clearly and more forcibly and bring it out in more striking fashion; but you did make it and your article did real good. I regret to say that I think your last article¹ has done harm. In it you practically made for Wilson and Bryan a defense as strong as their most ardent admirers here make. Now, to a veteran public man like yourself, it is not necessary to say that the average man does not go into hair-splitting and ultrarefinement in these matters. In its essence the attitude of Wilson and Bryan has been, first, that it is our duty as a nation to be neutral between right and wrong, to practice a neutrality as complete as that of Pontius Pilate and not by word or even by thought to side with a little nation like Belgium, which has been so terribly wronged, or against the wrongdoer; second, that the signature of the Hague Conventions by us was a mere platonic action and that these Conventions, which of course mean nothing at all unless they were meant to prevent precisely the actions that the Germans have committed at the expense of Belgium and in Belgium, are not even to be alluded to once that war has come; third, that in the presence of this war, which has shown that treaties are mere scraps of paper when unbacked by force and that the great free democratic nations can rely upon nothing except their own strength to protect them, the United States should refuse to prepare itself for self-defense or to make ready to help any small nation that is wronged and, instead of this, should go on signing some scores of treaties, which at best will be utterly ineffective and meaningless and at worst will be fraught with mischief; fourth, that we are not to protest when Belgium's rights are trampled underfoot by the Germans but are to make our first protest when England interferes with our sending copper to Germany to be used against the English and Belgians but that we are to keep entirely silent when a German cruiser sinks one of our ships, loaded with wheat, on the ground that wheat is contraband, and to do nothing effective about the German War Zone, but to try to excite popular feeling against the English Government because of its blockade

¹Published in the London *Daily Chronicle*, this article approving of Wilson's neutrality policies was reported in various American magazines including the *Literary Digest*, 50:537 (March 13, 1915).

of the North Sea; and meanwhile Mr. Wilson endeavors to get Congress to pass a bill under which he could purchase the German interned ships, which would be of real benefit to Germany and would give just cause of complaint to the Allies, and, in short, in all ways that are safe and in so far as the extreme timidity of the Administration in the presence of danger will permit, endeavors to help the Germans at the expense of the Allies.

Under these circumstances, when you write what to the average man seems an endorsement of the Wilson-Bryan position, especially as regards the failure to take action concerning the violation by Germany of the Hague Conventions, it seems to me that you are acting as a supporter of Lincoln would have acted who in the time of the Civil War wrote an endorsement of the position of Palmerston and Gladstone. What you have said has been eagerly quoted here by all the papers who directly or indirectly are playing for the German-American vote and by all others who are upholding Wilson and Bryan in their policy of neutrality as between right and wrong, and has hampered the men who are trying to prevent our country from playing Germany's game.

The pacificist crowd here, the men like Nicholas Murray Butler, with whom you have been corresponding, and above all Carnegie, have to my mind occupied a peculiarly ignoble position. They have been clamoring in season and out of season for all kinds of measures, mostly preposterous, in the interests of peace; but when Germany broke the peace, when she brought the frightful calamities of war and subjugation upon Belgium, these same men have been afraid of uttering one word of condemnation; or else they have spoken with such purely mild and platonic condemnation as to amount to nothing; and their entire denunciation of war and praise of peace have taken such shape as to amount almost as much to denunciation of Belgium for defending herself as of Germany for attacking her and to amount quite as much to a demand for a peace which would leave Antwerp in the possession of Germany as for a peace which would restore Belgium her whole territory and provide for the redress of her wrongs. They cry continually for peace and not at all for righteousness. These are the men to whom your last article has given encouragement. Every timid shirker of international duty on this side of the water and every tepid enemy of England and the Allied Cause have been helped by what you have written. Moreover, the men who have endeavored to inflame our people, not against the actions of Germany but against the actions of England, have derived comfort and aid from what you have thus said. This is a disagreeable thing for me to tell you. If you carried no weight here, it would be pointless for me to tell it to you; and I should not dream of doing so. But you have an influence in America that no other Englishman has. You have perhaps particularly an influence among well-meaning people who, unless guided aright, go into any kind of foolish nominal peace movement and who are eager to find some excuse for saying that the United States has no duty to

perform that will entail risk or hardship. I had very earnestly hoped that in the strongest and most unequivocal fashion you would have appealed to the American people now as Henry Ward Beecher appealed to the English people during the Civil War. This appeal could not be made save by fervently setting forth that the Allies are right; that Germany has been terribly wrong; and that America should not be neutral between right and wrong. Henry Ward Beecher did not take an interest in peace movements while the Civil War was on. The only Americans who then took an interest in peace movements were the Copperheads of the North; and to a man they voted against Abraham Lincoln.

Of course, if Wilson and Bryan are right in their attitude and if this Administration really represents the American people, then we should definitely and once for all make up our minds that there is no duty to perform for international righteousness and that it is right and proper to sit with smug complacency and self-satisfaction without lifting a finger while great military empires crush small and unoffending neutral states. To my mind finespun discussions as to what in the way of action was demanded when the Hague Conventions were ruthlessly trampled underfoot are as futile as the discussions concerning the right of secession under the Constitution. If our Constitution, if our Union, was not worth fighting for, then it was not worth forming; and all discussions of the right of Secession in my judgment serve merely to darken understanding, in so far as they claim that that right could be exercised save as any revolutionary right is exercised. In the same way, if a great neutral nation like the United States meant nothing when it sent people abroad to take part in the negotiations at The Hague and when the President directed the signature of the Hague Conventions, then it was mere folly to have taken the time to attend the Hague Conferences. Moreover, if this view — the Wilson-Bryan view — is right, it is mere folly, and hypocritical folly at that, to take part in any further international conventions designed to favor the peace movement. If men are not willing to protest against the violation of conventions, then they have no business to sign them. If men are not willing to back righteousness by force and make their words good by deeds and to preserve international peace as peace is preserved within each nation, then they had better stop expecting serious people to take an interest in peace movements and leave such movements to those persons who evidently regard speeches for peace in the abstract like sermons on behalf of virtue in the abstract, merely as forms of momentary emotional excitement.

From your connection with the British Government, your article has been accepted as officially giving its position. Of course, if that is the case, it would be idle for men like myself to say anything on behalf of England. I shall in the future confine myself exclusively to pointing out that we should have acted on behalf of Belgium. If I had been President, I should have interfered in decisive fashion when Germany so grossly violated the

rights of neutrals, including our own; and, having done so, I should have felt justified in taking emphatic ground for our own rights if the Allies had disregarded them.² But we give England a complete justification when we fail to take action about Germany; and we taint our whole attitude with something sordid when we refrain from taking any stand for humanity in the case of Belgium, when we show timidity in dealing with Germany, and yet complain as soon as our own dollars are menaced by England's attitude. I have earnestly advised the British Government — as John Bright through Sumner advised Lincoln — to yield as far as possible to America's demands — and this for England's sake. But in a public argument from you what is needed is an emphatic appeal to the American people not to be neutral between right and wrong, and a convincing showing that Germany's course is such that all just nations and all free democracies should be against it.

Under these circumstances it seems to me that the peace group whose writings you sent me should limit themselves to two or three definite and concrete propositions and should apply them to what is immediately going on, and should show that they expect the American pacifists to prove their faith by making good their past words by their present deeds, and not by treating the failure to perform these deeds as offset by readiness to utter new words. The first thing is to demand that every international obligation entered into shall be lived up to in spirit as well as in letter, and in good faith. Point this concretely by showing that the Hague Conventions have been proved to be worse than worthless during the last eight months and that this is due to the fact that the neutral powers that had signed them made no effort whatever to secure their enforcement. If the Conventions did not require that such effort should be made, then it was mere silliness having signed them; and your body should point out this fact. If the Conventions did require that such effort should be made, then the failure of neutrals to demand their enforcement is reprehensible. A merchant who fails to meet his obligations, and instead issues new obligations which it is obvious cannot be met, occupies the precise position of Messrs. Wilson and Bryan when they keep "neutral" and silent about the hideous violations of the Hague Conventions, and yet concurrently enter into some scores of new universal peace treaties. Furthermore, dwell on the fact that we will never have peace until there is a real effort to put force back of righteousness. The events of the last eight months have shown that the much-vaunted "public opinion of the world" amounts to no more in restraining military powers today than it amounted to in the days of Napoleon or of Louis XIV; and that not the smallest advance has been made in securing rights which

² Wilson had replied to Germany's announcement of unrestricted submarine warfare with the statement on February 10 that if an American vessel were torpedoed Germany would be held to a "strict accountability." The force of this declaration was diminished by the President's failure to make clear what the words meant.

great and unscrupulous nations deem it to their interest to violate, *so long as they can do so with safety*. Until decent men are willing to undergo labor and accept risk in the effort to prevent injustice, and until this is recognized as an international no less than as an individual duty, there will be no real improvement. Peace may come for a generation because of the utter exhaustion of the civilized world, just as it was preserved for a generation by the Holy Alliance after the close of the Napoleonic wars; but the peace of righteousness will have to come from other causes and in another manner.

Let me repeat that I am sorry to write you in this fashion. If I felt as "neutral" as President Wilson or if, like Mr. Bryan, I regarded words as of use in themselves and deeds as something irrelevant and disagreeable, or if I felt like Carnegie, Butler and the rest of the pacifists, who seemingly are willing to see the triumph of wrong if only all physical danger to their own worthless bodies can thereby be averted, I would not write you at all or I would say something pleasant and agreeable to you and express a rapt admiration for the gentlemen who at this time, when their countrymen are facing death by the hundred thousand, occupy themselves with the details of peace for Utopias. But I have been one of your strongest admirers. I have again and again quoted you in getting my countrymen to do what I esteemed their duty. I believe that you have more influence in the United States than any other foreign statesman and therefore I mourn when I see your influence used, not in behalf of righteousness but to strengthen these dangerous leaders here in America who teach to their fellow countrymen the comfortable and only too easily accepted doctrine that we owe no duty to anyone that is dangerous to perform or that entails risk or hardship and that in the concrete we have no duty to perform as between Belgium the oppressed and Germany the oppressor.

In the past most of our pacifists have gushed and shrieked about "Anglo-Saxon brotherhood" and "hands across the sea" and "peace, peace"; I have never gone into any of these manifestations; but when the time of stress came these gentry have shudderingly clamored against taking any effective stand for England when England was fighting for the right; whereas I, who have not gushed about abstractions in the past, have stood for concrete right in the present. *Very sincerely yours*

5985 • MEMORANDUM

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 2, 1915

I most heartily sympathize with Lady Gregory's view as to what should be done in trying to establish an American Theater. Lady Gregory has been one of that group of men and women whose services to Ireland have been literally invaluable during the past two or three decades, because they have worked in a spirit of broad, sane nationalism, marked not only by intensity

but by common sense and a real spirit of international friendliness. No one can be a good citizen of the world unless he or she is first and foremost a good citizen of his or her own country. Lady Gregory's life and work exemplify this fact to a peculiar degree. She writes as an Irish woman. She is devoted to the past history of Ireland and to its present development. She has done her full share in making the great Irish poetry of the past part of the living heritage of Ireland today. This she has done, not by studies in an interesting old tongue which must always remain a foreign tongue to the people of today, but by making the poetry accessible to intelligent and cultivated men and women who wish to read it in the language of their daily lives — and not one in a hundred of whom would otherwise read it at all. On the whole, her best work has been in connection with the Irish Theater; and here we Americans can profit by and apply to ourselves what she and her associates by their work have taught. Her audience is far from being only an Irish audience; but she has this large audience precisely because she deals with her own people and is the recorder and interpreter of their lives and souls. If Lady Gregory and her colleagues had been reproducing French or Norwegian plays, it would not be worth while heeding them. They worked in the spirit of the best men of France and Norway; but they worked with the material they really knew; and they were saturated with the life and thought of their fellow countrymen.

It is both exasperating and ludicrous to realize that some Americans have learned Lady Gregory's lesson exactly as medieval sorcerers used to repeat the Lord's Prayer — backwards. Instead of learning from what she has done that they must work in their own fields and as Americans, they have actually thought that the lesson for them was themselves to try to write Irish plays. Says Lady Gregory: "In subject we lose nothing by being tethered to the surroundings we know. Young American writers have sent me plays they have written about the west coast of Ireland and its isles. They give the inhabitants pots of beans as their daily food and cowbells to listen to as the cattle pass. I should run equally wild if I wrote of Minnesota or Los Angeles." Lady Gregory has acknowledged her debt to, for instance, the Comedies of Molière. American playwrights who write American plays will, I hope, owe similar debts to Molière and Lady Gregory, to English, Irish, Scandinavian writers, to old Greeks and Romans, and to very many people dead in many far-off lands and to a few people now living. But while they should profit by all this, they will do little of serious worth unless they write as Americans and about the homely things that they know and that are dear to them — and this even though these homely things may in some cases be in the setting of vast heroic landscapes. No one will ever write of the tremendous tragedies of the Civil War unless they are saturated with the homely and intimate details of the lives of the men who fought it and of the women who suffered for and in behalf of these men. Lady Gregory quotes two statements in protest, which I cannot forbear

repeating. The first is from Turgenev: "Russia can do without every one of us, but not one of us can do without her. Woe to him who thinks he can, and woe twofold to him who actually does without her! The cosmopolitan is a nonentity — worse than a nonentity — ; without nationality is no art nor truth nor life nor anything. You cannot have an ideal face without individual expression; only a vulgar face can be without it." The next is from Walt Whitman:

Will you seek afar off? You surely come back at last;
In things best known to you finding the best or as good as the best;
In folks nearest to you finding the sweetest, strongest, lovingest;
Happiness and knowledge are not in another place but this place,
Not for another hour but this hour.

I most earnestly wish that we would heed Lady Gregory's advice as given in her lectures as to the way to start an American Theater. First of all we should start it as a small theater which can be endowed, as she says: "just as a child is endowed, with feeding, clothing and teaching, until some day it proudly finds that it can earn its own sustenance." It would be well if the limits at first were kept as narrow as those within which Lady Gregory and her companions achieved their great success, and if the work put on were only by Americans on American subjects, and preferably, at least as a rule, on subjects especially familiar to the players of the locality itself. This would tend to obviate the melodramatic and the sentimental—and melodrama bears to drama just the relationship which sentimentality bears to sentiment. Good plays must have the dramatic quality which they won't have if they are melodramatic; and the highest plays must have in them a high and fine, and even a tense, sentiment, which is ruined by the least touch of sentimentality. Lady Gregory has given us much enjoyment. I earnestly hope that from what she tells us as to the possibilities for an American Theater we shall draw an equal profit.

5986 · TO FREDERICK WALLINGFORD WHITRIDGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 6, 1915

Dear Whitridge: I look forward to receiving your book. I am very glad you liked my article.¹ It is all I can do to control myself in writing. Of course, what ought to have been done by this Administration was to have taken the *Eitel Friedrich* and announced that we would hold her until we were ourselves satisfied with the reparation for the sinking of the *Frye*; and when Germany torpedoed those steamers and the passengers were drowned by the scores we should have notified Germany that as a neutral power and a signatory of the Hague Conventions we would decline longer to tolerate a return to theories of warfare which we had supposed outgrown since the

¹ "The Need of Preparedness" appeared in the April 1915 issue of the *Metropolitan*.

days of the sacks of Drogheda and Magdeburg; and then of course, if Germany refused at once to yield to the protest, (I would) we should have made (my) our words good by actions. But inasmuch as I cannot act and as my aim is to get my fellow countrymen into the proper mental attitude, I continually strive to keep myself in such shape that I won't alienate good uninformed people of slightly timid or sluggish mind, who simply are utterly unable to face the new questions. These people I would tend to lose by (too much) a proper violence of statement!

Give my heartiest regards to my friends. Love to Mrs. Whitridge. *Faithfully yours*

5987 · TO VICTOR MURDOCK

Roosevelt Mss.

Syracuse, New York, May 3, 1915

Dear Victor: Now and then statements appear in the papers, sometimes credited to you and sometimes giving no source at all, announcing that I would support Weeks or Root or somebody else for President next year. I need not tell you that the statement that I have made these assertions is on a par with the statement that you are the authority for them. I have told everybody that so far as any man can speak for me, you are the man; and this may have possibly led to your being quoted as the authority for some of these ridiculous assertions. Ever since our talk I have been advising everyone to sit tight and await events for the next year. To Senator Bourne I recently wrote, however, in response to a query of his, that I now stand for the principles for which I stood in 1912, and that I assumed that he stands for them also! *Faithfully yours*

5988 · TO JOHN CALLAN O'LAUGHLIN

Roosevelt Mss.

Syracuse, New York, May 6, 1915

Dear Cal: As you know, I can't be in New York on May 10th.¹ I wish I could be.

I quite agree with you about the letter, the copy of which you enclosed from that "high German official." It makes my blood boil to see how we are regarded. I never read a more insolent letter. All the European nations look down upon us; but the Germans are the worst and this man is perfectly characteristic. Lord, how I would like to be President in view of what he says about the huge German-Irish element and the possible sinking of the *Lusitania*.² I would warn him that we would hang any man who

¹ Roosevelt was in Syracuse for the trial of Barnes's libel suit against him.

² In a notice published on May 1, the German embassy had warned American "travellers intending to embark" on "vessels flying the flag of Great Britain or of any of her allies" that they did so "at their own risk," for such ships were "liable to destruction . . . in the war zone." Neither this warning nor the report

raised his little finger to, as he says it, "put the Union to a dangerous test," and that I would hang him if he instigated any such movement, and I would warn him that if any of our people were sunk on the *Lusitania*, I would confiscate all the German interned ships, beginning with the *Prinz Eitel*. That particular German diplomat's letter is the kind of letter that, if I didn't keep a grip on myself, would make me favor instant war with Germany. *Yours always*

5989 · TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

Syracuse, New York, May 19, 1915

Dear Archie: There is a chance of our going to war; but I don't think it is very much of a chance.¹ Wilson and Bryan are cordially supported by all the hyphenated Americans, by the solid flubdub and pacifist vote. Every soft creature, every coward and weakling, every man who can't look more than six inches ahead, every man whose god is money, or pleasure, or ease, and every man who has not got in him both the sterner virtues and the power of seeking after an ideal, is enthusiastically in favor of Wilson; and at present the good citizens, as a whole, are puzzled and don't understand the situation, and so a majority of them also tend to be with him. This is not pardonable; but it is natural. As a nation, we have thought very little about foreign affairs; we don't realize that the murder of the thousand men, women and children on the *Lusitania* is due, solely, to Wilson's abject cowardice and weakness in failing to take energetic action when the

on the same day of the sinking off the Scilly Islands of the American steamer, *Gulflight*, dissuaded many Americans from sailing on that day for England on the British passenger vessel, *Lusitania*.

¹ The *Lusitania* had been torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine on May 7. Over a thousand passengers drowned. "This represents not merely piracy, but piracy on a vaster scale of murder than any old-time pirate ever practiced . . .," Roosevelt commented. "It seems inconceivable that we can refrain from taking action in this matter, for we owe it not only to humanity, but to our own national self-respect. . . . This country should and could take effective action by declaring that in view of Germany's murderous offenses against the rights of neutrals all commerce with Germany shall be forthwith forbidden and all commerce of every kind permitted and encouraged with France, England and the rest of the civilized world. . . . I do not believe that the firm assertion of our rights means war but it is well to remember there are things worse than war" ("Comments on the Sinking of the *Lusitania*," May 1915, Lee Mss.). In London Colonel Edward M. House and Ambassador Walter Hines Page agreed that the United States would soon be at war with Germany. Wilson, however, was not yet prepared either for war or a cessation of commercial relations. While drafting his first note to Germany about the *Lusitania*—a note which, transmitted on May 13, demanded apology, reparation, and assurance that similar episodes would not recur—he informed an audience of naturalized Americans in Philadelphia on May 10 that "there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right." For a detailed account of this and later developments of Wilson's negotiations during the *Lusitania* crisis, see Baker, *Wilson*, vol. V, ch. vii.

Gulflight was sunk but a few days previously. He and Bryan are morally responsible for the loss of the lives of those American women and children — and for the lives lost in Mexico, no less than for the lives lost on the high seas. They are both of them abject creatures and they won't go to war unless they are kicked into it, and they will consider nothing whatever but their own personal advantage in the matter. Nevertheless, there is a chance that Germany may behave in such fashion that they will have to go to war. Of course, I will notify you at once if war is declared; but I hope in any event, that it won't be until you and Quentin have had your month in camp.² Probably, as you suggest, in the event of war, I would send you out at once to get under Jack Greenway.

As for the libel suit here, the rulings of the Judge have been such that he has refused to let the jury take into account all my most important evidence, evidence which, to my mind, showed Barnes' guilt beyond a shadow of doubt. The rulings are quite incomprehensible from the standpoint of common sense. But whether they will appeal to the legalistic mind as proper, I do not know.³

I am much interested in what you tell me about the incident that led up to your conversation with good Mr. Branding, and I grinned over the incident. I need not say I accept absolutely your statement — that goes without saying; I think you are very right, under all the circumstances, not to drink anything more.⁴ *Ever yours*

5990 • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 29, 1915

Dear Cabot: Edith and I were very much pleased with your letter. I knew how satisfied you would be with the verdict. I had bad moments during the suit, for the Judge, a thoroughly upright man, has that excessively legalistic

² After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, a group of public-spirited men persuaded Leonard Wood to establish a military training camp for civilians at Plattsburg in the following summer. Archibald and Quentin Roosevelt enrolled in the students' camp. From Plattsburg came many of the civilian soldiers who distinguished themselves in the First World War.

³ Judge Andrews had ruled out most of the testimony relating to the alleged frauds in public printing in Albany on the ground that Roosevelt's lawyers had failed to produce adequate proof. This ruling seriously hampered the effort of the defense to prove that Barnes was indeed corrupt and therefore that Roosevelt had not libeled him.

⁴ Archibald had been a passenger in an automobile that had a "slight accident." Because his companions had been "rather intoxicated," Mr. Brandegee — not Branding — had assumed erroneously that Archibald was in a similar condition. In fact, Archibald wrote his father, he had "decided not to drink anything" until he graduated, "so that no one can ever say I was drinking." Edward D. Brandegee of the class of 1881 at Harvard was from 1913 to 1917 the Regent of Harvard College. Upon the regency, an office now abandoned, devolved matters of undergraduate morality.

mind which excessive devotion to the law seems to generate; and he ruled out all my most important evidence.

It has been a little disheartening here in New York to find the way in which the great bulk of the Republicans headed by Root have backed the Barnes theories of government so far, both in the legislature and in the Constitutional Convention;¹ and Whitman has been a very poor Governor. But, outside of New York, I think the Republican party *must* be more amenable to reason; and I only hope that the result of the suit will be to get such action from them as will permit the Progressives of my stamp to endeavor to get all the Progressives back of them in the fight to drive Wilson and Bryan from power.

What you say about the failure of the Administration to act on that German law is both illuminating and appalling.² I don't like Barnes; but I infinitely prefer him to Wilson and Bryan, and even more to the *Evening Post* and *Springfield Republican*. Always yours

5991 · TO RICHARD WASHBURN CHILD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 29, 1915

My dear Child: I wish first to join with Parker in his keen appreciation of the stories that you have been writing.¹ I have enjoyed them to the full.

The trouble with Parker's statement is that while what he says is eminently true of himself and of a few Louisianians, including a majority in one Congressional district, the fact remains that the South absolutely failed to do what the North did about the Progressive party in 1912. In the North we got 80 electoral votes, carrying, if I remember rightly, six states. Our vote was nine-tenths Republican. In the south we got no more than a few tens of thousands of votes from the Democrats and did not come anywhere near carrying a single state. If the South had done as well as the north, we would have carried three Southern states; if the Democrats had shown . . . the triumph of the party would have been assured. What you tell me about

¹ This was really not fair. In the legislature there was perhaps the usual concern with the pork barrel and patronage, but the constitutional convention was another matter. Root, the president of the convention, and his able collaborators — especially Henry Stimson, Seth Low, and Herbert Parsons — sponsored constitutional amendments providing for the short ballot, reorganization of the executive departments, the adoption of an executive budget, and the simplification and improvement of the state's judicial machinery and procedures. For excellent accounts of the constitutional convention, see Jessup, *Root*, vol. II, ch. xl; Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York, 1948), ch. iii.

² The State Department had ruled that a man might have two citizenships and two allegiances, a doctrine which accorded with an ingenious German law permitting a German to hold private reservations when taking an oath of allegiance to a foreign country in order to establish citizenship there. Lodge persistently attacked this ruling.

¹ These short stories, appearing in *Collier's Weekly*, were sentimental tales of the devotion and heroism of war correspondents, shopgirls, and old Southern darkies.

Massachusetts is exactly what I have heard from other sources. *Faithfully yours*

5992 · TO JOHN GUTZON DE LA MOTHE BORGLUM

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 30, 1915

*Dear Borglum:*¹ Cosgrave² the other day much to my surprise actually spoke in defense of Wilson and of Wilson's action in connection with the *Lusitania*. I wish you would call his attention to the *New York Times* of today, which gives a statement of Wilson that literally passes belief, for it closes with this remark: "This is perhaps the very time when I would not care to arouse the sentiment of patriotism." I think this should be framed with "Remember the *Maine*" on the opposite column and underneath it the President's previous statement "We are too proud to fight."³ *Faithfully yours*

5993 · TO GIFFORD PINCHOT

Gifford Pinchot Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 1, 1915

Dear Gifford: I am very glad that in your letter to the *Times* you were able to say what you did about the *Lusitania* and Germany.¹

Senator Flinn has written me that in Pennsylvania he believes that the Progressives should go into the Republican primaries to back Brumbaugh.²

¹ Gupton Borglum sculptured "colossal marble head of Lincoln," designed "colossal monument 42 figures in bronze," "investigated for President Wilson and exposed the colossal aircraft failure." Most colossal is the monument he executed on Mount Rushmore, South Dakota. He was a Progressive-Republican.

² John O'Hara Cosgrave, Sunday editor of the *New York World*, 1912-1927.

³ On May 28, the day this letter was dictated, the *Times* reported Wilson's refusal to speak at Independence Hall on July 5. Declaring that he felt he should refrain from speechmaking, the President gave as his reason the publicity attendant upon his celebrated speech of May 10 in which he had used the phrase "too proud to fight." When it was suggested that he might confine his speech to patriotism, he stated that he was afraid he might say something he should not. He then proceeded, in the quotation cited in this letter, to say, from Roosevelt's point of view, precisely that.

¹ Pinchot in an angry letter to the editor denied that he had said, as the *Times* had reported, that Wilson's *Lusitania* note was "a strong and diplomatic piece of literature."

² Martin Grove Brumbaugh, Porto Rico's first commissioner of education and for many years professor of pedagogy at the University of Pennsylvania, in 1914 ran successfully against the Penrose candidate in the Republican gubernatorial primary. As governor he further antagonized the Penrose machine by securing the passage of enlightened labor legislation. His liberal policies made it easier for Flinn, Moore, and Van Valkenburg to work for the fusion of the Progressives with the Republicans. In the 1916 Republican Presidential primary most Progressives, as Roosevelt hoped, backed Brumbaugh. Their votes helped him win twenty-nine delegates. At the national convention fifteen of the twenty-nine delegates, after being released by the Pennsylvania governor, voted for Theodore Roosevelt.

I am inclined to think we should favor Brumbaugh in every way; and it is for the men in Pennsylvania to decide how they can best achieve their purpose at the present time; and if Flinn and Van favor that course I would of course back them. But the Senator continued to say that he thought we should have a national conference with an idea, as I understood it, of urging practically the same course nationally. As to this I am very doubtful. At present all that I can say, for instance, is that I shall sit tight and await events. It would be quite impossible for me to go into the Republican primaries in New York State as the New York Republican party is now controlled; and I think that we ought to leave a large liberty of action to the individual states. In California I was informed that the Progressives are going back into the Republican party with the purpose of presenting Johnson's name to the Republican National Convention. Of course, from my standpoint it would be ideal if the Republicans would nominate Johnson; but I don't believe that there is the slightest chance of it. In Colorado, judging from what Dodge tells me, the Republican Governor has done good work and seems entitled to our support.

Give my love to Mrs. Gifford. I should very much like to see you both again as soon as possible. *Faithfully yours*

5994 · TO DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, June 1, 1915

My dear Lloyd George: In a sense it is not my affair, but as one of your admirers and sympathizers I wish to congratulate you upon the action that has been taken in getting a Coalition Cabinet, and especially upon your part therein.¹ More than all I wish to congratulate you upon what you have done in connection with this war. When the war is over, you will again take up the work of dealing with the Labor Question, with Irish Home Rule, with many other matters. But the prime business at present for you to do is to save your country; and I admire the singlehearted manner with which you have devoted yourself to this great duty. I am sorry Redmond could not see his way to take office also; but of course there may have been reasons of which I know nothing that made it inadvisable for him to do so.

Give my regards to Edward Grey, *Faithfully yours*

¹ Lloyd George, the new Minister of Munitions, had played a prominent role in the formation of the first coalition government. Convinced of Lord Kitchener's military incompetence and disturbed by the lack of energy among his colleagues in the Asquith Ministry, Lloyd George in May 1915 threatened to quit the Cabinet. At the same time, Lord John Fisher unexpectedly resigned after a quarrel with Winston Churchill over the Dardanelles campaign. Faced with this crisis Asquith was easily persuaded by Lloyd George and Bonar Law, the Tory leader, to form a Cabinet which included all major parties. The only one unrepresented was John Redmond's Irish Nationalists. Redmond's refusal to join the Cabinet and the appointment of his political opponent, Sir Edward Carson, in his place greatly increased the tensions disturbing Ireland.

Oyster Bay, June 1, 1915

Dear Albert: I thank you for your letter with all my heart. Give my love to Mrs. Hart. But I don't agree with you about President Wilson in this crisis. You say he is "ably and courageously standing by the interests and the lives of his fellow countrymen." This is just exactly what in my judgment he is not doing. If he had acted in the *Gulflight* matter the thousand lives lost on the *Lusitania* would have been saved, just exactly as his inaction has been responsible for the most horrid and infamous wrongdoing and suffering in Mexico. The one point where I agree with the German-Americans is in their saying that Wilson has not any justification for protesting about the *Lusitania* in view of his supine willingness to permit worse murders on a larger scale in Mexico. I feel that Wilson is not carrying out a genuine American policy. I feel he is not carrying out any policy at all save one of words merely, which he tries to make strong enough to satisfy our people that something is being done and at the same time to enable him to dodge out of doing anything to Germany. He was not to be excused for failure to act when, after he had told the Germans that he would hold them to a strict accountability if they did certain things, they proceeded forthwith to do them. It is entirely possible that he may drift us into war just as Jefferson and Madison drifted us into war a century ago. I have always regarded Jefferson, in spite of his having rendered great services to the people, as also having been one of the most mischievous enemies of democracy, one of the very weakest whom we have ever had in public life. He was politically very successful — and Wilson may very well be also — but this will not alter my opinion in one case any more than it has altered it in the other case. We are naturally democratic as a people, naturally individualistic. Where Jefferson did good, he did good merely by upholding and justifying our doing what we should have done in any event, but we are naturally prone to treat words as substitutes for deeds and refuse to prepare, to refuse to organize in advance to meet crises, to refuse to look facts in the face if they are unpleasant facts. Wilson even more than Jefferson has been the apologist for and has given impetus to our very worst «tendencies». *Faithfully yours*

Private

Oyster Bay, June 3, 1915

My dear Mr. Robins: Your letter of May 3rd has touched and pleased me very much. As by this time you surely must know, you are one of the three or four men for whom the result of the last three years has given me the greatest regard and feeling, one of the half-dozen men with whom it has been a peculiar pleasure to be associated and whose friendship I regard

as an honor of which all my life I shall be proud. Indeed, I am tempted to say that of all the men with whom I have been associated in this movement you are the man with whom I have been in closest sympathy as regards what seems to me to be the most momentous issues among all the issues that we raised.

Therefore it is a matter of real pride to me that you should show for me the feeling that you did in this letter of yours.

I absolutely agree with your views as to the significance at home and abroad of our foreign policy. I absolutely agree that the present world war is in its essence one between militarism and democracy — and this although I furthermore agree with you that Russia's siding at the moment with the cause of democracy, or at least of liberalism and freedom, *may* only be accidental and that in the not distant future we *may* have greatly to fear her — although I both hope and believe that Russia will be liberalized by the war. You are absolutely right when you say that Russia and Japan, with alien pasts, with alien institutions and alien ideals of world dominion by force of arms, *may* in the near future (although I hope and believe not) occupy a position of menace towards western civilization, with just one people to withstand their mastery; and that is our own nation with our ideals of democracy, of liberty under law, of social progress through peaceful industry, education and commerce and of uncorrupted Christianity — which Christianity after all must largely be the attempt to realize that noble verse of Micah, "What more doth the Lord require of thee than to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" (This verse has always been a favorite of mine, because it embodies the Gospel of Works, with the necessary antidote in the last few words to that hard spiritual arrogance which is brought about by *mere* reliance on the Gospel of Works. I hope and believe that neither Russia nor Japan will ever occupy such a position; but it is of course possible that some day one or both of them may stand as Germany now stands, and menace civilization; and in such event we should be prepared to do just what we have so signally failed to do during the last ten months.

To do our duty in such a crisis America cannot stand as the pacifists, headed to my great regret by Jane Addams, now stand. During the last five years the professional pacifists have brought greater mischief to the American character than either the corrupt politicians or the crooked businessmen. Their stand tells for unrighteousness. It tells for hideous wrongdoing at the expense of the helpless and the innocent. Our position should be the position of the just man armed, the man who scorns to wrong others and is fearless in the face of the wrongdoer, a position which men of the unworthy stamp of Andrew Carnegie, David Starr Jordan and Nicholas Murray Butler seem unable even to understand.

Moreover, I absolutely agree with what you say as to the Democracy on the one hand, and the reactionaries now in control of the Republican

party on the other, offering us only a choice of evils. I may differ from you as to which is the worse evil; for I verily believe that in international affairs Wilson and Bryan are rather more dangerous than Murphy and Sullivan or Barnes and Penrose. But I would not support *either* evil! Such a choice opens to us nothing but a futile jumping to and fro between the frying pan and the fire; some of us trying to choose the frying pan instead of the fire, and in doubt which the frying pan is; and the rest of us casting a "conscience" vote for some man who cannot be elected, and therefore giving forceful and honest souls the feeling that we ourselves are futile and are putting our own pride and desire for revenge above our duty to seek for the attainable, even although not the satisfactory, "best possible" for the country as a whole.

But, my dear fellow, I do not agree with you in the least when you come to speak of my candidacy as opening any chance for achieving the purpose that you and I and those like us have in mind. I wish you would read a piece by a real friend of mine, Charles Willis Thompson, in the *New York Times* of May 23rd. He has stated the facts about as I see them.¹ I know I do not have to tell you, who have been associated with me in the campaigns of 1912, 1913 and 1914, that I am willing to make any fight, and either to head it or to assist in it, as may seem best, if it is clear that to do so is my duty. In 1900 I wished to be renominated as Governor of New York, partly, although I can truthfully say not mainly, for personal reasons. In 1904, in addition to other and stronger motives, I had a personal motive, or desire for my own sake, to be elected President. In 1912 I loathed having to go into the contest and I did it purely from a sense of duty; and the same of course was true last summer. So when I speak thus frankly of my motives in the past, I may ask that when I speak of the present my words shall be taken at their face value.

Now my feeling is that harm and not good would come if I should again be a candidate. In the libel suit that has just ended, the thing that to me was painfully evident was that at least nine tenths of the men of light and leading, and a very marked majority of the people, as a whole desired my defeat. They did not like Barnes or believe in him; but above all things they wished my defeat. The particular twelve men whose judgment was vital to me were, I think, on the whole against me at the start; but after both Barnes and I had been before them for many days they stood for me against Barnes. This was because I could reach them personally. But it is of course impossible for me

¹ The facts as Charles Willis Thompson saw them were these: Roosevelt regarded himself as out of politics "not by his own choice, but by necessity"; Roosevelt's belief that people were "tired" of him could not be attributed to a "depression" but to a "clear-eyed perception of a fact, or what he thinks is a fact"; the Republicans and the Progressives were moving closer together; this movement should be directed by the ablest minds in both parties; Roosevelt as the ablest mind should assist, but this was very hard for him to do in view of present public opinion about him.

Thompson was a political correspondent and editorial writer for the *New York Times*, 1912-1921, and author of four books on politics including one called *Presidents I've Known and Two Near Presidents* (1929).

to reach more than the smallest fraction of our people in such fashion. The others have made up their minds; and they are against me. I have been like an engine bucking a snowdrift. My progress was slower and slower; and finally I accumulated so much snow that I came to a halt and could not get through. The whole thing has been so well expressed by Thompson that I am sending you his article. I believe that there are some men who would support me against Wilson, for instance, or against a reactionary Republican, who would not support anyone else. But I believe that there are a far larger number of men who would at once sink every other purpose, no matter what their convictions might be, for the purpose of smashing me once for all. According to the information at present before me, I believe that the bulk of our people would accept my candidacy as a proof of greedy personal ambition on my part, and would be bitterly hostile to me in consequence, and bitterly hostile therefore to the cause for which I stood. I freely grant that at the moment I do not see quite whom we could put out as the man behind whom all of us could rally. But nothing is clearer to me, as I look at it now, than that it is utterly hopeless to attempt to put me forward and that the only result would be mischievous. I have had enough of announcing unalterable decisions in public; and so I do not wish to make a public definite declaration nor even to make one that is private and personal, unless it become absolutely imperative; but I do most strongly feel that unless a completely new light is cast on things it would be ruinous to any influence I have for good, and deeply hurtful to the cause you and I have at heart, if I permitted myself to be run in the Republican primaries as you suggest or to be run for President on any ticket.

There is another consideration, and that is afforded by what you speak of on your last page when you suggest two matters to be considered by me. You say that no man can be elected who is not sound on the liquor traffic (with Prohibition as the hoped-for ultimate goal); and that no man can be elected who can even plausibly be accused of favoring "Romanism."

With what you state about Prohibition I am in entire agreement. I do not believe that Prohibition at the moment would prohibit in the United States; but I am heartily in favor of the vigorous control and ultimate suppression of the open saloon for private profit; and I would make the Federal Government at once take active action in support of the local authorities of every district in which Prohibition has been voted by the people themselves. I do not want to go in advance of the people on this issue, for I do not believe you can do any good on an issue of this kind by getting too far in advance of them; but I believe they will ultimately come to the national suppression of the liquor traffic and I am heartily with them when they do so come to it. I also agree as regards all the other platform planks you mention.

But I am not in agreement with what apparently you think about my attitude hitherto on "Romanism," although I am certain I am in absolute agreement with your deepest and innermost conviction on the subject. Here let

me state something preliminary. I am often spoken of as being a successful practical politician. I have always striven to be a practical politician, for I do not think any public servant is worth anything if he does not know politics and if he is not practical. I have also striven consistently to find out the real feeling of the people, and stand for it, and not try to dragoon the people into having it, but rather to persuade them to adopt what I regarded as the right views. But when I have felt that a fundamental issue of morals or of vital national interest or honor was concerned, I have never hesitated to follow my belief, even though I was certain that to do so would hurt me in the estimation of the people as a whole. For many years I have fought for the navy and for military preparedness, even though I have thought that on the whole this was unpopular rather than popular. I should have been against the free coinage of silver or any species of repudiation of debts, even if the country had been overwhelmingly in its favor. I would have acted as I did about the Panama Canal, about the settlement of the Anthracite Coal Strike, about preserving order in Arizona and Nevada by the use of the army, and about sending the Battle fleet around the world, even if each of these actions had been certain to ruin my career.

In the same way I have felt as regards the *Luisitania* business that as an honorable man I could not keep silent, although I thoroughly realized that what I said would offend the pacifists, would offend the good, shortsighted men who do not fully understand international relations, and would make envenomed enemies of the great bulk of those Americans of German descent or birth from whom in the past I have had rather more than my normal proportion of support. This was to me a matter of principle, a matter of national duty, of duty which I owed my country; and I did not think that I was warranted in considering my own personal fortunes in the matter. But I do most emphatically think that when it comes to choosing a candidate the very men who agree with me in what I have done ought to realize that it often becomes impossible to nominate a man even though the very things which make it impossible to nominate him are things where he was right and where he is entitled to our respect and admiration.

It is just the same thing about the Catholic question. You object to my first article on Mexico, in which I spoke of the hideous outrages committed on the priests and especially on the nuns in Mexico. Doubtless you remember a subsequent article in which I spoke, if possible, even more strongly of the outrages committed upon our own people and other foreigners in Mexico. Now in the first article I was dealing with outrages on Catholics; in the second article I was for the most part dealing with outrages on Protestants. In the last case doubtless some and probably most of those committing the outrages were themselves not only Catholics but bigoted Catholics. In the first instance doubtless many of those committing the outrages were anti-Clericals, were very possibly Freethinkers or Masons. All of this seems to me aside from the mark. When I acted against Colombia in the case of Panama, the Clericals

were my most embittered foes. At the time when I was preaching war with Spain for the sake of freeing Cuba, the Catholic Hierarchy of this country either sided with Spain (as I was informed at Rome was true of a certain prominent Prelate then living there) or at least did everything possible to prevent our going to war with Spain. I should have been ashamed of myself if I had yielded to the Catholic Hierarchy as regards Colombia or Spain, where the Catholic Hierarchy were wrong. I should be no less ashamed of myself if I failed to protest against cruel wrong done at the expense of Catholics, including the Catholic Hierarchy, when as in this case it happens that Freethinkers and Masons are prominent among the wrongdoers. My dear fellow, I know you too well not to know that this is your feeling also.

What you say does not make me feel that I ought to swerve from the course I have marked out in this matter. But it does make me feel that with the anti-Catholic agitation as inflamed as it is at present, there is an additional reason why it would be utterly hopeless to try to run me for President. All the Catholics who really are bigotedly anti-Protestant would join with all the hyphenated Americans, with the professional German-Americans or professional Irish-Americans, and would then strike hands with those who style themselves the ultranative Americans, the ultra-Protestants, the successors of the A.P.A. people, in frantically opposing me; and this not to speak of their foreordained and natural allies, the professional pacifists and the like. Now, this religious matter is one which I regard as of such vital consequence that I cannot compromise on it. You remember how in Southern Illinois last year among those miners who were heartily supporting you against Sullivan many, probably most, were of Irish descent and Catholics in creed. Once, when I ran for the legislature I was pitted against a man of Irish descent and Catholic creed; and my great backer at the time was an American, a Catholic who had been born in Ireland. I would have felt that any man of Irish descent or Catholic faith who under those circumstances voted against you or me on grounds of religion or national origin was a thoroughly unworthy American. In just the same way I will not support, I will not keep silent about, a movement which attacks my fellow countrymen of different creed or different national origin, because of their creed or because of that national origin. I regard Catholics of this type as poor citizens, as enemies to our institutions. But I regard Protestants of the same type as being just as emphatically dangerous to the Republic, just as emphatically un-American. In my Cabinet Catholic and Protestant and Jew sat side by side. Some of the men in my Administration in whom I most trusted and on whom I most relied were Catholics. I would have broken the neck of any one of them if I had found he was acting toward any American citizen in an un-American manner, having in view that citizen's creed, whether in discriminating for or against him. But I would have stood by him to the last if he himself had been attacked because of his creed or because of his national origin; and this I would have done as regards every man in this Republic whether he was Protestant or

Catholic or Jew, whether he was of English or Irish, French or German origin. I have always tried to act so as to feel that I had a right to the support of the right-thinking Catholic just as much as of the right-thinking Protestant and that in my public deeds and words I represented one just as much as the other. I am as jealous of the rights of one as of the other and as anxious to earn the respect and good will of one as of the other; and I am also, I hope and believe, incapable of acting save as I conscientiously think the public good demands, even although so to act should forfeit the good will of both.

When I was in Rome five years ago, the Pope, through the Cardinal Secretary of State, notified me that he must ask me to promise not to visit a certain Methodist institution in Rome or else he could not receive me. I refused to make the promise and in consequence never saw the Pope; and this although, because of a very improper attack on the Pope by one of the Methodist clergymen, I never did visit the Methodist institution in question. Because of my attitude in this matter, the only attitude which I felt a self-respecting American could take, I was violently assailed by the ultramontanes in this country. A few good priests defended me; but the Hierarchy as a whole was hostile to me; and they were successful in swinging against me in 1912, first in the primaries for Mr. Taft, and then at the election for Wilson or for Taft, the enormous bulk of the Catholic vote. But their doing so did not in the least alter my conviction that I had behaved exactly right in the Vatican incident, nor prevent me from saying again and again openly and in letters to prominent Catholics that under like circumstances I should again take precisely the same action. I would submit to no dictation from the Catholic or any other Hierarchy — or from anyone else. Every right-thinking man should support this position. The real lack of moral worth of the professional anti-Catholics is shown by the fact that they have bitterly attacked me, joining hands for the purpose with the men of the more undesirable type as themselves who happen to be Catholics instead of Protestants. The bigots of each creed have shown that they are ready to join with their fellow bigots to whom they are in theory most bitterly opposed; this in order to defeat the man who refuses to bow down to or truckle to the bigots of either creed and who endeavors to do strict justice to the good citizens of both creeds.

On the other hand, the misconduct of so many among the leaders (by no means all of them) in the Catholic Church in America, did not, and could not, make me swerve from doing justice to Catholics as much as to Protestants. It did not for a moment make me alter my conviction that the attitude I have always taken toward my Catholic fellow citizens was the only proper attitude to take and that it was essential that I should continue in that position. I would indignantly resent the conduct of any Catholic who because I am not of his faith failed openly and fearlessly to stand up for me if his convictions on public subjects were my subjects and if he believed I was the best man to put these convictions into effect. In just the same way I should feel

ashamed not openly and fearlessly, and at no matter what cost of possible misunderstanding to take ground in favor of my Catholic fellow citizens when they are right, and against any form of A.P.A. movement directed against them. I stand openly and aggressively for nonsectarian public schools and against any diversion of the public money to sectarian schools. But I therefore openly stand against reading the Bible in the public schools when Catholics and Jews may object to its being read — and this although I prefer to have them read when there is no objection. I am against any Catholic who himself adopts an attitude of intolerance or bigotry toward his fellow citizen of a different creed or who himself proposes to shape America's foreign policy with reference to anything but our common national honor and interest and our duty to humanity as a whole. But I am equally against any Protestant who takes any one of such attitudes.

I do not care whether the discrimination is for or against a man because of his creed; it is equally un-American in either case. I have spoken to Methodist Chautauquas; I have spoken to Masonic bodies; I have spoken to the Knights of Columbus. Whenever I deem the public interest will be subserved thereby, I shall in future speak to Masons, to Methodists, to Knights of Columbus; and to each and every one of them I shall make the same kind of speech and shall say nothing to one body that I would be ashamed of saying to one of the other bodies. This is not an issue upon which I can compromise; it is not an issue on which I would feel it was right to compromise. Some of my most faithful friends, allies and supporters I have ever had in public life, some of the best men who have ever worked under me and with me, have been Americans of German parentage and Protestant faith or perchance Agnostics. Others have been Americans of Irish birth or descent and of Catholic faith. I should be incapable of failing in my loyalty to the men of either class; just as I should be incapable of failing in my loyalty to wise and loyal men of old American stock, whether they were born in the South or the North. Moreover, I cannot keep silent on such a matter as this whenever the need for speaking out may come. And, my dear Robins, I know you too well not to know that you are the very last man in the country who under such circumstances would have me keep silent. But with the anti-Catholic public feeling as you describe it, and as I have no doubt it actually is, I think this is another reason why it would be hopeless and mischievous even to consider putting me forward for the Presidency at this time.

Now, I want very much to see you and Mrs. Robins out here; and I want to have you meet Wilkinson of Syracuse, who is a trump and the salt of the earth but who needs to have your views on certain points put before him as only you can put them; and perhaps it would be useful to have him in return give you some of his experiences, which have made him take a very dark view of irresponsible trade unions, a view different from mine.

I have felt that this libel suit which has just ended was really as much a fight for those who have fought with me during the last three years as for

myself. It has justified in court, by legal evidence, all we said about boss rule and crooked business three years ago. Horace Wilkinson and George Perkins are going to arrange to have the record printed. I could not afford to do it myself, for even though I won, the suit will cost me between thirty and forty thousand dollars. I do not grudge the money, for I think the service was really worth rendering; the expense is a passing thing «to me» . . . ; but I do very strongly feel that in a way it excuses me from doing too much more. There is an anecdote that has long been proverbial in our family which bears on the point. Doctor Polk,² of New York, now an old man, was Inspector General of the Confederate Artillery fifty years ago. Just before Appomattox, Lee sent him to the rear to hurry up the stragglers. He was sitting on a rail fence, with his horse bridle over his arm, when a lank, frowzy, half-starved North Carolinian infantryman tramped by, his feet going "suck, suck" as he plowed through the mud. Polk said in a perfunctory way, "Hurry up, my man, hurry up." Whereupon the North Carolinian looked gloomily at him, shook his head, and remarked as he walked by, "If ever I love another country, damn *me*!"

Now, you must not take this anecdote too literally. Of course, if it was a duty impossible to avoid, I would fight in the future as I have fought in the past. But I feel I have done my share; and, what is infinitely more important, I do not feel that I can be of use in a leading position any more. I think the people have made up their mind that they have had all they want of me, and that my championship of a cause or an individual, save in exceptional cases, is a damage rather than a benefit. *Very faithfully yours*

5997 • TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

Lee Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 17, 1915

Dear Arthur: Your long and most interesting letter of June 2nd has just come; and I am so glad to get it. Yes, I received your other letter. I have written you quite often and have sent you the different public statements I have made. I do not know whether they have reached you or not. I have not written you as fully as I otherwise would, just because I am so sick at heart over affairs in the world at large at this moment and particularly over the course of my own government and my own people. One has to be a philosopher; one has to remember that there come long periods when you agree with the bulk of your fellow countrymen and long periods when you don't and that at times the world as a whole seems to go very wrong and at times very right; and that one's duty is to struggle for the right and not get cast down, and to remember that all things pass, and that through the centuries good and evil have been mixed, sometimes one predominating and sometimes the other. But after all, such type of philosophy is not very much consolation

² William Mecklenburg Polk, son of the Confederate general, Leonidas Polk, later a physician in New York.

to a man who believes in right, a man who wants to see his own country do what is right, when, as is the case just at present, the forces of evil have on the whole shown to advantage as compared to the forces of good during the past eleven months, and when the free countries, above all America, have shown qualities that are very ominous for the future when contrasted with the brutal and ruthless efficiency with which Germany is handled.

Now, my dear fellow, I was half amused and half ashamed at the part of your letter where you said that you hoped you had not unwittingly offended me by your comments. There is no man closer to me than you are. I have never had a more devoted friend; and, what is more, my country has never had a more devoted friend in England or in any other country than you have shown yourself to be. You have the right to say to me anything that you desire and, as a matter of fact, you are always so careful in what you say that no human being of the least sense could ever take offense.

There is no use disguising the fact that Germany has shown an extraordinary efficiency during the last eleven months. Her submarine warfare makes it proper to say that this efficiency has been shown at sea no less than on land. The way she has organized her industry is no less remarkable than the way she has organized her fighting force. For fifty years Germany has been trained by an intelligent and despotic upper class with an eye single to efficiency of a purely militaristic kind. In both peace and war, in both industrial and military matters the result is astounding. The only democracy that has shown similar efficiency is little Switzerland. France comes next, although far from equaling Germany. To our shame be it said, we of the English-speaking peoples have acted precisely in the spirit set forth and condemned in Kipling's famous poem about "the flannelled fool at the wicket, the muddied oaf in the goals."¹ England has done this; even Australia and Canada have done this. But America has been infinitely worse than any of the other English-speaking peoples in this matter. The sad and irritating thing is that it is so much a matter of leadership. When I left office in 1909, I greeted the battle fleet on its return from its trip around the world. Our fleet was then second to that of England in fighting efficiency. Our diplomacy was courteous, respectful to others, self-respecting and absolutely firm. Our word as a nation carried great weight. We were working cordially with England for the common good of the British Empire and the United States — and I think I may say without cant for the common good of humanity as a whole. I had brought both Germany and Japan to a sharp account and made them instantly back water when we came into conflict with them, and especially with Germany, on points where I thought they were wrong. But I suppose

¹ "The Islanders," which reads in part:

Then ye returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls
With the flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals.
Given to strong delusion, wholly believing a lie,
Ye saw that the land lay fenceless, and ye let the months go by
Waiting some easy wonder: hoping some saving sign —
Idle — openly idle — in the lee of the forespent Line.

that even then the flabby peace propaganda was gaining weight. I was not myself at all awake to the need that America should have universal military service. I can hardly blame myself in this matter for no one was awake to it; and hardly any of our people are now awake to it. Very few people backed up Lord Roberts, even in England. The trouble is that England, thanks to the Channel, has believed that she need not do the things that were necessary to the continental powers of Europe; and this country is in this respect worse than England by just about the proportion of the ocean to the Channel. The same reasons that have made England blind and slothful compared to France and Switzerland in the way of preparedness against hideous disaster have made us blind and slothful compared to England.

You have seen my public utterances. I would from the beginning, if I had been President, have taken a stand which would have made the Germans either absolutely alter all their conduct or else put them into war with us. If the United States had taken this stand, in my judgment we would now have been fighting beside you. Most emphatically, if we had done what we ought to have done after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, I and my four boys would now be in an army getting ready to serve with you in Flanders or else to serve against Constantinople. But our people lack imagination; they do not understand the conditions abroad; and above all they have been misled by the screaming and shrieking and bleating of the peace people until really good men and women have gotten so puzzle-headed that they advocate a course of national infamy. I have spoken out as strongly and as clearly as possible; and I do not think it has had any effect beyond making people think that I am a truculent and bloodthirsty person, endeavoring futilely to thwart able, dignified, humane Mr. Wilson in his noble plan to bring peace everywhere by excellently written letters sent to persons who care nothing whatever for any letter that is not backed up by force!

Bryan has now split with Wilson.² For a moment I thought that this meant that Wilson had waked up to the national needs, national duty. But when his note came out, I was utterly unable to see that he had changed in the least. He and Bryan apparently agree with cordiality that our policy should be one of milk and water. They only disagree as to the precise quantity of dilution in the mixture; and this does not seem to me to be important enough to warrant a quarrel.

²On June 8 Bryan had resigned from the Cabinet. The immediate differences between Bryan and Wilson arose out of the *Lusitania* sinking. Bryan had wanted the President to supplement his note to Germany by complaining to Britain of her violations of neutral rights, by abandoning the contention that Americans had any right of immunity when traveling upon the ships of belligerents, and by assuring Germany that the United States would abide by the "cooling off" principle of the arbitration treaties with the Allies in settling the *Lusitania* matter. To none of these policies would Wilson agree. On his own initiative Bryan, in a private conversation with the Austrian Ambassador, modified the tone of the President's first note to Germany. Increasingly distressed by the persistence of that tone in Wilson's second note on the *Lusitania* — a response to Germany's evasive reply — Bryan after sleepless nights and lonely days of anguished indecision concluded finally to resign. He was succeeded by Robert Lansing.

Naturally I sympathize entirely with your views as to your Home Government; and I do not wonder that you feel that you are breathing a cleaner and manlier air now that you are again a soldier and not in politics. Messrs. Asquith and Morley,³ while able men, impressed me as being "able" only in the sense that Wilson and Taft are able. Five years ago I felt that they were both doctrinaires; that they were both utterly unfit to deal with the Imperial interests; and that their real concern was, in the case of Morley with literary work, setting forth lofty and humane ideals which could not be reduced to practice, and in the case of Asquith in the ordinary party success achieved in the ordinary political way. I did not believe that either of them was fit to care for the future interests of the Empire. I do not think so now. On the other hand, I liked Edward Grey and believed in him thoroughly; and I liked Lloyd George, in spite of all his vagaries. Of course in England, what should have been done was at the outset to put the whole population under conscription on the German plan, to put the whole population at the service of the state. All workingmen should have been (allowed to) made work in the different factories, if they were not sent to the front, on the basis that their work was the work of soldiers. Any man that went into a strike should have been promptly shipped to the front and put in the trenches nearest the German lines. On the other hand, the same thing should have been done to the employers. There has been a good deal of profit-making by certain employers in England as compared to Germany during this war. The employer and capitalist should have been informed that during the war they were as much under the Government as the soldiers, or the workingmen; that they were entitled to live just as the workingmen were entitled to live; but that their whole activities beyond this point were to be employed by the Government and as the Government chose to direct; they were not to make profit for themselves until the nation had won the war.

Of course, this kind of action would have been denounced in your country by every tomfool sentimentalist and fake Liberal. In my own country it would have been denounced even more strongly; there would be even less chance of getting it. But our peoples have got to make up their minds that with the world as it now is either the men who believe in freedom must submit themselves to organization and use their whole power in defense of the state, as in Switzerland the whole power of the people is used; or else that disaster awaits them at the hands of Germany or of Japan or of some other well-organized despotism, whether the despotism be that of a single man, of an oligarchy or of a bureaucracy.

The antics of the peace people here pass belief. President Wilson's delightful statement about the nation being "too proud to fight" seemed to me to reach the nadir of cowardly infamy. But as a whole our people did not especially resent it. Taft, Nicholas Murray Butler, Andrew Carnegie and the rest of the crowd are at the moment engaged in holding a grand Peace Con-

³ John, Viscount Morley had resigned from the British Cabinet when the government decided to declare war on Germany.

ference to insist that everything shall be arbitrated everywhere. The Californians for the most part cordially join in the cry. They applaud the movement with enthusiasm and say how splendid it is. Then when they pause for breath for a moment they proceed to insult the Japanese and thereby invite future war with that power. It is the literal fact that not a few of these Pacific Slope leaders are delighted to promise to arbitrate everything at the very moment when they would repudiate with utter horror any proposal to arbitrate under any conditions the question whether or not there shall be unlimited Asiatic immigration to these shores. Wilson passes thirty all-inclusive arbitration commission treaties with various nations, in which it is agreed that there shall be a commission to investigate for a year any matter before war is resorted to. Under these treaties the sinking of the *Lusitania*, as Bryan pointed out, would necessitate a year's investigation before war could be thought of. Now, (to their discredit be it said, although their discredit is much less than ours) England, France and Russia have actually entered into these treaties with us. In this respect Germany was more straightforward and declined to enter into them. But she asked that we apply the principle to the case of the *Lusitania*. Fortunately even Wilson's cold and tepid soul revolted at that proposal, whereas nothing could revolt Bryan's ignoble soul — no, as my secretary,⁴ by birth a Newfoundlander, with kinsfolk in your army, has just pointed out, Wilson's soul did *not* revolt, but he knew that our people, in spite of all their timidity and ignorance and folly, would not sanction such a proceeding and so he blandly repudiated the policies to which he was solemnly pledged and declined to do as Bryan wished. But his policy of interchanging at considerable intervals notes couched in vigorous English which means nothing will achieve the same result, I am very much afraid. I have tried not to denounce him; but it is extremely hard effectively to attack crime without attacking the criminal. This country has behaved very badly, because there has been no popular revolt against what Wilson has done; and it is a very difficult thing to arouse our people to a knowledge of how badly they have done except by pointing out the shortcomings of those who are responsible.

From time to time I shall send you anything I say in public. I put the case as strongly as I can. I speak as often as I think will do good. If I speak too often and too strongly no good comes. I enclose you a copy of a communication I have recently sent to Hudson Maxim⁵ and of a letter I have recently sent to a Pacific Slope Editor.⁶ Both explain themselves.

The winning of my libel suit was a big personal victory for me and was

⁴ John W. McGrath.

⁵ To Hudson Maxim, the inventor of smokeless powder and author of *Defenseless America* (1915), Roosevelt had written a characteristic letter condemning pacifists and peace-at-any-price Americans; see Roosevelt to Maxim, June 3, 1915, Roosevelt Mss.

⁶ In this letter Roosevelt expressed in his usual manner his opposition to the Taft and Bryan arbitration treaties and the work of the League to Enforce Peace conference then in session; see Roosevelt to W. H. Cowles, June 17, 1915, Roosevelt Mss.

a big thing for clean politics. But I really lost interest in it, because my interest was so much greater in the things that were going on abroad. There were a couple of Germans on the jury. When the *Lusitania* business occurred, I made a public statement which you may perhaps have seen; I think I sent it to you. I then went to my lawyers, who of course were almost as much concerned in my success as I was, and told them I was very sorry, for I feared they would disapprove of my making the statement, but that I did not feel there was any alternative, no matter what the effect might be on the case. They are both of them trumps and they answered at once that I was entirely right; that they would not have had me act differently; that though the libel suit was important the interests of the nation and of humanity were more important and that it was my duty to disregard everything but the public interest, and that they were extremely glad I had made the statement I did make.

As I have said before, the efficiency of the Germans is as wonderful as their ruthlessness and brutality; and I only wish I and my boys were beside you in the trenches. I am already planning to raise a division of mounted riflemen such as our old regiment. (It will fight in the trenches or anywhere else.) I have the brigade commanders and regimental commanders picked; but I do not believe Wilson can be kicked into war.

Archie and Quentin are going to the summer camp of instruction which General Wood has started at Plattsburg. I am very sorry that your force was deflected to the Dardanelles, for it seems to me you have need of all the men you can get in Flanders. The Russians have come a fearful cropper. I am glad that the Italians have shown more manliness than we have shown and have gone into the war. Of course, I cannot help feeling that there must be more strain on Germany and Austria than we believe; but I am not prophesying, and, thank the Lord, I have not been prophesying about this war.

I thoroughly agree with you about the submarine menace. It has been the one thing that has caused me real alarm. It is because of my feeling about the submarines that I have felt that England should have had universal military service and that by now she should have had on the Continent of Europe an army as large as that of France, so that the growth of the submarine fleet of Germany would have been too late. Curiously enough, I had myself worked out just the conclusion to which you have come as to what the United States could do. I felt that if war came what we ought to do was to send over all our light craft and destroyers to keep the submarines as much as possible in check around England, to hasten the output of ammunition to the allies, to get thirty or forty thousand men as soon as possible in Flanders or at Constantinople, as you desired, and to keep these thirty or forty thousand men up to their full fighting strength; and meanwhile to put half a million men or perhaps a million into training, and prepare equipment for them. However, with Wilson nothing whatever can be done. He is now sending an occasional ultimatum, or penultimatum or antepenultimatum to Mexico. He

is not sending one to the Kaiser and he is not preparing one single soldier to make any of his ultimatums of the slightest possible consequence. He sends a few marines to Mexico!

As for the breaking of my ribs, I am practically over the effects of the accident. Of course, they were a little painful for two or three weeks. The simple fact is that I tried to ride a horse that was too good for me. I might just as well admit that I am old and stiff; and while I can *sit* on a horse fairly well, I cannot mount him if he misbehaves. This horse threw me before I got my right foot into the stirrup, and I struck the ground a good deal as if I had been a walrus, and broke a couple of ribs in consequence.

Mrs. Roosevelt had a rather serious operation at the hospital but it was absolutely necessary and now she is better than she has been for a long time. Ethel is only fairly well but is really enjoying life; and she and Dick and the baby make a very dear household. They are all coming out the end of next week to us. Ted and Eleanor and the two babies have just left here. Kermit and Belle are having a lovely time in South America.

May all good come to you and yours, my dear Arthur, and every success attend your country in its great struggle for its own life and for the best interests of mankind! *Faithfully your friend*

5998 · TO CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, June 23, 1915

Dear Charley: By the way, I am sorry to say that I hear from the West that Weeks made a very bad impression by his speeches out there. They were treated as reactionary and standpat.¹ I think you and Lodge and the other friends of Weeks should know this; and I wish you would tell Lodge. Personally, I like Weeks; personally I should be inclined, if Weeks is straight on the international issue, to support him as against Wilson. But of course I am not going to separate from the men who three years ago backed me unless it is a really vital necessity from the national standpoint; and if Weeks handles himself so that my supporters think him merely a representative of the old standpat element, why, he will have to win, if win he does, without any support from us. It is going to be an awfully difficult thing to get the Progressives to support the Republicans next time anyhow; and if the candidate and platform take standpat positions, then the men like myself will have to be struck off the list of possible supporters. You know, Charley, that 1912 really represented merely the goal of thought for which I had always been heading. From my standpoint it was merely the effort to apply the principles of Abraham Lincoln to the conditions of the 20th century. We do not feel like going back on those principles. We believe as strongly as ever that they should be applied to present-day conditions. Many of us feel, I for instance

¹ This they were, for Weeks attacked the domestic policies of the Wilson Administration and offended the West particularly by opposing woman suffrage.

feel, that the international situation is at the moment more important than anything else; but we think Taft at least as bad as Wilson as regards this matter and Burton of Ohio considerably worse. Of course it is a veritable political Walpurgis night at present. No one can tell what will come up and it is utterly impossible to forecast the future a year in advance. . . . but I will be glad to have you show this letter to Lodge, for I think both of you ought to understand just how I feel. *Faithfully yours*

5999 • TO ELEANOR ALEXANDER ROOSEVELT *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, June 29, 1915

Darling Eleanor, The "is this Christopher Street or Wednesday" story is really very funny.

Ethel and baby Richard are now here. I enjoy them both thoroly; and their being here makes me also a little homesick for you and blessed Gracie and little Ted-peds.¹ If I had plenty of money I'd build rambling additions to this house, connected with it by galleries, each addition being practically a little house by itself; one for the Ted Jr's, one for the "little Derbys," as Mother calls them, and so one; including one for "Aunt Grace" (to whom my homage); and all to be kept for visits at any moment and for any length of time by those for whom they were designed — all the beloved little families.

I have had a couple of interesting letters from China from O. K. Davis — the hero of the "all right in the next room" incident.²

Ted spent last night here. He was dear. I agreed with him about your going on the Bob Perkins yacht. *Your loving father*

P.S. Ted told me of the Miss Cowell³ incident — if that is her name.

Do you like Ted to Sup With Actresses? !

6000 • TO LANGDON WARNER

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, July 2, 1915

*Dear Langdon:*¹ The copy of the preliminary report² has not yet come; but I will read it with the greatest interest. I will write you at once when I have

¹ Theodore Roosevelt, III, born June 14, 1914.

² In what "next room" the incident took place is uncertain. O. K. Davis knew what was going on in two rooms at critical moments in 1912. In the first, at the Congress Hotel in Chicago, Roosevelt decided to bolt; in the second Roosevelt wrote out the antitrust plank that became one of the great issues of the Progressive convention in 1912.

³ Probably Jane Cowl, well-known New York actress and playwright.

¹ Langdon Warner, archaeologist, husband of Lorraine d'Oremieulx Roosevelt. Interested primarily in the Far East, he led a number of field trips in Asia from 1904 to 1930 and by his findings greatly enriched the collections of Far Eastern art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Fogg Art Museum, of which he was a field fellow, of Harvard.

² On the American School of Archaeology in Peking, sponsored by the Smithsonian

read it. I will very gladly do anything I can that you think will be of aid. I am not the least surprised at what you tell me about the Germans. The German stock is a first-class stock. It has deteriorated during the last fifty years under the pressure of the Prussian militaristic Frederick the Great and Bismarck school, just precisely as the admirable American stock in the slave states deteriorated during the half century prior to the Civil War under the pressure of the "Slavery-a-Divine-Institution" men who finally became not mere disunionists but crusaders to force negro slavery on as much of mankind as they could reach. I am partly descended from the Germans and half descended from the Southerners; and I believe that both the stocks are among the best that there are; but facts must be faced, no matter whether they are pleasant or the reverse.

Most assuredly if we ever do chance to use the Legion in action, I will let you know wherever you are, so as to get you in it. Personally, however, I do not believe that this Administration can be kicked into war. An army officer tells me that recently he was at a bull fight in a Mexican city. One bull would not fight. Thereupon the audience began to call "He is a Woodrow Wilson; he is an American bull; take him out; take out Woodrow Wilson and bring in a Mexican bull that will fight." This exactly expresses the German attitude toward us no less than the Mexican attitude toward us.

Give my love to both the Lorraines. *Faithfully yours*

P. S. The report has just come. I have read it all through and I am immensely impressed with it. I am not competent to speak as an expert but I cordially agree with you that the most important archaeological work that now remains to be done in the world at large is the work to be done in China and the parts of Asia immediately around it; these parts where we see traces of Chinese influence or of the influence of movements that from the outside affected China or finally where we see the remains of vanished cultures or peoples who in later stages of their history went into what is now Central China and contributed their blood to the modern Chinese people. I was very much struck by your experiences in England, France and Russia and the cordial relations you were able to establish with all the scientists in these lands. The proposals of the Russians were very generous and, subject to the conditions outlined, can well be closed with by us. I am much impressed also with the way you have been working with the Japanese and with the numerous Chinese scholars. Probably your French friends are right in thinking that it would be quite impossible to do work of the highest value by mere collaboration with the Chinese students; nevertheless such collaboration is of the utmost importance. As a minor matter, I am glad that you intend that the archaeological school shall be housed in some native building like a Chinese monastery, which shall be changed only to the degree absolutely necessary to suit it to your purpose. I also feel that your proposals as to the exact

Institution and the American Archaeological Institute, of which Warner had been director, 1913-1914.

degree and way of admission of foreigners to membership in the American Archaeological School are eminently sound. Altogether, I am delighted with the vision and judgment you have shown, my dear Langdon, in outlining the right scheme for dealing with this really great work. I wish you all success; and if you would like me to make more specific suggestions I hope you will let me know. I only wish I could be of more efficient help to you.

6001 · TO WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

Thayer Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 2, 1915

Dear Billy: I have just seen "John Hay and the Panama Republic."¹ I rather wish you had read over what I have written on the subject before yourself writing. For example, you say that Varilla "laid the train for the explosion" and then "communicated the plan to President Roosevelt." He never communicated any plan of any kind, sort or description to me. If you would turn either to my article in the *Metropolitan* or to My *Autobiography*, you would find my account of an interview with the two American officers sent me by Lieutenant General Young on October 16th.² This interview was from my standpoint twenty times as important as all my interviews with Bunau-Varilla and the rest put together. Bunau-Varilla, I believe, (though of course I cannot prove it) did actually start the revolution that went off; but there were a dozen different trains of powder laid, and some of them were certain to go off. My ordering the ships to the Isthmus was done as soon as I had had my interview with the two officers in question. I have no doubt that Bunau-Varilla knew of it through Hay; but the orders were absolutely independent of what he did. As for Nelson Cromwell, as far as I could find out, he was merely a stage conspirator. He impressed Hanna greatly, for Hanna was one of those very powerful able men of limited imagination who curiously enough are sometimes easily impressed by perfectly cheap pasteboard characters. Nelson Cromwell had futile dealings with various conspirators; and he and Bunau-Varilla hated one another poisonously. But whereas I believe that Bunau-Varilla did act efficiently I think that all that Nelson Cromwell did was to walk around New York looking as much like a conspirator as possible and feeling ecstatic whenever the *World* accused him of being responsible for the "Panama Infamy." One of my difficulties in the Panama case has been that many men, including apparently you yourself, won't accept the perfectly simple and obvious solution. To talk of Colombia as a responsible power to be dealt with as we would deal with Holland or Bel-

¹ William Roscoe Thayer, "John Hay and the Panama Republic," *Harper's Monthly*, 131:165-175 (July 1915).

² In his autobiography, Roosevelt explained that these two officers assured him that Panamanians, thoroughly disgusted with the Colombian government, were unquestionably prepared to start a revolution before the end of October; see *Autobiography*, Nat. Ed. XX, 511.

gium or Switzerland or Denmark is a mere absurdity. The analogy is with a group of Sicilian or Calabrian bandits; with Villa and Carranza at this moment. You could no more make an agreement with them than you could nail currant jelly to a wall — and the failure to nail currant jelly to a wall is not due to the nail; it is due to the currant jelly. I did my best to get them to act straight. Then I determined that I would do what ought to be done without regard to them. The people of Panama were a unit in desiring the Canal and in wishing to overthrow the rule of Colombia. If they had not revolted, I should have recommended Congress to take possession of the Isthmus by force of arms; and, as you will see, I had actually written the first draft of my Message to this effect. When they revolted, I promptly used the Navy to prevent the bandits who had tried to hold us up from spending months of futile bloodshed in conquering or endeavoring to conquer the Isthmus, to the lasting damage of the Isthmus, of us and of the world. I did not consult Hay, or Root, or anyone else as to what I did, because a council of war does not fight; and I intended to do the job once for all. *Faithfully yours*

6002 • TO JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 6, 1915

My dear Mr. Morgan: I saw Springy yesterday. He told me all about the attempted murder, about the heroism of Mrs. Morgan, and the instant decision and efficiency of your action, action to which you undoubtedly owed your life.¹

Well, at a period when the pacifist, the flubdub and the mollicoddle seem to engross the popular approval, it is very comforting to know that there is now and then an American left who has not lost the virile virtues. I congratulate you with all my heart; and I beg to present my warmest regards to Mrs. Morgan. *Sincerely yours*

6003 • TO WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, July 10, 1915

Dear Billy: You are welcome to use my simile of the currant jelly and the accompanying remark that the Colombians were like Calabrian bandits.¹

Now, as for what you say as to the "superior people" assumption. My answer must be that each case must be judged on its merits, for the excellent reason that there is not any international tribunal to which we can apply

¹ The younger J. P. Morgan had been attacked in his house on July 3. His assailant, Erich Muentzer, who called himself Holt, had been an instructor in German at both Harvard and Cornell. The coming of the war had unsettled his reason; in addition to attacking Morgan, he had set off a bomb in the Senate building and apparently set a fire with a delayed fuse on the ship *Minnehaha*. All these actions he took to prevent the shipping of munitions to the Allies.

¹ He did; see Thayer, *Hay*, II, 327-328.

for judgment as to whether a given nation is or is not a public nuisance. Within our own boundaries we can apply to the courts, if a man murders his wife or gets drunk and shoots up a neighborhood or merely sits down and blocks a highway. But in international matters we can do nothing of the kind. If we fail to act on the "superior people" theory *when we ought to* barbarism and savagery and squalid obstruction will prevail over most of the globe. If we act on it improperly, *when we ought not to* frightful injustice will be done as regards the rest of the globe. England took the Sudan. At that time I knew a Frenchman, the Marquis de Morès,² whose admiration for the Mahdi was such that he started across the Sahara to join him and fight the English. Unfortunately the Tuaregs, not being able to appreciate the fine frenzy of his altruism, killed him before he got anywhere near the Mahdi. A Tolstoyite New Yorker, a son of a clergyman, named Ernest Crosby, used to write little sonnets on behalf of the Sudan as against England. These sonnets were admirable examples of pacifist logic. The Sudanese insisted upon keeping their liberty in order that they might kill all outsiders and two thirds of their own number; and they depopulated the Sudan with torture and murder; and this pacifist gentleman sincerely felt that he was serving the cause of peace when he protested against putting a stop to such iniquity. At the present day there are plenty of Germans who say that it is hypocritical for the English, after having taken the Sudan, to object to what they did in Belgium. Now, what I did in Panama was substantially what the British had done in the Sudan and certainly was on a par with what they did in Egypt, both of which feats were very useful to mankind. In the same way the Germans were right to expel the slave-raiding Arabs of East Africa and the French right to take Algiers, and the Russians to take Turkistan. Frankly, I do not think that any of these cases, and least of all Panama, has anything in common with the German attitude towards Belgium. Before there was law in California and Montana, and indeed as a requisite for bringing the law there, the Vigilantes had to be organized and had to hang people. Technically this was murder; practically, it was the removal of murderers. It seems to me both absurd and immoral not to acknowledge the righteousness of such actions as those in Egypt, the Sudan, Panama, Algiers & Turkistan; and immoral not to protest against such action as the German action towards Belgium.

Now, as to your other two questions. You cannot quote me on either. In 1902 Balfour and the Conservatives were still laboriously endeavoring to placate Germany and act with her, under the impression that this was the proper international attitude for England to take, because at the time England still regarded Russia as her great foe and France as an ally of Russia. British diplomacy has been a pretty foolish thing for the last fifteen years. As you

² Roosevelt's challenger in the duel that was never fought in Medora. The Marquis left the Dakotas in 1887, and, after voyages to Tibet and Tonkin and a brief interval in Paris as a Boulangist, set out, disgusted with politics, for the Sahara.

say, Venezuela was merely an incident in a course of conduct which among other things resulted in Germany's securing Helgoland.

In the Holleben business, I did not warn England for two reasons: 1. England was *not* formidable. I had not the least fear of England and knew that there was no danger from England; 2. Germany *was* formidable. I also knew that English public opinion was already very hostile to the action of the English Government and that Germany alone offered the problem with which I had to deal. If you write about this business you had better let me go over it after you have written it so as to be sure that you get it perfectly straight. Then, it may be that I can have you quote me. *Faithfully yours*

6004 · TO FRANK ROSS MCCOY

McCoy Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, July 10, 1915

Dear Frank: I am awfully pleased with your letter. My hope is, if we are drawn into this European war, to get Congress to authorize me to raise a Cavalry Division, which would consist of four cavalry brigades each of two regiments, and a brigade of Horse Artillery of two regiments, with a pioneer battalion or, better still, two pioneer battalions, and a field battalion of signal troops in addition to a supply train and a sanitary train. I would wish the ammunition train and the supply train to be both motor trains; and I would also like a regiment or battalion of machine guns; although I should want to consult you as to just the way in which this organization should be maintained, for of course the machine guns would be distributed among the troops. You would be the Chief of Staff with the rank of Colonel. I should want to consult you about the Majors who would serve as Adjutant and Inspector. For Quartermaster my idea would be to take some man like Kromer or Coleman, perhaps the former as Lieut. Colonel and the latter as Major; but that I cannot tell yet. Henry T. Allen would be my Senior Brigade Commander; then would come Howze; and I am still in correspondence about the other two brigades. Dan Moore would probably have charge of the artillery; but it might be that he would merely have one regiment of artillery, as Allen has recommended to me a man of whom he thinks very highly for Brigade Commander of Artillery, who is of higher rank than Dan Moore. Gordon Johnston would be one regimental Colonel; Fitzhugh Lee another; probably Frank Parker a third; and possibly Andrews a fourth. Of the Colonels from civilian life Greenway would be one. Hugh Wise I should probably put in as Lieut. Colonel under him. Dave Goodrich would be either a Lieut. Colonel or Major. Cecil Lyon of Texas would be a Colonel, and probably also Roger Williams of Kentucky. I have been going over some of the matters pretty carefully with Gordon Johnston, making him serve as Vice-Chief of Staff in your absence! ¹

¹ Most of the men mentioned in this paragraph were officers in the regular army, either West Pointers or men who joined the army permanently after fighting in

There will be difficulty raising the division if we have trouble with Mexico, for a great many men like Jack Greenway and Goodrich would not go in for such a war; and I myself would only go in as regards Mexico if I felt that I really ought to; and I should endeavor to keep at least two and perhaps three of my boys out of it; whereas I should expect all four to go in if there were a serious war, and would of course go myself. I entirely agree with General Wood that the Mexican War should be fought purely as a matter of police and pacification with the regular army; with the National Guard to prevent raids across the frontier. It's fine to hear from you.
Faithfully yours

6005 · TO WILLIAM STEPHEN RAINSFORD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 10, 1915

My dear Dr. Rainsford: I thank you for your letter; and I appreciate your having written to Hapgood. When I see you, I will tell you why I never can help grinning sardonically over Hapgood's attacks upon me. As for George Creel, he is an absolute liar.¹ I have detected him again and again in willful and deliberate falsehoods, some about myself, some about Governor Johnson. I have not seen the article in question and unless it is to gratify you I won't look at it. You ask in your letter to Hapgood, "What man who has done or said anything worth while can stand the test of having someone go over all he has said or written or testified, both for friends or foes, in peace or in war, all of it picked on for some unrelated accusing sentence?" From this I gather that George Creel has been trying (to do this). . . . I am willing to bet that he cannot find anything to my discredit in anything I have said or written or testified to under any conditions, or in anything I have done; and that he can only find inconsistencies, precisely as he can find them in the writings of Washington and Lincoln—that is, an occasional honest and necessary change of mind and, more often, a change of circumstances which necessitated a change on my part, precisely as Lincoln's attitude toward Emancipation changed in 1861 as compared to 1858 and in 1863 as compared to 1861. Of course, if the sentences are picked out apart from their context and twisted to mean something which they obviously do not mean, then the man thus picking them out is guilty of the meanest form of mendacity and is unfit to associate with decent people and the man [who] employs him to write for the magazine is not much better than he is.

When I get back from the west, I want to see you. *Faithfully yours*

the Spanish-American War. Roger Williams was an exception. For thirty-six years he was master of hounds of the Iroquois Hunt Club. As an officer of the National Guard, he spent much of his time when not hunting in settling Kentucky feuds. Roosevelt also invited Seth Bullock, Robert D. Carey, son of Wyoming's governor, and Cameron Winslow to join the division.

¹ In the July 3, 1915, issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Creel published "Red Blood" which, excerpting Roosevelt's essays and speeches, accused the former President of loving war and bloodshed for their own sake and of pursuing "purely personal goals."

En route California Exposition;
and at San Francisco, July 22, 1915

My dear Oliver: The volume you sent me never came, for mails are a little irregular now.¹ But I bought another volume and I pasted your letter into the front of it — a bit of nature-faking for which I hope I may be forgiven.

I thought your *Hamilton* on the whole the best book of its kind that I had seen. I think this book even better. I think it very much the best thing of its kind that has ever been written; and with just the change of a few proper names and the remodeling of a few incidents it applies precisely to our own people; exactly as Kipling's poem in which he dealt with "the strong men who cheered in their millions while their striplings went to the war" applied at least as strongly to the United States as to Great Britain.² I have a boy in Buenos Aires to whom I have just sent the book; and of course it will be read by my three boys here, all three of whom, by the way, spend a part of this summer in good, hard, military work under regular officers in a camp at Plattsburg. My four sons will be with me if, as I very earnestly hope, Wilson makes up his mind at last that we must fight Germany; in which case I shall ask permission to raise a division of Cavalry of the type of the regiment I commanded in the Spanish war. I have secured acceptances already from the men who will command the brigades, regiments and squadrons. Probably we wouldn't fight with horses, but in the trenches.

I cannot imagine any writer rendering a greater service than you have rendered in your book. I send you herein three or four articles of mine. From these you will see that I am advocating universal service, although without making any more dent on the popular mind than Lord Roberts made between 1906 and 1912 (naturally, . . .). You will also see that I have applied one of the theories which you have developed in so masterly a fashion; I merely brought it in incidentally by pointing out that the Wilson-Bryan policy of milk and water for our nation was exactly the policy most certain to encourage one of blood and iron in Germany. The success of the policy of blood and iron in one country is mainly conditioned upon its rivals adopting the policy of milk and water.

With almost all that you say in your book I am in heartiest accord and sympathy. I think, however, you are oversevere on Edward Grey. You feel that he has not been firm enough. Now of course one would like always to see in office the cloud-compeller, the rider of the thunderstorm.

¹ Oliver had sent Roosevelt his *Ordeal By Battle* (London, 1915). In this book, Oliver maintained that England's failure to prepare realistically to meet the threat of German militarism was one of the prime causes of the war. Equally reprehensible was England's failure to react vigorously once war had begun. Unless she immediately began total mobilization of her military and industrial man power, Oliver predicted Britain would go down before the efficient German war machine.

² "The Islanders."

But there are not many such in a generation. For Grey I gained the heartiest respect when in London five years ago. I felt he was just the man I would have liked to have had in my cabinet when I was President, just the man I would have liked to see in the United States Senate at that time (I am now writing you, naturally, in confidence; and so I think you had better repeat what I say only to Arthur Lee — I would not mind its being repeated to Kipling but I suppose you never see him and he would not be interested in it anyhow). As regards Imperial interests, which of course were those with which Grey had especially to deal, I felt that he was in a dreadful position in a Cabinet headed by Asquith and with Morley and Haldane to stand at the right and the left hand of Asquith. Grey was anxious to go just as far as he could on . . . without breaking with his colleagues. This was perfectly evident to me when, in company with the American Ambassador, I went to see him to tell him about the speech I intended to make at the Guildhall. He was obviously immensely pleased to have me make it. He told me that he thought it would be a great service. He did not tell me, and did not need to tell me, that the chief service was in strengthening his hands against the three men I have named and those like them in the Cabinet. All three of them expressed to me their disapproval of my speech — but they had to act on it nevertheless! Grey, like the loyal gentleman he is, stood up for it in Parliament and stated that he had seen it and approved of it before it was delivered. I of course never spoke of the fact that I had seen him until after he had made this statement. By the way, as I share your admiration for Lord Roberts, you may be interested to know that he wrote me in the most cordial terms of thanks after I made the speech. I feel that what I have been saying to my own countrymen in the last twelve months has merely been an application to them of the principles of my Guildhall speech — expressed, as was fitting in addressing my own people, with less compliment and more insistency in faultfinding.

A point of more importance, where I am sure you have not done yourself full justice, is where you disclaim having acted with any chivalric sense of duty toward Belgium. A nation like an individual usually acts from complex motives. Very properly England was influenced primarily by her own self-interest. But I myself gravely doubt whether England would have gone into the war, certainly at that time, if Germany had respected Belgian neutrality. I believe that Germany's outrage on Belgium focused the mind of the English People, and of large sections of other peoples, on Germany's principles of conduct, and interpreted the German theory of action, as nothing else could have done. I believe that in consequence of this there was aroused on behalf of Belgium a great and genuine sympathy, so that England, in addition to serving her own enlightened self-interest, did have the benefit of just that sense of chivalry which a high-minded people ought to feel in entering into a war which is to benefit not only itself but others. Indeed, my dear Oliver, I am confident that what I have

said expresses your own opinion a little bit better than what you have written!

I am of course utterly heartsick about my own country. As you say, a democracy must have a leader. If we had had, not a Washington or a Lincoln but even an Andrew Jackson or a Grant or a Zachary Taylor, in the Presidency during the last twelve months, our whole attitude would have been the reverse of what it is today. But Wilson is the heir of Jefferson and Buchanan. He is a belated representative of the Gladstone school so far as international rights and duties are concerned. Bryan is an amiable windy creature who knows almost nothing and who is quite incapable of thinking except in terms of the Chautauqua and the party convention. But Wilson is a scholarly (creature) man. He and Taft during the last few years have taken precisely the position that Asquith, Morley and Haldane took during the same years up to midsummer 1914. When I saw your three men, I was struck by their resemblance to the American lawyer-politician and college-president-politician types. They looked at public questions partly from the viewpoints of the doctrinaire and the attorney steeped in legalism; and partly from the viewpoint of men who conceive the whole end of politics to be a victory over the politicians of the opposite party. (The) A necessary incident of the latter view is that a platform shall be framed and speeches delivered with the sole object of presenting an appeal which at the moment turns votes, without any reference to what the effect of the action thereby induced will be on the country a few years thereafter.

I was greatly amused at the quotations you gave from the English *Nation*. In adopting the name of "Nation" it adopted the principles of conduct which had for years distinguished its American namesake, which is the weekly of the New York *Evening Post* The *Evening Post* exactly represents the *Nation*. Unfortunately the bulk of our cultivated men represent the cultivated Liberalism or Radicalism of the English *Nation's* type. The other controlling element of your present Liberal party, the combination of the shortsighted radicalism of the ultralabor leaders with the shortsighted greed of the partially Hebraized plutocracy, is also represented in very great strength on our side. All the men of these types enthusiastically followed Wilson and Taft when these two trod in the footsteps of Asquith, Morley and Haldane by pandering to the natural unwillingness of people to refuse to face unpleasant facts. Unfortunately the alternative is apt to be that they have to face unpleasant men with guns in their hands.

When I feel bitterly angered over the extraordinary shortsightedness and cowardice and folly of so many — most — of those who believe themselves to be our leading people, I confess I take a grim satisfaction in seeing how the very Englishmen that these same Americans held up as models to me have found their theories brought to nought in the last twelve months. Five years ago when I was in England I was struck by just the point you

bring out, namely, that the social and industrial reformers were inclined to treat the men who fought for national security as their enemies; whereas of course the two movements they represented should have been treated as the two sides of a common program. I absolutely agreed with Lord Roberts. I absolutely agreed with the *general* purpose of Lloyd George. In foreign and imperial affairs I sympathized with Edward Grey. But it seemed to me that wise and farsighted Englishmen should have been able to follow the three of them and not be forced to choose between parties, each of which was guilty of much shortsightedness, and not one of which was by any means wholly right, even on the points where it was more right than its opponents. Here we have been worse, just about in the proportion that the ocean is broader than the Channel. The screaming of the pacifists in the United States during the past twelve months has been deafening. Many of the positions they have taken up would have been ludicrous if their possible effects were not so lamentable.

One element of the situation in which I cannot help taking a somewhat sardonic enjoyment is afforded by the relations of the professional English pacifists and the professional American pacifists. Even as good a fellow as Lord Bryce actually during this time of stress sends me papers drawn up by certain Oxford University pacifists providing for the abolition of war by the establishment of a world court! He says that as he knows that I am in sympathy with such a proposal he puts the papers before me so that I can get in touch with the similar Americans who are working for a like end! A couple of professional English pacifists, one of them an Oxford man, actually called upon me for this purpose; and were quite shocked because I declined to attend the meeting of the American pacifists at Philadelphia with ex-President Taft in the chair and Norman Angell as the most prominent English delegate.

I have told all these gentry, Americans and Englishmen, that in so far as their movement favored action which I have already again and again favored, I am in sympathy with it; but that it stands for merely an ultimate and remote aim; and that it is literally criminal to sacrifice to vague talk about this ultimate aim the duty of immediate action in the present. The first duty, the all-important and vital duty, of Englishmen at present is to aid in every way in overthrowing Germany; and it is a wicked thing to turn aside from this purpose to prattle about a future World Peace and thereby play the German game. On the other hand the first duty of the American is to keep the promises he has already made through his Government in the Hague Conventions, and above all to prepare so that nationally America may be able to make her strength felt in defensive warfare in her own interest. When she has shown that she will keep her promises which she has actually made, and that she is able to defend her own interests, she can afford to go on and make further promises which shall include the obligation of offensive warfare on behalf of somebody else. But if she won't

keep her promises which she has already made, and won't make ready to fight for her own rights, it is simply wicked to make new and more grandiose promises, which shall include the promise to fight for the rights of others.

These English pacifists seem absolutely indifferent to the fact that the American pacifists whom they thus love are the very Americans who at this moment are playing Germany's game by screaming for peace without any regard to the terms of peace, and even by encouraging movements which would be in Germany's interest. Bryce chooses Nicholas Murray Butler as one of his means of communication to the American public. Nicholas Murray Butler is against all adequate preparedness by the American people, just as much as the *Evening Post* is; and though he has expressed a tepid disapproval of some . . . Germans, all his effective action has been in favor of a peace concluded without regard to right or wrong, which shall leave Germany on top. It is worth noting that during the last twelve months, when the acid test has been applied to their convictions, all the pacifists on this side of the water (those who have been most prominent in Peace Conventions and the like, in company with the corresponding Englishmen pacifists) have not ventured to say one word against Germany or one word in favor of our acting in behalf of Belgium, as we were bound to act under the Hague Conventions; while of course they have screamed in their denunciation of me for demanding immediate action in reference to the *Lusitania*. When I was President these same pacifists were always holding international meetings (together with the English pacifists among others) and were always asking me to disarm and to abandon American rights not only as against Germany but as against England. For example, at the time of the Alaska Boundary negotiations, where the Englishmen of the type of Maxse backed up the Canadians in a position literally as indefensible as if at that time I had revived the American claims to British Columbia, all our pacifists who lived in the East did their best to encourage England in an impossible position by publicly urging that I should yield — which of course it was utterly out of the question for me to do and which, if the positions were reversed, no English statesman whom you or I would respect could have dreamed of doing.

Apparently most Englishmen then took the pacifists' view that in an emergency the American pacifists were to be depended upon to stand by England, and that I was not so to be depended upon. Nevertheless when the strain came, during these last twelve months, almost without exception the professional American pacifist has by his action given direct or indirect aid to Germany and has not ventured to raise his voice in a way that would antagonize the German-American vote, or that large portion of the Irish-American vote that is primarily hostile to England, or the Jewish-American vote that is primarily hostile to Russia. They have left this task to me and have confined themselves to stating that all the nations engaged

in the war were equally wrong, and that I was a bloodthirsty man, and that Wilson was working for peace, and that preparedness would bring on war.

Now the irritating thing about our pacifists, and to a great extent about yours, in connection with the Alaskan matter, was that while they would all join, and especially the native ones, in endeavoring to get me to give up American rights when it would have been improper to do so, they gave me no effective help in trying to get America to do right when she went wrong. For example, they wanted me to arbitrate the Alaskan business, although it was certain that even had I been willing (which I was not) to do so, the Senate would not and could not agree to abide by an arbitration which would have amounted to a betrayal of the country. That matter had to be settled by joint agreement or not at all. But we *could* arbitrate matters in connection with the Newfoundland Fisheries business and the Great Lakes question; and I accordingly did so. When arbitration went against us Congress promptly proceeded to refuse to make an appropriation to carry out the award! and not a blessed pacifist gave me any help during the four gibbering years I spent in the finally successful effort to get the appropriation. During this time we stood as a nation, as having defaulted in a matter of honorable obligation to yours. The American pacifists paid no attention whatever to this. They confined themselves to chirping and prattling about making new agreements to arbitrate everything of every kind with you in the future, and the British pacifists cheerfully joined with them. When I suggested to a delegation of them that they had better ask that the arbitration already entered into be carried out before new agreements were made, the only impression I succeeded in making was that I was lukewarm in the cause.

At this moment your English pacifists often aid and abet our pacifists over here in running away from their duty, although the first need of England at the present moment is to have that duty acknowledged. I have even seen in the *Manchester Guardian*, and of course in the «English» *Nation*, praise of the American pacifist attitude toward Germany! This at the very time that these American pacifists are from sheer fear of Germany screaming for a peace which would leave Belgium in German hands and ensure the repetition of this war in the near future at a time when England would have no continental allies. Even the *Hibbert's Journal*³ seems to choose its correspondents in America from this class—I am thinking of a Boston clergyman whose article they printed who described with pride a peace section of the Bostonian Christian Endeavorers and how they sang hymns of peace, with strict neutrality, among *all* the combatants. Now the *Hibbert's Journal* has no business to grow so cosmopolitan as to lose all patriotism; and it is not to England's interest to help American pacifists, and especially those who claim to be religious and who feel self-

³ *The Hibbert Journal: A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy*, edited by Lawrence Pearsall Jacks, professor of philosophy at Oxford.

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righteous, when they put peace above honor, above justice, above humanity, and cloak their fear of powerful men who do wrong, and especially of Germans, behind silly and vague professions of universal brotherly good will.

I am sorry to say that I think you are in error when you say that the German ruthlessness and brutality have accomplished nothing for Germany. I agree with you that Germany is rendered formidable primarily by the lofty patriotism of its people, by their solidarity and virility, and by the extraordinary way in which the common effort is used for the common good. But I am sorry to say that I think that their calculated ruthlessness has accomplished precisely what it was intended to accomplish. The Germans have found that their communications in Belgium, which could be defended only by a couple of hundred thousand men if the Belgians had not been absolutely cowed, have been entirely safe because the Belgians tremble before them precisely as the civilized and semicivilized peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia trembled before the Mongols of the thirteenth century. Moreover, it is this ruthlessness combined with strength which has had most to do with frightening the pacifists here; and I am convinced that it has had a very real effect upon the English pacifists. There is only one way to meet calculated terrorism and that is by making evident a spirit which will not brook it. This it is the duty of neutrals just as much as of belligerents to show. Nothing is sillier than the pacifist talk of the effect of "the opinion of civilized mankind" upon an erring nation. In the first place the erring nation usually does not know that there is such an opinion; and in the next place if the nation wins it is certain to find innumerable apologists among the very creatures who have previously shrieked loudest "that force is unnecessary because civilized opinion will serve as a substitute." For decades after the beginning of the nineteenth century the French writers said that civilized opinion would effectively rebuke England because of her alleged brutalities (only today I have been reading in Baron Grivel's *Mémoires*⁴ this exact statement as to the British prison ships); and the English with the same simple faith wrote exactly the same thing at that time about the French; while the Americans wrote it of both the English and the French; and as a matter of fact no one of the nations paid any heed to the opinion of any outside power unless it was backed by force, and each fatuously asserted that international public opinion was in its own favor.

As you know, I sincerely believe that there can be such a thing as national friendships; and I believe still more strongly that we can gradually cultivate a habit of acting internationally with proper regard to international right and justice. I trust it will not sound to you as if I were boasting overmuch when I say that while I was President, as far as I know, I made the United States act toward foreign nations in the way that I deem an honorable man in private life would act toward other men. But

⁴ Georges Lacour-Gayet, ed., *Mémoires du Vice-Amiral Baron Grivel* (Paris, 1914).

the first lesson for the nation as for the individual to learn is that the surest way to invite aggression is to incur contempt; and the second lesson is that *no* nation acts properly all the time. Therefore a nation must be strong; otherwise it can neither preserve the friendship of friendly nations, or the respect of possibly hostile nations. I believe that the United States should regard England and the British Empire with a peculiarly close degree of friendship. While I was President I treated the British Empire as the only foreign nation with which it was absolutely impossible that ours should ever go to war; and I acted in company with it more often than with any other nation. Even as regards the Boer war, while I did not at all approve of some of the British actions before it occurred, I felt that when it did occur it was essential to the welfare of Africa that the English should win; although I will add that to my mind the one great service the Liberal party has rendered the Empire during the last ten years has been its giving complete Home Rule to Africa. (Do not think me hostile or anything but friendly if I add that I earnestly hope you will give a Home Rule to Ireland and make the Irish leaders of the future as actively loyal as Botha⁵ himself.)

Yet more than once I had my hands full in preserving the good understanding between our two nations. Sometimes this was America's fault. But sometimes it was England's fault. For example, it was a conservative Government that sent England trailing behind Germany into Venezuela under conditions that rendered it impossible for me to be neutral. In this case the thing worked out all right, for I was certain English public opinion did not support the English Government, and so I absolutely disregarded England, and dealt with Germany as the need demanded. After a sufficient interchange of diplomatic courtesies, and after enough note paper had been wasted, I came to the conclusion that Germany was playing with us, that she intended to take nominally temporary but really permanent possession of some part of Venezuela in order to have a commanding position in connection with the Panama Canal, and that it was my duty to stop this. Accordingly I told the German Ambassador one day that unless I got an offer to arbitrate from his Government within ten days Admiral Dewey and his fleet would sail to the Venezuelan coast, supervise the German squadron, and forbid their occupying one foot of territory. The German Ambassador assured me with every symptom of horror that this "meant but one thing which he did not like to name." I told him I understood this perfectly, which was the reason that I gave him the information quietly; and I added that if the arbitration offer was made by Germany, I would say nothing publicly whatever about my having forced the action, but

⁵ Louis Botha, the great Boer nationalist who had thwarted the efforts of Sir Redvers Buller to relieve the city of Ladysmith. After the Boer War, he was a leader in the development of South Africa and, with General Smuts, one of the architects of his country's realignment with Great Britain.

would on the contrary highly praise Germany, and make everything as easy for her as possible but that I had to demand the action I had outlined. I heard nothing from him for seven days. Then he came to call on me, ostensibly about something else. When he started to go away, I told him that I supposed he had not anything to tell me from his Government as regards the matter about which I had talked to him. He answered No; that he had not believed I had meant what I said seriously, because such action as I announced I would take would be so grave «that» it could have but one result. I then said that I was much obliged to him, that I had meant what I said, and would he tell his Government that I would shorten by one day the time limit I had set, so that Dewey would sail within exactly forty-eight hours from that time; that is, in the afternoon of the day after the next following our conversation. He argued with me; told me war would undoubtedly come; and left steeped in gloom. But on the morning of the appointed day the Ambassador turned up with a beaming smile, and an entire forgetfulness of ever having talked to me on the subject, bringing the Emperor's "free and voluntary" request that I arbitrate the matter myself!

As I have said, I never dealt with England in this matter at all, in the first place because I was certain she did not intend mischief, and in the next place because Germany was the formidable , the power that did mean mischief; and I wished a showdown with Germany. At the time when our battle fleet came back from its voyage around the world in February 1909, nothing could have made Germany commit such an act as the sinking of the *Gulflight* or the *Lusitania*. But if this war ends with Germany even partially victorious, and if we Americans continue our policy of incessant peace talk, and general fatuity and utter reluctance to take any genuine steps in the way of preparation, why, this nation will have trouble with Germany even before it has trouble with Japan. The exasperating thing is that peace can perfectly well be kept, both with Germany and Japan, if only we will treat both of them courteously, and at the same time proceed to make ourselves really efficient for our own defense.

In the enclosed speech you will see that I have spoken pretty frankly to a Pacific Coast audience.⁶ It is hard to treat any section of our people as pre-eminent in folly as regards this point of preparedness and as regards international relations generally; but, upon my word, if there is a choice, I am inclined to give it to the Californians, who show the same willingness that the rest of the country does to declare for disarmament and for settling everything by arbitration, and for all the rest of the pacifist program, but who never for a moment hesitate to insult the Japanese, and to take action which will certainly be stored up against us by that polite, silent

⁶ Roosevelt left New York on July 11 for a trip through the Pacific Northwest down to San Francisco and San Diego. In the former city he spoke on July 21 at the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

and inscrutable nation of selfish and efficient fighting men. The professional pacifists, by the way, never take any action to interfere with this conduct toward the Japanese. They confine themselves purely to making frantic appeals for Congress to pass treaties with the Japanese which would not and could not be observed if made.

Just at the moment I am not in sympathy with the bulk of my people. It is probably a good thing in one way that I have now no political following and am no longer a factor in the political arena; for while I should in any event have spoken exactly as I have done, yet it would have been a much harder thing to do if I had had a body of followers who felt that their political chances were harmed by my attitude and who in the present stage of our political education would have been sincerely puzzled and grieved by an attitude that was alien to their political experience. As it is, I can tell the exact truth and do tell it; and though I do not command much support at the moment I think I have a certain effect and that some result will come at some time or other in the future.

I am entirely sincere in saying that if I had your gift of literary expression and could write such a book as you have written, I would produce a far greater effect. *Very sincerely yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S Your second letter has just come; and

6007 · TO WINSTON CHURCHILL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 4, 1915¹

My dear Churchill: I have read with absorbed interest *A Far Country*. I need hardly say that my general agreement with the book has been as great as my pleasure in it and that it seems to me nothing could be more profitable for the average college-bred man of means and in fact for the man of cultivation, the man of means, the driving, practical man of business and all their fellows, whether college-bred or not.²

But some time I hope you will write a book which shall contain the complement of your teaching. I enclose a slip giving the views of a college scoundrel who is just as much a scoundrel as the most conscienceless among the wealthy exploiters of the poor. The labor people are not one whit better than the capitalists. The mass of them on one side is about like the mass on the other; and while the very worst labor people are no worse than the very worst among the capitalists, they so completely outnumber them as to be on the whole as great an element of danger to the community. The only prominent labor leader I ever met who was as good a citizen, as good an adviser politically, and as broad and practical a worker for social justice as the best of our people generally, was Patrick Morrissey, formerly head of the

¹ This letter was dictated en route to San Francisco, July 15, 1915.

² Winston Churchill's *A Far Country* (New York, 1915) dealt with the rival claims of private enterprise and public welfare.

Railway trainmen. I rank him with railway men like Marvin Hughitt and with industrial leaders like George Perkins. The average wageworker is just about the same as the average other citizen.

The Socialist papers, such as the *Appeal to Reason* and *The Call*, are without exception the most mendacious and sensational papers I know. They have less regard for truth and for honesty and decency even than the corresponding capitalist papers — if there can be comparatives along the lower levels of baseness. The muckrakers of the type of George Creel are more conscienceless, more shamelessly indifferent to truth, to decency than any save a very few of the men who make the argument for unrestricted capitalism. Even of the more honest muckrakers I found by lamentable experience that there were hardly any whose statements of fact I could trust. This has been one of my chief difficulties in warring against social and industrial injustice. I would read and at first be greatly impressed by articles setting forth the hideous misconduct of the boss and the capitalist; and then suddenly come across in these articles something that I knew of at firsthand, and I would find the account such a ludicrous travesty of the truth that I became suspicious of everything else that the article contained. Moreover, with very few exceptions, I have found that, when I tried to get practical help from the theorists or to follow them when they applied their theories in matters of moment, I had to be quite as cautious as in accepting the statement of any Wall Street man. The men from whom I really got most help were men like Jacob Riis and Father Curran and Jimmy Reynolds — I am tempted to strike out Jimmy Reynolds since seeing his name on the committee appointed to welcome poor foolish Jane Addams on her return from her noxious mission abroad;³ and especially the men like Herbert Knox Smith, Charles P. Neill and Lawrence Murray, men who by actual unpleasant experience in official life found that they had to be just as much on their guard against the doctrinaire reformer as against the politician and just as much on guard against the average labor leader as against the average corporation lawyer or capitalist.

A really lamentable thing to me in our party during the last year has been the revival of the pacifist spirit in exactly the shape it took among the Copperheads of 1864. It is lamentable to see how many Progressives have gone into this movement.

The next time you are in New York I wish very much that you would come out and spend a night with me, or, if that is inconvenient, come to lunch and spend the afternoon.

With warm regards to Mrs. Churchill, *Faithfully yours*

³ Jane Addams, chairman of the United States Women's Peace party, had presided at the congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom held at The Hague in April 1915. Roosevelt himself had refused to serve on the welcoming committee because, as he said in a letter to Henry Green of July 2, 1915, "there could be nothing more absurd than the statement that she and her colleagues have given Europe an exhibition of finer courage than that displayed on battlefields."

Oyster Bay, August 6, 1915

Dear Arthur: Just a few lines to enclose you a piece I have just published in the *Metropolitan*.¹ It contains the substance of two speeches which I have recently made to audiences of twenty thousand people or over in San Francisco and San Diego in California. It is the first time that any American public man in the entire history of our country has ever taken such a position; and while it would not be true to say that there was wild enthusiasm over my speeches, it *is* true to say that the audiences listened to me in each case for nearly two hours with the utmost attention and with substantial assent; and I have never made speeches from which I have received more response in the way of letters and the like. Perhaps the most immediately important result of my crusade has been that it has undoubtedly prevented Wilson from abject surrender to the Germans. The Republican politicians have been afraid to assail him and the yells of the German-Americans and the professional pacifists were so loud that there was a tendency to think that there was no public opinion whatever in favor of America acting decently. But there has been a considerable response to what I have said, a response important enough to make it necessary for Wilson and those like him to consider just how far it is safe for them, from the standpoint of their own future, to go in refusing to prepare to defend ourselves and in truckling to Germany. I am now at work on a piece for the *Metropolitan* attacking the pacifist and German-American proposals and the proposals of the beef barons and the cotton barons to prevent the exportation of arms and munitions to the Allies. The pacifists are the most ignoble set I have ever known. It seems incredible that they should be willing to play the game of the German aggressors by cutting off supplies from those endeavoring to right the wrongs of Belgium; but they are doing it and doing it with unctuous professions of high morality. They are a pretty poor crowd, about the poorest I have ever known. There is a chance that the Germans will kick even Wilson into the war; but he won't go into the war unless he is kicked; and he will go into it utterly unprepared. Ted, Archie and Quentin are spending the summer in a military camp at Plattsburg under the Regular Army officers; and Kermit will come straight home if war is declared.

Oliver has sent me his book *Ordeal by Battle* and I think it is the best thing of the kind I have ever seen.

¹ In the *Metropolitan* articles and in the California speeches, Roosevelt denounced the pacifists and politicians who were betraying the country. His theme was that "first and foremost, the United States must seriously prepare itself against war, and show itself able to maintain its rights and make its weight felt in the world. Next, it must abandon both the policy of poltroonery — the policy we have practised as regards the *Lusitania* and Mexico — and the policy of recklessly making promises which neither can nor ought to be kept — the policy we practised in the proposed all-inclusive arbitration treaties five years ago, and, above all, in the unspeakably silly and wicked thirty all-inclusive arbitration-commission treaties actually negotiated under the present Administration." — *Metropolitan*, 42:10 (August 1915).

I of course deeply regret the loss of Warsaw and almost more deeply the fact that the lack of munitions or artillery or the right kind of shells, etc., has prevented England in conjunction with France from making a tremendous effort to relieve the pressure on Russia by a successful drive through the German lines into Belgium and Northern France. I am sure that England and France will see the war through and I have strong hopes that Russia will; but I suppose that, as you say, we shall have to expect another winter of fighting with all the dreadful attendant suffering and privation. How deeply I sympathize with your feeling that at least it is well worth while to be at the front and to know absolutely that you are doing your duty without having to submit to degrading compromises and to support, as "the best possible," men who are coming very far short of what they ought to do. I do hope that Lloyd George is able to hasten the vitally needed military supplies. I wish it had been possible for Kitchener and his colleagues in some way during the year that has elapsed to take advantage of England's enormous industrial power and to overtake the Germans in the race for the production of the military machinery without which men are of no avail under the conditions of modern war. *Ever yours*

6009 • TO ARTHUR T. WARNER

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, August 20, 1915

*My dear Mr. Warner:*¹ I told Mr. Perkins about your call upon me and what you had said. I told him that you had informed me that Mr. McCabe² desired to bring about a union of the forces in Albany this fall for the overthrow of the Barnes municipal machine and that for this purpose he was willing to support any combination or nonpartisan ticket of high-class men and that he himself desired nothing excepting to see absolutely straight men elected who would deprive the Barnes machine of all control in Albany municipal politics; and that if it was deemed best he would be entirely willing to take a first-class Progressive for Mayor, if the Progressives had a man of sufficient standing and strength to enable them to put him forward with a reasonable chance of winning. I told Mr. Perkins as you . . . that he was not to speak of Mr. McCabe in the matter; but that it seemed to me that if possible we should sound the Albany Progressives to see if they were willing to enter into such a combined movement of Progressives, Democrats and antimachine Republicans to secure an honest government in Albany.³ He told me that he thought the idea an excellent one. . . .

¹ Arthur T. Warner, an Albany lawyer, counsel for the Bayne committee which in 1911 investigated graft and corruption in Albany. He had, at Roosevelt's request, presented some of the committee's findings at the Barnes trial.

² Patrick E. McCabe, for many years the leader of Albany's Democratic organization.

³ Since effective combination failed, the Albany Republicans won a smashing victory in November.

You informed me that Mr. McCabe would like to see me personally about this matter. Will you bring him at one o'clock on Thursday, August 26th, to the Marquis Hotel, 12 East 31st Street, New York City? *Sincerely yours*

6010 · TO REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

New York, August 26, 1915

My dear Mr. Kauffman: I liked your verses even better in the *Metropolitan* than in manuscript. I did not see the changes; but I hope you will get them in so that that verse will be up to the level of the rest; for you have written real poetry.¹

That was a capital piece of yours in the *Saturday Evening Post*! I shall not only reread it but study it.

I am glad you sign yourself as an ex-Socialist. I am a near-Socialist! That is, I want to adopt the many excellent things in the Socialist propaganda without adopting the things that seem to me to be evil. So, I sign myself *Your rational-individualist and rational-Socialist friend*

6011 · TO JOHN LAWRENCE SULLIVAN

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, August 26, 1915

My dear Mr. Sullivan: I wish you all success in your temperance lectures. You were as game and straight and honest a fighter as ever stepped in the ring; and a game, square man is sure to be a pretty good citizen in every occupation he follows. I need hardly say how heartily I sympathize with you in fighting for temperance. Moreover, you can render especial service to the cause of temperance, for many young men will listen to you who would not listen to professional lecturers. You can show them that nothing is more foolish than for a young man to think that he can become a drinking man and escape having to pay the penalty for it. I wish you all success. I still *Your friend*

6012 · TO KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 28, 1915

Dearest Kermit: The enclosed letter from old Heller explains itself. I thought you would enjoy reading it. I am glad the leisurely Bwano¹ got the spectacled bear.

Quentin is home from the camp, having received [a] very good certifi-

¹ Kauffman had written a poem in the spirit possessed by "Julia Ward Howe when she wrote the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic.'" To only one line of this work did Roosevelt object. He asked the author to alter this line and especially to eliminate from it the word "piffle." It was not only slang, it was "ignoble slang."

¹ Heller.

cate from the regular officer over him, Captain Van Horn.² In these certificates the regular officers are required to state «exactly» their opinion as it would be if they were to have the man about whom they write under them in a volunteer regiment. Quentin's certificate read that he had done good work and that with more age and experience he would make an excellent Second Lieutenant. Archie did really very well indeed. He was given a Battalion Second Lieutenancy at the «close» of the Students' Camp and stayed a fortnight longer with the Businessmen. Rather to my delight he was put over Ted! One Sunday the two regular officers over them, together with Archie and Ted, went to Montreal to look at some of the military preparations there. Archie with glee mentioned to me the fact that at the Club the two regular officers were both always addressed as "Major," he (Archie) as "Captain," and Ted as "Mr. Roosevelt." I shall tactfully and sympathetically question Ted about the matter day after tomorrow when I see him in camp. Archie's recommendation read in the highest terms, stating that he was fit to be Captain in a volunteer regiment now; and if this infernal skunk in the White House can be kicked into war a Captain Archie shall be. Ted has already been promoted to be a Sergeant. When he comes back a supplementary «camp» is to be held, to which Mac will go, so that I shall have had three sons and a private secretary in the camps. The camps have been very successful.³ They are starting others in various parts of the country. But of course they represent nothing whatever but makeshifts. We ought to have universal military service. I enclose you a copy of the address I shall make at the camp⁴ and also a statement I have just given to the paper about the sinking of the *Arabic*.⁵

I agree with all that you say about the German brutality and ruthlessness. But after all a brute is not any worse than a coward. Wilson is at heart an abject coward; or else he has a heart so cold and selfish that he is entirely willing to sacrifice the honor and the interest of the country to his own political advancement. Think of President Eliot and Lawrence Lowell and Cleve Dodge and men like that supporting Wilson! Well, I am making as stout a fight as I know how; but the old proverb applies: there are no bad

² Captain Robert Osborn Van Horn, a military aide to Roosevelt, 1907-1908, became the commander of the 9th infantry regiment during the war in France.

³ The story of the Plattsburg camps is well told in Ralph Barton Perry, *The Plattsburg Movement* (New York, 1921).

⁴ For the address given on August 25, see No. 6013. Roosevelt apparently dictated this letter of August 28 just before he left for Plattsburg. The letter, which included among its enclosures a statement Roosevelt made after the speech, was not typed until he and his secretary had returned to Oyster Bay.

⁵ The unarmed British liner, *Arabic*, had been sunk without warning and with the loss of two American lives on August 19. Roosevelt in his statement of August 21 said that the time had come to dismiss the German Ambassador and sever diplomatic relations. House and Lansing were of the same mind. Before any action was taken, however, Germany on September 1 pledged that in the future no passenger liners would be sunk until provision had been made for the safety of non-combatants.

regiments but there are plenty of bad colonels. The United States would stand like a unit if we had in the Presidency a man of the stamp of Andrew Jackson. Think of Old Hickory letting our citizens be constantly murdered on the high seas by the Germans and in Mexico by the Greasers! But men are easily puzzled; and it is easy to mislead them, if one chooses to give them high-sounding names to excuse ignoble deeds. This is the evil service that President Wilson has rendered and is now rendering the American nation. Still, the Germans may kick us into war. He has acted in Mexico in simply ludicrous fashion. In order to seem to do something and yet to do nothing he got a number of the South American powers into consultation and of course what they have told him is that America ought not to intervene at all. Naturally if we have not the manhood ourselves to intervene, we cannot expect Bolivia and Guatemala to lead us along the path of manful duty.

Give my darling Belle many kisses for me. Ethel and her baby have gone off to visit Dorothy Straight. Willard Straight, by the way, is in camp and has been made a Lieutenant.⁶ The two Bob Bacons, father and son, are also in camp. Mother and I have had some lovely rows recently. *Your loving father*

6013 • TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 2, 1915

Dearest Archie: I was delighted to get your postal card and to learn that everything was all right and that you had found a soul-brother in the Flag-staff man — to whom pray extend my warm regards.

I went in to «get» my rifle at the Winchester Arms Company, as you had told me. It wasn't there. By a fortunate accident Mac had happened to learn from Lee¹ that the latter had seen you enter Von Lengerke & Detmold's with two rifles and come out with only one. Acting on the clue thus furnished by private detective Mac «I» traced my rifle to its lair! Ahem! Do I seem to hear you say something?

⁶Dorothy Whitney Straight was the daughter of William C. Whitney. Her husband, Willard Dickerman Straight, while still in his twenties played a decisive part in shaping American policies in the Far East at the beginning of this century. As consul-general in Mukden, 1906-1908, acting chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in the Department of State and representative in China of a group of American bankers from 1909 to 1912, he maintained that the only way to preserve the open-door policy was by means of heavy investment of American money. Straight's ideas were finally realized in the Manchurian policy of Knox and Taft which Roosevelt found so distasteful. In 1912 Straight returned from the Orient as J. P. Morgan's Far Eastern expert. Two years later he and his wife underwrote the publication of the *New Republic*. Not long afterward Straight became a vice-president of the American International Corporation which was designed to encourage American investment in foreign industrial development. During the First World War Straight revealed his administrative ability in the organization in Europe of the War Risk Insurance Bureau. This uncommon talent and career ended suddenly in Paris where Straight died of pneumonia at the age of thirty-eight.

¹Roosevelt's butler.

From your card I gather that you have your ammunition. This relieves me much, as I have received from the Winchester people 160 cartridges together with the bill on your account; and I had supposed these were the 160 you intended to take with you. To what beneficent impulse of yours do I owe their advent?

We have had terrific jamboree over my visit to Plattsburg. In strict confidence, I made the speech I did at Wood's request; and he read «it» in advance.² But of course this is on no account to get out. The Administration took ferocious umbrage; and ever since my speech I have been in an intricate row. But I am extremely glad I spoke. It was worth while to have one man state the things that ought to be stated. Ted has done extremely well and has been made a First Lieutenant in his company. I think on the whole he has done better than any other man in camp; but at any rate he has done as well. Everybody was in good shape.

Ethel and Dorothy³ were up there to look after their respective husbands, Ethel still somewhat depressed and somewhat warlike because Dick had not been made a Corporal. But really, of course, whether the men are made officers or not in that camp does not indicate very much as to their fitness. Perhaps I ought to put it in a different way. If they are given promotions it shows that they have done well. But the fact that they are not given the promotions proves nothing whatever against them, for, as was the case in my regiment there are at least ten or twenty men fit for promotion and only one promotion to make.

When you receive this, I will probably be on my own outing and you will have come out from the mountains. I hope you get both goat and sheep. As for a bear I am afraid that is only just a chance.

Mother is well. We are expecting Quentin home from Southampton today. He has spent most of the time there since you left but came back to be with Mother the two nights I was absent.

I paid particular attention to Captains Van Horn and Collins⁴ and Mrs. Van Horn; and I have asked them to be sure to come out to Oyster Bay

² Roosevelt in his plea for preparedness attacked first the pacifist and the "hyphenated American" and then all Americans who favored "a policy of supine action." Wood had carefully edited the speech but Roosevelt's secretary unfortunately had given the press an unedited copy. The newspapers also quoted in full the remarks Roosevelt made after the speech about the absurdity of standing by a President who was absolutely wrong.

The Secretary of War on the day following the speech sent Wood a severe reprimand for allowing Roosevelt to speak. When Wood refused to give an explanation, Roosevelt did it for him. "I am, of course, solely responsible for the whole speech," he said publicly on August 27. "When, after three weeks' notice, the War Department made no objection to my visit to the camp, they were disqualified from criticizing General Wood because I went, and because he did not submit my speech to the Administration for approval."

³ Dorothy Straight.

⁴ Edgar T. Collins, a veteran of the Santiago campaign and the Philippine Insurrection.

whenever they get to New York. I was greatly impressed with both Van Horn and Collins, and, if anything, just a trifle more with Collins than with Van Horn, merely because he seemed to be quicker. They are both admirable men. Lieutenant Scott,⁵ who is over Ted, told Ted that his father stated that he had once seen the Rough Riders pass in review and that they passed in "column of herds." Ted was of course perfectly enchanted with this and so was I. Ted had been having a «hard» time but he was as tough as a bull moose; and nothing really tired him. I stayed in General Wood's tent and also saw Mrs. Wood. *Your loving father*

6014 · TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

Lee Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, September 2, 1915

Dear Arthur: I congratulate you heartily upon your speech in Parliament about universal service. As you know, I have now for a year been urging this country to adopt universal service and in the next article I write I shall quote what you have said.¹

I have had a most elegant row with the Administration; and I enclose you clippings of my speech and interview at Plattsburg and of my answer to Secretary of War Garrison.

I think I told you that when I was in Canada I was obliged to make half a dozen speeches and in each case expressed my profound admiration for the way Canada had stood by the Empire and urged her men to continue volunteering. You may be interested to know that I have been told that the Newfoundland Contingent have expressed dissatisfaction at the failure to find universal military service in England. They come from a poor country and they said that they were glad to fight for the Empire but that after all England was the part of the Empire most vitally interested; and they did not feel pleased when they got to England to find so many able-bodied men walking around and saying that they did not intend to go, although they thought that other people ought to.

Every now and then an Englishman writes me or speaks to me, asking why I devote myself to urging the United States to stand by Belgium and say so little about standing by England. I do not answer them; and of course you know the reason; but perhaps it is just as well to tell it to you over again. The simple fact is that one of the main arguments used by the supporters of Wilson against me is that, inasmuch as English papers like *The Times* praise

⁵ John Scott had joined the regular army infantry after serving as a private in the volunteers during the war with Spain.

¹ In "The Duty of the United States to Its Own People," *Metropolitan*, 43:15-16, 79-80 (November 1915), Roosevelt argued the necessity of universal military service. He referred his readers to Lee's speech of August 17 and to Oliver's *Ordeal by Battle* for vivid descriptions of the risks involved in a failure to adopt such training. The article is reprinted as "Uncle Sam's Only Friend Is Uncle Sam," *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, ch. vii.

Wilson for what he has done and say that where they are contented with it, it would be quixotic folly for America to follow my advice and do any more. I do not in the least object to this attitude of the English papers. I realize that they feel that they must not anger the Administration or anger our foolish people here. Personally I think they could avoid committing these mistakes without slopping over about President Wilson; but that is their affair; and they are the best judges of it. If they think that is the right game to play, then they are right in playing it. I only want to help. But obviously it would be very foolish for me to take a position in favor of England as to which it is possible triumphantly to refute me by quoting the English themselves; and so I take my stand squarely for Belgium and on our duty to Belgium and of course on our duty to ourselves as regards the *Lusitania*, *Arabic*, etc.

This Administration has behaved infamously. Wilson is a physically timid man. He is anxious to avoid war at all hazards. He is an entirely cold-blooded self-seeking man; and he is anxious at all hazards to keep the German-American vote and the pacifist vote. He had intended to have a neutrality which should really work in the German interest. He intended to favor Germany just as much as he safely could. This is not only my own judgment; but it has been completely shown by the extraordinary documents published by the New York *World*, one of Wilson's most ardent champions, which has exposed the German propaganda in this country.² Wilson has permitted the German Embassy to be a center of not only anti-English but of anti-American agitation, which has included the forging of passports, the purchase of newspapers, and even more sinister deeds still, for there can be little doubt that the explosions in American arms and munition factories and on certain ships have been due to a German propaganda instigated by or connived at and encouraged by the German officials. Of course, if Wilson had any kind of self-respect, if he were a President of the Andrew Jackson or Ulysses Grant type, he would have summarily dismissed the German Ambassador and called the German Government to account for all this long ago. It has been only the successive brutalities of the Germans which have prevented him from throwing his weight on their side and against the Allies. It is only these successive brutalities which have kept American opinion aroused at all. I believe (because of what the *World* has published in the way of secret German documents) that Wilson has been indirectly in touch with the German Embassy, and that this yielding or seeming to yield about the *Arabic* is in order to let him take strong action against England.

Very roughly there are four divisions of public opinion on this side. There is first of all the German-American opinion, helped by some of the

² Material for the *World's* articles had been found in Dr. Heinrich F. Albert's brief case. Albert had been given \$27,000,000 by a generous government to spend on the development of a German propaganda and sabotage organization in this country. Papers in the brief case, plucked by a secret-service man from a New York elevated train, revealed not only the magnitude of the organization but also the complicity in Albert's plans of the German embassy in Washington.

professional Irish-Americans, Swedish-Americans and Jewish-Americans and with an almost negligible native-American backing. This element is actively hostile to the Allies, actively in favor of Germany, and quite willing to drag the honor and interest of the United States in the dust if it will help Germany.

The next element is composed of the professional pacifists, the mere materialists, and the mollicoddles, the people who are timid or sordid or utterly selfish and utterly shortsighted. These all work together. It will affect you with sardonic pleasure to know that they include all the people who have been most active, in conjunction with their fellow English Pacifists, in all the professional pacifist movements of the last few years, not only those for universal peace but specifically those for peace celebrations between the United States and England. Every man who screamed against me in connection with the Alaska Boundary business, of which you had so intimate a knowledge, is now heartily denouncing me as an anti-German militarist and saying that we must be neutral in word and thought and must on no account express any sympathy with the Allies or make any protest about Belgium or pay any attention when Germany murders our men, women and children on the high seas.

The very people who were always wanting me to slop over about friendship with England and reproaching me because I would not are now screaming with fury because I want to take effective action in aid of England when England is doing right and is suffering terribly because she is doing right.

These two elements are hopeless elements. I can do nothing with them; and I could do nothing with them if I were President except what I certainly would do — and that is cow them. They do not make up a majority of the American people.

The third element does make up the majority of the American people. It consists of good, decent men and women who know very little about international matters. They have no keen point of honor. They have no broad outlook. Deep in their hearts they have a high and fine purpose, which can be aroused by the right kind of appeal. But they are absorbed in their own affairs. They are horror-struck by the thought of the hideous slaughter and of all that war would bring. They do not want to face risk unless it is absolutely necessary. They do not want to leave their business or break into the easy routine of their lives if it can be avoided. Every instinct of self-interest is against their taking any action at present. They feel unwillingly and uneasily that perhaps action *is* called for. If the President told them, as Andrew Jackson or Grant, not to speak of Washington or Lincoln, would have told them, in trumpet tones, that their honor was at stake, that not only the welfare and good name of the United States but considerations of broad humanity demanded action on their part, and if he led them in such action, they would respond. But they are sincerely

glad when he furnishes them with excellent excuses, excellent justifications for nonaction. He has rendered them the dreadful service of furnishing lofty names to cloak ignoble acts. These men at the outset felt stunned by the Belgian catastrophe. They felt indignation; they were uneasy lest it might be their duty to act; and they dreaded to act. If they had been told that it was their duty to act, if they had been shown that it was their duty to incur risk, if the President had led them, they would have followed. But human nature is not very strong and when these men were told by the President that it was their duty to be neutral not only in deed but in thought and to render the highest possible service to humanity by thus being neutral, they accepted the statement with a gasp of relief. These are the people who are strengthened in their action by letters like that of Bryce,³ and by editorials like those of the *Times* in which Wilson is praised for his dignity and firmness and lofty character and love of peace and in which it is clearly set forth that he has been right in everything that he has done. These Americans get uneasy over the things I say and write. They get angry with me just because they have an uncomfortable feeling that maybe I am right and that action should be taken. It is an immense relief to them when their leaders are able to point out to them that the very men on whose behalf I am supposed to be speaking heartily agree with Wilson and not with me and feel that the position of the United States under Wilson is one of exalted propriety. Not only great numbers of Americans of this type but a great many Englishmen have begged me not to attack Wilson. Any number of people want to stand up for virtue in the abstract, if only we can avoid all allusion to concrete cases where our virtuous principles bid us actively assail wrong. Many of the ardent Wilson newspapers praise somewhat fearfully the Allies and condemn more or less directly Germany. But they always end by saying "Stand by Wilson." Now, the only way to make this country stand as it ought to stand in this crisis is to make Wilson himself, that is, the head of the Government, do what is right; and it is utterly impossible to expect the country to do right if we support Wilson in doing wrong. Not only support of Wilson, but failure to point out where Wilson is wrong and to demand that he go right—not only such support, but such failure to attack Wilson, means that all talk in favor of Belgium or in favor of the Allies or against Germany is pure waste of time. If we are not prepared to make our position concrete, we had better leave the whole matter alone.

The fourth element is composed of the men who have such initiative,

³ To which letter of James Bryce this refers is not clear. Throughout the preceding year Bryce had written numerous communications—to Nicholas Murray Butler, newspapers in this country and abroad, the president of Western Reserve University, and to women's organizations in this country—all designed to reduce the possibility of misunderstanding between England and the United States. In pursuit of this objective he examined, with sympathy, the causes of American reluctance to act more aggressively in support of the Allies.

such self-reliance and such a high spirit that they do not need to be roused. These people on the whole are with me; but they are an almost negligible element. They certainly do not amount to five per cent and possibly not to more than one or two per cent of our population. As far as I can see, these are the only people upon whom I have had any effect, for I have been the only politician of prominence who has come out explicitly and in full in the matter. The only other politicians who have come out at all, as far as I know, are Lodge and Gussie Gardner.

One delightful feature of the situation is that my opponents, who during my Administration said that I was always preaching militarism, now say that I ought not to attack Wilson for not preparing because I did not do enough for the army and the navy when I was President. Another argument is that I am doing all I have done merely as a political movement with the hope of making myself President. Inasmuch as what I am doing has forever alienated the entire German-American vote and inflamed with hatred of me the entire pacifist and mollicoddle vote and inasmuch as there is no politician in this country who does not shudder at the mere thought of even following me, this particular argument contains an element of sheer delight.

In a sense I ought to apologize to you for telling you so much about myself at such a time. I know you do not need to have it told you as regards your personal estimate of what I have done and am doing. Nevertheless I think it just as well that you should know the situation exactly as I see it.

My three boys have finished their camp at Plattsburg; and the regular army officers over them have recommended Ted to have a Commission as Major and Archie to have a commission as Captain in any volunteer organizations that shall be raised in the event of war. Quentin is only seventeen and would need more age and experience before he would be entitled to a commission; but they have all done well. I have the whole skeleton of my Division worked out; and I would guarantee to bring it over in ninety days if I were given the chance; and I would guarantee that it would do its duty when brought over, at least as regards the rifle. I would have first-class regulars in charge of the machine-gun regiment and the two field-artillery regiments; but of course it would be a much more difficult thing to perfect these than to perfect the riflemen, all of whom would be substantially such as the Rough Riders were. However, this Administration cannot be kicked into war. The Germans evidently do not want war. They wish continually to take such action as to terrorize our people and intimidate them, not only as far as going to war is concerned but to make them afraid to build ammunition plants and to discourage those who would take up the British loan. Accordingly they amuse Wilson by expressions of rather vague regret and by even vaguer promises about the future; and they will continue to do so just as long as it is to their interest to keep America out of the war. If they think that more is to be gained by letting us go in, than by so acting

that it is possible for us to keep out, they will doubtless go to war themselves. I do not think from what has happened in the past that it is possible to kick Wilson into war; but they may think it worth while themselves to send him an ultimatum and then to act on it or to act without sending an ultimatum. I think it more likely that there is an implied agreement or understanding that Wilson will now act against England, on the plea that Germany has behaved splendidly.

It is dreadful to think that Russia has been so terribly smashed. I most earnestly hope that her people will not get the mistaken idea that the failure of the French and English to relieve them by themselves attacking warrants Russia getting out of the fight. If only the Allies will hold together, in the end they will win. Russia has limitless men upon which to draw. England has vast multitudes of men and immense reserves of industrial force; and France is wonderfully organized and her spirit is wonderful. Things will come out all right if only the nations are true to themselves; and I believe they will be true to themselves. *Ever yours*

6015 • TO GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 3, 1915

Dear George: From two or three hints I have gotten within the last twenty-four hours I gather that our Republican friends are anxious that you should now and then say something that will look as if you desired to have me nominated by the Republicans for President next year. They want you to do this because they will take advantage of the fact that you are so close to me to insist that it is really said by you at my request. Therefore, be exceedingly careful not to gratify them! It is my deliberate judgment that if the Republicans are ever found to entertain the thought of nominating me next year, it will be because they know they will be defeated under me and intend that I shall receive the heaviest defeat that they can give me and that they nominate me with this purpose in view, thereby not only smashing the Progressives but definitely getting rid of me and enthroning standpattism in the Republican party.

It has been perfectly evident to me for some time that you have felt it possible and desirable that the Republicans should nominate me next year, together with the Progressives. I am deeply touched by your affection; and I am most reluctant to say anything that can possibly hurt your feelings. But, my dear George, any such effort will not only be useless from the public standpoint but will be exceedingly detrimental to me. It is perfectly evident to me that this people have made up their minds not only against the policies in which I believe but finally against me personally. The bulk of them are convinced that I am actuated by motives of personal ambition and that I am selfishly desirous of hurting Taft and Wilson and have not the good of the country at heart. Anything that you or any of my other

close friends do that can be construed into putting me forward for the Presidency will absolutely confirm this opinion and will do me real and grave damage. My experience with the libel suit convinced me that nine tenths of the people of leadership and influence, big and little, in New York State were utterly against me. If you will read the *Times* and similar papers, you will see that they are standing by Barnes and backing him up and praising him as honest, just because I was against him. I sincerely believe that it helps a scoundrel and hurts a decent man to have me oppose the one or back the other. I feel this so strongly that if we are able to get the Republicans to nominate some man whom the Progressives will support, I shall do everything I can to prevent any impression getting out that I had anything to do with his choice or do any more than, after the event, be one among a great many others that come to his support. Even after I went around the Park with you on Sunday a couple of weeks ago, the comments of the papers and their refusal even to repeat the things that I said that were really important showed how very little I can accomplish at present.¹ The reception given the Plattsburg speech showed the same thing. At present, Germany, having for six months carried on her submarine campaign in defiance of the United States and having found that it did not pay, has abandoned it; and the people of this country, who wish for nothing so much as peace on any terms, are hysterical in praise of Wilson in consequence.

I shall make one or two speeches, and only one or two, on such subjects as Americanization and upon international duty; and after the articles I have already written for the *Metropolitan* are printed I shall write certain others on general subjects. But it is my sincere conviction that even then as much as this is of very doubtful value; and if I could afford entirely to disregard the salary and abruptly in the middle of the war to abandon preaching the doctrines I have preached, I would absolutely cease all comment in speech or writing on public affairs, because I am in such grave doubt as to what I accomplish thereby. I shall not go as far as this, because I know I am preaching exactly the things that this country most needs to have said and because there are a certain number of people whom just at the moment I cannot leave with the feeling that I have abandoned saying anything for great principles; and moreover because I am under contract with the *Metropolitan* for two years more; and while they perhaps would cancel the contract, they would object to doing so; and it would mean a very serious financial loss to me. But under any circumstances, just as soon as I legitimately can I wish to get out of all public speaking or writing and to retire absolutely from every species of public activity. This is not feasible

¹ What he said that was really important and unreported is unknown. What he was reported to have said, after a nine-hour inspection trip of the Palisades in Interstate Park, was: "I am principally interested in the park today. I cannot talk about other topics."

entirely at the moment; but it is of prime consequence not only that I should not ever attempt again to run for office but that no human being can have legitimate reason to have the slightest thought of ever again running me for public office.² *Faithfully yours*

6016 · TO JAMES BRANDER MATTHEWS

*Matthews Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, October 4, 1915

Dear Brander, Can you give me the name of the editor of Harper's Monthly who passes on contributions? I have written an article on "Prehistoric Man; and the Horse, the Lion and the Elephant" (yes, it *does* remind one of the "Parrot who talked in his Sleep"). It is too long — 16,000 words — and I can't compress it, and am doubtful about dividing it; Fair Osborn is the only human being to whom it might appeal, and to him only that he might pull it in pieces; even the long suffering Scribners does'n't want it. But it is possible the Harper's editor may not be quite sober, or something, and may take it; and as I am not conscientious I wish to give him the chance.¹

Love to Mrs. Brander and all the descendants. I must see you soon.
Ever yours

6017 · TO GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 15, 1915

Dear George: That's a really capital editorial from Bird's paper. Good Lord, how I wish we had in New York City a paper such as he is editing! ¹

²Following Roosevelt's wishes, the Progressive National Executive Committee at its meeting of November 30 concluded unanimously that "our people should do everything they can to prevent" having Roosevelt's name put into any Republican primary contests. This in no sense, however, indicated the real intent of the Progressives. Furthermore, to a much greater extent than his letters reveal, Roosevelt hoped for the Republican Presidential nomination.

During the fall of 1915 George Perkins took the political pulse of the South and West; Meyer Lissner polled Progressive state chairmen to ascertain what percentage of the crusaders of 1912 had returned to the Republican party and what strength Roosevelt would probably have at the Republican National Convention; Elon Hooker, on the basis of Lissner's and other reports, kept a running calculation of the Colonel's chances. They were not good, but there was some ground for hope. By keeping the Progressive party — what remained of it — together, by using this as trading bait, by modulating the demands of 1912, by emphasizing Americanism and preparedness — ideas long identified with Roosevelt, by avoiding open contests in any primary, a "draft" might be arranged. For this the faithful worked. For a good account of their labors, see Mowry, *Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*, chs. xiii, xiv; for significant early developments in Roosevelt's relations to his campaign, see Numbers 6031, 6035, 6038, 6042, 6063, 6064.

¹*Harper's Monthly*, sober, declined; the article re-entitled "How Old Is Man?" was published in February 1916 by the *National Geographic Magazine*.

¹Charles S. Bird in 1914 had purchased both the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and the *Boston Evening Record*.

Do you wish me to wire to the three sterling Republican leaders of whom you speak as to the unaccountable omission of their names from the committee of the Young Republican Club?

I note your sinister attempt to get me to offer to go as Vice-President on a Progressive ticket with Wilson as President. While there is much that is attractive in the proposition, I am afraid that I must decline; but if you will substitute Mrs. Galt for her somewhat frigid fiancé,² I will consider the matter! *Faithfully yours*

6018 • TO ETHEL EYRE VALENTINE DREIER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 15, 1915

My dear Mrs. Dreier: It gives me great pleasure to send through you this letter on behalf of the Suffrage amendment in New York State; and of course what I write applies no less to Massachusetts and New Jersey and to all the other states which vote this year on the proposition to give women the right to vote.

There has always been to me an element of great absurdity in the arguments advanced against Woman Suffrage when we consider the fact that from time immemorial in monarchies women have been deemed fit to hold the very highest place of governmental power, that is, the position of sovereign. For example, this continent was discovered by Columbus under the patronage of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain; and he owed more to the Queen than to the King. The oldest state in the Union, Virginia, derives its name from the fact that the first effort at colonization from England on our shores was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and during the last four centuries Queen Elizabeth was certainly the greatest sovereign who sat on the English throne. When Frederick the Great was King of Prussia the only two European sovereigns who in any shape or way compared with him were two women — Catherine of Russia and Maria Theresa of Austria.

I have thus mentioned four queens who were great sovereigns, four queens who would by all capable historians be given leading places among the sovereigns of their times. If a woman is deemed fit to be the head of a mighty monarchy, surely no adequate reason can be advanced against allowing her to exercise the rights of sovereignty in a democracy, that is, to be one of the free citizens who vote so as to decide how their own intimate concerns shall be managed.

The opponents of woman suffrage say that this will take women away from the home. If this were so, I should certainly not favor it, just as if

² The engagement of Woodrow Wilson and Edith Bolling Galt, a handsome Washington widow, had been announced on October 6.

¹ Ethel Eyre Valentine (Mrs. Henry Edward) Dreier, chairman of the Borough of Brooklyn Woman Suffrage party and League of Women Voters, 1913-1919.

giving man the suffrage took him away from his business, I should not favor it; for making and keeping the home must always be the chief work for both man and woman. There is, however, in my opinion, nothing whatever in this objection. Undoubtedly some foolish women may believe that getting the vote will excuse them from the performance of home duties just as in every democratic extension of the suffrage some foolish men have believed that getting the vote somehow entitled them to live without working. But it is no more possible to base action on an argument of this kind in one case than in the other. There are of course exceptional women who will do work outside of the home just as there are exceptional men who do work outside of their business — and by business I mean not only what is commonly called business but any of the professions and handicrafts, so that I am speaking of businessman, professional man, farmer, skilled mechanic, clerk, laborer. The average man has to work hard at his business or profession or trade or occupation and does not do much work outside of this. In just the same way the average woman will find that her time is largely occupied in dealing with her household duties; but this is no more an argument against giving suffrage to the one than to the other. Moreover, where the woman does have the ability to work outside the home, it no more means that she will neglect the home than the fact that the man is an artist or a poet or a musician means that he will neglect the home. The other day I was pleased, as I am sure many of us were, to see the charming photograph of Madame Homer² and all her children in some of the Sunday papers. It is evident in her case that to be mistress of her profession has not interfered with her being a fine type of mother and mistress of her own house.

I emphatically do not believe that between men and women there ever can be identity of function but this has nothing to do with giving them equality of right. This they are entitled to and this they ought to have.
Faithfully yours

6019 • TO CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 25, 1915

My dear Bonaparte: The enclosed letter from Bishop Currier explains itself as does the copy of my answer, which I also enclose.¹

It seems to me doubtful whether a fulmination *in vacuo* from me at this time would amount to anything. On the other hand it may be worth while

² Louise Dilworth Beatty Homer, great American operatic contralto, member of the Metropolitan Opera Company for nineteen successive seasons.

¹ Charles Warren Currier, recently retired Roman Catholic Bishop of Matanzas, Cuba, author of many articles and books on the church and on Latin America, had written Roosevelt urging him to protest against the American recognition on October 19 of the Carranza government in Mexico. Roosevelt replied that he would first consult Bonaparte about the form and timing of such a protest.

pointing out that every objection which obtained to recognizing Huerta when Wilson came into office now obtains with tenfold greater force against recognizing Carranza and that the good that would have been obtained from recognizing Huerta may not be obtained at all by the recognition of Carranza and certainly will not be obtained to the same extent; while if Wilson is right in his action now it is evident that he ought to have taken this action as regards Huerta two years and a half ago and have saved two years and a half of pointless bloodshed.² I am inclined to think that I had better wait a little while and see just what happened. What a wretched creature Wilson is! *Faithfully yours*

6020 · TO HARRY V. OSBORNE

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, November 1, 1915

*My dear Judge Osborne:*¹ Those are very dreadful facts. It is horrible to think of them. Indeed, it is horrible to think of all the misery and suffering of the past year. I shall use these facts on the earliest occasion. I am anxious, as I told you, in some way to couple them with a statement of what has been done in Belgium. I very particularly do *not* want to be put in the position of seeming to demand verbal action that will not be backed by deeds, or of taking action about the Armenians that I would not venture to take about the Belgians.² The attitude of this nation in international affairs during the past year has not been a very honorable one, Heaven knows, and at least I do not wish to add to the dishonor by securing action taken because there is no Turkish vote here, when action of the same kind about Belgium will not be taken because there *is* a German vote here, but what I can do I most certainly will do. You have no idea of the multitude of requests made upon me. Since I saw you, I have had very urgent appeals made on behalf of some of our own people in Mexico as well as on behalf of certain of the Mexicans, and on behalf of some of the people in Poland, in Belgium and in Northern France (Lorraine); and finally on behalf of

² Wilson had acted only after a conference in Washington with representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Uruguay. This conference agreed that the party of Carranza alone possessed "the essentials of recognition as the *de facto* government of Mexico." In view of the continuing, effective resistance to Carranza by the Villa forces, this decision was perhaps premature. Because of the socialistic and anticlerical policies of Carranza, it also antagonized many Americans. Their sentiments Roosevelt expressed and exploited in "America First—A Phrase or a Fact," an article attacking both Wilson's Mexican and neutrality policies, published in the January 1916 issue of the *Metropolitan* and reprinted in *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, ch. iv.

¹ Harry V. Osborne, judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Newark, New Jersey, had been a progressive Democrat close to Woodrow Wilson during his governorship.

² Urged again and again to champion the starving Armenians, Roosevelt would not do so, primarily because he considered their American champions latter-day googoes who raised a question about which nothing could be done. This is one of many letters on the subject.

Miss Cavell³ and of certain women and children killed in the Zeppelin raids on England. *Sincerely yours*

[*Handwritten*] Give my warmest regards to Judge Martin.⁴

6021 • TO DANIEL P. TOOMEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 8, 1915

*My dear Sir:*¹ I thank you for your courteous note of November 4th, in which you ask me for a contribution to a symposium which will include Messrs. Taft, Bryan and Ford among others. Personally, I do not think that much good comes from that kind of symposium; and the article suggested is not the kind of article I ever write.

I take this opportunity of expressing my regret that when you published my speech before the Knights of Columbus in New York² you did not include the following paragraph:

I hold that in this country there must be complete severance of church and state; that public moneys shall not be used for the purpose of advancing any particular creed; and therefore that the public schools shall be nonsectarian. As a necessary corollary to this, not only the pupils but the members of the teaching force and the school officials of all kinds must be treated exactly on a par, no matter what their creed; and there must be no more discrimination against Jew or Catholic or Protestant than discrimination in favor of Jew, Catholic or Protestant. Whoever makes such discrimination is an enemy of the public schools.

My dear sir, you of course know the kind of attack that is made upon me by the A.P.A. People; and they would have a certain justification for their attacks if they could say that while I spoke to other audiences in favor of the public-schools system I did not venture to speak on that subject to the Knights of Columbus. You did an injustice both to me and to yourself when you omitted that part of my speech. It was directly part of what I said about church and state. I pointed out that our national conception of the separation between church and state forbade any religious test for office and that it was a violation if not of the letter at least of the spirit of the constitution for voters to impose such a test. As a corollary I made the statement about the public schools which I have quoted above. The two statements should have both gone in or else neither should have gone in.

Now, my dear sir, will you insert this statement in your next publication, stating that it was omitted (by inadvertence?) from the last statement or would you prefer that I had the omitted statement published in some

³Edith Cavell, a British nurse in charge of the Red Cross hospital in Brussels, had helped Allied soldiers escape from Belgium. For this she was arrested, tried, convicted, and shot by the Germans.

⁴William P. Martin, a colleague of Osborne on the Court of Common Pleas; in the early part of the century a prominent progressive Republican in New Jersey.

¹Daniel P. Toomey, manager of the Columbiad Publishing Company, publishers of the Knights of Columbus' monthly journal.

²On Columbus Day, 1915.

publication like the *Outlook*. It seems to me that the former would be better, but of course that is for you to judge. By the way, you doubtless know that my entire speech, including the above paragraph, was submitted in advance to Judge Dowling³ and Mr. Ward⁴ & approved by the . . . ?
Sincerely yours

6022 • TO EDWIN GORDON LAWRENCE

Roosevelt Mss.

Personal

Oyster Bay, November 8, 1915

*My dear Mr. Lawrence:*¹ A great many of my friends disagree with me on that point. I want to make one explanation about the Empress Catherine. She certainly was not a model in her private behavior; but she was by no means as bad as her contemporary, Louis XV, and no worse than Frederick the Great, the only contemporary monarch who approached her in ability. Her other contemporary, Maria Theresa, in her private life surpassed all the other sovereigns of the time. The women were ahead of the men!
Faithfully yours

6023 • TO JOHN CARTER ROSE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 12, 1915

My dear Judge: That's an awfully nice note of yours! Now, I have not got any of those pictures. We only ordered half a dozen; and I have disposed of every one — all but one being to members of the family. If I had a single spare one left, you should have it; but I cannot make up my mind to part with the only one I have!

I do wish I could see you and Mrs. Rose. Isn't there any chance of your coming on to New York sometime?

Wilson is now following afar off in the paths of preparedness and of Americanization,¹ which I blazed for him over a year ago; and to my

³ Victor James Dowling, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 1905-1932, one-time member of the Tammany Hall executive council, for half a century a prominent Catholic layman in New York.

⁴ Cabot Ward, another prominent Catholic layman, president of the park board, commissioner of parks in New York City, from 1905 to 1910 a government official in Porto Rico.

¹ Edwin Gordon Lawrence, actor — "Osip" in *The Danicheffs*, a favorite of 1881-1882 — assistant to Hoover in Belgian food relief, 1915; newspaperman; poetaster; author of books on elocution, improving the memory, business aids, and Shakespeare.

¹ Persuaded at last that the armed forces had to be expanded, Wilson in a speech to the Manhattan Club on November 4 set forth the Administration's preparedness program. He called for the acceleration of naval building and a moderate increase in the army — not as a "standing force" but through voluntary training agencies like the National Guard. The President's proposals, falling short as they did of the program of the National Security League and the American Defense Society, nevertheless "shocked" and antagonized such influential Democrats as William Jennings Bryan, Speaker of the House Champ Clark, and Congressman Claude Kitchin of North Carolina.

immense amusement he has even copied the verses from Ezekiel which in an article last summer in the *Metropolitan* I commended to his prayerful consideration.² Faithfully yours

6024 · TO GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, November 17, 1915

My dear Captain Moseley: I am particularly interested in your suggestions; and I regard your brief note on the unpreparedness of England as of especial value. Now, your plan is in the main excellent.¹ But I would wish to make one reservation. I do not believe the American people would accept, and I myself would not accept, your proposal for two types of universal training, discriminating between those who have a college education and those who have not. I believe every man in this country should serve with the colors. I would not make any exception in the case of the man who is the only support of the widowed mother or invalid parent. Practically this would be putting a premium upon having small families, which is just the exact reverse of what I wish to do. I would wish my four boys, all of whom have been or are at Harvard, to serve with the colors just like anyone else. Next year Archie intends to serve a couple of months as a private in a regular regiment if he is given the chance. I agree with you entirely about the immigrants. Moreover I emphatically agree with you not to use the word "conscription" which gives just the wrong idea. Universal training is the right term.

Now, I may not be able to use anything like all of your suggestions, because I find that unless I write very briefly and along broad lines, people do not read what I have to say.

With hearty thanks, *Sincerely yours*

²In a letter to Seth Low, Wilson, defending his speech of November 4, quoted Ezekiel 33:1-6, a passage Roosevelt had called to the attention of all Americans in power in an article of August 1915. The verses deal with the duty of a watchman in warning the people. It is possible that the Presbyterian President, more familiar with the Bible than with the works of his principal critic, selected the passage without the critic's assistance.

¹Captain Moseley had sent Roosevelt a typewritten "Brief on the Organization of Our Land Forces." In this he proposed universal military service for those eighteen years old. One year of training would be provided by service with the troops or, for those in college, by special drills and courses administered by the colleges. A second enclosure from Moseley dealt with the unprepared state of England. It was the captain's hope that Roosevelt would use these documents as source material for an article Moseley himself could not write because of his status as a commissioned officer. In the next year Moseley prepared the universal military service bill introduced in Congress by Senator George E. Chamberlain, chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

Oyster Bay, November 20, 1915

My dear Foulke: The enclosed letter I was about to send you, before yours came.¹

I regard the proposed law as seeking to establish a condition much worse than the spoils system.

If the proposal or any proposal remotely resembling it is adopted, I shall resign and shall state that nothing proposed by Tammany during my lifetime has begun to approach in mischief this proposal. I believe that written competitive examination is very rarely the best way to get officials. In many cases, for entrance to offices with merely ministerial duties, it is good, although not ideal. In many other cases it is better than the alternative. In high positions, including that of Civil Service Commissioner, it is in my experience invariably mischievous. In a very extended experience I have found that in all cases a system of competitive examinations for promotions works mischief. In an extended public service I have found that in almost all cases any efficient check upon the power of removal by the head of the department works mischief. Take the New York Police Force as an example. My experience was, and it is corroborated by the experience of the present Commissioner, Mr. Arthur Woods, a Harvard man and a former teacher at Groton, that the system of civil service examinations for promotions works against rewarding good men and against securing the best men. I would not under any circumstances allow a commission to have anything whatever to say about promotions in any case; and as regards removals I would permit them to have any say only in a certain narrowly limited number of cases. Even as regards admissions, there are very many important classes of officers where I am convinced that the competitive system in so far as it includes a written examination is merely mischievous. The proposal to take away all discretion from the appointing officer would also be mischievous.

I do not for a moment imagine that the proposed measure will receive serious consideration by the American people. If it did, it would show that the American people had taken many strides along the path which the professional pacifists or peace-at-any-price men wish them to travel and which would lead to the complete chinafication of this republic. Proposals such as this tend hopelessly to discredit the cause of Civil Service Reform among sensible people; and nothing more mischievous for the reform could be imagined. *Sincerely yours*

¹ Roosevelt three days before had written a letter to Foulke with which he planned to enclose a letter he had also written on the same day to Arthur Woods, police commissioner of New York City. The burden of these letters is indicated by this one opposing the New York City Municipal Civil Service Commission's advocacy of a law to require competitive examinations for promotion and appointment to high positions in municipal government.

P.S. The above, my dear Foulke, you are welcome to publish. Furthermore, you are welcome to read at the meeting but not to publish what I am now about to write. My firsthand information is that the much-boasted English permanent Civil Service has largely broken down in the present great crisis and that no small part of the awful trouble that England has had in connection with securing munitions and in correlating industrial and military efficiency has been due to the cut-and-dried professional bureaucratic officialdom with its rigid inability to depart from the beaten trail marked out by formulas and to brush aside technical rules and adapt itself to new conditions. The proposal of which you speak is such a monstrous absurdity that I do not wonder at the little regard in which professional Civil Service Reformers are held.

6026 · TO CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 20, 1915

Dear Charley: That story is fifty per cent false. It is true that he came in to speak to me about the Judge. It is not true that I said I would appoint Judge Jones solely on Washington's recommendation. President Cleveland had written me very warmly for Jones. I had heard very well of him. I was anxious, however, as I was in the case of every Southern judge, to be sure that the judge was a man who on matters like peonage could be trusted to stand absolutely for the rights of black man and white man alike. Booker Washington called to see me about the Judge; and I went into this branch of the matter with him; and he spoke most highly of Judge Jones. I was not at luncheon. I asked him to come and take dinner with me that night. When I was Governor, I had had one colored man take dinner with me in the Executive Mansion. I had had Lewis, the Harvard football player, spend a night here at my own house. On any rational theory of public and social life my action was absolutely proper. All of the tomfool mugwumps of the land, the *Evening Post* people, for example, hysterically applauded me. Yet as a matter of fact what I did was a mistake. It was misinterpreted by the white men of the South and by the black men of the South; and in the North it had no effect, either good or bad. It was one of those cases where the application of a lofty and proper code of social observance to conditions which in actual fact were certain to cause the action to be misunderstood resulted badly.

In my judgment no good whatever comes of any attempt to explain or justify or dwell on any course of conduct. To do so you would have to make a long essay on Sociology. You would have to study the mental and moral attitude of the Southern white and the Southern black; and exactly as my doing what I did was misunderstood, so now any statement from me that it was a mistake would also be misunderstood; and any such statement would aggravate the original mistake — especially as, mind you, it

was only a mistake because I assumed that the Southern whites were much further advanced intellectually and morally than was actually the case and because I made a similar mistaken assumption about the Southern blacks. If you allude to the case at all, simply recite the facts as I have given them in the first part of this letter, without any comment one way or the other.¹

Your letter about the royalties and Thayer's letter has just come. I like what Thayer says; and, my dear fellow, I am very much touched with your proposals about the royalties.² Each grandchild shall have a stick of candy! *Always yours*

6027 • TO JAMES RUSSELL PARSONS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 20, 1915

*Dear Russell:*¹ You are in Harvard now; you are no longer a schoolboy. You have begun a career which from now on will necessarily make you more and more independent and will force you more and more to rely on your own self and not on others. For that very reason I wish to write you a line or two about your father; for you were only eight years old at his death.

It is the literal truth that your father was one of the two or three men whom I have known who seemed to me most nearly to realize the ideal of what a man ought to be. He was a man of real bodily prowess, a man whose body was trained to supple strength and endurance, and yet he was a man who put mind above body and who put character above both mind and body. He had a singularly sweet, gentle and tender nature; and yet I never met any man of more dauntless courage, any man more entirely free from the weakness of mere sentimentality. Exactly as he was one of the best husbands and fathers, so he was one of the staunchest friends I ever knew. He was a very hard worker and of not merely unusual but extraordinary mental capacity. His educational services to the state were such as were rendered by no other man; and when he was put into a totally new position, a position in our foreign service, in a Latin-American country, he showed the same marked ability and achieved the same marked success as he had already shown and achieved while in Albany. If he had a fault — and I mention it as a fault and not as a virtue — it was that he was too disinterested and did not take sufficient account of the baseness and evil of others. He worked with never-

¹ With these directions Washburn complied in his *Theodore Roosevelt: The Logic of His Career* (Boston, 1916).

² Washburn had instructed Houghton, Mifflin that the royalties on his book were to go to Mrs. Roosevelt. "I do not imagine that the revenues will be large," he wrote, "perhaps enough to provide a stick of candy for each grandchild" (Washburn to Roosevelt, November 17, 1915, Roosevelt Mss.). He enclosed a letter he had received from William Roscoe Thayer praising his manuscript and suggesting some revisions.

¹ James Russell Parsons, Harvard '19, son of James Russell Parsons, Jr., who had died in 1905, later a director of the Federal Insurance Company and other insurance companies.

flagging energy; and whether the task were pleasant or unpleasant, easy or difficult, he performed it with the same scrupulous fidelity; but he worked a little too much for others and not enough for himself. His nature was of such pure gold that it was hard for him to accept the fact that in ninety-nine out of a hundred of the men with whom he came in contact there was a very dreadful alloy of base metal. This was a fault, a real fault, of his; but it was a fault on the heroic side. I do not want you to fall into the same fault; but I would a hundred times rather see you commit this heroic fault than err on the side of mere base acceptance of, and profit by, what is mean and ugly in mankind. I would have guaranteed that your father would have done noble work in war, just as he did noble work in peace. He was no more capable of the baseness of the professional pacifist and peace-at-any-price men than he was capable of being a bully or an oppressor. He had to a very extraordinary degree the indispensable virtues of the private man and the indispensable virtues of the public servant — and they are by no means always found together. There was not a touch of the prig about him; but he was as clean-minded as a good woman, exactly as he had within him the heart of the bravest man. I write this as *your father's old friend*

6028 • TO EDWARD GREY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 24, 1915

My dear Sir Edward: Spring Rice has just forwarded me that part of your letter to him in which you speak of me and say "Roosevelt has just come out with a letter about the part that we have taken in the war which is calculated to do us mortal injury."

I am indeed gravely concerned if what you call my "letter," and which I assume must be a paragraph in my recent article in the *Metropolitan*,¹ has done you injury. It is of small account, of course, to express such concern and regret. Nevertheless, my dear Sir, let me point out that I cannot help believing that the trouble has been caused purely by the English correspondents here in the United States of your London newspapers.

I send you herewith the article. I do not like to ask you to read what I have written; but in this case I feel that I must do so in order that you may see for yourself just what it was that I said. You will see that my article was an attack upon my own people for their failure to do their duty. I did not mince words; I used the strongest expressions. You speak of what I have said as "Roosevelt's attack upon England." You will find in the first part of my article I stated that "if an American citizen now wishes respect for his person and his property in Mexico or Latin America, he must strive to abandon his own nationality and acquire German or English citizenship." This is not an attack upon England; it is an attack on the United States. My whole "attack"

¹ What Grey had in mind was the article, "The Duty of the United States to Its Own People."

was on the United States and Germany. I proceeded by saying that "Germany has trampled on the rights of neutrals during this war with a brutal cynicism not shown since the close of the Napoleonic struggles." I then said that we Americans have failed both in our duty to ourselves and in our duty to others and that we were guilty of "timid refusal to do our duty by Belgium." I spoke of Germany as the "brutal wrongdoer" and of the United States as occupying the position of the "coward or the fat, boastful, soft creature who does not take the trouble to make himself fit to enforce his words by his deeds." This is certainly not praise of the United States or an attack upon England! I continued by saying that this nation has been "strutting as the champion of peace" and yet has not "dared to say a word for righteousness in the concrete while wrong has been at least temporarily triumphant during the past year." I speak of the German-Americans as using their position in the United States "as a means for endeavoring to force America to sacrifice its own honor and the interests of mankind in order to serve the German government." I continue by saying, "The milk-and-water statesmanship of the American government during the past year has been a direct aid to the statesmanship of blood-and-iron across the water; it may not be as wicked, but it is far more contemptible. The United States has signally and culpably failed to keep its promises made in the Hague Conventions, and to stand for the right. Instead, it has taken refuge in the world-old neutrality between right and wrong which is always so debasing for the man practicing it. As has been well said, such a neutral is the ignoblest work of God." I then spoke of the Spanish War. In doing so, I said "We did badly; but the Spaniards did worse. As that profound philosopher who writes under the name of Mr. Dooley put it, 'We were in a dream but the Spaniards were in a trance.'"

I praised Belgium, flailed our people for not standing by Belgium, and pointed out that Belgium had suffered a terrible fate because of her lack of forethought and preparedness in the past. Then I wrote the paragraph about England to which you doubtless refer. The next paragraph runs in part as follows: "Now, if there was not a lesson in this for us, I certainly would not dwell on it. The important point for us to remember is that if England has not done well she has done infinitely better than we would have done. In its practical teachings the best book that this war has produced is Oliver's *Ordeal by Battle*. I wish that every American would read Oliver's book and would realize that everything there said as to both the shortcomings and the needs of the English people applies with far greater force to the American people at the present time."

I then spoke of Germany as follows: "Most certainly we should avoid with horror the ruthlessness and brutality and the cynical indifference to international right which the Government of Germany has shown during the past year, and we should shun, as we would shun the plague, the production in this country of a popular psychology like that which in Germany has

produced a public opinion that backs the Government in its actions in Belgium, and cheers popular songs which exult in the slaughter of women and children on the high seas. But if we value the heritage bequeathed to us by Washington and saved for us by Lincoln, we will at once begin the effort to emulate the German efficiency, efficiency which is not only military but also social and industrial."

I continued by denouncing our people for "uttering windy eloquence in Fourth of July speeches" and "prating about our greatness and our adherence to democratic principles," when "we were not willing to make our words count by means of our deeds." I said that Germany exulted because in America democracy had shown itself "so utterly futile that it has not even dared to speak about wrongdoing committed against others and had not dared to do more than speak without acting when the wrong was done against itself." I spoke of Germany's "exultation" over the disloyalty of the professional German-Americans to the United States; and their use of the politicians who are afraid of the German-American vote; and I denounced in the strongest way the pacifists and hyphenated Americans, the men who refused to take the stand against Germany that ought to be taken.

Now, my dear Grey, at least you will see from the above quotations that I was using the strongest kind of language in denouncing the shortcomings of my own people. I brought in England because at this very moment most of the leading politicians and, I am afraid, most of the people of this country are desiring us to do precisely what England until recently has done, that is, they are desiring that we rely on a large navy, a tiny army and a so-called volunteer army corresponding to your territorials. I wished to show what the result had been in a great world crisis to England from relying on precisely the measures upon which the United States is now asked to rely. I was thinking only of my own country and of the lessons that should be taught it. I had not an idea that what I said would be quoted in England and least of all that English correspondents of English newspapers would take it out of its context and quote it so that it appeared like what you call "an attack upon England" instead of an illustration in a severe arraignment of the United States. I have twice been in Canada this summer. On each occasion I have made speeches and given interviews in which I have in the heartiest way backed up Canada and backed up the British Empire and urged the Canadians to do everything they could and praised them for what they have done in helping the Empire. As far as I know, none of these speeches or interviews were sent over to England. Indeed, as far as I know the only attention they excited outside of Canada was among the German-Americans in the United States, where the attention excited was of course hostile to me. I never supposed that these statements of mine in Canada would be sent to England; but neither did I ever suppose that this paragraph in my *Metropolitan* article would be cut out and sent to England. Much of the article was published in our papers but not the part to which you object. I do not be-

lieve that any French or Russian knew anything about it except through the English press; and until the English comments came over here the American press treated the article purely as what it was, that is, an attack, if you choose to call it such, upon the United States, a severe arraignment of our people and a plea that they prepare in advance. I am exceedingly sorry if, as you say, the article has revived the danger of a breach between England and her Allies. But, my dear Grey, while, if such is the case, I bitterly regret having written it in the form in which it was written (for in some form I should have had to write it in order to impress my own countrymen with the lesson needed) yet I am absolutely certain that the allies of England know of it at all only through its publication in the English, not the American, newspapers.

Now, as to what you say in your letter, apparently to show that England has done well. You say that the allies of England have no right to complain. I never said they had. I was not thinking of the Allies. I was thinking of your duty to yourselves. I have specifically stated that England, and that you personally, had done your duty by Belgium in acting as you did; and I had contrasted this with our failure to do our duty. You then proceed to say that "it is really unfair" to compare your efforts as regards men with those made by the continental nations; and this is because you say that they had prepared large armies before the war and had the staff and equipment for millions of men and you had "nothing of the kind and could not improvise equipment and a staff, especially a staff." This is exactly what I meant. It is another way of saying what I said. I was arguing, and am arguing, against the fatuous American attitude, which not very long ago was the British attitude, that it is possible to "improvise equipment and a staff." You continue by saying that "it is unfair" for me to "issue a denunciation of you." I am sure you will now realize that my denunciation was of the United States. You say that some of you think that you have already recruited and withdrawn from the national life of the country too many men and that even if you had had conscription you could not have equipped or trained a single extra man. Here I think you confound, as most men on this side do, universal service with a draft. I do not say that you should have tried to equip or arm more men than you have. I say that you should have made every man in the country, capitalist and workingman, civilian and soldier, serve the country in whatever position he would be most useful, with unhesitating loyalty and obedience, and I only say this as a lesson to *us*. Mind you, I have denounced our handling of the Civil War very much more strongly than ever I have denounced what Great Britain has done in this war. You say that as regards munitions, the "original outlay was for a fighting force of 100,000 men." My exact point is that you only had prepared for such an outlay; and what I am trying to make the United States understand is that it will some day invite disaster if it only makes a corresponding preparation for a similar outlay instead of for a very much greater one. You speak of the strikes as if they were unimportant. Of

course, I only know what I have seen in the English papers, including the statements made on behalf of the men in the trenches which were filled with bitter denunciations of these strikes. I do not advocate your doing anything that I was not ready to do in a much less emergency myself. While I was President, there was a strike in the anthracite coal district which continued until mid-Fall when winter was approaching. This meant that the eastern seaboard would suffer terribly from shortage of fuel and that there would be a real disaster, although of course nothing comparable to a disaster such as might befall you under present conditions. After failing to get an agreement between the capitalists and the workingmen I got hold of the Lieutenant General of our army and prepared to put him in as a Receiver, dispossess for the time being the capitalists, and by means of the regular army see that the mines were run without permitting the smallest outrage or interference on the part of the striking workingmen. However, the capitalists and workingmen both became impressed with the fact that drastic action impended, and they came to terms to the extent of agreeing to do whatever a commission which I appointed said they ought to do.

My dear Sir Edward, my point is that England and especially the United States — the United States much more than England — have lived in a fool's paradise and have thought it was not necessary for them to prepare themselves in advance as Germany, France and Switzerland have prepared themselves, as Argentina and Chile and Australia have prepared themselves. In my writings and speeches I have expressed the highest admiration for the British Navy and Army and for various individual Englishmen whom I named, including yourself, for all that they had done; but it would be untrue for me to say that without preparation England has done as well as the nations that did prepare long in advance — always excepting her navy, which she had prepared, as I have publicly said in the article in question, just as Germany had prepared her army and which was mobilized with similar efficiency. Now, when I have been unsparing in telling the truth to my own people and when I had no idea whatever that the incidental truth I told about England would be by the English people themselves published to their own disadvantage, it was hardly to be expected that I would refrain from speaking of England as truthfully as I spoke of the United States. If it has done damage, I am sincerely sorry, and, while I shall continue to draw the lessons from England's experience, good and bad, which I think my country needs to have drawn, I shall also hereafter be most careful not to use language which can possibly be turned to your disadvantage. *Very sincerely yours*

P.S. For a year and a quarter I have been making the fight here for what I thought right and at every stage have had at least ninety-five per cent of my countrymen against me, although in most cases they have, about a year later, come round to my views. I have incurred the bitter and undying hostility of so many sections of the electorate that, if I had had, which I did not have, any ambitions for political preferment in the future, it would have

been necessary to abandon them as the price of writing these articles. I have paid no heed to the feelings of my countrymen or to the effect upon my own personal fortunes. I have selected Belgium as the point upon which to make the fight, in the first place because it was the strongest point and in the next place because if I took any ground for England I was apt to find it cut from under my feet by certain Englishmen — men like Maxse on the one hand or men like Massingham, Bernard Shaw and Russell on the other hand. The Englishmen of the first stamp have done everything they could to make America feel that England was selfishly fighting for world dominion and was just as hostile to the United States as Germany was. The men of the second stamp have done everything they could to justify the American pacifists and neutralitymongers in their attitude. When Henry Ford and his allies did their best to prevent Americans from taking the British loan Massingham writes an editorial which is really in their praise and which makes them feel that they are sure of British approval in doing what they have done. If Massingham knows anything — which I doubt — he must know that Henry Ford has been acting with Herman Ridder and O'Leary as the head of the German-Americans and of those Irish-Americans who are hostile to Redmond and wish to break up the British Empire.² As for Bernard Shaw, he has throughout this war done all he could to give every handle for attack upon England that was wished by the opponents of England. A much more serious trouble came from Bryce's article. I had been strongly advocating that our people should range themselves against Germany and for Belgium and the Allies; and of course if my position was right then the position of Wilson and the government was entirely wrong. It was not necessary that Bryce should attack Wilson and the government. But he went out of his way to make an apology for them; and as he has a great influence here he was triumphantly quoted by all of the pro-Germans and all of the men who do not wish us to side with Belgium against Germany as having answered me and showed that the English themselves rejected and disapproved of my championship. It was a lesson which I did not forget and ever since I have confined myself to championing Belgium, as to which country I was certain not to have a fire in my rear from men professing to speak for the Belgians.

6029 · TO CECIL ARTHUR SPRING RICE

*Spring Rice Mss.*⁹

Oyster Bay, November 24, 1915

Dear Cecil, Your letter of the 22d came yesterday, just after I had sent my letter to you, enclosing the one to Edward Grey.

Now, I have been puzzling out some course of action. How will this do?

² There was some justification for this evaluation of Ridder and Jeremiah A. O'Leary, the notorious president of the American Truth Society, an Irish-American organization; but Henry Ford, with intentions laudable and naive, had striven for world peace primarily by financing the peace ship, *Oscar II*.

I could write a letter to a Frenchman, say Hanataux,¹ saying how absolutely essential it is that the Allies shall stand together to the end. I shall express my unbounded admiration for all France has done and is doing; I shall speak of the tremendous efforts of Russia, and how she is reserving her strength for the spring campaign; I shall then point out how very much England is doing; all that her navy has done, her great army now in France, an army that will steadily increase in size and efficiency, her financing of the allies, her present great output of guns and munitions. I shall say that the war, on such a stupendous scale, caught her unprepared, for Democracies generally are unprepared — the U.S. is utterly unprepared — ; that a few years ago there was a great party in France that wished France to be unprepared; but that these same Frenchmen are now just as staunch as the others; and in the same way England is now, at the end of 16 months, doing her part with constantly increasing efficiency; that within the Nations, and among the Nations, it would be criminal not to keep the eyes of all purely on the present and future; and in the present and for the future England, like France and Russia, is doing everything; and the three nations, and Italy, must stand shoulder to shoulder with entire trust and confidence. This letter you would show to Jusserand and Bakhmeteff before it was sent, and consult with them so as to get it exactly straight.² *Sincerely yours*

6030 • TO RICHARD L. GORMAN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 24, 1915

*My dear Mr. Gorman:*¹ I am genuinely shocked to learn that it is possible in the United States for citizens of a foreign country and sympathizers with that foreign country who are hostile to the United States to take such a stand as that of which you speak. The Boston paper you enclose recites how a number of Germans and German sympathizers have filed a protest against "The Battle Cry of Peace."² The paper quotes the petition of these men who call themselves American citizens but who nevertheless are doing their best to prevent the country to which they nominally owe allegiance fitting itself for self-defense. The petition is based on the ground that the play is

¹ Gabriel Hanotaux, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, distinguished historian and member of the Académie Française, outspoken critic of Wilson's foreign policy.

² Roosevelt drafted such a letter, but on the advice of Jusserand, who felt that the *Metropolitan* article "did good," he decided not to send it. Instead, in revising his article for publication in *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, he considerably softened his tone toward Britain.

¹ Richard L. Gorman, manager of the Majestic Theater in Boston.

² An impressive motion picture, produced by J. Stuart Blackton, describing an invasion of New York City by foreign troops. Blackton, a British-born producer, had taken his theme from Hudson Maxim's *Defenseless America*. The protests were unavailing; the picture ran four weeks in Boston. While he was making the picture Blackton consulted with Wood and Garrison as well as with Roosevelt.

calculated to excite animosity to the German nation on account of the atrocities it portrays and the action of the spies and in its protest against the play it says it does not know "whether it is produced by political backing in order to influence the public in behalf of a greatly increased army and navy." The last quotation shows that these Germans and German sympathizers are hostile to the play because it advocates American preparedness. It shows that they wish to keep America unprepared and therefore liable to fall a victim exactly as Belgium fell a victim. Such action on their part is absolutely incompatible with their being really loyal citizens of the United States.

Now, as to their allegation that the play is calculated to excite animosity to Germany. This allegation on their part can only come from guilty consciences. There is not an allusion to Germany in the play. Mr. Blackton, when the play was being brought out, told me that he was exceedingly careful, even in such matters as the uniform of the invaders not to give a scene which would indicate one foreign nation more than another. The play does not give a hint as to what nation the foreign invaders belong to. If the censors refuse to allow this play to be put out, then it means that they must refuse to allow any play to appear which sets forth the danger to America from any foreign power. The petition itself merely recites the fact that atrocities are shown to be committed by the invaders; that it is shown that there are spies of the invaders here; and that, thanks to the folly of our pacifists, aided by the machinations of certain agents of foreign countries, we are left at the mercy of the invaders. If these Germans and German sympathizers, who have signed this petition, choose to accept any attack on military atrocities and on spies, even when no names are mentioned, as an attack on Germany they show guilty consciences; and they are themselves making the worst possible attack upon Germany.

At this moment the United States officials are uncovering a vast and widely ramified conspiracy of destruction carried on against legitimate American industry by German and Austrian agents here in this country. One Ambassador has been sent back because of his part in this conspiracy;³ and it is perfectly clear that many other officials of the governments concerned have been engaged in it. If the Germans and German sympathizers who sign this petition, calling themselves American citizens, were really genuinely patriotic, they would bend their energies to hunting out of the country the men who have been engaged in this infamous conspiracy, whose weapons are the torch and the bomb, and who are as ready to take life as they are to destroy property. This conspiracy of itself furnishes the plainest proof of the need that we as a people should awake to the necessity of preparing ourselves for self-defense. The action of the petitioners in this case is an action aimed at the United States; and it has been an effort in the interest of a for-

³ The recall of Constantine Dumba, ambassador from Austria-Hungary, had been asked for in September 1915 after captured correspondence revealed that he had been encouraging strikes in American munitions plants.

eign nation, Germany, and, as a matter of fact, in the interest of all foreign military powers who may ever become hostile to the United States. It is an action against the American people, against preparedness on the part of the American nation. The people engaged in it are only less dangerous to the country than the other people engaged in the destruction of our arms factories, for if this petition should be favorably acted upon by the Censors and the precedent thereby established followed generally, the effect would be greatly to hamper and perhaps to prevent the American people from being waked to its own needs and acting as these needs demand.

Every good American should be grateful to Mr. Blackton for having produced "The Battle Cry of Peace." Every uninformed but well-meaning American should attend the exhibition and profit by it. The men who oppose it, as the petitioners to whom you refer oppose it, are thoroughly bad Americans and are engaged in an action hostile to the vital interests of the United States. *Faithfully yours*

6031 • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, November 27, 1915

Dear Cabot: Following our conversation, I send you the enclosed letter from a Missouri ex-Progressive. You will notice that he says the Progressives must go back with the Republican party; that he says in effect and politely that I must not be nominated; but he also says that the nominee must not be one of "the Chicago thieves like Root." He goes further than I do about Hadley. You can show this letter to Nick Longworth but to no one else. You had better not speak to Penrose about his message to me; but I should be very glad to have you send for Alex Moore of Pittsburgh and talk over matters with him. He brought me the message from Penrose. I think I forgot to tell you that he sounded me about Knox. I told him I would do my best to get the Progressives to support Knox if he were the man available; but Knox has been defending Hyphenated Americanism lately in a way which if persevered in will make him as undesirable as Burton; that I did not think Knox had the proper understanding of our foreign questions; but that if he would put Root into the Secretaryship of State, I believe we would get a first-class administration, for while I am fairly certain the Progressives would under no circumstances support Root for President, I did not believe they would object (and I am certain they would have no right to object) to his being made Secretary of State. Moore, by the way, feels as strongly as you and I do that it would be utterly harmful for me to be a candidate. He does not put it on sentimental grounds but on the same grounds that Bartholdt put it upon, namely, that the German-Americans, the professional hyphenated Americans of every kind and the whole flapdoodle pacifist and mollycoddle outfit would be against me. Alex is a most delightful soul; and he is Vice-President of one of these German-American organizations! But he

never allows a little detail like that to interfere with his attachment to me!

Of course, it is possible that the Republicans will win without any assistance from the Progressives at all. It is also possible that they cannot win even with Progressive support. But on the assumption that there is need of trying to unite all the anti-Wilson forces into a coherent whole, I hope that the Republicans will take action such as will render it possible for the Progressives to go in with them. Unless there is a really vital national crisis I do not intend to separate myself from my Progressive supporters; but I shall do everything in my power to get them to act wisely. Incidentally I am as well aware of their shortcomings as of the shortcomings of other people. I have had to exercise some duress to prevent them from taking up Burton, Heaven knows why! *Faithfully yours*

6032 · TO JAMES EDWARD WEST

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, November 30, 1915

My dear Mr. West: I have received your letter of November 29th. It is not possible for me to make a speech on such short notice. In addition to this, until I have one or two things made clearer to my mind, I would not be willing to make the speech anyhow. I have been in communication with General Wood over the matter of the Boy Scouts. It is my understanding that as part of the wicked and degrading pacifist agitation of the last few years certain leaders therein, including Messrs. Carnegie, Jordan and others, have used the Boy Scouts organization as a medium for the dissemination of pacifist literature and have done everything they could to use the organization as a propaganda for interfering with the training of our boys to a standard of military efficiency. Now, I believe that the professional pacifists by their activities during the last half-dozen years have done more damage to this country and to humanity than all the political and business crooks combined. The effort to prevent the boys of this country, of the kind who naturally should be gathered into the Boy Scouts, from being trained to arms so that they could serve the country in time of need, and the effort to prevent their acquiring the spirit of self-respect which will make them eager and ready to fight for the right both as individuals and as members of the nation — these efforts from my point of view represent treason to the country and treason to the cause of humanity. A Boy Scout who is not trained actively and affirmatively that it is his duty to bear arms for the country in time of need is at least negatively trained to be a sissy; and there cannot be anything worse for this country than to have an organization of boys brought up to accept the mushy milk and water which is the stock in trade of the apostles of pacifism. The Boy Scouts of England and Belgium have shown themselves real patriots in the present war. I am heartily in favor of an organization of boys which shall teach them as these boys, for example, in England have been taught, that is: that shall teach them the duties of gentleness and

chivalry toward the weak, of good citizenship in internal affairs, and, as no less important, the duty of fitting themselves in mind and body so that they shall regard cowardice as the unpardonable sin and physical and moral flabbiness as disgraceful and shall be eager and willing to bear their part in any war that this country feels it necessary to engage in.¹ *Sincerely yours*

6033 • TO HENRY REUTERDAHL

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, November 30, 1915

Dear Reuterdahl: It is sometimes necessary to skin skunks; but it is necessary to choose the skunk! I may have to attack Henry Ford.¹ Really I do not think Oswald Villard ought to be honored with an attack.² To change the metaphor, he is the kind of crawling thing we step on, provided the resulting crunch won't leave too large a stain on the floor. But we do not fight it! *Faithfully yours*

6034 • TO JAMES BRYCE

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, November 30, 1915

Dear Bryce: I am much pleased to get your letter. I knew that the *Metropolitan Magazine* was not read in London; and, as I was speaking purely to Americans, it never occurred to me not to draw a lesson from English experience for our benefit just as, if an Englishman, I would draw a lesson from American experience as regards bounty-jumping and the like under the Volunteer system in our Civil War. The fault lay purely with the English correspondents here who telegraphed over one extract because it was sensational. I send you herewith a note I wrote the New York *Tribune*¹ and also the article in question from the *Metropolitan* and the preceding article.² I would like you to read through these two articles and then tell me candidly if you think I could put the plea for righteousness and honor, the plea against Ger-

¹ The resignation of Ernest Thompson Seton on December 5 set Roosevelt's mind at rest. Seton resigned, he told newspaper reporters, because the executive board of the Boy Scouts had centralized the control of the organization in the hands of West, "a man of great executive ability but without any knowledge of the activities of boys." West then accused Seton of being "in harmony with the views of anarchists and radical socialists." After reading this statement Roosevelt telephoned West that he was "heart and soul" behind the Boy Scout movement. On December 12 he wrote a long open letter backing the drive for new funds to support the scouts.

¹ Roosevelt on the eve of the peace ship's departure denounced Ford's mission as "mischievous" not only because "it is so ridiculous, but because it is a most discreditable thing to the country." — *New York Times*, December 3, 1915.

² Villard, late in November, attacked Roosevelt and other leaders of the preparedness campaign as tools of the munitions makers.

¹ Explaining, in the same way he had done in his letters, his "attack on England."

² "International Duty and Hyphenated Americanism," first published in the October 1915 issue of the *Metropolitan*, reprinted with insignificant alterations in *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, ch. v.

many and for action by the United States, more strongly than I have put it.

Now, my dear sir, it seems to me that some of the things you say in your letter represent merely another way of stating just what I have said. You say that you cannot apply compulsion in recruiting, because one of the deepest English traditions is against compulsion in any form and that this is almost a religion among the masses. Surely this kind of feeling was just as much a tradition in America when Abraham Lincoln and his Cabinet had recourse to the draft. I do not admit that there is any more justification for being "against compulsion in any form" so far as military service is concerned than so far as sending children to school or paying taxes is concerned. I know that, as you say, the Englishman "dislikes being compelled." So does the American. But this is not a virtue, in such a case as this, in either nation. It is a very grave fault. It was because of this fault that the North took so long to subdue the South. It is because of this fault that England is only now beginning to exert her strength, as France has exerted hers for a year and a quarter.

I truly admire England for what she is doing; but I do not admire her for what she is not doing!

Now, as for what you say about President Wilson's policy. I do not believe that it is dictated by a belief that he could not carry the bulk of the country with him. I believe it is dictated by fear of the German-American vote, by fear of the immense pacifist and flapdoodle vote, and by the Jeffersonian-Buchanan tradition of timid avoidance of all physical danger, whether to the man or the nation. I am perfectly sure that, if I had been President and had acted as I should have acted about Belgium and the *Lusitania* and these bomb outrages in our munitions plants, the people would by a substantial majority, have been behind me. But if Abraham Lincoln, after the firing on Sumter, had announced that the Union people of the North might be "too proud to fight" and had then for three months confined his activities to adroit and subtle diplomatic notes written to Jefferson Davis, by the middle of summer the American people *would* have refused to fight. Your pacifists of the stamp of Massingham have done real damage here by encouraging our pacifists to think that cool-headed Englishmen were with them in their attitude of clamoring for peace and neutrality and their unseemly horror of war, when war is necessary to righteousness. *Sincerely yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S. The pacifists here, from Ford & Carnegie down, have really been pro-German. This includes all the especial allies of the English pacifists in the past. The men like Charles W. Elliot & Nicholas Murray Butler who have upheld Wilson and opposed preparedness on our part, altho in word anti-German, have in reality encouraged Wilson in his "neutral" policy which has been as much of an aid to Germany as he dared to make it. Support of Wilson is inconsistent with genuine opposition to Germany, or real upholding of the right.

Private

Oyster Bay, December 7, 1915

Dear Cabot: Of course I agree with you about Knox; but I am only trying to get somebody whom I can induce my people to support! Hadley I really believe better than Hughes — ugh! You must remember about Root that the leading Progressives (and I share their feeling) feel that his action in the Chicago Convention was morally exactly as bad as the actions for which very many Tammany and small Republican politicians who have committed election offenses are now serving or have served terms in Sing Sing. Under these circumstances you will see how very difficult it would be in any case short of a national cataclysm to get the Progressives to support him.

As you know, I feel that the course I have followed about hyphenated Americanism, and especially the German-American vote, is such as absolutely to preclude the possibility of nominating me as a candidate, even though there had been such a possibility before, which in my judgment was not the case. I have followed the course I have followed in the last year, because I thought some man ought to say the kind of things I have said, and that without regard to his own future, and I was the man peculiarly blocked out for the task.

I grinned when you suggested that I should follow Bird.¹ He is a trump. But he just sent on his son to the Progressive Executive meeting here, of which you disapproved, and the son did his best in the name of the father and by the direction of the father to get the meeting to issue a statement that unless the Republicans would nominate either Hughes or myself, the Progressives would run me independently. *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Your second letter has just come. For heaven's sake, do not imagine I hold any brief for Hadley or Hughes. I am simply doing my best to try to find some man whom we can get the Progressives to support if the Republicans nominate him. I did not like Hadley's attitude at all in 1912; but he voted squarely in the Convention and made a first-class speech about the packing of the delegates. When I see you, by the way, I will repeat to you a delightfully frank statement by Barnes in the lobby of one of the hotels when he was attending the Constitutional Convention last year, in which he explained with entire simplicity that the reason he was called in by Root and the others was that they found that they had, after everything possible, legitimate or semilegitimate, that could be done had been done, to face a majority of sixty in my favor; and that therefore drastic measures had to be taken to overcome it or rather do away with it.

As for Hughes, I thoroughly dislike him. He got me into the fight against Barnes; and then his memory proved conveniently short on the subject when

¹ Bird had announced that he would support Samuel W. McCall, the Republican candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, who was running on a moderately liberal platform.

the libel suit came up. He was very close with the *Evening Post* people; and I am not sure that he is all right about preparedness and defense and foreign policies generally. He never forgives a man who renders him effective support; and when he is in office he loathes the politicians who have elected him to office. I of course entirely agree with your views as to appointments to office.

I think Burton would be a very poor President. I think, however, there are some positions, Secretary of the Treasury, for instance, which he would fill with entire satisfaction. Root would be a capital Secretary of State, of course — and it would be fine to have you in the place. *Ever yours*

6036 • TO HAMLIN GARLAND

Garland Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 14, 1915

My dear Mr. Garland: I think Clare Thompson¹ is all right. In any event, my dear fellow, we have got to handle this preparedness issue just as Lincoln handled the fight for the Union and against slavery. There were undoubtedly corrupt contractors who backed Lincoln for improper reasons and backed the war against slavery and for the Union for improper reasons. But this did not prevent Lincoln fighting for the right even although it was possible and indeed certain that some of the men fighting beside him were not actuated by proper motives. Some of the munition manufacturers I know to be high-minded men who are behaving exactly like other good citizens. There are, doubtless, munitions manufacturers of whom this cannot be said. But as long as they are supporting a cause that is right, it certainly would not do for you and me to abandon the cause because of such support. *Sincerely yours*

6037 • TO JULIUS ROSENWALD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 15, 1915

*My dear Mr. Rosenwald:*¹ Mr. Low² showed me both your telegrams; and we were all a good deal concerned over them, for, my dear sir, you do not need to be told that the others are already your warm admirers and supporters and that now I too have become among the foremost of the number! We all of us ardently wished you had been with us on the train when we saw

¹ Clarence S. Thompson, chairman of the board of trustees of the American Defense Society. Roosevelt was on the advisory board and later honorary president of the society.

² Julius Rosenwald, Chicago merchant and philanthropist, president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, active in various Jewish charities, trustee of Hull House, a director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in 1915 one of the committee selecting a successor to Booker T. Washington — who had died in November — as head of Tuskegee Institute.

³ Seth Low.

Major Moton.³ I of course will have nothing to say in the action of the Committee of Five. Nevertheless, I wish to write you my impressions.

As you know, I went down to Tuskegee, believing that Mr. Scott⁴ should be given the place. I studied him carefully while there and studied the whole situation. I retain undiminished my regard and respect for him; but I have come positively to the conclusion that he is not able to meet the very onerous demands of the situation. I feel this so strongly that in case the Committee of Five do not agree on Major Moton, I shall very earnestly advise their extending their inquiries and looking throughout the Union to find the best man for the position. But in my judgment, after seeing and having a thoroughly satisfactory talk with Major Moton, there is no need for them to go farther. I am more impressed than I can well express with Major Moton. It is the greatest relief to me to say that I believe that if he is appointed we ensure for ourselves every reasonable probability of success in carrying on the great work of Booker Washington. I believe that he can run the institution. I believe that he will get on with the southern people as well as any negro now living — I bar Booker Washington because he was a genius such as does not arise in a generation. I believe that he will get on with the northern white men and be able to help us in getting the necessary funds. Finally, I believe that there is a good chance of his becoming what the President of Tuskegee should be — the leader of his race in this country. He has a very powerful and at the same time an engaging and attractive personality. He has great strength; and yet he is absolutely free from the bumptiousness or self-assertiveness which would at once ensure failure in his position. I cannot speak too strongly about the favorable impression he has made upon me.

Now, my dear Mr. Rosenwald, remember two things. Winter is on now and neither Perkins's Palisades Park nor my own place at Sagamore Hill is particularly attractive. But in the spring I very earnestly wish you to make a tour of Perkins's Palisades Park for the reasons I gave you and moreover if you are in New York at that time I want Mrs. Rosenwald and you to come out and take lunch with us at Sagamore Hill.

With regard, *Faithfully yours*

6038 • TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN KNOX

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, December 21, 1915

Dear Frank: I am immensely impressed by your article. It seems to me you have sized the situation up, with the exception that you put more importance than I do on the sentiment for myself. I believe that there is a very strong

³ Robert Russa Moton, an officer of Hampton Institute, 1890-1915; major for ten years in the Hampton Battalion; since 1908 secretary of the Negro Rural School Fund Board; vice-chairman of the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes; Booker T. Washington's successor as principal of Tuskegee.

⁴ Emmett Jay Scott, secretary of Tuskegee Institute.

and growing sentiment for the things for which pretty nearly alone as regards the public leaders I have been standing for the past year and a quarter. But the very men who are reluctantly coming to the conclusion that I am right will wish to relieve their feelings by being against me personally. It is a very old experience that when men finally have to pay heed to a prophecy they relieve their feelings by stoning the prophet. This is of importance only from the prophet's standpoint; and in this particular case the prophet does not give a hang!

You are entirely right in your statement that it would be useless to precipitate an open fight again; and it would be highly damaging to give the entirely erroneous impression that I am even receptively a candidate. I of course am naturally gratified if, as you suggest, it can be made known that there is a growth of sentiment in favor of my ideas and of what I stand for; and I think you are entirely right that the best thing to do at present is to encourage that growth of sentiment. I am very glad that you approve of the attitude I have taken. As for the German-Americans, I do not put any faith in their supposed change. The decent Americans who are of German birth or descent ought to and in the majority of cases ultimately will stand for what I represent, just as other citizens do and will stand. But the professional hyphenated German-Americans I shall smite with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon whenever I get the chance; and if these people prefer me to Wilson it must only be on the ground that they respect an open and efficient foe more than a timid and treacherous make-believe friend like Wilson who lacks the courage to be either for them or against them. *Faithfully yours*

6039 · TO MARY AUGUSTA ARNOLD WARD

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, December 27, 1915

*My dear Mrs. Ward:*¹ The war has been on the whole well presented in America from the French side. We do not think justice has been done to the English side. I attribute this in part to the rather odd working of the censorship in hands not accustomed to the censorship. I wish that some writer like yourself could, in a series of articles, put vividly before our people what the English people are doing, what the actual life of the men in the trenches is, what is actually being done by the woman who is left at home, what is actually being done by the straight and decent capitalist who is not concerned with making a profit but with serving his country and by the straight and decent laboring man who is not thinking of striking for higher wages but is trying to help his comrades in the trenches. What I would like our people to visualize is the effort, the resolution and the self-sacrifice of the English

¹ Mary Augusta Arnold Ward, daughter of the second Thomas Arnold. Better known as Mrs. Humphrey Ward, she was the author of *Robert Elsmere* (1888), *Marcella* (1894), and the translator of *Amiel's Journal* (1885). Active also in social work, she founded a settlement house in London, fought the woman-suffrage movement, and during the First World War worked for the Allied cause in this country.

men and women who are determined to see this war through. Just at present England is in much the same strait that we were in our Civil War toward the end of 1862 and during the opening months of 1863. That was the time when we needed to have our case put before the people of England — when men as diverse as Gladstone, Carlyle and the aftertime Marquis of Salisbury were all strongly against us. There is not a human being more fitted to present this matter as it should be presented than you are. I do hope you will undertake the task. *Faithfully yours*

6040 • TO HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Personal

Oyster Bay, December 28, 1915

Dear Governor Johnson: As I have been telling everybody, whenever I get the chance, that if the people of this country had any wisdom they would put you in the Presidency, I cannot resist sending you the enclosed copy of a letter I have sent to a very good fellow who is the Washington correspondent of the *Detroit News*.¹ I also enclose a copy of a letter² I have been sending around generally.

Give my warm regards to Mrs. Johnson and to all the children and grandchildren. *Faithfully yours*

6041 • TO JOSEPH MEDILL MC CORMICK

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, December 29, 1915

Dear Medill: I have just seen Ted and Willard Straight and some of the other people especially interested in the matter here and have been consulting with Nick Longworth, who is in close touch with Gussie Gardner — Gardner being especially interested in the fight for preparedness in Congress. There is a general feeling I find that after my Philadelphia speech on the 20th¹ it would be well to wait for a couple of months until the situation in Congress develops. Nick Longworth believes that in all probability there will be a serious row among the Democrats by that time and that this row might make it of great importance that Mann and I should speak together on the same platform, a thing which you would be peculiarly fitted to arrange. But

¹ In this letter Roosevelt said that if the Republicans were wise they would nominate Johnson, but that this was too much to expect. He also declared that what he had heard of Knox's policies toward Mexico disqualified Knox in his opinion for the Presidency; see Roosevelt to George E. Miller, December 27, 1915, Roosevelt Mss.

² Stating that "it is not possible for me to write my opinion as to the course that ought to be followed next year" and "if you will consult the Progressive leaders with whom I have been acting for four years and with whom I intend to continue to act, you will find that they and I are in hearty and complete accord." — Roosevelt to Charles W. Fear, December 14, 1915, Roosevelt Mss.

¹ Addressing the National Americanization Committee, Roosevelt spoke on "Fear God and Take Your Own Part." This program, he explained, made preparedness compulsory and prohibited hyphenated loyalties.

keep in touch with Ted and Willard Straight before committing me to anything and, if possible, before committing yourself to anything.² *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Your second letter has just come. There is simply endless confusion on this subject at present. Wait till you come on here see Willard Straight and Ted and then perhaps something can be done.

6042 · TO CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 31, 1915

My dear Bonaparte: I hope you will go out to Chicago to the meeting of the Progressive National Committee on January 11th. This is not a time for mere head-in-the-air politics. On the other hand it most emphatically is still less a time for sordid and base politics of a purely materialistic kind. We ought not to take a position so impossible that we shall merely arouse derision in view of the gravity of the situation. On the other hand, we ought not to copy the example of the Republicans in trying to make the tariff an issue because they think that by doing it they can avoid all unpleasant questions. My own view is that we ought to lay stress upon the fact that the overwhelming issue at this moment is whether we are or are not a real nation, able to command unflinching loyalty from all our citizens and to secure the respect of outside powers. We want to know whether or not it means something to be an American; and we should take our position unequivocally for the larger Americanism. Military preparedness is an essential. Social and industrial preparedness stand as equally essential. But these must be taken as adjuncts to and included in the question of the large and real Americanism.¹
Always yours

² The Republicans and Progressives were preparing to profit, as they ultimately did, from the split among Democrats over Wilson's preparedness program. Led by Mann, Gardner, Lodge, and Root, the political opposition in both Houses criticized the inadequacies of the President's plans. By vigorously advocating these plans throughout the country in 1916, Wilson caused his Secretary of War, who thought the program too mild, to resign and estranged the many agrarian Democrats who considered it too harsh. Ultimately he had his way, possibly, in the circumstances, winning as much from Congress as could be won, but gaining thereby too little, too late. For a detailed discussion, giving Wilson the benefit of every doubt, see Baker, *Wilson*, vol. VI, ch. v.

¹ Bonaparte did not attend the January 11 meeting which nevertheless adopted a statement of party purpose consonant in all respects with Roosevelt's desires. Written by William Allen White, Herbert Knox Smith, William Hamlin Childs, E. A. Van Valkenburg, and Chester H. Rowell, the statement pledged the party first of all to "a broader Nationalism, to make possible an effective programme of social and industrial justice at home and the protection of American citizens and rights abroad." It called also for "complete preparedness, not merely in military armament, but preparedness that will mobilize our economic resources, agricultural, industrial and financial, a preparedness that will unify American citizenship and create a loyalty to our institutions . . . , that preparedness which . . . views the doctrine of peace-at-any-price as futile, cowardly and unrighteous." Castigating Wilson for his unpre-

Private

New York, January 6, 1916

Dear Cabot: I am afraid that Mr. Garrett Newkirk¹ is an aristocrat who would not be satisfied with my views of Lincoln. As he thinks you are responsible for the chapter, I believe I shall with immense satisfaction leave him under the delusion and if ever I meet him I will express great sympathy with his indignation against you for having given the impression that Lincoln was not a Boston Brahmin. I shall also insinuate that you had secret proof that Lincoln's real name was Montmorency Stuyvesant (I trust you notice the Knickerbocker view of aristocratic nomenclature) but that you burned these papers for some unknown but sinister reason.

As for Mr. Cobb,² I wish to heaven that whoever was President would put you in as Secretary of State. You and Root are the two men in the Republican party (there are no men in the Democratic party) fit to be Secretaries of State. You are more fitted than Root is (altho I suppose Root would be the choice of your Republican «candidate») and this entirely aside from your general character. He has just made a speech before some Peace Society or other in which he exalts public opinion as being able to restrain the most powerful wrongdoing nation.³ He chooses his language very carefully so that if cross-examined about it he could make out quite a case for himself; but the general effect of his speech, as he of course knows, is to encourage the foolish people who believe that it is possible to devise patent substitutes for armed strength and to rely on "international public opinion" to stop wrongdoing. This is the very worst blow that could be struck at adequate preparedness. For Root to advocate universal service and at the same time furnish ammunition to the opponents of military preparedness is a poor business; and the most efficient way to furnish them ammunition is to persuade them that international public opinion is a substitute for armed force. In this war it has been absolutely powerless excepting in so far as it was backed by

paredness and also criticizing his New Freedom, particularly the persistent "destructive disruption of efficient business organizations," the statement pledged the Progressives to make an effort to join the Republicans under "a common leadership" if the Republican convention were "responsive to the patriotic spirit that brought the Republican Party into being."

¹ Garrett Newkirk, Los Angeles dentist, former dean of the College of Dentistry at the University of Southern California, author of *Rhymes of the States* (1896), "a geography for boys and girls," and *Aesop's Fables Retold* (1916), had complained to Lodge about Roosevelt's sketch of Abraham Lincoln in *Hero Tales from American History*.

² Some "sensible and discerning man" whose letter to Lodge, forwarded to Roosevelt, exists no longer. He may have been Roosevelt's Harvard classmate, Henry Ives Cobb.

³ The subject of Root's talk, given at a dinner sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Pan-American Scientific Congress on December 30, 1915, was "The Spread of International Law in the Americas."

strength or as there was reason to fear that it would be backed by strength. Root knows this perfectly well. *Ever yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S. Thank Heaven you are in the senate! As an American I shudder with horror and bitter contempt when I read such speeches as those of Stone and Works.⁴ Gussie has done finely also.⁵ Can't you get Wadsworth to come out on the right side? ⁶ Is there no patriotism or national self respect left among our people?

6044 • TO GARDNER LUDWIG HARDING

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, January 7, 1916

*My dear Mr. Harding:*¹ For your private information I send you a letter from E. A. Rumely of the New York *Evening Mail*.² Dr. Rumely is of German descent. He has made a very thorough study of German methods and has much confidence in his knowledge of the causes that have led to Germany's success in industrial matters. It is evident that this problem cannot be settled by any offhand statement that the United States should itself own and build the munition plants. Much study should be undertaken before we even announce what I am inclined to think we shall ultimately have to announce, that the United States should have one or more good-sized plants west of the Alleghenies which would serve for regulative purposes.³ At present I am very strongly of the opinion that to advocate government ownership of

⁴ On January 5, William J. Stone, John D. Works, and Lodge spoke on two resolutions, one placing an embargo on arms and munitions, the other — introduced by Senator Gore — prohibiting the issuance of passports to Americans who planned to travel on armed belligerent ships. Works, a California Republican, joined Stone and other Bryan Democrats in supporting the resolutions, which Lodge and the Administration forces opposed. Wilson, after one of the bitterest political battles of his career, finally succeeded in having the resolutions tabled; see Baker, *Wilson*, vol. VI, ch. v.

⁵ Gardner in the House had attacked pacifists, hyphenates, and the Administration. On January 7 he made an assault upon the arms embargo resolution.

⁶ Senator Wadsworth finally voted for the motion tabling the Gore resolution.

¹ Gardner Ludwig Harding, a newspaper correspondent who had just returned from China.

² Edward A. Rumely, vice-president and secretary of the Mail and Express Company, publishers of the New York *Evening Mail*, had purchased the paper in 1915. Later it was discovered that the money for the transaction had been supplied by the German government. In the summer of 1918 Rumely was arrested for failing to report this fact to the alien property custodian. Government agents then maintained that Rumely's office had been used to disseminate German propaganda in the United States. Rumely's trial dragged on until December 1920 when he was sentenced to a year in prison for violating the Trading with the Enemy Act. In the trial his correspondence with Roosevelt was used as evidence of his loyalty and good intentions.

³ Two weeks later at Philadelphia Roosevelt advocated such a regulatory plan. He further recommended strict federal supervision of all private munitions plants. "I wish to see the plants *controlled* by the Government, somewhat along the German lines," he emphasized to another correspondent; see Roosevelt to Fred P. Barnett, January 19, 1916, Roosevelt Mss.

these plants would merely be a very effective method of sidetracking the whole question of national preparedness.

For the arguments in favor of the scheme would have to be very elaborate; and with my present knowledge I am inclined to say that they would have to be qualified so as to have it clearly understood that only a small proportion of the work was done by the government, the rest being done by private firms under government supervision and control. Even about this statement we have not yet got the information that would warrant our dogmatizing. The people that we would attract by such a program would, I believe, be comparatively few, compared to the number whom we would completely puzzle and possibly alienate. It would be a very bad thing to shift the discussion from one about preparedness to one about government ownership. I want preparedness. That is the vital matter. It is not of the least consequence to Germany and England at this moment whether their munitions come from private plants or from public plants. The vital point is that they shall have the munitions. *Sincerely yours*

6045 • TO MADELEINE ZABRISKIE DOTY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 7, 1916

*My dear Miss Doty:*¹ Of course I very heartily support you in the work you are doing for prison reform, especially as it affects the child who is to become the man or the woman with whom our courts most often have to deal. I was particularly interested in the juvenile court exhibit that you prepared for the Child Welfare exhibition of 1908; and ever since then I have been in touch with your work concerning children's courts, reformatories and prisons. Especially I sympathize with what you are trying to accomplish for the reformatories for children. Of course, like everyone else who has studied the subject at all, I wish to see the family relations kept up to the very utmost extent possible and the institution substituted for the family only when it is absolutely necessary. Now and then the mother, because of drink or of brutality becomes so unsexed, so dehumanized, that she cannot be trusted to have anything more to do with her child; but just so far as it is possible every effort should be made to keep the child with the mother and when the child must be sent to an institution to keep it in full touch with the mother.

With all the good wishes for your efforts to arouse the mothers of the United States, the women of the United States for the cause of practical common sense, humanity, and for reformatories that shall really reform, I am *Very sincerely yours*

¹ Madeleine Zabriskie Doty, New York lawyer, teacher, and reformer; at this time secretary of the Children's Court Committee of the Russell Sage Foundation, member of the Prison Reform Commission of New York; later secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and editor of its journal; author of *Society's Misfits* (1916), *Behind the Battle Line* (1918).

Oyster Bay, January 13, 1916

My dear Captain Sims: I asked Congressman Bennet¹ if it would not be possible to have you testify before the House Committee as to our Naval needs.² He informs me that he has made the request. I earnestly hope that you will appear. I told him that you and Cameron Winslow, and one or two others, represented, to my mind, the forces that, if given a chance, would make our Navy literally the equal of any Navy in the World; and that, in addition to your high professional capacity, you had the invaluable quality of telling the truth, without any regard to whether you thought your inferiors or superiors would or would not like it. I told him I could testify about this in my own case; that I also knew you had done it in the case of the Secretary of the Navy, Meyer; that you had never said anything because you thought I would like to hear it, and had not hesitated to tell me things that you believed would be disagreeable to me, if you thought that the interests of the Navy, that is, that the truth required you to do so.

I need not tell you that our people are scandalously ignorant about the Navy. They think that if we have enough ships on paper we are all right. They know nothing about fleet-maneuvering, gun practice, the preparation of a strategic plan in defense, the co-ordination of the State, War and Navy Departments, etc., etc. Lord Roberts tried in vain to wake England to her desperate needs. I very much wish that you and Cameron Winslow could wake our people up to their needs. *Faithfully yours*

6047 · TO WILLARD DICKERMAN STRAIGHT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 13, 1916

Dear Willard: I have read the editorial in the *New Republic*, to which you called my attention, and was genuinely interested in it.¹ It seemed to me very understanding; and it described just the kind of action I would have taken, if President. Of course, I don't believe that Mr. Wilson uses guns! I think Germany felt that America had a few guns and would force Wilson ultimately to use them, and that this caused its action, more or less; but, overwhelmingly, the chief factor was the British Navy.

I am going to think over what it says about my overstating my attitude. I do not believe I do overstate; but I will go over my language and see if I

¹ William Stiles Bennet.

² The House Committee on Naval Affairs was preparing a bill to meet Wilson's demand for a five-year expansion program. Both Sims and Winslow testified with candor and at great length on the physical and administrative needs of a rapidly expanding navy. The Administration, after a legislative debate similar to that produced by Roosevelt's fight for his navy bill in 1908, finally obtained the desired program.

¹ "The Roosevelt Method," *New Republic*, 5:210-211 (January 1, 1916).

have done so. Of course, I have got to be emphatic to attract attention. We are not in a rose-water parlor pink-tea crisis at present, and what I am trying to do is to get the American people to think about its position and to face its responsibilities.

In the Santiago fighting I now and then had to use very strong language, indeed, in order to attract the attention of the men and etch with instant effect upon their conscience just exactly what I expected them to do and to do quickly. I never have addressed them in that manner in private life; and I was not really overstating the case; I was emphasizing it!

Love to Dorothy! *Faithfully yours*

6048 • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Printed ¹

Private.

Oyster Bay, January 26, 1916

Dear Cabot: I am so out of sympathy with what seems to be the prevailing currents of American opinion that I keep my judgment suspended as regards the political wisdom of certain party moves. Apparently the Republicans are expecting to beat Wilson by keeping as neutral as he is as regards international duty, by supporting him in his sham-preparedness program and letting him pose before the country as the author of that program and as the champion of preparedness, and by then trusting that on the tariff and by some more or less secret understanding with the German vote they may be able to replace him by some one to whom the Germans won't object, and who has not declared himself in any way that will hurt anyone's feelings on any of the questions that are of real and vital concern to this country. From the standpoint of present party success, this may be all right. It may be that such a course is the one most certain or most likely to result in replacing Wilson in the White House by a Republican. From my standpoint it would make it a matter of entire indifference whether under such circumstances Wilson succeeded himself or a Republican succeeded him. Such tactics may be politically sound. That they are bad tactics from the standpoint of the country I am convinced.

The country generally has taken the action of the Security League, especially because of your speech (which I believe they misinterpret) and of the letters of Root and Stimson (which they interpret correctly) as being an emphatic endorsement of Wilson's attitude on preparedness, including the preposterous Continental Army.² The *Times* and *World* treat

¹Lodge, II, 471-474.

²At a meeting of the National Security League on January 22 Lodge indirectly, and Root, Stimson, and the league openly, endorsed Garrison's plan for a continental army of 400,000 volunteers. Republican leaders, believing this plan the best Wilson could get from Congress, far preferred it to the counterproposal suggested by James Hay, chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, merely to enlarge the National Guard. However, when Garrison resigned on February 10, primarily because Wilson failed to support his plan against Hay's, the Republicans went over to the attack. On February 15 Root, in a powerful speech before a New York State

it as a great Wilson victory and an endorsement of him as the non-partisan hero and champion of American self-defense and even speak of alleged plans by Republicans to follow him around the country and support him in his attitude. If he deserved such support, I should be glad to see him get it. Of course supporting Garrison is supporting Wilson, and vice versa, just as is the case with Daniels. I think most emphatically that the proposed plan for defense is all nonsense. Garrison does advocate a small and insufficient increase in the regular army. For this he should be supported while at the same time with the utmost emphasis it should be pointed out that he does not come anywhere near advocating a sufficient increase in the regular army. The Continental Army is a mere make-shift. It is an adaptation of Haldane's Territorials. To adopt it will do almost no good from the military standpoint and will do very great mischief from the standpoint of persuading our people that something real has been done, when as a matter of fact, it has not been done. Wilson does not care a rap for these facts. He is astute and conscienceless. He counts upon the fact that failure of the Continental plan cannot possibly be shown prior to November next and that therefore he will gain the credit for it during the campaign. The Republicans have done everything they possibly can to give him this credit. He desires to have our people believe that the choice is between his plan and Bryan's; he wishes to stand as Douglas stood when Lincoln opposed him; Greely then supported Douglas, just as Root and Stimson have now supported Wilson.

I know that as regards the Security League, people who read carefully what is said, will understand that it comes out for universal military service and that its endorsement of Wilson's or Garrison's plans may not really have included an endorsement of the Continental Army. But the phraseology is such that the average newspaper, and of course the average newspaper reader, take the net result to be an endorsement of Wilson's plan and of the Continental Army. As I say, this may be, from the political standpoint, all right. The Republicans may have decided that by keeping quiet on international relations and at the utmost standing by Wilson when he differs from his party on these relations and that by refusing to stand for true preparedness and tagging behind Wilson in his half-measures — really one-twentieth measures — they are doing the politic thing. Taft has taken both of these views all along. Of course, such a policy means that men like myself will take absolutely no interest whether Wilson or a man nominated against him as a result of these tactics wins. My own belief is that under these conditions most of the Progressives of my stamp will support Wilson. I suppose I would merely vote in the air. It is entirely possible that the

Republican Convention, criticized, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, Wilson's handling of preparedness and European diplomacy. Shortly thereafter, Stimson, Wickersham, and other moderate Republicans joined in condemning the Administration.

Republicans may win on this basis; but it seems to me to be a pretty poor business from the standpoint of the country. Whether my support is worth anything, is for the Republicans to judge; but they certainly won't get it on those terms. In any event, Root and Stimson by their letters to the Security League have started Wilson on his tour with their endorsement. They are doing all they can to put the people behind him. Personally, I regard Wilson as the real foe, not Bryan at all.

Gussie has just written me a very pleasant letter. Thank him for it from me. I alluded to him in my letter to the Security League, because in military matters he has been almost the only man who has made a real fight for something real. You and Senator Williams seem to be the only two Senators who have ventured to stand up for ordinary international decency and the performance of American duty; I wish you would give him my regards. LeRoy Percy wrote me an awfully nice letter. *Faithfully yours*

6049 • TO ANNA ROOSEVELT COWLES

Cowles Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, January 27, 1916

Darling Bye, I shouldn't think there would be any place (I know there ought *not* to be any place) where one can shoot as late as April 1st. But there may be turkey shooting somewhere. I'll see Charles Sheldon¹ and ask him; he's almost the only man I can think of who might know. I quite agree with you that Sheffield is right in wishing to spend some of his vacation in such fashion, rather than all in gilded halls. I fear there have many changes since Elliott's trips nearly forty years ago.

Edith and I sail on Feb 8th for Barbadoes and Trinidad, to be absent five or six weeks. It will be good for her; and it will save me just so much pointless fussing and resultless worry. I am wholly out of sympathy with the currents of public opinion. The Republicans are very little better than the Democrats; Wilson is infinitely more astute than Root, Cabot and the other Republican leaders, and I do not see that their convictions are much deeper than his. They are letting the fight, in the popular mind, be between him and Bryan; neither on defense nor on foreign affairs do they venture to take any stand for decency that will sharply differentiate between him and them. They are all of them — Democrats and Republicans — timid, absorbed in their own selfish hopes, shortsighted or indifferent about the country's honor and future welfare, cowed by the German Government and afraid of the German vote.

¹ Charles Sheldon, explorer and hunter in the Yukon Territory and Alaska since 1902; member of the New York Zoological Society and the Boone and Crockett, and Century clubs; author of *The Wilderness of the Upper Yukon* (1911) and *The Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast Islands* (1912).

Next month two of my books come out — "Fear God and Take Your Own Part," international, and "Holiday's in the Open,"² literary.

If Sheffield would look into some of the sporting magazines he might find an abstract of the winter game laws of the various states.

Love to Will. If by any chance he is in New York on Thursday Feb 3d I wish he would come out here to lunch; Admiral Bradley Fiske³ is coming.
Ever yours

6050 · TO FRANKLIN BOUND HALL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 28, 1916

*My dear Hall:*¹ You enclose me an editorial setting forth that Mr. Arthur Capper,² Governor of Kansas and editor of the *Topeka Capital*, is conducting a violent campaign against national preparedness, that is, a campaign against the honor and interest of the United States, against manliness, against everything for which Washington and Lincoln stood, and that, as an incident of this campaign, Governor Capper has made certain statements about me. These statements are that the United States was more explicitly committed with regard to the neutrality and independence of Korea than with regard to the neutrality of Belgium but that when Japan invaded Korea, although I demanded of Japan what its action meant, I was content with Japan's evasive answer; that I, as President, adopted no aggressive policy when the Kishinev massacres occurred and that I did not protest against the action of the French in Morocco.

Mr. Capper is engaged in a fight against American preparedness. He believes that it will pay him therefore to be unpatriotic. His statements about me are untrue and he knows them to be untrue. But I doubt if there is much moral culpability in his stating these untruths, because he is an unpatriotic man; and most unpatriotic men are weak and timid men; and

² *A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open* (New York, 1916), Nat. Ed. III, literary essays and sketches that had, in large part, already appeared in the *Outlook*, *Scribner's*, and the *Ladies' Home Journal*.

³ Bradley Allen Fiske, Rear Admiral, U.S.N., had in the course of his long career served under Evans on the *Yorktown*, been cited by Dewey for "heroic conduct" at the battle of Manila, commanded the *Minneapolis*, *Arkansas*, *Tennessee*, and three battleship divisions of the Atlantic Fleet. From 1913 to 1915 he was aid for operations in the Navy Department. Fiske made significant contributions in the development of accurate gunfire at sea. But his greatest work for the navy was done not in the field of invention but in the area of sound naval administration. He was the moving spirit in the effort to obtain, in law, sufficient authority for the Chief of Naval Operations, and, until forced by the strange prejudices of Josephus Daniels to resign, he served as an imaginative and forceful aid for operations.

¹ Franklin Bound Hall, Harvard '80, teacher of oratory at the Boston English High School.

² Arthur Capper, owner and publisher of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, *Capper's Weekly*, *Capper's Farmer*, the *Household Magazine*, and other periodicals; Republican Governor of Kansas, 1915-1919; United States Senator, 1919-1949; throughout his long career able, insular, and unchanging.

most weak and timid men are untruthful men; and the untruthfulness of a weak and timid man, although not particularly edifying, is perhaps hardly as serious as if he possessed a strong character.

It is of course the veriest nonsense to make any comparison whatever between Korea and Morocco on the one hand and Belgium on the other. As regards Morocco the United States undertook no obligation of any kind, as of course Mr. Capper knows, if he knows anything. The country was in a condition of such sodden anarchy that all the social bonds were loosed and every kind of civil and social war occurred. The Spaniards were forced to war with the Moroccans and the French went to war with them after having suffered infinitely greater provocation than we suffered last summer when we sent our armed forces against Haiti. We were no more called upon to protest about the action of the Spaniards or the French than the Spaniards or the French were to protest about our action in Haiti; and this of course Mr. Capper knows.

As for the Kishinev incident Mr. Capper either knows nothing or else he knows that I and I alone among all the heads of great nations at that time took the only action that it was possible to take. There was some question as to whether I did not go too far; but there was no question on the part of any man of both honesty and intelligence as to my having gone far enough.

As for Korea, Mr. Capper apparently does not know or else conceals the fact that the only action that could have been taken by the United States about Korea would have had to be taken either before or after I was President. Before I was President the Russians practically established a protectorate over Korea. When war broke out between Russia and Japan, Japan acted against the Russians in Korea. The formal action about the abolition of Korean independence took place in 1910, long after I had ceased to be President; but the essential action which alone could have justified any protest by the United States was taken years before I became President, when Korea either invited or submitted to Russia's practically establishing a protectorate over it. If Belgium had invited or submitted to the establishment of a protectorate over it by France, neither I nor anyone else would have expected the United States to interfere or protest if Germany or any other power had in its turn disregarded Belgium's neutrality. Any obligation by outside powers is of course dependent upon the power concerned itself standing for its own rights. If it becomes disorderly and misbehaves itself, if it shows itself impotent to do its duty or to stand up for its own rights, it is of course impossible to expect other powers to aid it. I knew nothing of the reasons that actuated my predecessors in office as regards Korea; but the United States was estopped from all action in reference to Korea, because Korea had accepted a Russian protectorate. It would of course have been not merely improper but absurd for the United States to interfere to protect people who themselves were guilty of wrongdoing and who made no effort whatever either to fulfill their obliga-

tions or to protect their rights. If people will not themselves try to protect their own rights, it is useless for others to try to protect them. I have defended Belgium not Luxembourg, as the Belgians fought, and Luxembourg did not; Luxembourg, like Korea . . .

The essential trouble was that the Korean population was composed exclusively of men like Mr. Capper and his fellow pacifists. These men cannot fight and do not tell the truth — and Mr. Capper is now heartily endeavoring to make it impossible for America to fight for its rights and he is not telling the truth. Whether people are old-school Koreans or old-school Chinese or Americans like Mr. Capper matters little, for in all three cases they are working in the same spirit for the undoing of their several countries. They are working to undermine the national spirit and to establish a thoroughly contemptible type of national character. In China the pigtail has come to be recognized as symbolical of the old-school, professional-pacifist, antipreparedness, type of Chinese who treat untruthfulness as a substitute for courage. It is to be regretted that we have no similar external badge which could be worn by Mr. Capper and his fellow pacifists as the outward and visible sign of their inward and spiritual disgrace. *Sincerely yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S. This letter is for you privately, and is not to be published without my consent. At present Mr. Capper and his falsehoods are forgotten. If it in the future becomes worth while to notice such falsehoods when uttered by somebody else, I may then make use of this letter. Meanwhile I'll be glad to have you show it to Albert Bushnell Hart.

6051 · TO ISAAC WAYNE MAC VEAGH

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, January 29, 1916

My dear Mr. MacVeagh: That is a very kind and friendly letter of yours. Not only does your judgment agree with mine but you will be amused to know that it agrees with that of Boies Penrose!

I am a strong believer under most circumstances of getting on by compromise and agreement — normally it is impossible to get along in other fashion. I am a strong believer in being practical and working with your fellows, which is another way of saying of working with the organization. But now and then the time comes when it is quite impossible to compromise and do your duty to the nation; and now and then the time comes when a man must hoist the black flag and sink or swim, without regard to what his fellows think, for the cause in which he with all his heart believes. In my judgment we are in a great world crisis. No other public man has ventured to tell the truth of Germany, of the pacifists, of the German-Americans, of Wilson. I have told it and shall tell it as strongly as I know how and without regard to its effect upon me. When I adopted this course, I did it deliberately, believing that in all human probability it would render me

unavailable for any office. I did not wish any office; but it is a man's duty, before he takes a position, to consider whether or not his taking it renders it impossible for him to be run for a position where he could do good service. I did consider this. I felt that the pacifists, the professional German-Americans, the shortsighted and uninformed and ease-loving people generally needed to be told what their duty was and that it would have to be told in ways that would make it impossible for the man telling it to avoid incurring their bitter animosity. I have followed this course, believing that it would in all probability render it out of the question to nominate me for the Presidency. It would be quite impossible to nominate and elect me unless this nation were in heroic mood and it were possible to appeal to that mood. I see no signs of such possibility.

What I hope is that you are right and that I have rendered Wilson's re-election impossible. But I furthermore hope that this does not mean that the Republicans will put up some man who in international matters, in such vital matters as preparedness, and in the affairs of the soul generally, will represent no improvement on Wilson. I only hope they will put up some man whom I and those like me can cordially support.

With warm regards to Mrs. MacVeagh, *Sincerely yours*

6052 · TO ANNA ROOSEVELT COWLES

Cowles Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, February 3, 1916

Darling Bye, I have been unable to find out anything about a shooting place for March or April; I am sorry.

Herbert Smith is a trump. I most earnestly hope the Republicans will *not* nominate me; for my belief is that the country is not in heroic mood; and unless it *is* in heroic mood and willing to put honor and duty ahead of safety, I would be beaten if nominated.

Wilson is a very adroit and able (but not forceful) hypocrite; and the Republican leaders have neither courage nor convictions and therefore can do little against him.

I do wish Will could have come to lunch; thank him for his note to me. We'll let you know as soon as we return; I hope you'll be in N. Y.
Ever yours

6053 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 4, 1916

Dear Cabot: I really thank you for your long and very interesting and satisfactory letter of February 1st. Now, may I write you very frankly in return. The first allusion in your address was an allusion of praise to the administration, praise of Wilson. The impression produced upon one staunch Republican, a prominent man who was present, a great friend of yours,

whose name I do not give because it is not necessary, was that you had upheld Garrison's plan, that you were standing by Garrison. The papers, as far as I saw, simply took those first few lines, and, if they noticed them at all, spoke of you as approving of Garrison, which was accepted as being approval of Wilson. The *World* and the *Times* did this. But you were not "played up." Root and Stimson were played up. They were played up editorially as well as in the news columns as having endorsed the Wilson policy of preparedness. Wilson started on his swing-around-the-circle with the popular impression that the Republicans who were patriotic had endorsed his preparedness plans, that the fight in their view was between the Wilson Democrats aided by the Wilson Republicans such as Lodge and Stimson and on the other side the Bryan Democrats aided by the Bryan Republicans and Bryan Progressives. (Cleve Dodge, who is Wilson's great backer, met (Shaffer the Chicago editor) a close friend of mine, the other day and said to him with a grin, "The Republicans are behind Wilson, excepting of course the few who are behind Bryan, and now it only remains for Roosevelt to admit he has been outgeneraled and to come in and make it unanimous.") Taft is not a very important man but he has done some real damage by his consistent backing of Wilson — and after all he does not get the Supreme Court and sees it given to Brandeis! I believe Root and Stimson really wish Wilson defeated at least if they can get some Republican (like Root) of their choice for the Presidency; but both of them would be wise to remember that it is difficult to defeat a man by agreeing with him.

Of course, the fundamental fact is that the real foes of preparedness in this country are its make-believe friends who are for a half or rather for a tenth measure of preparedness, of sham preparedness. Bryan is not the real foe. He and his followers, including his Republican and Progressive followers, are too unspeakably silly permanently to delude the country. It is Wilson who is the real danger. Uncle Sam finds himself unarmed, among nations each of which is armed with a high-power rifle. Bryan says he should not have any weapon. Wilson says that this is all wrong; that Uncle Sam should be armed; that he is in great danger; that there is need that he should be amply prepared for self-defense; and that therefore he should be given a muzzle-loading flintlock musket. Now, we ought to make our people understand that it is really rather more dangerous to send a man armed only with a muzzle-loading flintlock musket against a man with a high-power rifle than it is to send him totally unarmed.

You know at least as well as I do that the public cannot take in an etching. They want something along the lines of a circus poster. They do not wish fine details, and it is really not to be expected that they should see them. They want the broad strokes of the brush. What is needed is not praise of Garrison on the two or three minor points where he is right, but exposure of the administration because it is all wrong on the navy, because it is 95 per cent wrong on the army.

As for what you say of the Progressives you are entirely right.*¹ For the last eighteen months I have been warring against the shortsighted and unpatriotic Progressives just as much as on the shortsighted and unpatriotic Republicans and Democrats. I believe that relatively to the total vote there was a larger percentage of German-American than of native-American Progressives, because the Germans could understand better than the native Americans the industrial and economic Progressive program. I cheerfully forfeited the good will of these men and of the David Starr Jordan and Jane Addams type of native-American Progressive. In California last summer I found that the two strongest antipreparedness papers were the two leading Progressive papers. One of them asked me to have a joint debate with David Starr Jordan about preparedness. I suggested as a substitute that David Starr Jordan should debate with Abe Ruef as to which was the more noxious member of the community. The editor's name was Fremont Older.

As I have told you, I am not in any way in touch with American opinion. I know that a year and a half ago, when I started to deal with the problems of the great war and of Mexico, I had a practically solid public opinion against me. I believe I now have an appreciable public opinion with me. It is, however, merely an appreciable minority. Whether it is five or ten or fifteen per cent I do not know. It may be that the Republicans may win along the lines indicated in my previous letter. If so, I do not think the victory will be worth having from the public standpoint. It may be and, I am inclined to think, is very probable that Wilson with his adroit, unscrupulous cunning, his readiness to about-face, his timidity about any manly assertion of our rights, and his pandering to the feelings of those who love ease and the chance of material profit, and his lack of all conviction and willingness to follow every gust of popular opinion, will be supported by the mass of our fellow countrymen in any event. This will no more make me think he is right than the election of Pierce and Buchanan makes me think the majority of the Americans were right in the decade that led up to the Civil War. Personally, I wish now (we) the Republicans would take the right stand, hoist the flag for national honor and national duty and sink or swim as the issue of the battle might determine and without regret. I believe the machine is tending towards Hughes. If, as I hope, he will put in Root as Secy. of State; and that before his nomination, as he cannot speak for himself, his sponsors will be able, publicly and authoritatively, to announce in reasonable detail, his convictions on the really vital issues before us.

Now, as for what you say about myself. I do not know whether anyone will believe it; but whether they do or not I am absolutely sincere in saying

¹ Lodge had written: "The worst crowd we have to deal with are the so-called Progressive Senators. Almost all of them are for the embargo, — I think all. They are not the supporters of preparedness; and we can hardly count on them for anything." — Lodge, II, 475.

that the course I am following and have followed has been taken absolutely without regard to my own interests or the interests of any other individual. No politician desiring political preference would enter on a campaign to alienate the German-American vote and the pacifist vote and to wake up our people to unpleasant facts by telling them unpleasant truths. My judgment is now and has been from the beginning that this course would render me impossible as a candidate. Of two things at any rate I am sure. In the first place I not only do not desire but I will not take the nomination if it comes as the result of manipulation or of any maneuvers which would seem to make it appear that I am striving, for my own personal aggrandizement, to secure it. Unless there is a popular feeling in the Republican party and in the country at large such as to make the Republican leaders feel that, not for my sake but for the sake of the party and the country, it is imperative to nominate me, why I won't even consider accepting the nomination. In the next place it is utterly idle to nominate me if the country is in a mood either of timidity or of that base and complacent materialism which finds expression in the phrase "Safety first." If the country is not determined to put honor and duty ahead of safety, then the people most emphatically do not wish me for President and the party cannot afford to run me for President; for I will not take back by one finger's breadth anything I have said during the last eighteen months about national and international duty or apologize for anything I did while I was President. Unless the country is somewhere near a mood of at least half-heroism it would be utterly useless to nominate me. I do not, as a matter of fact, think that there would have been war if I had been President but if, in order to stop the murder of American women and children on the high seas or in Mexico it had been necessary to go to war, I would have gone to war, (in thirty minutes) and if taking the action I would have taken, as outlined in my speech last Sunday, on behalf of Belgium when Germany invaded Belgium had brought war, I would have accepted war rather than refuse to act as in my judgment the national honor demanded. *Ever yours*

* I have just received word through Gifford Pinchot that the county progressives of Pennsylvania, and the German-American progressives, are solidly against me, and have sent back word that this is an additional reason why I should continue my crusade.

6054 • TO CHARLES C. BULL

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, February 4, 1916

Dear Charlie: ¹ I am very glad to get your letter. I do not think that anything would wake Wilson up. He is exactly in the attitude of Artemus Ward's hero, who would be willing to see all his wife's relatives sacrificed on the

¹ Charles C. Bull, trooper with the Rough Riders at San Juan, at this time assistant chief ranger at Yosemite National Park.

altar of his country. Thank Heaven, for a year and a half I have been hammering him and his policies at a time when I was pretty lonely in so doing. In marital affairs, by the way, the worthy gentleman's motto seems to be "My wife is dead! Long live my wife!" His conduct in Mexico, his conduct in the face of Germany, and his conduct in the face of the hyphenated Americans at home, stamps him as being, on the whole, the most wretched creature we have had in the Presidential chair; and we have had some pretty weak sitters there. *Sincerely yours*

6055 · TO. MARJORIE STERRETT

*Printed*¹

Oyster Bay, February 5, 1916

*Dear little Miss Marjorie,*² On behalf of my four grandchildren I join in the effort to help you and your schoolfellows put our country in shape to "Fear God, and Take Her Own Part."

I enclose a dollar. Forty cents — a dime apiece — are for: —

Gracie Roosevelt

Richard Derby II

Theodore Roosevelt III

Cornelius Van Schaak Roosevelt³

Cornelius is the youngest. He is only about two months old. He is'n't as long as his name. But he will grow up to it. He is named after his great-great-grandfather, who when I was very small, over fifty years ago, helped teach me a Dutch baby-song. Little Richard is the eighth Richard Derby, from father to son, born here in America. He loves the bulldog — a nice, friendly, almost toothless bulldog. Little Ted is really Theodore IV; for my father was Theodore Roosevelt. He was the best man I ever knew; strong, fearless, gentle. *He* "feared God and took his own part"! Gracie is four. The other day her mother was giving her one of her first bible lessons.

Her mother said "Now, Gracie, remember that God made everything."

Gracie (much impressed) "Did He make *everything*?"

Her mother (with emphasis) "Yes; everything!"

Gracie (after a pause) "Well, He did'n't make my leggings fit very well; but I'm sure He meant to, so I wo'n't say anything about it!"

The other sixty cents are for my other six grandchildren. They are not born yet. If they are girls I think some of them will be named Edith, Alice, Ethel, Eleanor and Belle. If they are boys some of them will be named

¹ A facsimile of this handwritten letter was printed in the *New York Tribune*, February 12, 1916.

² Marjorie Sterrett, Brooklyn thirteen-year-old, had sent a dime to the editor of the *New York Tribune*. Her hope was that this money would be used to start a fund for the building of a battleship to be called the *America*. Roosevelt was an early contributor to the fund, which never grew big enough to purchase the battleship.

³ Cornelius Van Schaak Roosevelt, third child of Theodore, Jr., and Eleanor Roosevelt, was born October 23, 1915.

Kermit, Archie, Quentin and Jonathan Edwards. Jonathan Edwards was an ancestor of their grandmother's who lived in Colonial times. He was a great preacher and a strong and good man. I do'n't agree with all his theology; but his life teaches the two lessons which are more important than all others for the Americans of today; for he always acted in accordance with the strongest sense of duty, and there was'n't a touch of the molly-coddle about him. *Your friend*

6056 • TO GIFFORD PINCHOT

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, February 8, 1916

Dear Gifford: I have received your letters of the 2nd and 3rd. Can't you get at the newspapermen and secure some circulation for your letter?

I shall not speak before I leave on Thursday.

Now, about Hempstead!¹ Will you tell him that I appreciate thoroughly his devotion to me and his fear that my present attitude will be harmful, if by any chance I should become a candidate for the Presidency again. But tell him, also, that he must understand that, in the course I am taking, I regard myself as engaged in the performance of a duty so high that I cannot consider the welfare of myself or of any other man. Mr. Hempstead says that my preparedness program is not popular with "a large majority of the people" who, in the country districts, voted for me four years ago; that the German-American vote will be practically solid against me; that there is a change in public opinion against me, due to my advocacy of a "great army (which I am not advocating, by the way) and navy"; that the ultra-standpatters hate me fiercely; and that, before I "make it possible for them to get their revenge and ruin me and the Progressive cause," I should cause to be made, on a large scale, "a thorough test of public opinion in all parts of the country as to their attitude toward him (me) and preparedness, especially in the agricultural districts."

If the German-American vote is solid against me, because of the position I have taken, then, in my judgment, it shows that the German-Americans are solidly against this country. I do not believe that it is true of the vast majority of American citizens of German birth and descent; but, if it is true, it renders it all the more necessary that I should, in the sharpest possible manner, wake up real Americans to their danger. Again, if the majority of the people in the country districts are against me on my preparedness program, it renders it all the more imperative, without any reference to the effect upon myself, that I should in every possible way try to wake them up to what their country needs. I hope Mr. Hempstead

¹ Ernest Alexis Hempstead, retired editor of small newspapers; former postmaster of Meadville, Pennsylvania, 1897-1910; in 1916 an alternate delegate-at-large to the Progressive National Convention.

will see my book called *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, which will be published this week.

In taking the position I have taken, I have assumed, as a matter of course, that it would make me unavailable as a candidate. I shall not try to take a census of the country to find out how the people feel toward me and my program, as Mr. Hempstead suggests. I am not occupying Mr. Wilson's position, with my ear to the ground, anxious only to find out what the people want at the moment and then to give it to them, right or wrong. In this great crisis, I am trying to do my duty as a man whom they have trusted in the past, and to justify this trust by leading them aright, and by telling them what it is imperative that they should hear, and by striving to make native-American, Irish-American, German-American, English-American, standpatter and Progressive, Republican and Democrat, all alike, remember that in the last analysis, when it comes to dealing with the safety of the nation, we should act as Americans and as nothing else, — and prepare in advance, so as to safeguard this republic against foreign attack. If to take this position means a loss of popularity and the alienation of former friends and supporters, I am sorry; but it will not cause me to alter my course one hand's breadth, for I know that what I am preaching is doctrine that this people must heed, if the country is to be kept where the men of the days of Washington and Lincoln placed it. As for my own future, politically or otherwise, I do not care one rap. Most emphatically, I am not thinking of my nomination. On the contrary, it would be an entirely unwise thing to nominate me, unless this country is in something of the heroic mood that it was in in the time of the Revolution and again in the time of the Civil War — for on both occasions the men and women of this country did not put safety first, but put honor and duty first, and fought for safety only in so far as safety was compatible with honor and duty. *Faithfully yours*

6057 • TO HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

Roosevelt Mss.

Private not for publication

New York, February 8, 1916

My dear Professor Münsterberg: That is such a kind and friendly letter of yours that I wish I had time to answer it more at length.

Yes, I understand entirely how absolutely sincere men may be on exactly opposite sides of every question. Furthermore, I understand entirely, what, my dear Professor, you do not set forth, and that is that thoroughly good men may be thoroughly wrong at some vital moment of history.

I am half a Southerner. I am very proud of my Southern blood. My mother was an unreconstructed rebel to the day of her death. Both of her brothers, my two uncles, fought in the Confederate service. They were as valiant and high-minded men as I ever met. I do not think that there ever existed men and women who were more sincere and more self-sacrificing, more devoted to duty, as they saw it, than the Confederates. Yet, I believe

with all my heart that their victory would not only have spelled death to this nation, but the direst calamity to mankind.

I assure you I hold no brief for England, nor yet for France. I hope you saw the letter I wrote when I was asked to join the Anglo-American Alliance. Privately, it is not improper for me to tell you that, while I was President, I had to take with England, over the Alaska boundary, much the same kind of drastic action that I had to take with Germany over the question of her acquiring territory (nominally temporarily, but really permanently) that would control the approach to the Panama Canal. In each case I did everything possible to save the other nation's face and in each case I only insisted upon the other nation doing what I would have been entirely willing to do under reversed circumstances. You, of course, know that the voyage of the battle fleet around the world was really an answer to the very ugly war talk that had begun to spring up in Japan; and it was the best example that I know of, "of speaking softly and carrying a big stick."

Now, as for what you say about the Americans of German descent. With most of what you say I entirely agree. I do not for a moment believe that the Americanism of today should be a mere submission to the American ideals of the period of the Declaration of Independence. Such action would be not only to stand still, but to go back. American democracy, of course, must mean an opportunity for everyone to contribute his own ideas to the working out of the future. But I will go further than you have done. I have actively fought in favor of grafting on our social life, no less than on our industrial life, many of the German ideals. For instance, I like the German type of club much more than I like the American type of club. In the German clubs in this country women were admitted long before that was the case in American clubs. Of course, I suppose I shall never again be received in the Milwaukee clubs; but of all the clubs I have ever been in, that Milwaukee German Club is the one where I really enjoyed myself most! It has often puzzled me to find out why it has been impossible to spread these clubs and have them the recognized type of American club, just as much as of German-American club. I think that one explanation lies in the fact that they have been unconsciously used to keep their members away from American life. If with entire frankness, those handling them had treated them as American clubs, to develop every kind of ideal that was found good, including those that they had brought over from Germany, I think most of the difficulty would have been averted and that they would have spread everywhere. This is only an example; I am certain I have tried to graft German ideals and habits a dozen times, for every single English ideal or habit, on American life. One word about preparedness! The Illinois *Staats-Zeitung* is an example. It is fighting preparedness tooth and nail. It is backing up David Starr Jordan and people like him; and I think this pretty bad. Many of the Milwaukee German-Americans have been advocating the same pacifist position for America, at the same time that they defend German militarism.

With real thanks for your letter, *Faithfully yours*

New York, February 8, 1916

Dear Willard: I have now seen the article in *The New Republic* of Jan'y. 29th — "The Newer Nationalism" — and am much interested in it.¹ There are just one or two points I would like to make:

The first point is entirely unimportant. The article says that my Philadelphia speech was partly anticipated by Mr. Wilson in his December message. On all the points where Mr. Wilson "partly anticipated" it, it had also been more than "partly anticipated" by speeches and articles of mine during the past year, including, for instance, my Americanization Day letter of July 4th last, which was substantially republished as an article in the *Metropolitan*. Furthermore, it was anticipated by my article in the *Evening Mail*, which was published a week before President Wilson's message.

The article continues that my speech resembles "Mr. Wilson's message in being scrupulously explicit and concrete in some of its recommendations and disquietingly vague and ambiguous in others." It says: "The program of military and naval preparation is courageous, definite and complete." Alas! This only seems so to the editors of *The New Republic* because they are more acquainted with the civil side than with the military side of the matters I deal with. For example, a very good fellow — a Major in the United States Army — has complained in a letter to me very strongly of the fact that my program is indefinite and incomplete as regards the army, and he furnished me, at great trouble to himself, a very definite and complete program which he wished me to announce. This program occupied about 60,000 words. There were some points upon which I disagreed with it; but it was definite and complete. Also, it would have required a small book to include it. It would have required me to speak for about twelve consecutive hours in order to cover it. Nobody would have read it after I had covered it. He did not touch on the navy or on civil matters.

The editors of *The New Republic* continue, with *Evening Post* . . . ability in saying of my speech, that "his courage and his concreteness fail him" in applying my ideas to «various» aspects of the national behavior; and that I allow only "very vague hints" about foreign and domestic policy. Now, these statements on the part of *The New Republic's* editors really make me feel more amiable to them than I have felt for a long time. I have

¹ "The Newer Nationalism," *New Republic*, 5:319-321 (January 29, 1916), discussed Roosevelt's speech at Philadelphia on economic and military preparedness. That address, the editorial said, "has awakened less interest and aroused less discussion than it deserves. . . . It was evidently intended to take its place in the series of addresses which began at Ossawatimie in the fall of 1910 and was continued at Columbus in the spring of 1912. . . . The Philadelphia speech brings the 'new nationalism' down to date. . . ." "In spite of all its inadequacies," the editorial concluded, "there is back of Mr. Roosevelt's newer nationalism a fine, a seductive, a leavening, and for this country a salutary idea. It is the idea of a system of national moral education. He is proposing universal military service primarily for its ability to stimulate in individual citizens a sense of loyalty to the nation."

felt that they were sinning against the light. But really I think I have been mistaken. I think they are nice, well-meaning geese — early Victorian geese. They think they are adopting an attitude of philosophic doubt, the «attitude» which has made Arthur Balfour so much less successful than he ought to have been as a political leader in Great Britain; but they are not adopting any such attitude; they are simply talking like nice, kindly old ladies over their knitting, who have no more ideas about what it is possible to put in a public speech than if they were at a church sociable of the Second Baptist Church of Skowhegan. The Army Major of whom I have spoken wished me to put in 60,000 words about the Army. The complaint of the editors of *The New Republic* is that I did not put in about 120,000 words to cover with minuteness all of the points they have mentioned! I do not think I have ever read anything more delicious than the solemn statement that, in my speech I “did not mention the Monroe Doctrine” and was “equally silent about Pan-Americanism, Canada, British Sea Power, the Open Door in China, American participation in the development of backward countries, and the other concrete questions of foreign policy.” Even more delightful is the fact that they say I do not say “an explicit word about the method of distributing the enormously increased burden of taxation,” etc., etc. Now many of these matters I have, as a matter of fact, dealt with elsewhere, — the Monroe Doctrine, for instance, and Pan-Americanism and the relation between policy and armament. But, as for keeping silent about Canada, British Sea Power and American participation in the development of backward countries, why you might just as well say that I have kept silent about missionary enterprise in the Far East, the growth of the Y.M.C.A. movement in Argentina and Brazil, the temporal power of the Pope, the protection of the Jews in Russia, the attitude of the Socialist Party of Sweden to the government, and the language question of North Schleswig. There was rightful complaint that I had made my Philadelphia speech too long; that I had dealt with too many subjects and gone too much into detail. Until I saw *The New Republic* article, I had not come across any human being who thought I had not gone enough into detail and had made the speech too short. Literally, not figuratively, to cover, as they seem to think I should have covered, the questions they enumerate, would have required a volume at least as long as my autobiography. Then they say that I “do not expressly favor Government ownership and operation of munition plants.” Of course I do not. I am against it; and nobody who has thought out the subject is for it. It is probable that we ought to extend the operations of one or two of the plants we now own; but, if the editors of *The New Republic* knew anything of the way that Germany has handled her munition plants, and the factories from which she gets munitions of war, they would understand what I mean when I hold up the German system as a model. It would be utterly impossible to get the German efficiency in this matter by a system of Government ownership.

As regards what I said about big business, instead of going into details,

which would have been just as out of place, in my speech, as in the editorial itself, I specifically illustrated just what I desired by selecting Governor Hiram Johnson's administration in California and the Administration of the German Government as indicating what ought to be done, and the policy of England as what ought not to be done, in these matters. I spoke of Government control with the utmost explicitness, so as to show that "big business" should be under Government control, so that it could not be used against the public benefit.

The article in question is itself infinitely more ambiguous and less detailed than my speech which on these points it criticizes. It says, at one place, that we must have a system of "enforced collectivist morals," and in another that there must be an "imperturbable faith in the great democratic enterprise of indefinite individual and social improvement." I should be very cautious about using such vague phrases as either of these. The nice old ladies of *The New Republic* should remember what the *Evening Post* has never remembered sufficiently even to forget — namely, the old adage "Physician, cure thyself!"

Love to Dorothy. *Ever yours*

6059 • TO JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Port of Spain, Trinidad, February 9, 1916

*My dear Mr. Graves:*¹ That's a mighty nice letter of yours. I appreciate it to the full. Now, as to your question: I feel that it would be asking too much of this people to get them to try to rival Great Britain and her Navy, just as it would be asking too much of them to try to get them to rival Germany and her Army.² The navy is as vital to Britain as the army is to Germany. Neither can afford to let another power rival it. But our navy, if second to Great Britain's, would be able to hold its own against any nation with which there is the least likelihood of our ever being at war, and our army, if standing towards this country as the Swiss army does towards Switzerland, would put us in an entirely safe position as against any combination of foes that could come against us. It may be that, in the future, we shall need a navy as big as Great Britain's and an army as great as that of Germany. No one can foretell the future, but I do not think that at this time it is necessary or advisable to do more than demand what I am demanding, which is a navy inferior only to Great Britain's in size and equal to any navy in efficiency; a

¹ John Temple Graves, author, orator, newspaperman, Southern Democrat, grandson of Calhoun's older brother. Graves was editor of various Southern papers before he became editor-in-chief of the *New York American* in 1907. He remained in the Hearst empire as an editorial writer after 1915. In 1907 he hoped to inaugurate a new era of good feelings by getting Bryan to nominate Roosevelt for President in the next election. Failing here, he himself ran as the Vice-Presidential nominee for the National Independence party.

² Wilson in a speech at St. Louis on February 3 asked for "incomparably the greatest navy in the world."

small, regular army, highly efficient, of a quarter million men, with appropriate reserves; and then our young men trained on the Swiss system.

When I come back from the West Indies will you not come out to see me at Oyster Bay in person? *Sincerely yours*

6060 • TO HENRY FORD

Roosevelt Mss.

Port of Spain, Trinidad, February 9, 1916

My dear Mr. Ford: I am very much pleased at your letter of the 3rd. Of course, when I come to Detroit it will be a great pleasure to see you.¹ I want to go over at length with you this pacifist business. My dear sir, it was a real grief to me when you took the stand that you did about pacifism. I felt you had rendered a great service industrially, and therefore socially, to this people by what you had done in connection with your automobile factory. I hated to see you fall into the trap of pacifism; for in this country pacifism has been the enemy of morality for over fifty years. Don't forget that the pacifists of 1864 were the copperheads; that the men who put peace above righteousness without exception voted against Abraham Lincoln; that Abraham Lincoln had to war most strongly against the men who tried "to take the soldiers out of the trenches" in the Civil War. Righteousness, if triumphant, brings peace; but peace does not necessarily bring righteousness; and you, my dear Mr. Ford, can render the very greatest service to this country if you will stand up for the valor of righteousness and put your great name and great influence back of that movement; and not try to help strike down righteousness in the name of peace — a copperhead peace.

Again cordially thanking you, I am, *Sincerely yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S. I do'n't object to the professional pacifist movement merely because it is futile; I object to it primarily because it is profoundly mischievous from the moral standpoint.

6061 • TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

Lee Mss.

New York, February 18, 1916¹

Dear Arthur: Your letter has come just as I am on the way to the steamer, as Mrs. Roosevelt and I are going for six weeks to the West Indies. I am dictating this hurried line to you.

Your letter was most interesting, and I am more pleased than I can say that you are so hard at work and in so congenial & useful a way. Give my heartiest regards to Lloyd George. Do tell him I admire him immensely. I have always fundamentally agreed with his social program, but I wish it

¹ Speaking in Detroit on May 19, 1916, Roosevelt lamented the popularity of Ford's antiwar sentiments. On that day the two men did not meet.

¹ This letter, signed and dated by Roosevelt's secretary, was probably dictated about February 11, before Roosevelt left New York.

supplemented by Lord Roberts' external program. Nevertheless, my agreement with him in program is small compared with the fact that I so greatly admire the character he is now showing in this great crisis. It is often true that the only way to render great services is by willingness on the part of the statesman to lose his future, or, at any rate, his present position in political life, just exactly as the soldier may have to pay with his physical life in order to render service in battle. In a very small and unimportant way I have done this myself during the last eighteen months. I have paid no heed, and shall not pay the slightest heed, to the effect upon my own fortunes, of anything that I say. What I am trying to do is to make this country go right and I don't give a damn as to what my countrymen think of me in the present or the future, provided only I can make them wake up to the sense of their duty. In an infinitely greater emergency, Lloyd George seems to me to be following the same line of conduct in trying to serve Great Britain at present.

Don't make any mistake about me. I don't believe there is any chance of my being nominated; because, as I wrote Lodge the other day, it would be utter folly to nominate me, unless the country was in heroic mood. If they put "Safety First" ahead of honor and duty, then they don't want me, and they need not expect that I will pussy-foot in any shape or way on the great issues that I regard as vital, and to which I regard all others as subordinate.

I hope you have by this time seen a copy of my book. Read the First Chapter and the Conclusion. Perhaps Lloyd George might be interested in looking at two or three sentences that you may care to show him.

I cannot believe that there will be an embargo. You will see that I have dealt with the question in the book; but I am so savagely on one side, that I am not in a position to get a perfectly clear idea of what is happening and what is likely to happen. Lodge can tell you more than anyone else and I have asked Ethel to get him to write you. Springy is sick. If I were not going away, I should at once get into touch with Lodge and two or three other men in Congress and give you an estimate of possibilities. Offhand, my judgment would be that it would be well for your people to make any unimportant concessions they can and to do it with a great flourish of trumpets, but not to yield on anything that is vital. I have written Edward Grey that, in my judgment, it is a great mistake not to give the American people an idea of what the British have accomplished, especially in submarine warfare. Some of our good correspondents, — men like Frederick Palmer, should be put in a position which will enable them to say everything that can safely be told about the success of the British warfare against the German submarines, about the destruction of German submarines and about Britain's profound indifference to what Germany has said it would do, and as regards the United States, so that our people will understand that Wilson has not gained anything from Germany at all.

Love to Ruth.

In great haste, *Faithfully yours*

Oyster Bay, March 27, 1916

Dear Robinson, Your letter deeply touches me. There is not one among us in whom a devil does not dwell; at some time, on some point, that devil masters each of us; he who has never failed has not been tempted; but the man who does in the end conquer, who does painfully retrace the steps of his slipping, why he shows that he has been tried in the fire and not found wanting. It is not having been in the Dark House, but having left it, that counts — which is banal, as regards phrase, but an undying truth, as regards fact.

I greatly prize the volume of poems.¹ By the way, in my last book I used half a dozen lines from you at the beginning.² *Faithfully yours*

6063 · TO GEORGE VON LINGERKE MEYER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 29, 1916

Dear George Meyer: I have just got your letter of March second.

You have doubtless seen my Trinidad statement and what I have done since I got home.¹ It is right on the line of what you advise.²

¹ *The Man Against the Sky* (New York, 1916).

² The last two of the six lines read: "Come away! come away! — or the roving fiend will hold us, / And make us all to dwell with him to the end of human faring." — *A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open*, Nat. Ed. III, 186.

¹ From Trinidad on March 9 Roosevelt, through Henry L. Stoddard, had publicly demanded that his name be kept out of Republican primary contests. Aware as he was that he had no effective organization and that local leaders used his name for their own local purposes, he also genuinely desired to avoid damaging the policies he championed by making them personal issues in a preliminary campaign. The Trinidad statement said:

"I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred on me and of the goodwill shown me by the gentlemen who have announced themselves as delegates to be elected in my interest in the Massachusetts presidential primary. Nevertheless I must request, and I now do request and insist, that my name be not brought into the Massachusetts primaries, and I emphatically decline to be a candidate in the primaries of that or any other State. Months ago I formally notified the authorities of Nebraska, Minnesota and Michigan to this effect.

"I do not wish the nomination.

"I am not in the least interested in the political fortunes either of myself or any other man.

"I am interested in awakening my fellow countrymen to the need of facing unpleasant facts. I am interested in the triumph of the great principles for which with all my heart and soul I have striven and shall continue to strive.

"I will not enter into any fight for the nomination and I will not permit any factional fight to be made in my behalf. Indeed, I will go further and say that it would be a mistake to nominate me unless the country has in its mood something of the heroic — unless it feels not only devotion to ideals but the purpose measurably to realize those ideals in action.

"This is one of those rare times which come only at long intervals in a nation's history, where the action taken determines the basis of the life of the generations

that follow. Such times were those from 1776 to 1789, in the days of Washington, and from 1858 to 1865, in the days of Lincoln.

"It is for us of to-day to grapple with the tremendous national and international problems of our own hour in the spirit and with the ability shown by those who upheld the hands of Washington and Lincoln. Whether we do or do not accomplish this feat will largely depend on the action taken at the Republican and Progressive conventions next June.

"Nothing is to be hoped for from the present administration, and the struggles between the President and his party leaders in Congress are to-day merely struggles as to whether the nation shall see its governmental representatives adopt an attitude of a little more or a little less hypocrisy and follow a policy of slightly greater or slightly less baseness. All that they offer us is a choice between degrees of hypocrisy and degrees of infamy.

"But disgust with the unmanly failure of the present administration, I believe, does not, and I know ought not to, mean that the American people will vote in a spirit of mere protest. They ought not to, and I believe they will not, be content merely to change the present administration for one equally timid, equally vacillating, equally lacking in vision, in moral integrity and in high resolve. They should desire, and I believe they do desire, public servants and public policies signifying more than adroit cleverness in escaping action behind clouds of fine words, in refusal to face real internal needs, and in complete absorption of every faculty in devising constantly shifting hand-to-mouth and day-to-day measures for escape from our international duty by the abandonment of our national honor — measures due to sheer dread of various foreign powers, tempered by a sometimes harmonizing and sometimes conflicting dread of various classes of voters, especially hyphenated voters, at home.

"We must clarify and define our policies, we must show that our belief in our governmental ideals is so real that we wish to make them count in the world at large and to make the necessary sacrifice in order that they shall count. Surely we, of this great republic, have a contribution to make to the cause of humanity and we cannot make it unless we first show that we can secure prosperity and fair dealing among our own men and women. I believe that in a crisis so grave it is impossible too greatly to magnify the needs of the country or too strongly to dwell on the necessity of minimizing and subordinating the desires of individuals.

"The delegates who go to Chicago will have it in their power to determine the character of the administration which is to do or leave undone the mighty tasks of the next four years. That administration can do an incalculable amount to make or mar our country's future. The men chosen to decide such a question ought not to be politicians of the average type and parochial outlook; still less should they be politicians controlled by sinister influence from within or without. They should be the very best men that can be found in our country, whose one great mission should be to declare in unequivocal terms for a programme of clean-cut, straight-out, national Americanism, in deeds not less than in words, and in internal and international matters alike, and to choose as their candidate a man who will not merely stand for such a programme before election, but will resolutely and in good faith put it through if elected.

"These men should be men of rugged independence, who possess the broadest sympathy with and understanding of the needs and desires of their fellows; their loyalty should be neither to classes nor to sections, but to the whole of the United States and to all the people that dwell therein. They should be controlled by no man and no interest and their own minds should be open.

"June is a long way off. Many things may occur between now and then. It is utterly impossible to say now with any degree of certainty who should be nominated at Chicago. The crying, the vital need now is that the men who next June assemble at Chicago from the forty-eight States and express the view of the entire country shall act with the sane and lofty devotion to the interest of our nation as a whole which was shown by the original Continental Congress. They should approach their task unhampered by any pledge except to bring to its accomplishment

Lodge is practically coming out for Hughes.³ If he does, we would have a right to insist that he make Hughes unequivocally, and fully, and with emphasis, declare himself upon every one of the live issues. We do not want to find that we have merely swapped Wilson for another Wilson with whiskers.

When it became apparent that Hughes was willing to accept the nomination, I felt very highly for him and estimated that he would declare his opinions and he has not done so.

With best wishes, *Sincerely yours*

6064 · TO HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, April 3, 1916

Dear Governor: It's fine to hear from you! I am much amused at the *Bulletin* editorial. You did exactly right in that Whitman matter.¹ I entirely agree with what you say about Wilson's conduct being the greatest instance of acted irony we have ever seen in American politics. He has not got a conviction in the world. He does not mind turning back and forth on any subject. If he thought he could get a re-election by declaring for war, he would declare for war; and if he thought he could get it by submitting to being kicked, he would submit to being kicked. Unfortunately I quite agree with you that I am utterly unable to say whether he does not "get by with the American people"!

Now, about the *Bee* and Mr. McClatchy.² There is no parallel at all in the case he makes. I re-enclose the editorial, so you shall see just what I mean. Lansing, Bryan and Wilson explicitly held, as I say, "under a ruling that

every ounce of courage, intelligence and integrity they possess." — "The Progressive Party — Its Record from January to July, 1916," pp. 8-10.

² George von L. Meyer, both on his own account and as a spokesman for the National Security League, the American Defense Society, and the Navy League, had been campaigning for naval preparedness, universal military training, the organization of a combined-services general staff, and a national council on defense. These objectives and his personal loyalties persuaded Meyer that Roosevelt should be the Republican Presidential nominee. In May he organized, with Roosevelt's approval, the Roosevelt Republican League of which he became president. This agency negotiated directly with the delegates to the Republican convention.

³ Privately Lodge favored Hughes's nomination. Publicly he took no stand because he was committed to placing Senator Weeks in nomination and because Hughes in a public letter had insisted that he was not a candidate and would not disclose his views on preparedness or foreign policy. Nevertheless, the Hughes boom had begun. Governor Whitman and most of the New York Republican leaders had declared for him, and Frank H. Hitchcock, busy as always in an election year, was canvassing the country to rouse support for the Justice.

¹ Roosevelt and Johnson apparently shared the indignation then being expressed in the New York Legislature over the expenditure of state funds by Governor Whitman on his visit to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

² Charles Kenny McClatchy, editor since 1884 of the *Sacramento Bee*, one of the leaders of the Progressive party in California.

would apply to millions of citizens," that there was this dual nationality in such cases as those of men like General Barry, Admirals Osterhaus and Schroeder,³ Peter Dunne, Mark Sullivan and innumerable others, including the sons of Jacob Riis, for instance. It would have applied to Farragut, whose father was born in . . . and to . . . whose father «was born». . . Not only did the Lansing letter fail to state that such a man as Lelong, by reason of his birth and actions after «being of age» in this country, is a full-fledged citizen thereof, but it emphatically stated he was not and that, on the contrary, they could not guarantee him against being taken by France, if he went to France, as a citizen of France.⁴ Mr. McClatchy, therefore, has exactly reversed the case. If Lansing had said that Lelong was a full-fledged citizen and entitled to full protection as such, he would have said what was right. As a matter of fact, he said he had a dual nationality. This was nonsense and considerably worse than nonsense; and it would apply exactly as much to Germany, England and Denmark as to France and Italy. At this moment, as you will see, if you will look at my chapter on the subject in the *Fear God* book, there are exsoldiers of the United States, citizens of the United States, men who have been noncommissioned officers in our army, who are held in Italy; and the State Department does nothing for them.

Now, for the quotation of what was done by Root while I was President. This refers explicitly to the children of American citizens residing abroad. As regards this case, there is no question that there is a doubt which must be resolved at latest by the man's own actions when of age, and that the citizenship of the man remains fluid until then determined by himself. The better expression would have been "indeterminate nationality" or "indeterminate allegiance" instead of "dual nationality" or "dual allegiance." But I am interested in the fact and not the terminology. If in such case the man, born of American parents in France, when he becomes twenty-one years of

³ Rear Admiral Hugo Osterhaus, U.S.N., retired, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, 1911-1913; and Rear Admiral Seaton Schroeder, U.S.N., retired, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, 1909-1911.

⁴ In "When Is an American Not an American," *Metropolitan*, 42:15 (June 1915), reprinted in *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, Nat. Ed. XVIII, ch. ix, Roosevelt had attacked Lansing's ruling in the Lelong case. P. A. Lelong, Jr., the son of a French immigrant, was born, before his father was naturalized, in New Orleans in 1880. An American citizen, he had held public office in North Carolina. Desiring to visit France in 1915 on business, he asked the State Department for an opinion on the assertion of the French consul that if he visited France he would be liable to impressment for military duty. Lansing judged that Lelong was at once an American citizen under the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment and a French citizen under the terms of Article VII of the French Civil Code which stated that "every person born of a Frenchman in France or abroad" was a citizen of France. "It thus appears," Lansing concluded, "that you were born with a dual nationality, and the Department cannot therefore give you any assurance that you would not be held liable for the performance of military service in France. . . ." Pointing out that this definition of dual citizenship applied also to Italian- and German-Americans, Roosevelt held that it was "the clear duty of the American people immediately to repudiate the doctrine. . . ." "We ourselves," he insisted, should "determine for ourselves the rights of citizenship of our citizens. . . ."

age, elects to be a French citizen, he can become such: (exactly as Lelong has become an American citizen). If, on the other hand, by that time he has returned to the United States and in good faith performed the duties of American citizenship, he becomes an American citizen. The same thing, of course, would be true of the son of French citizens born here. The sentimental allegiance does not last forever, it is determined at some definite point. (This has nothing whatever in common with the Lelong case.)

Pray present my regard to Mrs. Johnson. *Always yours*

April 8

P.S. Your letter of March 27th has come after I have signed the above. Of course, my dear fellow, I am very sorry if my refusal to run in the primaries in California embarrassed you at all. But if I accepted in one place I would have to accept in others and I should be in the same old faction fight as four years ago and under disadvantageous circumstances and I would have made people think that I was trying to further my own ambitions, whereas what I am really trying to do is with every ounce of sincerity there is in me to wake this country up to its vital needs and to try to get the Republicans and the Progressives together for someone whom we can elect and whom it will be worth while electing. I genuinely believe that if the East could only understand you we could get the Republicans to nominate you; but, Good Lord, we are a parochial people and it is the hardest thing in the world to get the people of one section, whether it is the Mississippi Valley or the Rocky Mountain States or the Middle West or the East, really to understand what another section such as the Coast is doing. Indeed it is not too easy to get Washington and Oregon to understand what California is doing. I understand to the full the trouble you have had as regards the Republican and Progressive primaries. As you say, our Progressive vote is of such a character that it can be neither directed or controlled. I do wish that the hard and fast Progressives of California would go right into this Republican contest.⁵

I am interested in what you tell me about Lilienthal;⁶ but it is news to me what he told you. As you have doubtless seen in the papers, I have seen

⁵ Johnson, ambitious for the Presidency, had attempted by private negotiations to obtain the support of the Republican party in California. Failing, he proposed that Roosevelt run in the Republican primary. A victory for Roosevelt, which Johnson believed possible, would have held the California delegation from Hughes or Root. When Roosevelt declined, Johnson himself entered the Republican primary and urged the Progressives to cast their votes in that contest. Early in May he was badly defeated. His maneuvers are described and his defeat analyzed in Mowry, *California Progressives*, ch. ix.

⁶ Jesse Warren Lilienthal, San Francisco lawyer and man of affairs, then president of the United Railroads Company of San Francisco, "a man," according to Johnson, "of ability and standing," had discussed the Republican Presidential nomination with various Eastern financiers. These financiers, Lilienthal told Johnson, were the true makers of Presidents. They had decided, he went on, that Roosevelt's nomination was certain.

Root.⁷ I had arranged immediately afterwards to go and report about the meeting and have it known that I went to report about the meeting to various Progressives at Perkins's house, including Allen of Kansas, Brown of Ohio and others, for I wanted the Progressives to understand just what I was doing. We talked only of preparedness and of the necessity from the public standpoint of doing something that would enable us to get rid of Wilson. To my great amusement Root and Lodge commented with contemptuous bitterness on Taft.

Love to Mrs. Johnson.

6065 • TO GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 6, 1916

My dear George: I have read with the greatest thought and interest Mr. Gary's letter to you. Now, I am returning you the letter because pages three, four and five put in the most admirable fashion just what my principles are, except that they are put in a manner altogether too complimentary to me. Don't you think that they answer the query at the end of his first page, where he says that people would vote against me if they thought that I wished "this country should take a position or perform an act which would probably mean war with Germany"?

In international matters we are still in the stage that individuals were in in certain western communities where Horace Wilkinson and I lived thirty years ago, that is, there is no international police and there are certain nations which can be withheld from wrongdoing only by fear of the consequences. If in those communities thirty years ago a wealthy man not only showed that he was helpless but showed that he would not defend himself, he was perfectly certain to suffer in life, limb or property. At the present day China is in exactly the position I speak of and has suffered accordingly. China has lost Mongolia, Manchuria, Tonkin, Hong Kong and Kiaochow. Peking is still Chinese but even in Peking and the interior of China people have to do pretty much as foreigners say. This is purely and simply because China has not been able to fight and willing to fight for her own rights. This attitude has not saved her from war. It has merely saved her from successful war. During the last fifty or sixty years, that is, since the period of Japan's beginning to develop her military strength, China has been at war very much

⁷Robert Bacon had arranged a luncheon which Roosevelt, Root, Leonard Wood, and Lodge attended on March 31. It was the first time Roosevelt and Root had met since 1912. Bacon may have been attempting to assist Root's candidacy for the Presidency which was officially announced on April 7; he was certainly trying to make easier Roosevelt's obviously impending return to the Republican party; he was clearly not endeavoring to promote Roosevelt's nomination by the Republicans, an intention attributed to him by George Perkins. For a description of the luncheon, at which "all passed off well," and an analysis of its political significance, see Jessup, *Root*, II, 344-347.

more often than Japan. More of her people have been killed in war than is true of the Japanese. Her capital has twice been taken by invading armies. She has lost half her provinces. In other words, because she could not fight successfully, she has had to fight again and again, more often than Japan has had to fight, only China has always been beaten, and whereas Japan is not menaced by any nation, China has half her territory in the possession of other nations and sees disaster looming ahead of her.

Now, if we make Germany and other nations understand that we cannot be kicked into a war, we shall have as preliminary to endure continual kickings and then in the end we shall either have to accept war at a great disadvantage or suffer hideous permanent humiliation and loss, such as the taking away of the Panama Canal, Hawaii or Alaska or seeing big military nations from the old world set themselves in Central and South America. I wish Mr. Gary would read Hard's article on what I did while I was President. It is in the last *Metropolitan*.¹ Under Wilson we are assured there has been no war with Mexico. As a matter of fact we have twice made war in Mexico. But if we call it peace, it is as well to remember that during this peace more Americans have been killed by Mexicans than were killed by Spaniards during the entire Spanish War. The difference is that after the Spanish war we had settled the questions at issue. We had brought peace and had removed all possibility of the war happening over again. As a result of the three years of Mr. Wilson's peace in Mexico, we have not settled anything; and we are more likely to go to war than we were three years ago. If I had been President when Bernstorff issued his warning to Americans not to go on the *Lusitania*, I would have promptly notified him that if any accident happened to the *Lusitania*, I would take possession of the German interned ships. It is my deliberate judgment that this, so far from inviting hostilities, would have prevented all the trouble we have had for the last year with Germany. I think we would have been far more likely under my plan of action to avoid war than under Mr. Wilson's. But at the same time there is not the slightest use in blinking the fact that if it were necessary to go to war to put a stop to repeated killings of American men, women and children I would go to war. If the American people wish their President to take the view that Germany cannot kick us into a war, that it can continue murdering our women and children on the high seas and through its agents blowing up our factories here and that we will merely keep quiet or write notes about it, why, under those circumstances, the American people most emphatically cannot afford to elect me as President. I believe that we would be far safer from danger of war if I were President than we are now. But I further believe that this would come not as a result of my being for peace at any price but of my making it evident that my policy would be precisely what it was during the seven and a half years I was already President, namely, a policy of treating

¹ Roosevelt must have been referring to William Hard, "How Roosevelt Kept Peace," which appeared in the May 1916 issue of the *Metropolitan*.

Germany and all other nations with courtesy and regard and using every endeavor peaceably to adjust differences with them on a basis of mutual good will, fair treatment and justice but also making it evident that we were ready and able to defend our rights and that we would not tolerate repeated and wanton violation of these rights.

Let me illustrate my meaning by this example. Mr. Wilson's conduct in international matters has been precisely that of a man whose wife's face is slapped by another man, who thinks it over and writes a note telling the other man he must not do it; and when the other man repeats the insult and slaps the wife's face again, writes him another note of protest, and then another and another and another; and lets it go on for a year. Technically that man may have "kept the peace" and avoided trouble; but I cannot imagine any human being willing to be in his place. Moreover I feel that there would not have been any trouble if in the first place he had had it clearly understood that if anyone slapped his wife's face there would be a fight.

Don't forget to tell Bancroft² that the lunch in Chicago on the 29th must not be public and that I must not be asked to speak and that the title of my speech must not under any circumstances be "International Law" but some such title as "National Preparedness and International Duty." *Faithfully yours*

6066 · TO FREDERICK SCOTT OLIVER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 7, 1916

My dear Mr. Oliver: The duplicate of your letter has come, but not the original — which shows the wisdom of your precaution. The popular edition of your book has also come. I wish to Heaven the copy of the introduction could be circulated everywhere throughout the United States, provided that the last two sentences of your preface could be circulated with it — with perhaps a note by myself stating that everything you have said in condemnation of the work of the British Government and in criticism of the work of the British democracy during the past twenty months can be applied with even greater force and stronger condemnation to ourselves, with a change of names and a trifling correction of details! I understand exactly your difficulty; and it is a serious one. To chasten one's own side is an absolute necessity (one of the chief sources of our trouble here, in the United States has been the persistent refusal to chasten our own side, even in dealing with past history) and yet in a crisis it exposes one to the charge of assisting one's enemies. To a very much less degree I have myself been having this difficulty

² Edgar Addison Bancroft, Chicago lawyer, general counsel for the International Harvester Company, in 1888 a Republican presidential elector, author of *The Chicago Strike of 1894* (1895) and a volume on trusts, *Destruction or Regulation?* (1907). Bancroft was in charge of the arrangements for Roosevelt's speech on the evening of April 29 to the Illinois Bar Association, when the text was "National Duty and International Ideals."

for the last twenty months. French, English and Canadian editors of newspapers and reviews have kept asking me to write for them, as I have been writing and speaking in the United States, and they have apparently been unable to understand my response that the very fact that I was speaking unpleasantly of my countrymen meant that these unpleasant words must be spoken directly to them and not in some other land about them. I wish that your book could be circulated as a tract through America, but only among people who would understand and act on the truth — which is that all that you say applies even more strongly to our people and our politicians than to the people and the politicians about whom you were writing; the difference being merely that fatuous blindness, and even a less degree of fatuous blindness, although not more wicked, is perhaps even less excusable, when the protection is merely the Channel than when the protection is the ocean.

The disheartening thing to me here is that the intellectuals have not been a bit better than the others. I think our average college boy is pretty sound, but the average college president has been a backer of Wilson and has joined with the average clergyman and big lawyer and big capitalist in holding meetings at which peace was deified and resolutions passed in favor of silly plans to put a stop to all war, and confidence expressed that "our noble President," and our various other only less noble public men were acting wisely in refusing to take any steps to prepare the country for defense and in refusing to say anything against international wrongdoing in the concrete.

I suppose each man tends to feel a particular animosity toward his tribal enemies, so to speak. I have never expected anything from the frank materialists. When they play the part of frankly selfish swine and say that they do not care what happens to Belgium as long as they can keep their own four feet in the trough, I merely try to appeal to any possible farsightedness in their selfishness by pointing out that, if they do not make ready, they will ultimately themselves be shouldered out of the trough by the German boar, or by some other equally warlike and competent competitor. But the men who really do rouse my anger are those who have been for years claiming to be idealists, claiming to be for peace and for justice and for virtue, and who have usually denounced me as not having sufficiently lofty ideals and as not being sufficiently altruistic. These men, for example, now wish to form an "international league to enforce peace" and actually assail me because I won't belong to it, although they dare not at the moment say anything for Belgium and are for the most part opposed to our taking adequate steps to enable us even to defend ourselves — not to speak of interfering on behalf of others. I do believe in ideals, and I think men ought to have dreams and see visions; but I think it represents mere emotional debauchery if they do not try measurably to realize the ideals and the visions and the dreams. I would like to see this country do its part within certain narrow and sharply drawn lines to widen the area in which international justice prevails and in which international injustice is forbidden. I do not believe in promising to sacrifice

our vital interests for this end, in the first place because we ought not to do so, and in the next place because if we made such a promise we would certainly break it. But I do believe in promising to do something and then in keeping the promise. The professional idealists on the other hand believe in promising to do everything and then in declining to keep any promise to even the smallest degree if it entails self-sacrifice and the incurrence of risk. These people make Wilson their ideal and when I strive to awake the United States to its duty, they point with pride to the *London News* and the members of their own class in England who actually, at this moment, in this great crisis, follow the lead of Massingham and his type in praising those Americans who lead America in the path of shirking both national and international duty.

I wish to Heaven there was a better chance of developing some strong candidate against Wilson. There is a real movement to nominate me, simply because I am the only man who has stood openly against him in a way to show that I meant it. But I have had to be the pioneer in this movement and as Lincoln, with his homely common sense, said, the trouble with pioneers is that they necessarily get so battered and splattered that they cannot be used at subsequent stages of the movement. It would be just as hard to elect me this year as it would have been to have elected Hamilton against Jefferson in 1800. If it had been possible to run Pinckney against Jefferson, with Hamilton and Adams heartily backing him, Jefferson might have been beaten. I wish to Heaven we could develop some Pinckney now who could be put forward. *Faithfully yours*

6067 • TO DWIGHT BANCROFT HEARD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 17, 1916

Dear Heard: I think that was very wise. It was much better to have the delegation¹ go uninstructed. More than that, I am very glad that you limited your resolutions to Americanism, preparedness and efficiency. We must not let our Progressives at Chicago go off into a mass of resolutions, however sound, about social and industrial justice, to which no human being at this moment will pay the slightest attention and the proclamation of which would merely damage the cause.

With hearty thanks, *Faithfully yours*

6068 • TO JAMES WILLIAM WHITE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 17, 1916

My dear White: The one thing that I am not able to do, which I most wish I were able to do, is to see you. It always does me good. You do not need to be told that I not only regard you as a peculiarly high-minded and useful

¹The Arizona delegation to the Progressive National Convention.

citizen but I have for you the affectionate devotion that one has for but a limited number of one's friends; and, as for dear Mrs. White, I am perfectly devoted to her. I have all kinds of queer experiences politically but at the moment my chief difficulty is that my whole time is taken up in doing silly things that it ought not to be necessary to do and yet that I cannot leave undone without hurting feelings and doing damage. For example, the mail is well over a thousand letters a week — there were 182 this morning. Innumerable people wish to see me; and four out of five of them have not any real reason for it. From the public standpoint I think that it is better for me not to try to make too many speeches or too many statements and yet I wish to make from time to time enough to make my position entirely clear.

With love, *Ever yours*

6069 · TO AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, undated¹

My dear Gardner: The Massachusetts situation has given me very great concern; and your letter adds to it. You ask me to do what I have never hesitated to say ought not to be done from the time when, at Trinidad, I first got the detailed information about your movement. I still do not understand why all of you did not stop after my Trinidad statement. By going on you put me in the position, the very painful position, of remaining neutral between my sincere friends and the men like the gentlemen you name, who are my bitter enemies, or else of acting in a way that would give the impression of insincerity for the very reason that it would be insincere.²

Whichever course we followed in this campaign was sure to be attended with difficulties. The one course that combined all the difficulties would be to act in a halfway manner. If I were to write such a letter as that you advise, giving my "consent" to the campaign, in twenty-four hours you would find that you needed a great deal more, that you needed an active "endorsement" by me of your ticket and then an attack by me on the other ticket. In another forty-eight hours you would find all over the union indignant demands

¹ This letter, received in Washington on April 25, was probably written on April 23.

² It had been, primarily, the political developments in Massachusetts that precipitated Roosevelt's Trinidad statement; it was primarily in that state that his instructions were ignored. Early in February, Gardner, Grafton D. Cushing, Robert M. Washburn, and Charles S. Bird announced that they were candidates for delegates-at-large to the Republican National Convention on a plank pledging their votes to Roosevelt. They were opposed by a formidable unpledged slate of Lodge, Weeks, McCall, and Crane. The Roosevelt supporters hoped not only to carry the primary for Roosevelt but to capture the party machinery as well. Matthew Hale assisted them "in every way possible"; Eugene Foss declared their movement "splendid"; Thomas W. Lawson probably gave them his support. But without Roosevelt's active assistance their cause was impossible. Nevertheless, in spite of his Trinidad statement and his personal request to Bird late in March that the campaign cease, they persisted. Toward the end with more energy than hope Gardner again appealed for Roosevelt's intercession, and Bird had hundreds of telegrams delivered to voters on Easter Sunday. On April 25 by a margin of 15,000 votes they lost.

to know why I had waited until the Illinois, Michigan and other primaries were past³ before taking such a step and further demands that in the remaining primaries I should take such a stand. Don't you see yourself that this would be the inevitable result. Either I had to go into the primaries and really fight everywhere or else I had to take the position which I did take and take it everywhere. Personally, while I think that each plan had grave disadvantages, I think that the latter, the one I actually followed, was infinitely better. But at any rate I am sure that to wobble half and half between them would be absolutely fatal. As a detail, I wish to say that what I said in my Trinidad statement represents my genuine belief. I do not believe in a man being altruistic to the point of folly; but I do think there are big crises when, if a man is worth his salt, he will think of his country and not of himself. This is such a crisis; and I am thinking in that way; and I think it would hurt whatever influence I have if I acted so as to make people doubtful whether I was really thinking (and not merely pretending to think) in that way.

With real regret that I have to answer you in this way, I am *Faithfully*
yours

6070 • TO WILLIAM NOBLE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 2, 1916

My dear Mr. Noble: When a message is sent to Garcia, Garcia must at once come out of the jungle and openly take his part in the fighting. If not, and then five months later he is still in the jungle and no one knows which side he really favors, there is no warrant for sending another message.

To drop allegory, I feel that if Mr. Hughes four or five months ago had, even at the cost, if necessary, of leaving the Supreme Court, come boldly out against Wilson, declaring himself in a clear-cut manner on the right side, the American side, of the great questions that face us, that is of Americanism, of Preparedness, of International Duty, he would have rendered an inestimable service to the American people: he would have enabled all who believe as an American should believe on these great questions, to rally behind him, and would have put this nation on its proper level.

But at present the movement for him is primarily a politician's movement, made for the very reason that no one knows where he stands, and therefore represents the ideal, dear to the soul of the politician, of the candidate against whom no one can say anything, because he has not any views on any really vital matter. From equally good authorities, for example, I am informed (and the public is informed) that he is in sympathy with Mr. Wilson, and that he is in sympathy with me, and that he is in sympathy with neither of us.¹ No

³ In Illinois Senator Sherman had led Roosevelt, Hughes, and Root in the Republican Presidential primary; Henry Ford had carried that primary in Michigan and Nebraska; La Follette had won a bare majority of Wisconsin's delegates.

¹ Who these "good authorities" were is not clear. Hughes was continuing to stand completely apart from the Presidential campaign and political issues.

human being knows how he stands on Preparedness, whether he is prepared for really bold action on the subject of Americanism, or whether he has real and effective convictions about International Affairs. This course of action is very likely to gain him the nomination, and it may be that after the nomination the men who feel as I do will have no alternative but to support him, as being the best of not very attractive alternatives. It may be of course that he can yet put himself in an attitude which will enable us to approximate measurably the feeling about him, we would have felt if he had fearlessly taken the lead instead of letting others shoulder the whole responsibility and accept and bear the whole brunt of the fighting for decency. But, as things actually are at this moment, there would be no moral gain in his nomination; it would rank among the nominations representing the not wholly attractive politicians' wisdom in choosing a candidate who has dexterously avoided standing boldly for the right, when the one need of the people was that its leaders should stand boldly for the right.

This letter is private and confidential, and is not to be used or shown. It may be, as I have said, that all we can do is to support Mr. Hughes. But at present to choose between Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson, represents merely a choice between a man we know to be unfit for the Presidency at this time, and another man whose one effort — and a successful effort — has been not to let us know whether he does or does not really represent what the first man represents. *Sincerely yours*

6071 · TO HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 3, 1916

Dear Fair: There is one thing that Beebe ought to have as soon as possible, and that is a Ford car. It would make the greatest difference in his work. As it is now, he has to spend an hour at the very best part of the day in getting out to his ordinary hunting grounds and often is unable to visit the extraordinary hunting grounds at all. There isn't anything that would do more for the success of that station than a Ford car. Don't you think that some of the multimillionaires who are behind the station would give you a Ford car for them? *Ever yours*

6072 · TO WILLIAM AUSTIN WADSWORTH

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, May 4, 1916

Dear Austin: I am very deeply touched by your letter. Now my dear fellow, I shall accept that check and turn it over to George Perkins, but in a way I feel as if I were accepting it under false pretenses. Our people are not awake either to the nation's needs or the nation's honor.

Unless there is a very big change in the next thirty days, the delegates who meet at Chicago will at the outside take Hughes, simply because they

can say they do not know about how Hughes feels on anything, and so they believe they can get the people to vote for him. If they dared they would take some old Republican war horse like Burton or Harding, but they may be afraid to.

Hughes is a very able man and is capable of doing excellent work in time of peace. He may or may not do well in time of war.

I have not the remotest idea whether or not he takes the Wilson view of the vital questions, or my views, or some other view. He won't let anyone know what he thinks or where he stands. Under these circumstances I do not think that self-respecting Americans ought nominate him, but I do not think that the Americans who meet at Chicago will be bigotedly self-respecting as regards this or any other matter! They would only nominate me if they felt that public sentiment in my favor was overwhelming, and I see not the slightest sign of such a condition of things. So, my dear Austin, I feel as if I was robbing you, and as if I had no business to accept your check; but as I have not given a dollar to George Perkins for the campaign, and as what he is doing is to try to place my record in as many papers as can be persuaded to take it, and as one means to this end he is putting a large advertisement about my record, drawn up by a really fine young fellow in the *Saturday Evening Post*, I shall turn over the \$1,000 to him as part payment of this advertisement.¹

Give my love to Mrs. Wadsworth. *Ever yours*

6073 · TO CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 6, 1916

*Dear Charley:*¹ One reason I cannot say what you desire me to say is I don't know whether the facts are or are not just as you believe them to be.

My own judgment is that among the rank and file of the Republican voters, and including the voters opposed to Mr. Wilson, there is very much more sentiment for me than for any other candidate. But — I think — the convention at Chicago will be in the hands of a very sordid set of machine masters associated with rather well-meaning and rather timid citizens of the ordinary type without strong convictions. Under such conditions I agree

¹This four-page advertisement, entitled "Why Roosevelt Would be Our Best Guarantee of Peace," was sponsored officially by the Roosevelt Non-Partisan League. On the first page there was a large picture of the principal. The text on the following pages described his successful efforts in behalf of righteous peace in the Alaskan boundary dispute, the Venezuelan crisis, the immigration crisis with Japan, the Perdicaris affair, the Russo-Japanese War, and the interventions in Santo Domingo and Cuba. The advertisement concluded by soliciting contributions for the league; see *Saturday Evening Post*, 188:67-70 (May 13, 1916).

¹The copy of this letter in the Roosevelt Manuscripts nowhere indicates the full name of the addressee. Almost certainly, however, the letter was to Charles G. Washburn, in 1916 a delegate from Massachusetts to the Republican National Convention.

with you that there is a very small chance of my being nominated. But under such conditions my duty — from the standpoint of the country — after the nomination has been made must be shaped by actual events. It is not possible for me to say in advance what I am going to do, and it does seem to me that my Trinidad statement and my statement of the other day covers the situation as far as I can cover it now. *Always yours*

6074 • TO FOSTER VINCENT BROWN

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, May 10, 1916

*My dear Mr. Brown:*¹ Mr. Perkins has shown me your letter to him. Pray treat this letter as confidential, for I would not, under any conditions, be put into a light of attempting to make a bargain with anyone for support either in the nomination or election. My view is, as you know, that the Republicans ought not to nominate me unless they feel convinced from the standpoint of the country that it is essential that I should be nominated and elected on the platform of my Chicago speech. I am not advocating the nomination of either myself or of any other man, except as an incident to the vital matter of securing the adoption by the people of the principles for which I think this nation should stand.

If a cut is to be healed, it must be healed to the bone. If I am nominated and accept the nomination, it will be with the determination to treat the past as completely past and to give absolutely fair play to all my supporters.

I regard this as a very great crisis in the nation's history. It is idle to talk about what reforms we should have within our own limits, until we definitely settle the question whether we ourselves are to have the decision about these reforms, or turn the whole matter over to some body of alien conquerors.

My feeling is that all men who stand for Americanism, Preparedness and for International duty in this crisis should join, and whoever they are about to unite upon as leader should treat all of them with absolute fairness and justice, with reference only to their attitude in the present and without regard to past differences. *Sincerely yours*

6075 • TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

William Allen White Mss.

New York, May 10, 1916

Dear White: That's a mighty nice letter of yours, and what you say about Root is backed up by this enclosed letter from Ex-Governor Stokes of New Jersey, which I am sending you for your private information.¹ Please return

¹ Foster Vincent Brown, Republican congressman from Tennessee, 1895-1897; attorney general of Porto Rico, 1910-1912; delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1884, 1896, 1900, and 1916.

¹ Stokes considered "the movement to nominate Mr. Root" as "a movement to cut the throat of the Republican Party from ear to ear."

it to me afterwards. Stokes is not a Progressive. He remained in the Republican Party, although I believe he voted for me. I believe that the general feeling among the men I respect as between Wilson and Root is exactly such as you express in your letter; & as for Hughes, before I support him I hope to know whether he is or is not a near-Wilson. *Sincerely yours*

6076 • TO GEORGE VON LENGERKE MEYER

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, May 10, 1916

Dear George: That Roosevelt Non-Partisan League is all right!¹ I hope you will back it up.

I am interested in what you tell me about Cabot. I had heard it from other sources. Cabot's belief that the way to pick a winner is to pick a man who has no record on the vital questions of the day, and whose views on these vital questions are not known, may be politically sagacious. If so, the American people occupy a pretty poor attitude.

I enclose you a letter from Julian Street² on the subject which after reading please return. *Sincerely yours*

6077 • TO GUY EMERSON

*Printed*¹

Oyster Bay, May 11, 1916

*Dear Mr. Emerson:*² I have your letter asking a statement from me as to the work of the Roosevelt Non-Partisan League.³ As you know, I have refused to indorse the use of my name in the primaries, or in any way to enter into any factional contest which has for its object my nomination in Chicago in June. You also know that I have emphatically stated that it would be unwise to nominate me unless with the full understanding that such nomination

¹The creation of the Roosevelt Non-Partisan League had just been announced. For a discussion of its activities and Roosevelt's official endorsement of its purpose, see No. 6077.

²Julian Street, author of essays, plays, children's stories, and one of the great gastronomical guidebooks, *Where Paris Dines* (1929). Perhaps because of his early experience as a reporter, he maintained a steady interest and activity in politics.

³New York Times, May 12, 1916, pp. 1, 5. The only version of this letter in the Roosevelt Manuscripts is an incomplete and undated draft.

²Guy Emerson, banker, doer of good works. In 1916 he was secretary of the Theodore Roosevelt Non-Partisan League. Before that he had worked in the Treasury Department, been an associate editor of the *Economic World*, and had managed the Church (Episcopal) Pension Fund. After 1916 he was treasurer of the Eastern division of the Salvation Army and member of various advisory commissions of the federal government.

³Emerson and Thomas Charles Desmond, both Harvard '08, the latter then beginning his successful career as a consulting engineer and building contractor, had founded the Roosevelt Non-Partisan League of which Desmond was treasurer. On May 8 Emerson requested from Roosevelt a statement about the league. The New York Times interpreted Roosevelt's reply as a direct statement of his candidacy.

means the hearty indorsement of the principles for which I stand — the principles set forth in the Chicago speech to which you refer.

I do not have to improvise my convictions on either Americanism or preparedness. I have fought for them all my life long, and when I was President I translated my convictions concerning them into Governmental policy. The events of the last two years in Europe, and of the last four or five years in Mexico have brought into vivid relief the vital need of preparedness; and the sinister revival of the politico-racial hyphen in our own politics has emphasized the need of stern insistence on thorough-going Americanism within our own borders.

Twenty-one years ago, when I was Police Commissioner of New York, I said: "There must be a feeling of broad, radical, and intense Americanism if good work is to be done in any direction. Our citizens must act as Americans; not as Americans with a prefix and qualifications; not as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, native Americans — but as Americans pure and simple. It is an outrage for a man to drag foreign politics into our contests and vote as an Irishman or German, or other foreigners. It is no less an outrage to discriminate against one who has become an American in good faith because of his creed or birthplace."

What I thus said then is what I now say. Nineteen years ago, when I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I said:

"Preparation against war is the surest guarantee for peace. Cowardice in a race as in an individual is the unpardonable sin, and a willful failure to prepare for danger may in its effects be as bad as cowardice. The timid man who cannot fight, and the selfish, short-sighted, or foolish man who will not take the steps that will enable him to fight, stand on almost the same plane.

"As yet no nation can hold its place in the world, or can do any work really worth doing, unless it stands ready to guard its rights with an armed hand. That orderly liberty which is both the foundation and the capstone of our civilization can be gained and kept only by men who are willing to fight for an ideal; who hold high the love of honor, love of faith, love of flag, and love of country.

"We ask for an armament fit for the nation's needs, not primarily to fight, but to avert fighting as long as fighting can honorably be averted. Preparedness deters the foe and maintains right by the show of ready might without the use of violence. Peace, like freedom, is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards or of those too feeble or too shortsighted to deserve it; and we ask to be given this means to insure that honorable peace which alone is worth having."

Your league emphasizes its devotion to these principles and supports me only as representing these principles. This is emphatically the proper attitude to take; and because this is your attitude, and because you are working in this spirit I very earnestly approve your work. The safety of this country depends upon our immediate, serious, and vigorous effort to square our words with our deeds and to secure our own national rehabilitation. The

slumbering patriotism of our people must be waked and translated into concrete and efficient action. The awakening must be to sense of national and international duty and responsibility.

We must do our duty both to ourselves and to others, and unless we fit ourselves to guard our own rights we shall be impotent to defend the rights of any one else. We must show that we have the rugged strength of character without which ease and luxury, and material well-being represent nothing but promise of national disaster. We must insist that every man in the land be loyal to the United States and to no other nation on the globe; for we can tolerate no divided allegiance. We must prepare ourselves to meet every crisis; and the preparedness must be industrial and social no less than military; it must be of the soul and the mind no less than of the body.

Our present troubles with Mexico and Germany are the direct result of our utter failure to prepare and of our Governmental policy of almost unbelievable timidity and vacillation. A policy of vigorous preparedness and courteous but immediate insistence on our rights from the very beginning of the war would, instead of being provocative, have prevented all chance of trouble.

It is a crime against this nation and against mankind that there has been no such preparation. So far from gaining the respect of our opponents by our exhibition of weakness and timidity we have drifted to the verge of war with them. Even if peace should now come in Europe it would nevertheless remain our highest duty to realize our own culpable shortcomings and enter on a course of far-reaching preparedness; preparedness in things military to free us from all dangers of attack from without, and preparedness in matters social and industrial, so as to make us really fit for the work of peace within our own borders.

I am glad and proud, as an American, that you are fearlessly and efficiently backing these ideals.

6078 · TO THOMAS ALVA EDISON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 13, 1916

*My dear Mr. Edison:*¹ I am so profoundly touched by your letter concerning me, that I shall ask the Roosevelt Non-Partisan League to give the original to me. I wish to hand it over to my children.²

¹ Thomas Alva Edison, who sought out many inventions including the phonograph, the motion picture, and the incandescent lamp.

² In a public letter of May 10 to Guy Emerson, Edison had written that he believed Roosevelt to be "absolutely the only man that should be considered [for President] at this crucial period. He has more real statesmanship, a better grasp of the most important needs of this country, and greater executive ability to handle the big international problems that will arise at the close of the war than all the other proposed candidates put together. . . . [He is] decidedly the most striking figure in American life" (New York Times, May 13, 1916). The Times also published a version of Roosevelt's reply which, unlike that in the Roosevelt Manuscripts, was dated May 12.

There is literally no one else whom I would be so anxious to have say what you have said of me. I shall try to deserve it!

With very hearty thanks. *Faithfully yours*

6079 · TO GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 13, 1916

Dear George: Will you tell Dean Lewis and Herbert Knox Smith that I shall crib shamelessly from their memoranda for the closing part of my Kansas City speech? ¹

"Billy" Loeb was out here, and he is going into matters for the next three weeks purely from the Republican side.² He thinks you and I and our associates cannot! *Ever yours*

6080 · TO GUY EMERSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 16, 1916

Dear Emerson: That's a mighty nice letter of yours! Now, I think you are entirely right about standing for industrial preparedness; but, and incidentally as far as I know, Mr. Hughes has taken no position on industrial preparedness any more than on military preparedness. Now, is there any way I can reach "the great mass of businessmen and laboring men who are inclined to take a chance with Mr. Hughes because he is not quite so strong for military preparedness as I am." I know you would not have me in the smallest degree go back from the position I have taken in this matter, or say anything in the West I don't say in the East. As for industrial preparedness, I am with you absolutely. I spoke for it very strongly at Chicago, and I shall speak for it strongly at Detroit.

I entirely agree with you that what we want is the military preparedness championed by General Wood; the business efficiency which du Pont demands,¹ and the recognition of labor which Gompers in some sense embodies, and I will add that we want the farmers represented, as Barrett²

¹ In this section of his speech Roosevelt dealt with "social preparedness," the "great" truth "that in a successful democracy, every man must, in reasonable measure, be his 'brother's keeper.'" This involved an effort on the part of government, labor, and management to increase the efficiency of business, a "full recognition" that modern industry had to be carried on "by great industrial units," legislation to protect "the social and economic rights" of farmers and wageworkers, a protective tariff with schedules scientifically determined, and the conservation of natural resources.

² In 1916 Loeb was Meyer's most active collaborator in the work of the Roosevelt Republican League.

¹ T. Coleman du Pont was in 1916 a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination on a platform that supported industrial preparedness but opposed "militarism."

² Charles Simon Barrett, long an official of various farm organizations, a member of Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, Wilson's National Agricultural Advisory Committee and Industrial Conference, 1919, and Coolidge's Agricultural Commission.

of Georgia may be said to represent them. But the first need of the movement is that our people shall understand that there is no use of industrial preparedness, unless they are ready to defend themselves.

Would you mind looking through my Chicago speech, and tell me if I don't put strong enough emphasis on industrial preparedness. *Faithfully yours*

6081 • TO FREDERICK L. ELDRIDGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 16, 1916

*Dear Fred:*¹ That's a mighty nice letter of yours, and I appreciate it. I never took any very strong ground about the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. I always said they were pure pieces of machinery. I still think they can be usefully employed in certain states at certain times. In other words, I was never ardent for them. In my speeches of four years ago I put very little emphasis on them, and always with qualification. I cannot say I have changed very materially since. *Sincerely yours*

6082 • TO WILLIAM HENRY MOODY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 18, 1916

My dear Moody: Charley Washburn has sent me the letter you wrote him on May 11th, and Mrs. Roosevelt and I are so profoundly touched and pleased by it, that I must send you this line to say so.

I have always said there were three men to whom I owed more than to any three others during the time I was President. One was Elihu Root; another was Gifford Pinchot. These two were with me throughout my term of office, and perhaps therefore I should say I owed them the most. As soon as I left office both obeyed the centrifugal tendencies of the time and flew in opposite directions — Root in the direction of sacrificing idealism to an excessive taste and desire to be severely practical, and Gifford in the direction of sacrificing practical achievement to an excessive, and sometimes, twisted, idealism. You were the man with whom I was in most complete sympathy; the man to whom I owed more and more the longer you stayed with me. If I had not felt obliged to put you on the Supreme Court, you would have ended by being far and away the most influential man for progress in the right direction that there was in my administration. It was, however, more important to have you on the court, and had you been able to stay on the court, I believe you would have accomplished more than any man that has ever been on it, with the sole exception of Marshall — and (in addition) . . . you would have worked — as Marshall worked — for nationalism and efficiency, and you would have also worked, as he did not

¹ Frederick L. Eldridge, Harvard '82, New York City financier, in 1916 a Republican for Roosevelt.

work, for the great Democratic principle of sanely, «though» cautiously and resolutely endeavoring, to make each of us, so far as may be, "his brother's keeper."

What would I not give if we now had high in our governmental counsels your keen intelligence, your high purpose, and your spirit of good humor and moderation in the endeavor to serve great ideals, by enlisting on their behalf men whose service was often and indeed usually conditioned by aptitudes, traits and surroundings that were anything but idealistic.

I heard from Harry Stimson of his visit to you the other day. *Always yours*

6083 · TO WILLIAM CAMERON FORBES

Forbes Mss.

Washington, May 23, 1916

Dear Forbes: As to your first point, and facing the facts as they are at this moment, the Philippines in our possession "threaten" Japan just about as much as Cuba "threatened" us when in Spain's possession in 1898. We could defend the Philippines just about as Spain defended Cuba. Now, my dear fellow, there isn't anything so misleading as a false analogy. If you and Percy Haughton had ever tried "a strong offensive" against Yale with a team composed of eleven substitutes, six of whom had not been on a grid-iron previously, that's where the analogy would be perfect with the Philippines at this moment, so far as concerns "their supreme offensive value in dealing with Japan."¹

As to "asserting the interests of the United States in China," it would be simple folly until we seriously take up the question of ample preparedness. That can only be done by our leading men seriously taking up the question in its entirety, and steadily, with a view to resolutely following a definite course. In 1907, in his last utterances on international subjects, Mr. Hughes took the views of the extreme pacifists of the Bryan, Ford and Carnegie type. Without ample and authoritative evidence that he has changed, support of him now makes advocacy of the retention of the Philippines at the same worse than ridiculous.

Yet your (two senators) delegation from Massachusetts, for instance, without any effective protest from your people in Massachusetts shows a tendency to support Hughes (unless they drop the make-believe candidacy of Weeks), precisely for the reason that no human being knows what kind

¹ Forbes had written that in his days as a football coach at Harvard, he, like the great Percy Haughton after him, had operated "on the general principle that the strongest defense was a strong offense. . . ." Thus, he argued, the Philippines, by placing the United States in a strong offensive position in the western Pacific, made almost impossible a Japanese attack on Hawaii or other American Pacific bases.

of an administration he is for, or whether he is or is not for an administration which shall be aggressively for preparedness. It is utterly useless to talk as if we ought to retain the Philippines, unless we are to have a strong administration in the future, which shall stand for preparedness, not passively and tepidly, but in thoroughgoing and aggressive fashion. Until our public men have learned that it is at best foolish and at worst criminal not to correlate policy and armament we shall not make much headway in this country.

You are quite right about my attitude. I would unquestionably advocate the retention of the Islands *upon the condition* that first, no promise of independence is authoritatively given, and second and even more important that our policy of armament should be made to conform with the requirements of the situation. In other words, this means that the government and the people must in emphatic manner take the proper attitude towards our position as a world power, and therefore toward the establishment and maintenance of a great naval and military program, which alone would be adequate to maintain such a position.

I am much interested in what you say about the House and Senate bills. Of course, I have no influence in Congress as to what is done with them.² Do keep me informed, because what you say will have a very material effect upon the attitude I take.

Now, my dear fellow, I am sure *you* are not of the pacifist frame of mind. I am sure *you* don't question the wisdom of adequate armament and entire preparedness. But I have to deal with the actual facts. Gussie Gardner is, as far as I know, the only New England man in either house of congress, who has really stood up publicly, as regards armament and policy (including the way in which our government is to be handled) in such a way that if his views were adopted, we would be justified in saying that we would have the right to retain the Philippines, because our power would be amply adequate for the purpose.

I like Mr. Hughes personally, but if he were nominated we would not have the slightest conception as to whether he would in aggressive fashion force the fight for a course that would alone make us fit to keep the Philippines. Yet you find (Lodge and all of the others) your delegates, and your newspapers and many of your private citizens who are supposed to be for preparedness either directly or indirectly backing Hughes.

Until our people get some sense of the obligations entailed by the adoption of a vigorous foreign policy, in such a matter as this, I don't feel very hopeful as to our being able with wisdom to try to keep our Trans-Pacific possessions. *Sincerely yours*

² Forbes had asked Roosevelt to ask his friends in Congress to oppose the following provisions in the Jones Bill: the extension of suffrage, the requirement for the Philippine Senate's approval of all executive appointments, and the implication that the Philippine as well as the United States government should decide when the islands were ready for independence. As passed in August 1916, the act contained all the provisions Forbes opposed.

Oyster Bay, May 26, 1916

Dear Franklin: For your private information I will say that after your address to the Naval League I asked a Naval Officer of high standing, who is intimately acquainted with all the facts, to tell me about your remark concerning the stripping of the ships for the cruise of the battle fleet around the world, because my memory was not in accordance with the statement as you made it.¹

He writes me as follows: —

Concerning the statement to which you refer made by the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt in his address before the National Convention of the Navy League, to the effect that in order to send the fleet of sixteen battleships around the world it was necessary "to strip many other vessels of their officers and men, to borrow here, there and other places, from shore station and other shore assignments, with the result that while the main fleet was in full commission the naval establishment as a whole was seriously weakened," I believe that Mr. Roosevelt is wholly mistaken.

Our fleet at that time consisted of 16 battleships maintained in commission with the regular authorized complements, and it was sent around the world with these same complements; and as far as I know none of our other ships or shore stations were called upon for any officers or men. If I can find any evidence to the contrary I will let you know within a few days.

What Mr. Roosevelt says, in the same paragraph, about the review in New York harbor is largely true. In that case the regularly commissioned ships were depleted to enable ships in reserve to be brought to the review, and he has probably assumed that the same condition pertained in the case of the world cruise.

Give my love to Eleanor. Let me see you whenever I get the chance.

Your aff. uncle

Oyster Bay, May 27, 1916

My dear Mr. Reuterdahl: A naval officer is today a fighting engineer.² On board a superdreadnought there are more engines outside the engine room

¹ Franklin Roosevelt in his reply agreed he was wrong. A more careful investigation had revealed that shore stations and ships were not stripped to man the fleet on its cruise around the world.

² New York Times, May 29, 1916, pp. 1, 3.

² Roosevelt was disturbed by the provision in the navy bill for the annual appointment of thirty graduates from qualified engineering schools as ensigns for "engineering duty only." The Bureau of Steam Engineering criticized this moderate proposal to meet the needs of an expanding navy as sharply as did Roosevelt and Reuterdahl. The bureau's chief, Admiral Robert Stanislaus Griffin, proposed as an alternative that Congress should encourage line officers to specialize in engineering. The final bill, besides providing for the thirty ensigns from civil life, permitted line officers from the rank of lieutenant to commander to apply for engineering duty only. Such officers, the bill carefully stated, were to retain their places in grade and their rights to the succession of command on shore.

proper than inside. The same set of officers pipe the guns, navigate the ship and run the engine. It is because of this that the navy has maintained its present high standard in engineering.

From the time that steam became an auxiliary to sail in propelling our man-of-war, with sails finally disappearing, the line and engineer corps of the navy were two separate and distinct professions. With the disappearance of the sail our ships became a mass of complicated machinery, and to understand and work every engine, from the propelling power to the operations of guns, turrets and hoists of every character, steam and electrical, both the line and engineer officers have to be engineers. The line officer has to understand the operation, the repair, upkeep, care and limitations of all machinery on board ship in order to fight them efficiently in battle.

In 1899, when I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the old engineer corps was finally abolished. This was a good move — the corps had outlived its usefulness. The amalgamation of the engineers with the line has effected remarkable results. During the fleet's great cruise around the world the battleships maintained an absolute unbroken schedule to the admiration of the world's naval experts. The high engineering record was the direct result of this amalgamation. This I know myself, and my opinion is reinforced by the best naval authorities, that the navy has never been more efficient in engineering than at that time.

But this record is not to continue. The Naval Appropriations bill, which will come before the House on Friday next, contains a clause which will re-establish the old engineer corps. It will inject a political element into the service, and revive all the bickerings of the days of the old engineer corps and the lamentable conditions resulting therefrom.

The graduates of the Naval Academy obtain a thorough knowledge of engineering during their four-year course. The best material in each section of the country is represented at Annapolis, the candidates being selected by examination. During the four years those who fail are dropped, and in the end only the best remain. While the midshipmen are at Annapolis they are unconsciously impregnated with a certain esprit de corps produced nowhere else.

Those who take a special interest in engineering apply themselves to the study of the practical operation of the numerous engines on board ship. And those who show marked ability in engineering are sent through a post-graduate course. In this manner the navy now obtains its engineers. The line officer, Lieutenant Charles W. Nimitz,³ superintended the building of the

³ Roosevelt meant Chester W. Nimitz, who served as chief engineer and executive officer of the *Maumee* until the United States entered the war. At the end of the war he was chief of staff in the Atlantic Fleet Submarine Force. Twenty years later he was serving as Chief of the Bureau of Navigation on the day of Pearl Harbor. Shortly thereafter he was sent to the Pacific as commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet. For the next four years he directed with skill and wisdom the navy's operations against Japan.

largest Diesel engine in the world, which is now being installed in the collier *Maumee*, and although a line officer he will be the Chief Engineer of the ship.

This training produces the right man. An engineer officer in charge of the turbine of a dreadnought must not only be a good engineer. He must be a leader of men as well; an executive and an organizer. For this the training at Annapolis especially fits him. No college can produce a practical executive or organizing engineer, only the hard school of the navy.

The new engineer corps, if established, will mean the adding of a new element of unskilled civilians, in possession of theoretical knowledge only. For the first three years of their service they as learners will be practically of no use to the navy. It is safe to assume that after a few years the new engineer corps will do exactly what the old one did, claiming that the training of the engineers was practically the same as that of the line officers, and that consequently the engineer should be able to navigate the ship as well. That will mean friction, lobbies in Washington for war privileges and rank, and lowered efficiency on board ship.

As the bill reads, thirty young men with practically no knowledge of naval engineering are yearly, for the next ten years, to be appointed with rank of acting ensign. It is well known that the scheme has been framed without consultation with the navy itself. There have been no hearings. No officers of the navy, save one, recommended it. The question has not been referred to the General Board or the War College — or any board of competent officers. The Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, Admiral Griffin, is on record against it. It is purely a political scheme, recommended by Mr. Daniels, a new form of the pork barrel which will supply the politicians with thirty additional and yearly plums for the next ten years to come.

To inject a new element in the navy and against the wishes of the navy itself and over its head will lower the already depleted efficiency of the fleet. It is nothing short of criminal because line officers of the navy will be deprived of the opportunity to learn engineering when their whole life is nothing but engineering.

These methods may help party politics, and every friend of the navy should raise his hand to choke off this latest attempt to cripple the efficiency of the American Navy. *Yours truly*

6086 • TO BROOKS ADAMS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 27, 1916

Dear Brooks: You must not think because I don't answer your letters at length I do not appreciate them, but I am driven nearly to death. I don't believe they will nominate me. I wish to heaven there were a man, young or old, whom I could make them nominate, whom I could be sure would be true to the policies in question.

In great haste. *Sincerely yours*

Chicago, May 29, 1916

My dear Bonaparte: I thank you for your letter of May 24th. It is unnecessary, my dear fellow, to say that I am very deeply touched by your references to myself. You say that there are many men not only in the Progressive Party, but in other parties, who "are seriously perplexed and concerned by reports which they now hear from different quarters that (I) have announced that (I) will not be their candidate unless I also receive the Republican nomination." As I wish to avoid anything that can possibly be construed into the nature of a threat uttered by me with the design to influence the Republican National Convention, I shall ask you not to make this letter of mine public; but you are entirely at liberty to show it confidentially to any of the persons of whom you speak.

I have, of course, made no such announcement as that alluded to in the quotation from your letter given above. I have scrupulously refrained from saying whether I would or would not run if nominated only by the Progressives. The determination of that point must await the action of the Conventions in Chicago.

I very earnestly hope that the Republicans will so act as to make it possible for the Progressives to join them. We might as well face the fact, however, in view of the attitude of some of the Republican leaders that it is at least conceivable that we shall be put in a position where our highest duty, our fealty to the country, our sense of what patriotism demands in a great crisis will make it imperative upon us to run a separate ticket. Whether in such event I will head that ticket cannot be determined in advance. It, of course, might be necessary for me to do so, or on talking it over with you and my other friends who will constitute the Progressive Committee, it might seem to me and to all of us inadvisable for me to do so. The decision of this point, like the whole matter of running a separate ticket, must be left for all of us to decide after full consultation, in the event of things at Chicago not taking the course we earnestly hope they will take, that is, in the event of its proving impossible to persuade the Republicans to act so that the Progressives will be able to act with them.

I must ask that this letter be accepted at its exact face value, and that my friends in the Progressive Convention no more proceed upon the assumption that I will run, than my friends in the Republican Convention proceed upon the assumption that I will not run. My course must be determined by my belief as to what the interests of the country demand in view of the action finally taken by the Convention at Chicago.¹ *Very truly yours*

¹ Armed with this letter, Bonaparte was to join Perkins and Meyer in Chicago, there to negotiate with Progressives and Republicans to attempt to effect their joint nomination of Roosevelt.

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 3, 1916

My dear Egan: I am sending you my book called *A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open*.

Mrs. Roosevelt was immensely pleased and amused with your last letter, and so was I. When I see you I will tell you about the West Indies. On the whole the Danish Islands were in the worst shape of all; due quite as much to the improper make-believe philanthropy of the Danish Socialists at home as to anything else. *Ever yours*

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 5, 1916

My dear Major Parker: I am much pleased to get your letter. You may be perfectly satisfied that I will not "compromise." Indeed, my dear fellow, I have made my fight square for universal service as well as universal training.

As to what you say about the Presidency, my dear fellow, I must speak frankly to you. You have now three times in letters suggested your nomination by me. Your nomination is absolutely impossible. Never in history would it have been possible to nominate for President a man of your rank and experience, purely for having written a military book,¹ no matter how excellent, and no matter how excellent his character. I assure you, my dear Major, I could not get one delegate to vote for you if I devoted my whole strength to the effort. . . . I don't like to say this to you. It sounds unkind. But you have written me again and again on the subject, so I had better answer you perfectly frankly.

I found it impossible to get any feeling in behalf of the nomination of Major General Wood, or of General Goethals, and these are the only two names connected with the army to which the people or the politicians have been willing to give even the slightest consideration.

I don't believe I shall be nominated. If I am not, it is possible but hardly probable «that» I shall have a voice in the selection of one of the two or three men prominently before the convention for the nomination. But this is absolutely the utmost I shall have, and probably I won't have this.

With regret that I must write you in this fashion, I am, *Sincerely yours*

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 6, 1916

My dear General Pershing: I am immensely interested in your letter, and very genuinely pleased that you should have written to me. You have given

¹ John H. Parker, *Trained Citizen Soldiery* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1916).

me the most understanding view of the situation I have yet had.¹ In a general way I was prepared to find the situation as bad as you describe it, but you etch in your knowledge and give effect to the facts. What you tell me of the Carranzistas is about what I supposed. I am relieved, however, as to what you say about the worthlessness of Mexican soldiery of today.

Of course, I am absolutely helpless to accomplish anything. If I were President I would guarantee to handle the Mexican situation in an entirely satisfactory manner along the lines you indicate, which are substantially along the lines which we proceeded in Cuba.

I do not for one moment believe I shall be nominated. Just at present the American people are passing through a yellow streak, and their leaders have sedulously done everything in their power to broaden the yellow streak.

My dear General, permit me to say how proud and pleased I am with your brilliant handling of the situation, and with the admirable record of the officers and men under you. It has not been easy for an American to be proud of much during the past two years, and I breathe a sigh of relief when I think of the officers and the enlisted men of the army and navy.

With the heartiest respect, I am, *Sincerely yours*

6091 · TO CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 6, 1916

*My dear Mrs. Catt:*¹ It is a little difficult for me to give a statement to any person, male or female, who won't take the trouble to read what I have publicly said. You might just as well write me to know whether I believe in Americanism or in Preparedness, or in the U. S. Army, or in the U. S. Navy, as ask the questions you write me about. Write to Miss Carpenter² if you are in ignorance of what I have said. I have explicitly, within a few weeks, made a statement as to what the exact amendment to the Federal Constitution should be.³ Of course, I have spoken (about) . . . woman

¹ Pershing, then a brigadier general, was in Mexico pursuing Pancho Villa who three months earlier had killed seventeen Americans in a raid on Columbus, New Mexico. Carranza had protested the presence of American troops in his country. On May 31, in "a long insulting" note, he asked the withdrawal of our forces. The Wilson Administration had replied with a strong note, and the country awaited the beginning of a war.

¹ Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, aggressive agitator for woman suffrage, in 1916 president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

² Miss Alice Carpenter, president of the Women's Roosevelt League. Other members of the league included Mrs. Jacob Riis, Miss Anne Morgan, Mrs. Leigh Hunt, Mrs. William G. Willcox, and Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, nationally prominent penologist.

³ On April 28 Roosevelt told a delegation from the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage that he favored a federal amendment, to be enforced by Congress, permitting women to vote.

suffrage again and again and again, and in a speech on the subject before your own society at a meeting presided over by Doctor Shaw.¹ Take that speech and take my public statements, which Miss Carpenter will furnish you, and you will find they will explicitly and minutely answer the questions you raise. And if you will look at them, my dear Mrs. Catt, you will save your association from the absurdity of questions the answers to which every human being in the United States knows. *Sincerely yours*

6092 · TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

Lee Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 7, 1916

Dear Arthur: Your long and interesting letter of the 10th of May has just come. I cannot answer it as I would like to for we are in the throes of a nominating convention, and I am being called up all the time to answer every form of question from Chicago, and to give advice on every species of crisis and problem—for the most part ridiculous, but nevertheless important for the time being.¹

Indeed, I don't wonder you don't care to consort or communicate with

⁴Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, suffragist, physician, and minister. The first woman ordained by the Methodist Protestant Church, she was also the first of her sex to preach in the Gustav Vasa Cathedral, the state church of Sweden, and the first ordained woman to preach in Berlin, Copenhagen, Christiania, Amsterdam, and London. Dr. Shaw served as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1904-1915, as chairman of the women's committee of the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919, and as a member of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, the League to Enforce Peace, and the National Society for Broader Education.

¹ The Progressive National Convention met in Chicago from Wednesday, June 7, until Saturday, June 10. The Republican National Convention met in the same city for the same period. In 1916 the Progressives were not really a political party; like the men around Prince Charlie in '45, they were held together by dedication to an old cause and a single man. They met, most of them, in Chicago determined to nominate Theodore Roosevelt and no one else for the Presidency. Only a handful, led by Perkins, Wilkinson, and Garfield, were prepared to seek a bargain and a truce with the Republicans. But the bargaining power of this handful in its dealings with the older party was severely limited by the intransigence of the rank and file in the Progressive convention.

The Republicans, for their part, were determined to nominate anyone—and most probably Hughes—instead of Roosevelt. Divided as the parties were on the principal figure, they both sought cautiously for some common ground to stand on. Not by accident, but by the co-operative endeavor of Henry Cabot Lodge and William Draper Lewis, the two platforms were virtually identical. Beginning on June 8, efforts were made by a committee composed of members from each convention to find a candidate acceptable to both sides. When these efforts failed, the Republicans nominated Hughes and the Progressives selected Roosevelt. In a statement from Oyster Bay, Roosevelt informed the convention that he could not accept "at this time." For letters dealing with the part Roosevelt played in the maneuvers of these four days in Chicago, see Numbers 6095, 6096, and 6097. For good accounts of the two conventions, see Mowry, *Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*, ch. xiv; William Allen White, *Autobiography*, pp. 523-527; Pusey, *Hughes*, I, 325-329.

your fellow men and still less write to anyone. No wonder your nerves are a little ragged from overwork and anxiety. I have to keep an iron hand on myself over here, simply to keep my soul from being fretted into a frazzle by beating against the immense mass of selfishness and cowardice, love of ease, love of luxury, love of money-getting, and above all the spineless sentimentality, which is partly merely a mask for cowardly materialism, and which when not merely materialistic is equally noxious, because unspeakably foolish. A reasonably genuine species of distorted humanitarianism may be just as mischievous as gross materialism.

As things are at present, I earnestly hope you will stay where you are, grinding away at your task of munitions-making, and serving under Lloyd George, who seems to me also to be about the only one of the big men who has already made good. By the way, the difference between you and us during the last few years is that you have one Lloyd George, whereas we have no one! But I must not be disloyal to Edward Grey, whom I really like; and we have at the head of affairs no one who can approach him either. Asquith represents a type which, I think, is more dangerous to a democracy than any other. It is fundamentally the same as the Wilson type; and both differ from the Taft type chiefly in being a little abler and a little more self-satisfied, and therefore a little more dangerous. Morley wasn't as powerful, but in intent was equally mischievous.

I think Asquith really believes that a parliamentary victory offsets a disaster at the Dardanelles or at Mesopotamia. He and Morley taken in the aggregate were just like Wilson and Taft taken in the aggregate; although in each couple, considered separately, the distribution of qualities differed from the distribution of the same qualities in the other couple. However, I will come back to our difficulties later in the letter.

With what you say about the military situation, I, of course, agree. I certainly do not pretend to be wiser than anybody else, and I most freely admit that two years ago I would have laughed at anyone who had told me that after twenty-two months of such warfare the military and economic vitality of the Central Powers would have been so little impaired as is now the case. There is evidence that they are steadily growing more exhausted in men and resources; and you have more of both to draw on yet in England; and an even greater number of men to draw on in Russia. But at present the Germans are on the whole victorious. The Central Powers have beaten off attacks, and are occupying great stretches of French and Russian territory; not to speak of practically all of Serbia and Belgium. I entirely agree with you that the chief danger is lest the pressure on money, material, blood and nerves may give such strength to the peace element among the Allies, as to bring about a premature and disastrous end to the war; an end which would mean that it would all have to be fought over again in a few years, and perhaps under far more disadvantageous conditions. As you say, weak and irresolute minds among the Allies may be influenced by the cold-blooded

opportunism of men like the Pope and President Wilson.² If Leo XIII were alive, I believe the Vatican would have been emphatically on the side of the Allies, for he was about as much like the present Pope as I am like Wilson.

I took considerable pleasure the other day in St. Louis, the great home of hyphenated Americans, in pointing out that pressure for peace and neutral rights was brought to bear on us in our Civil War by Prussia through the Secretary of Foreign Affairs who, by the way, was the father of the present Ambassador von Bernstorff. When he in the name of humanity besought Lincoln to make peace, the copperheads and pacifists of that day warmly applauded the Prussian King, the French Emperor and Mr. Gladstone, and other English politicians, including Palmerston himself, for their efforts on behalf of a peace which would have destroyed the United States. President Wilson is now playing the exact game of these gentry.

I am very glad Parliament has gone in for all-around conscription at last. As you know I am fighting as hard as I know how for universal obligatory military training and military service in this country. Although I don't expect to make any great impression at present, I am getting the people used to the idea, and now and then I get a much greater response than I supposed was possible a year and three quarters ago.

I entirely agree with you about the strength that Carson has shown. Now I want to say the only thing you may feel is disagreeable; so read the next paragraph to Lloyd George!

Two years ago Carson and the Ulstermen were openly talking of armed resistance to the Imperial Government, and some extremists among them were not obscurely hinting that they would under certain circumstances not look askance at a possible understanding with the Emperor of Germany. Under these circumstances I wish your people had not shot the leaders of the Irish rebels after they surrendered. It was a prime necessity that the rebellion should be stamped out at once, and that the men should be ruthlessly dealt with while the fighting went on; but Carson himself had just been in the cabinet, and he and the Ulstermen about two years previously had been so uncomfortably near doing the same thing, and yet had been

² Benedict XV, endeavoring as he was to bring peace to Europe, had refused to take sides in the war. In May he had requested the neutral powers to make a direct effort to secure a negotiated peace. Not until December did Wilson do this, but in April and May, employing the kind of note Roosevelt detested, he preserved American neutrality by resolving a crisis with Germany occasioned by the torpedoing of the *Sussex*. The sinking of this French vessel on March 24 had cost American lives. Threatening to sever diplomatic relations with Germany unless such sinkings ceased, Wilson exacted a pledge from the Imperial government that there would be no further sinkings without warning. The German note of May 4 containing the *Sussex* pledge contained also a condition, that the United States insist that Britain observe the rules of international law. Wilson accepted and announced the pledge without fully acknowledging the condition. His interpretation, magnifying the extent of his diplomatic victory, persuaded many Americans that war could be avoided. This in turn gave some substance to the Democratic campaign slogan of 1916 that "he kept us out of war." It supplied also the semblance of a promise for the future.

so unconditionally pardoned, that I think it would have been the better part of wisdom not to exact the death penalty in the case of any of these rebels who had surrendered. I don't include Casement,³ whose case was wholly different.

As for politics here, Wilson is, I think, as insincere and cold-blooded an opportunist as we have ever had in the Presidency. But we have a crowd of very small men in Washington at present. The Republicans have not done a particle better than the Democrats. It is, to me, utterly astounding that the American people should be fooled by Wilson as they apparently are fooled; but then I never would have believed five years ago that the American people would have permitted the infamies perpetrated on them by the Mexicans and Germans. I should think it mere cowardice if only the Germans were involved. But our people have weakly submitted with tameness and abject complacency to worse wrongs from the Mexicans. I suppose we are passing through a yellow streak. At any rate I hope we are passing. If I thought the mood was permanent, I would feel that Uncle Sam would do well to wear a pigtail at once.

I have been practically alone in the campaign I have waged for the past twenty-two months. No other politician of any note has stood by me. I have hoisted the black flag and have neither given nor taken quarter, for I felt that this was no time for compromise, and I have preached uncompromisingly straight doctrine alike about Preparedness and hyphenated Americanism of the "German-American Alliance" brand. You have probably seen this for yourself. If you have not, glance at my book called *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*; and I have gone still farther in the speeches I made at Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City and St. Louis, within the last five weeks.

I do not believe the Republicans have any intention of nominating me. I now have a considerable following, whereas a year and three quarters ago I had none; and indeed until six months ago I had practically none. But I do not think I have a majority of the people with me as yet, nor do I feel that a sufficiently deep and widespread impression has been made on them to reflect itself among the politicians. At present it looks as if Hughes will be nominated. He is a man of integrity and courage, with a purely lawyer's mind, with a natural predilection for peace projects, and with no real understanding of international matters, nor of military and naval matters. The "German-Americans" are enthusiastically backing him, not because they know him, but because they know *me*. He is a man somewhat on the Wilson type, but a better specimen of the type. If he comes out, as I hope he will, unequivocally and emphatically for Americanism and Preparedness,

³ Roger David Casement, British consular official whose reports on the administration of the Congo Free State and the Peruvian Amazon Company obtained for him a reputation and a knighthood. In 1914 he visited Berlin in behalf of the movement for Irish Nationalism. Active in the next two years in the same cause, he was landed in 1916 by a German submarine at Tralee, there captured and hanged as a traitor by the British.

I believe he will make a much better President than Wilson; but I very much doubt if he be the kind of man demanded, not only by this country, but by the world at large, in the present crisis. However, I feel it is nothing but my aggressive campaign of the last year and three quarters which gives us a chance for even Hughes.

Our industrial unpreparedness is as great as our military unpreparedness. I already knew that the American output of munitions was bitterly disappointing, and I have taken pleasure in pointing out this fact to my fellow countrymen in various speeches I have made to them — which speeches, by the way, were wholly free from offensive flattery. If you have read what I have said about the Navy, (and it is all based on inside information), you can gather my opinion of Daniels and Wilson, and their handling of our sea strength. I am very glad you liked my article on "The Policy of Drift and Danger."⁴ It is almost unbelievable, this attitude of my fellow countrymen toward war and the possibility of war. I have to go over and over and over again such mere truisms that it seems incredible that there can be any need of my repeating them. I take the liberty of sending you herewith copies of a speech I made at Detroit and of another at St. Louis.

At this moment the Chicago convention is being held. A Republican politician of widespread experience has just written me that the Republican delegates care for literally nothing except winning the election next November, and have not one idea that any principle or any policy or any individual ought to be considered except from the standpoint of vote-getting on election day five months hence. They are quite incapable of even understanding that there are such things as national and international problems and dangers. Well, I have done my best; and while there is not much comfort in this, still there *is* a certain amount.

May all good attend you and your country, my dear Arthur. Give my very warmest love to Ruth. *Ever yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S. I have just been informed that Horace Plunkett has been explaining to your Government that Wilson should be trusted because he can bring the west to the support of proper ideas, while I can not. The good Bryce has written me in gentle reproof of my attitude towards universal arbitration treaties (Wilson and Taft are now bleating for leagues to enforce universal peace). The greatest present danger to civilization, among the decent, democratic countries, comes from the pacifists, the eager advocates for peace as the greatest of all goods.

6093 · TO THOMAS HERBERT WARREN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 7, 1916

My dear Doctor Warren: It has been a real pleasure to receive your letter, and though at the moment I am up to my ears in work, I cannot resist

⁴ "The Policy of Drift and Danger," *Metropolitan*, 44:7-8, 74-75 (June 1916).

but I writing a line in response. Indeed, I am very glad if you have taken any satisfaction in anything I have written during the present war. It must be a very special pleasure to you to feel that you supported Lord Roberts.

While I was President I advocated in a message to Congress the Swiss system of universal service as the example which our country should follow; but at that time I seriously questioned if there were as many as five men in the United States who even knew what I meant, and nobody took the trouble to so much as get angry with me, or to ridicule me for having made the suggestion. A year and three quarters ago at the time when I began to hammer into this country the lamentable lessons taught by this great war, I stood very nearly alone; but I have now a considerable following. I do not believe it is anything near a majority, but it is at least a ponderable minority.

I am pleased that you liked the sketch of myself in the volumes on John Hay. I take the liberty of sending you my *Autobiography*. Incidentally, although it has no special reference to my political life, do glance at the chapter called "Outdoors and Indoors."

I wish very much that there were a chance of welcoming you and yours to our house here. Is there the least likelihood of your coming across to this side of the water? Give my warm regards to Mrs. Warren. Mrs. Roosevelt sends love to both of you.

That was a happy quotation from Horace which Hay used. He was one of the very few men I have known who in conversation or in casual notes said or quoted the felicitous things which one reads of as being said by charming men or women of the past, and which one so rarely sees or listens to in real life. I am distinctly ashamed to say that I myself am no longer at home in Greek nor even in Latin; but as I do not wish to fall too much in your estimation, I boastfully state that one of my sons still continues to read his Horace and «Lucretius»; and the other, when we went through South America, carried the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as the only non-Portuguese books which he had with him — except *The Oxford Book of French Verse*, which he lent me, as I was too benighted to read either Greek or Portuguese.

In my autobiography I did not like to speak of the various presents given me by European sovereigns. Next to Hay's gift of the ring with the hair of President Lincoln (and excepting also a silver vase presented to Mrs. Roosevelt, entirely on their own initiative, by the enlisted men of the battleship *Louisiana* after we had gone thereon to Panama) the gift I appreciated most which I received while in the White House was from King Edward. It was a very beautiful miniature of John Hampden, sent me at the time of my inauguration, at the same time that I received the ring from John Hay. It seemed to me to mark King Edward's tact and genuine refinement of feeling that he should have chosen that precise gift for an American President. It is a little ungracious for me to add what I am about to add; but I cannot resist saying that the worthy Kaiser sent me on the same occasion an enormous

bronze bust of himself, weighing about a ton, which was brought to the White House on a four-horse dray, and which caused me real anguish until I found an accommodating Art Gallery that was willing to stow it away in a basement.

William Samuel Johnson is a cousin of Mrs. Roosevelt's. He is descended from an old Colonial notable of New York, a Sir William Johnson who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, was the most influential man in controlling the Iroquois in the Mohawk Valley. The old fellow was a Loyalist when the Revolutionary disturbances began, and unquestionably took a very dark view of my own ancestors! Ever since then from father to son the names have gone on alternately as William Samuel and Samuel William. The present man, he who wrote the poem on peace, is a middle-aged lawyer of uneventful life who simply responded to the spur of a deep emotion on this particular occasion. By the way, if you have any knowledge of «Calvinist» theologians, you may be amused to know that one of Mrs. Roosevelt's ancestors was Jonathan Edwards.

Yes! You are indeed in a grinding struggle. The sympathy I feel for you is the sympathy of admiration. It was Emerson who said, " 'Tis man's perdition to be safe, when for the truth he ought to die." (I doubt if this is verbally correct.) I wish this truth could be driven home to the hearts of the bulk of my fellow countrymen; I am trying so to drive it. *Faithfully yours*

6094 • TO FRANK C. LAUGHLIN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 8, 1916

My dear Judge Laughlin: That's a mighty nice letter of yours! Believe me, I appreciate it. I am particularly pleased you wrote Mr. Root as you did.¹ Root had a chance to be Warwick, but he threw it away because he wished to be King, which was impossible.

My dear Judge, I deeply appreciate your letter. *Sincerely yours*

6095 • TO WILLIAM PURNELL JACKSON

*Printed*¹

Telegram

Oyster Bay, June 8, 1916

In answer to your telegram,² I shall only say that the matter lies with the Republican Convention and if it desires me to address it I shall be glad to do so.

¹Laughlin had urged Root to support Roosevelt with the understanding that he would be Roosevelt's Secretary of State. Root had replied that what was necessary was the nomination of a man who would "appeal to the country so as to make it possible to turn out the crowd that is messing up the government at Washington now." This, he asserted, the convention would accomplish by its own efforts.

²"The Progressive Party — Its Record from January to July, 1916," pp. 85-87.

²Jackson, since 1908 Maryland's Republican national committeeman, had sent Roosevelt a telegram on June 7 which read:

"The national interest demands the complete reunion of the Republican Party,

I very earnestly hope that the Republicans and Progressives assembled at Chicago will keep steadily in mind the gravity of this crisis not only for America but for the world and the need that their action, dignity, foresight and patriotism shall rise level to the crisis. I hope that their aim will be not merely to nominate a man who can be elected next November, but a man of such power, character, steadfast conviction and proved ability that, if elected, he will again place this nation where it belongs by making it true to itself and, therefore, true to all mankind. President Wilson, however amiable his intentions, has rendered to this people the most evil service that can be rendered to a great democracy by its chosen leader. He has dulled the national conscience and relaxed the spring of lofty, national motives by teaching our people to accept high sounding words as the offset and atonement for shabby deeds and to use words which mean nothing in order to draw all meaning from those which have a meaning. It will be no easy task to arouse the austere self-respect which has been lulled to slumber by those means. To this task we should bend our united energy, in the spirit of Washington and Lincoln, the spirit of genuine democratic leadership, the spirit which sets the standard to which the nation ought to rise and then with confident hope appeal to the soul of the people so that they may in fact support the standard thus raised.

The differences that have divided, not merely Republicans and Progressives, but good Americans of all shades of political belief, from one another in the past, sink into nothing when compared with the issues now demanding decision — for these issues are vital to the national life. They are the issues of a unified Americanism and of national preparedness. If we are not all of us Americans and nothing else, scorning to divide along the lines of section, of creed or of national origin, then the nation itself will crumble into dust. If we are not thoroughly prepared, if we have not developed a strength which respects the rights of others, but which is also ready to enforce from others respect for its own rights, then sooner or later we shall have to submit to the will of an alien conqueror.

These questions are not in the realm of abstract thought. They must be taken out of the world of cloudy promise and vague phrasing into the world of performance and of fact. They are to-day in concrete form before you and your fellows for decision. For two years, in the face of the awful world cataclysm, this Nation has stood supine and helpless and has not in the smallest degree prepared itself to ward off the danger. No promise, no excuse now made by those responsible for this inaction, is entitled to consideration. It is for you and your associates to show the people that they have a worthy alternative to which to turn.

which unhappily divided in 1912. I believe this can be accomplished by a more perfect understanding between you and the Republican Convention now assembled. I therefore most earnestly urge you to come to Chicago immediately, to address this convention and to make common cause in our deliberations. If you will indicate your willingness to take this course, I will use my utmost endeavors to secure for you the privileges of the convention floor."

The professional German-Americans, acting through various agencies, including so-called German-American alliances, are at this moment serving notice on the members of your Convention that your action must be taken with a view to the interest, not of the United States, but of Germany and of that section of the German-American vote which is anti-American to the core. I believe with all my heart that the action of these sinister, professional German-Americans will be repudiated with angry contempt by the great mass of our fellow citizens who are in whole or in part of German blood — and who are, as I well know, unsurpassed in rugged and whole-souled Americanism by any other citizens of our land. But the professional German-Americans are seeking to terrorize your convention; for they wish to elect next November a man who shall not be in good faith an American President, but the viceroy of a foreign government. It is for your convention in emphatic fashion to repudiate them. This can be done in effective manner only if such action is taken as to enable the Republicans, the Progressives, and the Democrats who are true to the principles of Andrew Jackson and independent — in short, all loyal Americans — to join in the effort to reach the goal we all have in view.

Can we not, forgetting past differences, now join for the safety and honor of our country to enforce the policies of genuine Americanism and genuine preparedness? Surely we can afford to act in accordance with the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said, "May not all, having a common interest, reunite in a common effort to save our common country? May we ask those who have not differed with us to join in the same spirit toward those who have?"

As far as my own soul is known to me, it is in this same spirit that at this time I make my appeal to the Republicans and Progressives assembled at Chicago.

6096 · TO THE CONFEREES OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Printed¹

Telegram

Oyster Bay, June 10, 1916

*Gentlemen.*² — I understand that this morning you are to have your last conference with the conferees of the Republican National Convention, that they

¹ *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Republican National Convention* (New York, 1916), pp. 193-195.

² These gentlemen — Perkins, Johnson, Wilkinson, Bonaparte, and John Parker — had been chosen to confer with the Republicans — Crane, Smoot, Borah, Butler, and A. R. Johnson — in the hope that together they might find a candidate acceptable to both parties. They had failed to agree, since the Progressives proposed no one but Roosevelt and the Republicans in advance of their convention balloting would make no recommendation of their own. On June 9 two ballots in the Republican convention revealed Hughes with a good lead and Roosevelt without any real support. Late on the night of June 9, after these developments, the conferees met again. The Republicans then with reluctance suggested Hughes, whom some of their number opposed; the Progressives rejected him. At this juncture Roosevelt

have repeatedly asked you to present for their consideration a second choice, but that your Committee has not seen its way clear to do this.

For months I have thought of this matter, and for the last few weeks it has been the chief thing of which I have thought, as I feel with all my heart that it is the imperative duty of all of us who wish to see our country restored to the position she should hold to sink all minor differences and come together if by any possibility we can find a common standing ground. The day before yesterday in my telegram to Senator Jackson, I said: "Can we not, forgetting past differences, now join for the safety and honor of our country to enforce the policies of genuine Americanism and genuine Preparedness? Surely we can afford to act in accordance with the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said: 'May not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? May we ask those who have not differed with us to join in the same spirit toward those who have.' As far as my soul is known to me it is in this same spirit that at this time I make appeal to the Republicans and Progressives assembled at Chicago."

What I thus said I meant with all my soul, and I mean it now; and I ask you and the members of the Progressive Convention, which I am informed applauded that telegram when read to the Convention, now to help me make those words good by our deeds.

I deeply appreciate your loyalty to me and the position in support of me which you have taken. But it would be an injustice both to you and myself not to regard that loyalty to me as fundamentally a loyalty to the principles you and I represent. In the statement of the Progressive National Committee issued in January last and in my statement made at Trinidad in February last, we pledged ourselves to leave nothing undone to reach an honorable agreement with the Republicans in order to achieve the end we have in view.

In view of the conditions existing, I suggest the name of Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts. He is a man of the highest integrity, of the broadest national spirit and of the keenest devotion to the public good. For thirty years he has been in the House of Representatives and in the Senate at Washington. For twenty years he has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. For a very long period he was a member of the Naval Affairs Committee. He has not only a wide experience in public affairs but a peculiarly close acquaintance with the very type of questions now most pressing for settlement. He has consistently fought for Preparedness, preparedness for the Navy, preparedness in fortifying the Panama Canal, preparedness in upbuilding the Army. He has been on the whole the member with the largest vision and the most intelligent devotion to American needs that we have had on the

and Nicholas Murray Butler discussed the nomination on the telephone. After assuring Roosevelt that he could not be nominated, Butler suggested Root, Knox, and Fairbanks in that order. Objecting to all of these men, Roosevelt in turn proposed Wood or Lodge. When, after further discussion, no agreement could be reached, Roosevelt sent this telegram to the Progressive conferees.

Foreign Affairs Committee during this generation. He rendered distinguished service on the Alaskan Boundary International Commission. In addition, he has been one of the staunchest fighters for different measures of economic reform in the direction of justice, championing such measures as the Pure Food Law, the Safety Appliance Law, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the National Law prohibiting the labor of Children, the Hepburn Rate Bill, the bill creating a Bureau of Corporations, and many similar measures. I, therefore, urge upon you favorably to consider his name and report on it to the conferees from the Republican National Convention, and if you do not agree with me in this respect nevertheless to transmit this telegram to the Republican conferees and to request them to place it before their Convention at the same time yourself laying the telegram before the Progressive Convention.

Let me again quote from my telegram of the day before yesterday to Senator Jackson, of Maryland: "The differences that have divided, not merely Republicans and Progressives, but good Americans of all shades of political belief from one another in the past, sink into nothing when compared with the issues now demanding decision, for these issues are vital to the national life. They are the issues of a unified Americanism and of National Preparedness. If we are not all of us Americans and nothing else, scorning to divide along lines of section, of creed, or of national origin, then the Nation itself will crumble into dust. If we are not thoroughly prepared, if we have not developed a strength which respects the rights of others but which is also ready to enforce from others respect for its own rights, then sooner or later we shall have to submit to the will of an alien conqueror."

I wrote the above sentences because I felt them deep in my heart. They set forth the vital needs of this time. The nomination of Senator Lodge will meet those vital needs. I earnestly ask that what you can do to bring about that nomination in the name of our common Americanism be done.³

6097 · TO THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Printed¹

Oyster Bay, Undated²

To the Progressive Convention: I am very grateful for the honor you confer upon me by nominating me as President. I cannot accept it at this time. I

³ Dismayed by this instruction, Johnson and Parker refused further to deliberate. Perkins, Wilkinson, and Bonaparte presented Lodge's name — but only as Roosevelt's suggestion, not that of the party — to the third and final conference on the nomination. The Republicans now unanimously supported Hughes who would, the Progressives agreed, be presented for nomination to their convention. Following the conference, later on the morning of June 10 the Progressive convention booed down Perkins' proposal that Hughes or Lodge be nominated. The Republicans, after hearing Roosevelt's recommendation of Lodge, nominated Hughes on their third ballot. Receiving this news, the Progressives at once by acclamation nominated Roosevelt. For his response, see No. 6097.

¹ New York Times, June 11, 1916, p. 1.

² This telegram was sent on June 10.

do not know the attitude of the candidate of the Republican Party toward the vital questions of the day. Therefore, if you desire an immediate decision, I must decline the nomination. But if you prefer it, I suggest that my conditional refusal to run be placed in the hands of the Progressive National Committee.

If Mr. Hughes's statements, when he makes them, shall satisfy the committee that it is for the interest of the country that he be elected, they can act accordingly and treat my refusal as definitely accepted. If they are not satisfied they can so notify the Progressive Party, and at the same time they can confer with me and then determine on whatever action we may severally deem appropriate to meet the needs of the country.³

6098 • TO ANNA ROOSEVELT COWLES

*Cowles Mss.*⁰

New York, June 16, 1916

Darling Bye, Just a line to say I loved your note. Well, the country was'n't in heroic mood! We are passing through a thick streak of yellow in our national life. This has been a perfectly easy campaign for me, and it has'n't left me with even the smallest feeling of personal chagrin. I shall of course support Hughes; with how much heartiness, his own attitude must decide.

Darling Bye, I think of you and Will and Sheffield all the time. *Ever your devoted brother*

6099 • TO ISAAC RUSSELL

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, June 16, 1916

*My dear Mr. Russell:*¹ Privately I think you have put the situation exactly when you say the professional politicians "drew a circle about their own wishes that cut them off from the main mass of the country's sentiment," and that they were more intent upon disciplining me and teaching a lesson in party regularity and party supremacy than anything else. But we are in a great world crisis, and we have only the alternative of supporting Mr. Wilson or Mr. Hughes, and I have to shape my course accordingly, under the penalty of showing the same lack of patriotism that was shown by the Republican Convention. *Sincerely yours*

³ Over the objection of Victor Murdock and others of the party's left, the Progressive convention voted, as Roosevelt requested, to refer to the national committee his conditional refusal. The Colonel had no intention of running, but another policy would surely have persuaded at least a rump of the party to nominate another man whose candidacy would have hurt Hughes. On June 22 Roosevelt, as everyone had expected, announced his support of Hughes (see No. 6105); on June 26 the national committee endorsed the Republican candidate. For a time, John M. Parker of Louisiana, nominated by the Progressives for Vice-President, continued his lonely campaign (see No. 6108, note 2), but in fact, the Bull Moose, dead on June 10, was buried the twenty-second.

¹ Isaac Russell of the New York *Evening Mail*; not Isaac Franklin Russell, the jurist.

New York, June 16, 1916

Dear Billy: I agree entirely with you. I shall do all I can for Mr. Hughes. But don't forget that Mr. Hughes alone can make it possible for me to be efficient in his behalf. If he merely speaks like Mr. Wilson, only a little more weakly, he will rob my support of its effectiveness. Speeches such as those of mine to which you kindly allude, have their merit only if delivered for a man who is himself speaking uncompromisingly and without equivocation. I have just sent word to Hughes through one of our big New York financiers to make a smashing attack on Wilson for his actions, and to do it immediately, in connection with this Democratic Nominating Convention.¹

Wilson was afraid of me. He never dared answer me; but if Hughes lets him, he will proceed to take the offensive against Hughes.

I shall do everything I can for him, but don't forget that the efficiency of what I do must largely depend upon Hughes. *Always yours*

P.S. Please return editorial when you are through with it.

[*Handwritten*] I have from Callison permission to use the Buenz matter; and of course the Dewy letter. You can use both.²

New York, June 16, 1916

*My dear Mr. Masters:*¹ My sister has just told me of the very interesting visit to your house. Naturally I am not the only living American who has failed to read your poems and there are very many things in them that I would greatly like to talk over with you — and at present the American people have with hearty unanimity agreed that I shall have ample time to discuss poetry and morality in the abstract. Is there the least chance of your getting to New York any time in the next two or three weeks? If so, I will get you to come out for the night to my house and Mrs. Robinson has told me that she will come down from the interior of New York especially to spend the night. There are some things you have written as to which I merely wish to express my enthusiastic admiration; and then there are some other things as to which I wish to express a dissent and to say why, for instance, I think there was a good deal more in common than you seem to admit between the men who enlisted in Washington's Continentals and those who enlisted in my regiment or among Funston's Kansans in '98 and why, to be a little per-

¹ Irritated though Roosevelt was by the emphasis at the Democratic convention upon Wilson's success in avoiding war, Hughes made no attacks, smashing or otherwise, until July 31 when he delivered his acceptance speech.

² On Callisen, Buenz, and the Dewy letter, see No. 6132.

¹ Edgar Lee Masters, Illinois lawyer, author of plays, essays, and poetry including the *Spoon River Anthology*.

sonal, the life of the splendid old pioneer woman which you sung with such rare beauty is not a bit finer than the life of my own wife and the lives of a good many other women whom I know of today. *Faithfully yours*

6102 • TO ALBERT BACON FALL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 17, 1916

My dear Senator: I wish to thank you most cordially for your support and for your nominating speech,¹ and even more, my dear Senator, for your gallant fight on behalf of Americanism and humanity, and the performance of international duty; a fight you have valiantly waged for over four years in the Senate of the United States.

You have been the kind of a public servant of whom all Americans should feel proud. I congratulate the whole country that you are in the United States Senate.

With high regard and renewed thanks, *Faithfully yours*

6103 • TO HENRY LEWIS STIMSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 19, 1916

Dear Stimson: I sent you a marked copy of that article. If you have not received it let me know and I will try to get you another.

I thank you very much for your kind letter. Root's really great speech marked the beginning of the Republican Party's taking the proper attitude on preparedness.¹ I wish that in their platform they had put in universal training; but, considering the utter apathy on the subject eighteen months ago, it is marvelous that the vote of the platform committee stood eighteen for and only twenty-three against it.² *Faithfully yours*

6104 • TO JAMES BRYCE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 19, 1916

My dear Bryce: Your letter of June 9th has just come. Indeed, I well remember your bringing Hood to see me, and I was greatly struck by his evident strength and gentleness of character. His illustrious ancestor has always been

¹ On June 9 Senator Fall had placed Roosevelt's name before the Republican convention. A few hisses and some applause punctuated the speech which was followed by a thirty-six minute demonstration — the longest accorded any candidate. A. M. Stevenson of Colorado, Marion Butler of North Carolina, William Potter of Pennsylvania, and Henry A. Whitaker of Maryland seconded Roosevelt's nomination.

² Root's speech before the New York State Republican Convention; see No. 6048, note 2.

³ The Republican platform called for a navy strong enough to defend both coasts, "a sufficient and effective Regular Army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes."

one of my favorites; because he was one of those men in history of whom we can say with practical certainty that it was fate and chance that prevented his leaving a name equal to the greatest. As soon as I saw the account of Hood's death, I realized who it was. It is a sad and terrible thing to have such a fine young fellow die; but after all, my dear Bryce, inasmuch as we must die, and as it is a mere matter of a very few years whether we die early or late, the vital thing is that our deaths should be such as to help others to live. This is what Hood and the thousands of other officers and enlisted men of the British Navy have accomplished by their deaths in the past two years.¹

The spirit of Nelson, Hawke, Blake and Drake burns as high as ever in the British Navy today.

The Germans also, while they are fighting in a cause which I abhor, are showing extraordinary qualities of organization and daring. Many of my German friends, when I tell them this, express surprise that I am so against them. I answer them that my own mother was all of her life a thorough Confederate sympathizer; that my kinsfolk on her side fought in the Confederate service. (One of my uncles, an Admiral, built the *Alabama*; another, a Midshipman, was the captain of the last gun which was fired from her before she sank.)

I am immensely proud of the gallantry and the high devotion to right, as they saw the right, which these men showed. I am immensely proud that their blood runs in my veins. I can quite conscientiously say I hold descent from men who wore the Gray as much of a badge of honor, as descent from men who wore the Blue. Yet I believe that never in history was there a war in which right was more entirely on one side and wrong on the other than in our Civil War; and the triumph of the Confederacy would have been not only a death blow to our people but a terrible misfortune for all mankind.

Where I can speak in this fashion of my own blood kin, I have the right to speak in similar fashion of the Germans.

You have, of course, seen the result of the Presidential nominations here. I am having my own troubles with my fellow Progressives. They are wild to have me run on a third ticket. They feel that the Republican Convention was a peculiarly sordid body, a feeling with which I heartily sympathize. They feel that Mr. Hughes was nominated largely in consequence of the German-Americans, who were against me, and largely also for the very reason that nobody knew anything of his views on living subjects of the day — and a nomination made for such a cause is in my own judgment evidence of profound political immorality on the part of those making it. But Hughes is an

¹ Rear Admiral Sir Horace Lambert Alexander Hood, commander of the third battle cruiser squadron in the Grand Fleet, had been killed at Jutland. His flagship *Invincible*, one of the battle cruisers built upon the principle that "speed is armor," blew up when a direct hit exploded her ammunition hold. Hood's illustrious ancestor, his great-great-grandfather, Viscount Samuel Hood, had been second in command under Graves off the Chesapeake in 1781 and under Rodney at the great British victory at Dominica in the next year. In 1941 the last British battle cruiser, the *Hood*, exploded after a direct hit from the German battleship *Bismarck*.

able, upright man whose instincts are right, and I believe in international matters he will learn with comparative quickness, especially as I hope he will put Root into office as Secretary of State. Under these circumstances there is in my mind no alternative but to support him. At his worst he will do better than Wilson, and there is always the chance that he will do very well indeed.

Wilson is the most lamentable example we have ever seen of the success of that kind of demagogue who appeals to the educated incompetents of the *Evening Post* and *Atlantic Monthly* type, the President Eliot type. I have always insisted that he is the greatest possible argument in favor of Democracy, of government by the whole people instead of by "the best." He was supported with more enthusiasm by what I may call the professional intellectuals than any President within my memory. He is without exception the worst of these Presidents. Mechanics, farmers, railroad men and the like make frightful blunders in choosing their representatives. But upon my word, highly educated men of the stamp of President Eliot of Harvard, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, Schurman of Cornell, David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford, and Cyrus Northrop² of Minnesota do rather worse from the moral and intellectual standpoint. The men of the stamp of the late E. H. Harriman, and the present Harry Davison³ are rather the worst of all; that is, the government of the very rich . . .

There are a good many forms of government to which I peremptorily object. It would be hard to devise a worse government than one completely dominated by the class spirit of the labor unions, for instance. But on the whole the government of a plutocracy, a mere government of men who accept money-making as the highest, and indeed the only higher expression, of man's activities is the worst.

Mr. Wilson exquisitely combines all of the vices consequent upon the effort to pander to whatever is most objectionable in all three classes.

At present we are drifting stern foremost into a war with Mexico, a war for which he has neither the foresight to prepare, nor the courage either to enter into or to avoid. *Sincerely yours*

6105 · TO THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Printed ¹

Oyster Bay, June 22, 1916

Gentlemen — In accordance with the message I sent to the Progressive National Convention as soon as I had received the notification that it had nomi-

² Cyrus Northrop, professor of rhetoric and English literature at Yale, 1863-1884, president of the University of Minnesota, 1884-1911.

³ Henry Pomeroy Davison, vice-president of the First National Bank of New York, partner in J. P. Morgan and Company. Before the Republican convention Davison actively supported Root's nomination. In 1917 Wilson appointed Davison chairman of the American Red Cross war council.

¹ "The Progressive Party — Its Record from January to July, 1916," pp. 93-101.

nated me for President, I now communicate to you my reasons for declining the honor which I so deeply appreciate. Since the adjournment of the Convention, I have received between two and three thousand letters and telegrams from men who had supported me for the nomination, the majority expressing the desire that I would refuse to run, while a minority urged that I should accept the nomination. As it is a physical impossibility to answer these letters and telegrams individually, I beg of the courtesy of the senders that they will accept this public statement in lieu of such answers.

Before speaking of anything else, I wish to express my heartiest and most unstinted admiration for the character and services of the men and women who made up the Progressive National Convention in 1916. I can give them no higher praise than to say that in all respects they stood level with the men and women who in 1912 joined at Chicago to found the Progressive Party. These two conventions, in character, in disinterestedness, in vision, in insight, in high purpose, and in desire to render practical service to the people, typified exactly what such bodies ought to be in a great self-governing democracy. They represented the spirit which moved Abraham Lincoln and his political associates during the decade preceding the close of the Civil War. The platform put forth in 1912 was much the most important public document promulgated in this country since the death of Abraham Lincoln. It represented the first effort on a large scale to translate abstract formulas of economic and social justice into concrete American Nationalism; the effort to apply the principles of Washington and Lincoln to the need of the United States in the twentieth century. No finer effort was ever made to serve the American people, in a spirit of high loyalty to all that is loftiest in the American tradition.

Events have shown that the Progressive Party in 1912 offered the only alternative to the triumph of the Democratic Party. Moreover, these events have shown that the application of the principles which we then advocated is even more necessary to this nation than we at the time supposed.

The results of the terrible world war of the past two years have now made it evident to all who are willing to see, that in this country there must be spiritual and industrial preparedness, along the lines of efficiency, of loyal service to the Nation, and of practical application of the precept that each man must be his brother's keeper. Furthermore, it is no less evident that this preparedness for the tasks of peace forms the only sound basis for that indispensable military preparedness which rests on universal military training, and which finds expression in universal obligatory service in time of war. Such universal obligatory training and service are the necessary complements of universal suffrage, and represent the realization of the true American, the democratic, ideal in both peace and war.

Sooner or later the national principles championed by the Progressives of 1912 must in their general effect be embodied in the structure of our national existence. With all my heart I shall continue to work for these great

ideals, shoulder to shoulder with the men and women who in 1912 championed them; and I am sure that these men and women will show a like loyalty to the other, the fundamental, ideals which the events of the past two years have proven to be vital to the permanency of our national existence. The method by which we are to show our loyalty to these ideals must be determined in each case by the actual event. Our loyalty is to the fact, to the principle, to the ideal, and not merely to the name, and least of all to the party name.

The Progressive movement has been given an incalculable impetus by what the Progressive Party has done. Our strongest party antagonists have accepted and enacted into law, or embodied in their party platforms, very many of our most important principles. Much has been accomplished in awakening the public to a better understanding of the problems of social and industrial welfare.

Yet it has become entirely evident that the people under existing conditions are not prepared to accept a new party.

It is impossible for us Progressives to abandon our convictions. But we are faced with that fact that as things actually are the Progressive national organization no longer offers the means whereby we can make these convictions effective in our national life. Under such circumstances, our duty is to do the best we can, and not to sulk because our leadership is rejected. That we ourselves continue to believe that the course we advocated was in the highest interest of the American people is aside from the question. It is unpatriotic to refuse to do the best possible merely because the people have not put us in position to do what we regard as the very best. It remains for us, good humoredly and with common sense, to face the situation and endeavor to get out of it the best that it can be made to yield from the standpoint of the interests of the nation as a whole.

That was the situation at the opening of the present year. It was clearly evident that unless a cataclysm occurred the presidential election would result in the choice of either the Republican or the Democratic nominee. The present administration, during its three years of life, had been guilty of shortcomings more signal than those of any administration since the days of Buchanan. From the standpoint of national honor and interest, it stood on an even lower level than the administration of Buchanan. No administration in our history had done more to relax the spring of the national will and to deaden the national conscience. Within the Republican Party conflicting forces were at work. There were men among the organization leaders who advocated a course of action such as offered no improvement upon the Democratic position, and advocated the nomination of candidates whose election would have represented no improvement upon the continuance in office of Mr. Wilson. If such a course were followed, it would obviously become our duty to run a third ticket. But it was plainly our duty to do everything honorable in order to prevent such a necessity; to do everything short of

sacrificing our most sacred convictions in order to secure the alignment under one leadership of the forces opposed to the continuance in power of Mr. Wilson and the Democratic Party.

Under these circumstances the Progressive National Committee, at Chicago, in January, outlined our duty to seek common action with the Republican Party, using the following words: "Our people are seeking leadership — leadership of the highest order and most courageous character; leadership that will draft to itself for the country's benefit the unselfish and patriotic services of its ablest citizens. The surest way to secure for our country the required leadership will be by having, if possible, both the Progressive and Republican Parties choose the same standard bearer and the same principles."

Six weeks later, on March 9th, in my Trinidad statement, I asked for a similar combination against the Democratic Party, on a platform of "clean-cut, straightout National Americanism," and for a candidate "who will not merely stand for such a programme before election, but will resolutely and in good faith put it through if elected."

This was, in effect, the same statement that I made in my telegram to ex-Senator Jackson, pending the Convention, which ran in part as follows: "Can we not, forgetting past differences, now join, for the safety and honor of our country, to enforce the policies of genuine Americanism and genuine Preparedness? Surely we can afford to act in accordance with the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said, 'May not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? May we ask those who have not differed with us to join in this same spirit toward those who have?' As far as my own soul is known to me it is in this same spirit that at this time I make my appeal to the Republicans and Progressives assembled at Chicago."

In addition to these public statements I had also stated my own attitude verbally, and in letters, during the weeks immediately preceding the convention, to scores of leading Progressives from all parts of the country, including many of the leaders at the convention. To these men I expressed my earnest hope that the Republicans would so act as to make it possible for the Progressives to join with them. I stated to them, however, that in view of the attitude of some of the Republican leaders it was at least conceivable that we should be put in a position where our highest duty, our fealty to the country, our sense of what patriotism demanded in a great crisis would make it imperative upon us to run a separate ticket; and that whether in such event it would be necessary for me to head that ticket could not be determined in advance. I stated in these interviews and in these letters, with the utmost emphasis, that the decision of this point, like the whole matter of running a separate ticket, would have to be determined by what the interests of the country demanded in view of the action finally taken by the Conventions at Chicago.

At the time many of the Republican leaders asserted that my statements were not made in good faith; that I really intended to insist upon my own

nomination by the Republican Convention; and that if I was not so nominated, I intended to accept the Progressive nomination and run on a third ticket. Of course my fellow Progressives were under no such error. They knew that I spoke in good faith and meant exactly what I said. They knew that my utterances were to be accepted at their exact face value as meaning that if the Republicans nominated a man whom we could conscientiously support we would support him. The Progressive Convention came together knowing my public statements and therefore knowing exactly what my attitude was.

In my judgment, the nomination of Mr. Hughes meets the conditions set forth in the statement of the Progressive National Committee, issued last January, and in my own statements. Under existing conditions, the nomination of a third ticket would, in my judgment, be merely a move in the interest of the election of Mr. Wilson. I regard Mr. Hughes as a man whose public record is a guarantee that that "he will not merely stand for a programme of clean-cut straightout Americanism before election, but will resolutely and in good faith put it through if elected." He is beyond all comparison better fitted to be President than Mr. Wilson. It would be a grave detriment to the country to re-elect Mr. Wilson. I shall, therefore, strongly support Mr. Hughes. Such being the case, it is unnecessary to say that I cannot accept the nomination on a third ticket. I do not believe that there should be a third ticket. I believe that when my fellow Progressives coolly consider the question they will for the most part take this position. They and I have but one purpose — the purpose to serve our common country. It is my deep conviction that at this moment we can serve it only by supporting Mr. Hughes.

It is urged against Mr. Hughes that he was supported by the various so-called German-American Alliances. I believe that the attitude of these professional German-Americans was due, not in the least to any liking for Mr. Hughes, but solely to their antagonism to me. They were bound to defeat me for the nomination. The only way by which they could achieve this object was by supporting Mr. Hughes and they supported him accordingly, without any regard to other considerations. I need hardly repeat what I have already said in stern reprobation of this professional German-American element — the element typified by the German-American Alliances and the similar bodies, which have, in the pre-nomination campaign, played not merely an un-American but a thoroughly anti-American part. These men have nothing in common with the great body of Americans who are in whole or in part of German blood; and who are precisely as good Americans as those of any other ancestry. There are not, and never have been, in all our land, better citizens than the great mass of the men and women of German birth or descent who have been or are being completely merged in our common American nationality; a nationality distinct from any in Europe, for Americans who are good Americans are no more German-Americans than they are English-Americans, or Irish-Americans, or Scandinavian-Americans.

They are Americans and nothing else. No good American, whatever his ancestry or creed, can have any feeling except scorn and detestation for those professional German-Americans who seek to make the American President in effect a viceroy of the Germany Emperor. The professional German-Americans of this type are acting purely in the sinister interest of Germany. They have shown their eager readiness to sacrifice the interest of the United States whenever its interest conflicted with that of Germany. They represent that adherence to the politico-racial hyphen which is the badge and sign of moral treason to the Republic. I have singled these men out for specific denunciation, and assuredly if I support a candidate it may be accepted as proof that I am certain that the candidate is incapable of being influenced by the evil intrigues of these hyphenated Americans.

Mr. Hughes' character and his whole course of conduct in public affairs justify us in the assured conviction that the fact that these men have for their own purposes supported him will, in no shape or way, affect his public actions before or after election. His entire public life is a guarantee of this.

The events of the last three and a half years have shown that as much cannot be said for Mr. Wilson. In Mr. Wilson's case we do not have to consider his words, but his deeds. His deeds absolutely contradict his words; and for the matter of that his words absolutely contradict one another. It is folly to pay heed to any of the promises in the platform on which he now stands in view of the fact that almost every important promise contained in the platform on which he stood four years ago has since been broken. We owe all of our present trouble with the professional German-American element in the United States to Mr. Wilson's timid and vacillating course during the last two years. The defenders of Mr. Wilson have alleged in excuse for him that he confronted a difficult situation. As regards Mexico, the situation which Mr. Wilson confronted was nothing like as difficult as that which President McKinley confronted in connection with Cuba and the Philippines at the time of the Spanish War. Under the actual circumstances we could with only a minimum of risk have protested on behalf of Belgium, a small, well-behaved nation, when she was exposed to the last extremity of outrage by the brutal violation of her neutral rights; this violation being itself a violation of the Hague Conventions to which we were a signatory power. As regards the foreign situation generally during the great war, the fact of the existence of the war made it far easier and safer for Mr. Wilson to assert our rights than if he had had to deal with some single strong power which was at the time unhampered by war. During the past twenty years questions have arisen with Powers of the first rank, such as England, Japan and Germany, each of which has necessitated far greater courage, resolution and judgment on the part of the President dealing with it than President Wilson need have shown in order to put a complete stop to the continually repeated murder of American men, women and children on the high seas by German submarines — the Lusitania being merely the worst of many such cases. The same feebleness that was shown by President Wilson in dealing with Germany abroad was

also shown by him in dealing with the organized German outrages within our own land, and, finally, in dealing with the organized German-American vote. The continued existence of the German-American menace at home is directly due to Mr. Wilson's course of action during the past two years.

Certain of my friends who feel that the Progressives should run a third ticket base their feeling on objection to the character or actions of the Republican National Convention. As regards this point, it is sufficient to say that the members of the Republican National Convention were unquestionably induced to nominate Mr. Hughes primarily because of the belief that his integrity and force of character, and his long record of admirable public service, would make him peculiarly acceptable, not only to the rank and file of the Republican Party, but to the people generally. I do not believe that Mr. Hughes would have been nominated if it had not been for the fight on behalf of public decency and efficiency which the Progressive Party has waged during the past four years.

In any event, and without any regard to what the personal feelings of any of us may be as regards the action of the Republican Convention, I wish very solemnly to ask the representatives of the Progressive Party to consider at this time only the welfare of the people of the United States. We shall prove false to our ideals and our professions if, in this grave crisis of the Nation's life, we permit ourselves to be swerved from the one prime duty of serving with cool judgment and single-minded devotion the Nation's needs. Our own political fortunes, individually and collectively, are of no consequence whatever, when compared with the honor and welfare of the people of the United States. Such things do not count when weighed in the balance against our duty to serve well the country in which, after we are dead, our children and our children's children are to live.

The world is passing through a great crisis and no man can tell what trial and jeopardy will have to be faced by this nation during the years immediately ahead. There is now no longer before us for decision the question as to what particular man we may severally most desire to see at the head of the government. We can decide only whether during these possibly vital years this country shall be entrusted to the leadership of Mr. Hughes or Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Wilson has been tried and found wanting. His party, because of its devotion to the outworn theory of state rights, and because of its reliance upon purely sectional support, stands against that spirit of far-sighted nationalism which is essential if we are to deal adequately with our gravest social and industrial problems. Mr. Wilson and his party have in actual practice lamentably failed to safeguard the interest and honor of the United States. They have brought us to impotence abroad and to division and weakness at home. They have accustomed us to see the highest and most responsible offices of government filled by incompetent men appointed only for reasons of partisan politics. They have dulled the moral sense of the people. They have taught us that peace, the peace of cowardice and dishonor and

indifference to the welfare of others, is to be put above righteousness, above the stern and unflinching performance of duty whether the duty is pleasant or unpleasant. Yet in Mexico they have failed even to secure the peace which they thus sought; and they have failed in spite of the most ample opportunity and most ample warning, to prepare in any real fashion to meet the crisis which their own policy invited. They have taught us to put "safety first," safety before duty and honor; to put that materialism which expresses itself in mere money making, and in the fatted ease of life, above all spiritual things, above all the high and fine instincts of the soul. They have taught us to accept adroit elocution as a substitute for straightforward and efficient action. They have raised indecision, hesitancy and vacillation into a settled governmental policy.

Mr. Hughes has shown in his career the instinct of efficiency which will guarantee that, under him, the government will once more work with vigor and force. He possesses that habit of straightforward thinking which means that his words will be correlated with his deeds and translated into facts. His past career is the warrant for our belief that he will be the unfaltering opponent of that system of invisible government which finds expression in the domination of the party boss and the party machine. His past career is a guarantee that whatever he says before election will be made good by his acts after election. Morally, his public record shows him to be a man of unbending integrity; intellectually, it shows him to be a man of original and trained ability. We have the alternative of continuing in office an administration which has proved a lamentable failure, or of putting into office an administration which we have every reason to believe will function with efficiency for the interest and honor of all our people. I earnestly bespeak from my fellow Progressives their ungrudging support of Mr. Hughes.² *Yours truly*

²Support for Hughes the fellow Progressives might offer, but it could not be ungrudging. The feeling of these Progressives is well described by Thomas Robins in a telegram he sent Roosevelt on June 11:

"I left convention after conditional declination was read. Your action has my sympathy and support. Nevertheless I observe among returning delegates as I also found at Chicago a feeling of great exasperation and even despair. Many of these men found their political souls through you, and have followed your leadership with single-minded devotion. They went to the convention enthusiastic in the spirit of nineteen twelve, and hardly appreciated changed conditions. The unexpected austerity of your declination has stunned them. Can you not say something now to these men that will reconcile them to the inevitable and make them understand that the interests of the Nation in this crisis demanded such action on your part. If ever there was a time when they needed guidance it is now. The Progressive Movement is to them a religion. Their faith is shaken. You alone can preserve it. . . ." — Thomas Robins Mss.

Men who felt like this could not, by counsel or advice, be reconciled to the inevitable. As William Allen White said later, Roosevelt's refusal to run fell like a curse upon the convention: "We looked out across the stark ugly stretches of the dirty marsh where once our current flowed so strong, and in the agony of disillusion and despair we saw the dark rocks and the crawling things that had been underneath that ebbing tide." For many men, as for White, June 1916 "was the end of a great adventure, politically and emotionally probably the greatest adventure of my life."

And Take Your Own Part

June 1916—March 1917

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Oyster Bay, June 23, 1916

*My dear Congressman Martin:*¹ I am deeply sensible of the position in which the Progressives in the South are now placed. But my dear Congressman, permit me to point out that the one prime factor in bringing about this position has been the action of the South itself. One of the reasons that actuated us in desiring the formation of the Progressive Party was the advisability of getting those Southerners who agreed with our principles to stand with us outside of the Democratic Party. But we failed to do so. Taking the South as a whole, we made practically no impression whatever on the Democratic Party. In most of the Southern States an infinitesimal number of Democrats joined us when we had organized the new party, but most of the «body that» joined us were the decent men in the old and very small Republican organizations. One exception was Louisiana, where we had the superb leadership of John M. Parker,² and where because of the peculiar conditions affecting the tariff on sugar we were enabled to elect you to Congress. But as a matter of fact in the South as a whole we did very much worse than the Republican Party had repeatedly done. For example, within my own experience I have known the Republicans to elect Congressmen in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama and Georgia. Yet *we* elected only one Congressman, yourself. I received a smaller percentage of the vote in the South at the head of the Progressive ticket than McKinley had received on the Republican ticket in 1896. In the South as a whole we have to face the fact that the people utterly refused to support the new party or to stand by it in any way; although it was peculiarly the place where we should have had the public's support. We had less support in the «south» than in any other section of the Union.

There was no course which we could at this time follow which would not injure some man personally. The course that I think we ought to follow is in my judgment undoubtedly the course which will injure much fewer men than would be injured by following any other. But this is not my *controlling* motive. So far as I am concerned I feel with all my soul that the course I am advocating in my letter to the National Committee is the only course which at this time is compatible with the interests of the United States. I am very, very sorry that such a course should have been rendered necessary by the absolute refusal of the people of the United States to follow our lead, and by the fact that in all but a very few of the States the immense

¹ Whitmell Pugh Martin, Louisiana lawyer, for many years a state district attorney and judge before his election to Congress in 1914 on the Progressive ticket. In 1916 he was re-elected by a narrow margin. In 1918, after the Democrats had placed sugar on the free list, Martin ran as a Democrat. Again victorious, he continued to serve in the House until his death in 1929.

² In April 1916 Parker polled over 48,000 votes as a Progressive and "Independent Democrat" candidate for Governor of Louisiana. His victorious opponent obtained 81,000 votes, but Parker's remarkable showing gave hope to the state Progressives that they might restore the two-party system in Louisiana.

majority of the rank and file of the Progressive Party had some time ago returned to their former party affiliations. But unfortunately my sorrow and regret will not alter the facts.

My belief is that the people have from their own standpoint acted mistakenly, and from the standpoint of the nation injuriously, but this does not alter the fact that they have so acted; that they have the right so to act. It is the duty of our people to face this fact, and to do the best we can having reference to it. *Faithfully yours*

6107 · TO WILLIAM AUSTIN WADSWORTH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 23, 1916

Dear Austin: As usual you present sound common sense. I entirely agree with you. There is only one thing we can do and that is support Hughes, but I do wish the bearded iceberg had acted a little differently during the last six months so as to enable us to put more heart into the campaign for him.

Give my love to the Lady. Kermit and his wife are coming out today to see us. *Faithfully yours*

6108 · TO T. H. WANNAMAKER

R.M.A. Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 24, 1916

*My dear Mr. Wannamaker:*¹ I send this letter to you because I have a special feeling about the Progressives in the Southern States. I would like to have you show it to Mr. Parker, and the other representatives of these Southern States.

There has never been a body of men and women who have worked more disinterestedly for the public good and with greater sanity than the members of the Progressive Party; the men and women who organized the party four years ago, and those who have taken the lead in its management since. In particular, there are no citizens of our country for whom I feel a greater admiration than the members of the Progressive Party in the South.

It was one of my especial hopes when the Progressive Party started to develop it in the South. In the South Atlantic and Gulf States as a whole there is no real Republican Party. Nor is there any sign at present that the Republican Party can ever be built up in these States. In some of these States it cannot even be said that there is so much as a shadow of a genuine Republican Party. I had hoped that the Progressive Party would supply this deficiency. I regard it in the highest degree desirable, not only for the sake of these States themselves, but for the sake of the whole Union, that there shall be in them a party in opposition to the Democratic Party. It is an unhealthy and an unnatural thing for the Southern States and for the whole Union, that there is in these States no opportunity for the men who are in

¹ T. H. Wannamaker, since 1912 the Progressive national committeeman from South Carolina.

principle opposed to the Democratic Party to give expression to their principles in such manner as would be possible as if they dwelt in other sections of the Union where there is a normal division on party lines. It is a misfortune for these states that many men in them who would not be Democrats if they lived elsewhere are obliged to affiliate with the Democratic Party. It is a misfortune for the Union that these States have become a Democratic asset which can be counted upon without the least regard to the principles or candidates whom or which the Democratic Party may at the moment present. In these states the preservation of a sham Republican organization such as at present exists serves no useful purpose whatever, and is a potent source of mischief to the Republican Party itself. I therefore particularly wish that the Progressive organizations there would be kept alive in some shape or form, for the sake of the gallant men who left the Democratic Party and who joined the Progressives in those States, and for the sake of all the other men who might possibly follow their example.

I very deeply regret that the verdict of the people upon the party has been such as to make it unwise in my judgment any longer to attempt to keep up the national organization, or to keep up the State organizations in most of the Northern States.

It should be clearly understood that this is due not to any shortcomings in the Progressive leaders, or to any failure in the principles of our party, but merely to the fact that through no fault of ours we have been unable to persuade the people to do what in our judgment it would be for their best interests to do. As I have said, the success of the Progressive Party would have meant for the South more than for any other section of the Union; and yet we received less support in the South than in any other section of the Union.

Nor is this all. Not only has the Progressive vote been relatively very much smaller in the Southern States than in any of the other states, but in most or at least in very many of these states the vote we got was obtained chiefly, not from among former members of the Democratic Party, but from the best men in the minute Republican Party organizations.

You and Mr. Parker and a few other of the leaders were drawn from the Democratic Party; we have made every possible effort to get our leaders from the Democracy; but there were many states in which this was almost an impossibility. The result was that the Progressives actually polled a smaller proportion of the total vote than what on several occasions in the past the Republican Party has polled in the South. The proportion of the vote polled for the Presidential candidate by the Progressives four years ago was smaller than that polled for the Republican candidate in 1896. We never elected but one Congressman from the South, and that was due to the peculiar phase of the tariff which affected Louisiana sugar planters in one of the districts. But the Republicans have repeatedly carried Congressional districts; not only in Louisiana, but in Texas, Alabama, and other far southern states.

We have made every effort during these four years to create a genuine Progressive Party in the South. But we have failed. In Louisiana, our leading

member, Mr. John M. Parker, a man of exceptional power, ability and resolution polled a great vote; but he polled it when he ran not as a Progressive but as the head of an organization composed mainly of Democrats.

In the Union at large there are but two or three States where the Progressive Party can be said in any proper sense to exist. If the Republicans had nominated for President a man whom the majority of the Northern Progressives would have regarded as being worse than Mr. Wilson, and if we had done as we certainly would have done in such case, and had run a third ticket against him, we could have put the Progressive Party through the campaign. But the contingency did not occur. In my judgment, to perpetuate the Progressive Party organization at present in the great majority of the states would merely mean the withdrawal from useful public service of certain high-minded men and the risk of seeing the Progressive organization seized by unworthy persons. Small derelict parties always offer great temptations to men whose character is such that they are no longer able to accomplish anything in the big party organizations; and they also offer a temptation to those visionaries whose activities sometimes take a rather sinister turn.

We do not wish the Progressive Party which, although defeated, has served an honorable and most useful purpose, to end its days in any unbecoming fashion.²

Let me repeat that though my heartfelt sympathy goes out to the Southern Progressives, we must not forget that these form numerically a small proportion of the voters, a proportion so insignificant as to be practically negligible. We cannot let our sympathies for a few high-minded individuals lead us into any course of action detrimental to the nation as a whole.

You are at liberty to show this letter to all members of the National Committee; but do not have it published without further consultation with me.
Very sincerely yours

6109 · TO CLEMENT LAIRD BRUMBAUGH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 26, 1916

*My dear Mr. Brumbaugh:*¹ It was a pleasure to hear from a fellow Harvard man. I particularly sympathize with your feeling that Harvard is the poor

² Parker, the Progressive candidate for the Vice-Presidency and the party's only successful Southern leader, did not heed this request to let the party reach a becoming end. Instead, upon his return from Chicago, he repudiated Roosevelt and sent out a call to other Progressives for a new convention. His hope was that either Victor Murdock or Gifford Pinchot could be nominated for the Presidency. At the convention, which met in Indianapolis in August, no Presidential nominee was chosen, but Parker was selected to run as Vice-President, presumably in support of Hughes, in those states where there was still a Progressive organization. Parker, accepting the nomination, then supported Woodrow Wilson on his speaking tour in the half-dozen states where his own party was entered on the ballot.

¹ Clement Laird Brumbaugh, Harvard '94, Democratic congressman from Ohio, 1913-1921.

boy's college. I believe it is the most democratic college in the country, taking it as a whole.

Many thanks for your letter. *Faithfully yours*

6110 • TO JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER

Foraker Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 28, 1916

My dear Senator: I have just finished your two volumes,¹ which I have read with great interest. Of course there are certain portions as to which you and I will continue to differ, but if I ever get the chance to speak publicly, I shall elaborate what I said in speaking of you in the libel suit.

Not only do I admire your entire courage and straightforwardness (in the railway rate legislation I respected you a thousand times more than I did many of the men who voted for the bill) but I also grew steadily more and more to realize your absolute Americanism, and your capacity for generosity and disinterestedness. Besides, you knew the need that the freeman shall be able to fight, under penalty of ceasing to be a freeman.

Too many of our representatives in the senate and the lower house could not be persuaded to take any interest in any matter in which they or their districts were not personally concerned. But, as far as you were concerned, when the question came up of dealing with the Philippines or Porto Rico or Panama, or the navy, or anything involving America's international good name, or the doing of our duty to help people who had no champion; I knew that if I could convince you that my view was right I could count upon your ardent championship of the cause. I had much the same feeling about O. H. Platt of Connecticut and Cockrell of Missouri; but in neither case did they look upon international affairs as you and I did.

There is no use in raking up the past now, but there were some things told me against you, or in reference to you, which (when I consider what I know now of my informants) would have carried no weight with me at the time had I been as well informed as at present.

Now for something entirely different. If you are ever in this neighborhood I wish you would let me know, and come down for lunch or dinner. I have some questions I wish to ask you about the battle of Chickamauga; this being in connection with the work of a cousin of mine, now dead, a man named Gracie. *Faithfully yours*

6111 • TO ALICE CARPENTER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 29, 1916

Dear Miss Carpenter: Please treat this as strictly private. I have urged Mr. Hughes to endorse the Federal amendment. Whether he will take this action

¹Foraker's *Notes of a Busy Life*, published in 1916.

I don't know; but he assures me unequivocally he is for complete Woman Suffrage, and will say so when he gets the opportunity.¹

Will you tell Mrs. Higginson, Mrs. Baker,² and the others about this.
Faithfully yours

6112 · TO LEMUEL ELY QUIGG

Quigg Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 29, 1916

My dear Quigg: I am really very much pleased with your letter to Willcox.¹ Now, would it be possible for you — and as many of your family as are available! — to come out here for lunch some day. If not, I will arrange to meet you in New York; but there is a certain sentimental feeling about having you break bread in my house; and I would like to talk over one or two features of the campaign with you. *Faithfully yours*

6113 · TO CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 30, 1916

My dear Governor Hughes: Here are the two letters about Mexico which I said I would send you, and which I showed you the other evening.¹ Also clippings from newspapers.

¹On August 1, the day after his acceptance speech, Hughes in a telegram to Senator George Sutherland of Utah endorsed the federal amendment permitting woman suffrage. That afternoon he reiterated this position before the Women's Roosevelt League. Hughes's decision to take a firm stand on the amendment which the Republican platform failed to mention may have been influenced by Wilson's insistence that all suffrage questions should be settled by the individual states. Some of Wilson's advisers believed the refusal to support the woman-suffrage amendment cost him many votes.

²Probably Mrs. James J. Higginson and Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, leaders in the woman-suffrage movement. Mrs. Higginson was a member of Miss Carpenter's Women's Roosevelt League.

¹William Russell Willcox, "an able public servant, but in politics . . . a novice," Hughes's personal selection for chairman of the Republican National Committee, an office he held but failed to fill, 1916-1918. To Willcox, Quigg wrote: "I read in the newspapers tonight that you are going to be Mr. Hughes's campaign manager. I hope the news is true. If it is, it will help all of us who believed that Col. Roosevelt should have been nominated to engage the more heartily in campaign work. This will be a sentimental fight. You won't need money for 'blocks of five.' All you will need is bugles, every one of them set to the note that Roosevelt struck the day after the Belgium Commission called upon Wilson." — June 27, 1916, Roosevelt Mss.

¹Roosevelt and Hughes had dined and talked privately for three hours at the Hotel Astor in New York on the evening of June 28. Then and later in the summer and fall of 1916 Roosevelt urged the Republican candidate to base the campaign on the issues of preparedness, Americanism, and Wilson's Mexican and neutrality policies. In a letter of June 26 thanking Roosevelt for his endorsement, Hughes had assured Roosevelt that he would so do. At their conference he repeated this assurance. In his acceptance speech, as Roosevelt suggested, he made much of the Mexican question and particularly the Tampico episode.

I hope I need not tell you how thoroughly I enjoyed your dinner. We had exactly the kind of a talk I wished to have.

With very hearty good wishes not merely for yourself, but primarily for the sake of the country, I am, *Very truly yours*

[*Handwritten*] In Mexico the really blackest work in the Wilson career of infamy was the affair at Tampico. Reuterdahl could give you the facts.

6114 · TO DWIGHT BANCROFT HEARD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 3, 1916

Dear Heard: Of all the letters I have received about the convention, yours is far away the best, the clearest, and gives me the most satisfying idea of what occurred.

I am exceedingly glad at what you tell me about Raymond Robins' statement, for it is exactly what Robins himself told me, and I am glad the rest of the committee should know it.¹ Such a statement as that of Ingersoll's that Hughes would be the tool of "invisible government" is wild nonsense,² and is shown to be such by Robins' statement. There is in Hughes the weakness of which Robins speaks as regards a full understanding of our economic and social platform; but in this respect he was far ahead of all the other leading Republicans, and I am inclined to think far ahead of any man there was the least chance of making President. He is also by instinct right on Americanism, and right on preparedness; although he is not familiar with international relations, and will have to have a little time before finding himself.

I very earnestly hope you will come on at once to see him, and then will you arrange that he see Parker. I can without any difficulty arrange for an interview for you with Hughes; and then you must arrange for the Parker interview. I have the deepest sympathy for Parker. I have written him. But really his attitude is most unreasonable. The Progressive Party in the Southern States has amounted to less than anywhere else in the Union. In most of the Southern States we actually could not get enough Democrats to hold the leading positions in the Progressive party, and we had to draw

¹ Raymond Robins in his statement made on June 26 before the Progressive National Committee urged Heard and the other committeemen to disband the party's organization. After the Chicago convention Robins had, he told the committee, consulted Johnson, Pinchot, Garfield, Ickes, and other party leaders. All agreed, he reported, that if the party continued it would become "a mere faction futilely making a noise in spots." The Progressive leaders, Robins continued, who believed Roosevelt deserted were wrong. Instead, it was the Progressive voters of 1912 who abandoned Roosevelt and the Progressive party. Robins' statement is given in "The Progressive Party—Its Records from January to July, 1916," pp. 102-107.

² The statement was made by Charles Henry Ingersoll, a Wilson supporter who was secretary and treasurer of Robert H. Ingersoll and Brother, makers of the famous dollar watch, president of the Charles H. Ingersoll Dollar Pen Company, president of the American Fair Trade League, and in the fall of 1916 president of the Woodrow Wilson Advertisers' League.

on the decent members of the tiny Republican organization. In Louisiana, thanks to Parker, we got a skeleton organization composed of high-minded Democrats. On the tariff issue we elected one man to Congress. But this was not doing as well as I have repeatedly known the Republican party itself to do in the South, and on this same issue they have elected congressmen in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama and Georgia. Parker himself made a fine run for Governor, but he made the run as a nonpartisan and he was (helped in the primaries) by Democrats, (and) . . . he had exercised the utmost care not to let the Progressives as such take any part in the campaign for fear of ruining his candidacy.

Although I campaigned personally in the South and addressed a great many meetings in Louisiana, my vote on the Progressive ticket for President was proportionately less than that for McKinley on the Republican ticket in 1896. In short, even in Louisiana there is no real Progressive organization, but there is a personal following for John Parker enough to make him a power in the State chiefly by the aid of men who on national matters stay in the Democratic Party. Under such circumstances there isn't any real loss in the disbandment of the Progressive Party in Louisiana. John Parker and his leaders have made a gallant effort, and they are entitled to the wholehearted congratulations of all Americans; but for reasons beyond their control they have failed even in Louisiana; and in no other Southern State has anything been accomplished whatever.

As for most of the other men of whom you speak, they represent literally nothing. I never heard of Harris of Rhode Island,³ and in that State we have not been able to develop the Party at all. It doesn't compare with even the third-party Prohibitionists. The same is true of the South Carolina man of whom you speak.

As regards Griffiths of Washington, here again his position is impossible.⁴ Our Senator Poindexter, the only Progressive Senator we had, and our two Congressmen, have gone back into the Republican Party; and although we had retained the nucleus of a party in Washington, it was potent only to do mischief to the Republicans; it could not do anything for itself. As for Matt Hale I am unable to guess what he is driving at. The Progressives of Massachusetts under his lead have dwindled until in the last Gubernatorial election they were even a smaller body than the Progressives of New York.⁵ In these two States I can speak from personal knowledge, as I can of the Progressives in New Jersey. In all of these States the Progressive Party has

³ Dr. Edward M. Harris had headed the Rhode Island delegation to the Progressive National Convention.

⁴ Austin E. Griffiths, reform lawyer and Progressive national committeeman.

⁵ In 1915 the Progressive gubernatorial candidate in Massachusetts, Nelson B. Clark, had run on a platform condemning the ambitions of the Roman Catholic Church in state and national politics. Clark had the enthusiastic endorsement of the *American Citizen*, a nativist organ in Massachusetts. Clark polled fewer votes than the Prohibitionist candidate in the election in which David I. Walsh was defeated by Republican Samuel W. McCall.

become one of the small derelict political organizations through which not the smallest possible useful service can be given to the public, and which naturally fall under the control of cheap crooks and of cranks with a sinister twist in them. Bainbridge Colby was speaking for the New Jersey . . . and he was speaking purely in the interests of Wilson. In Massachusetts in the last campaign, the Progressive Party was practically an A.P.A. side show, and the sooner it is wound up the better it will be from every standpoint. In this State it was all we could do to prevent the organization from falling into the hands of Sulzer, the man who had been impeached and removed from office as Governor for flagrant dishonesty. We just saved the organization, but Sulzer polled twice as many votes as our candidate who was thoroughly an upright man.

It is a great misfortune the people «were» not sufficiently far advanced to follow the lead of the Progressive Party, but we have to face the fact. Furthermore the Party has disintegrated so that to keep it alive at present would be a grave detriment to the country.

With hearty congratulations on the admirable work you have done, I am, *Sincerely yours*

6115 · TO JULIAN STREET

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 3, 1916

Dear Street: All the members of this family were delighted with your account of the Colonel and the Convention.¹ You could not have written it in a way we would have liked better.

Well, it looks as if Wilson would drift stern foremost into war with Mexico, without having made a particle of preparation for it.² In that case I shall apply for permission to raise a division; and as, when I am in uniform, I must stop being a critic, it is possible they will let me raise the division.

The sending of the National Guard has simply been wicked. It is action which provides most of the hardships of war, without the benefits of efficient war. The National Guard cannot be properly trained, and probably of two thirds of the men who go, over one half have people depending upon them, and they are themselves depending upon jobs. I know of case after case where the employer is a man of small means who simply cannot keep

¹ In "The Convention and the Colonel," *Collier's Weekly*, 57:5-7, 26, 37-38 (July 1, 1916), Street had described his personal experiences at the Progressive convention.

² Actually at the time Roosevelt wrote this letter the most dangerous crisis with Mexico had passed. On June 21 Mexican troops had seized twenty-three American soldiers at Carrizal. Wilson demanded the immediate release of the prisoners. Carranza, faced with the prospect of war with the United States, released the American soldiers. A few days later, on July 4, he agreed to resume negotiations for the restoration of order in northern Mexico. These negotiations dragged on until January 1917, and in February Wilson withdrew our troops without adequate guarantees for the protection of American life and property and with Villa still unpunished.

the job open, and where the man's wife and children are already suffering, because the man has been sent down with his regiment to patrol the Mexican border in the interests of a policy which is neither Peace nor War, and which has nothing to do with humanity, but which it is hoped will help Wilson win the election.

If I am allowed to raise the division I shall be under no illusions. I know that we (will) . . . be used for not only military purposes, but accordingly as Wilson may think the political interests of the Democratic Party are to be served; these interests being his own.

A great many fine fellows will hesitate to come with me, because they have already expressed themselves as believing that the administration is not concerned with the honor and interest of the United States in any real way, and is not concerned at all in the reputation or welfare of the soldier, and moreover is incapable of developing thoroughgoing and efficient military plans. They therefore think they will be sacrificed uselessly. All I can say to them is that I am not asking them to take any chance that I am not taking myself, and that somebody must show an example of readiness to run the risk and accept the sacrifice when the country is in a War. It is a matter for keen indignation that good men should be required to make these sacrifices in order to atone for the feebleness or shortsightedness of the administration in refusing to prepare; and in refusing to develop or follow any real policy; both . . .

If there isn't a war we shall want you and Mrs. Street and the children to come out here when it is convenient for you. *Faithfully yours*

6116 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 3, 1916

Dear Cabot: I am very much obliged to you for the letter.¹ It was just about what I supposed, but as Wood had backed up Belmont I hardly felt at liberty to refuse to make the inquiry.

I was very much pleased with my talk with Hughes, and with both his letters. I believe as you do that he will make a straight-out fight for preparedness and national defense. He told me he personally believed in universal service, but was doubtful as to the expediency of coming out for it at this time.

Of course, I am simply unable to understand how the American people

¹Lodge had written about the Cape Cod Canal. The canal, which had been built by the Cape Cod Construction Company, was opened to navigation in 1914. In the company August Belmont was principal stockholder and president. When after two years the company failed to show a profit, he tried to get Lodge to persuade the government to buy the canal. Lodge in the summer of 1916 attempted unsuccessfully to write its purchase into the navy bill. After the declaration of war increased the need for inside water routes, Congress, in the Rivers and Harbors Act of August 1917, authorized the purchase of the canal from Belmont's company.

can tolerate Wilson; but then in retrospect I am simply unable to understand how they could have tolerated Jefferson and Madison in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Andrew Jackson had his faults, but at least he was a fighting man, and had some idea of the proper correspondence between words and deeds. This creature is not of the Jackson, but the Jefferson and Buchanan type.

Sending the National Guard down to the border, and leaving their wives and children helpless is one of the most wicked things that has ever been done. *Always yours*

6117 • TO NEWTON DIEHL BAKER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 6, 1916

Sir: ¹ In the event of a war with Mexico and of volunteers being called for, I have the honor to apply for permission to raise and command a division.²

My purpose would be to have the division raised by men who as brigade, regimental, squadron or battalion, troop or company, platoon or squad, commanders, would be chosen carefully with a view to their efficiency in warfare, and who would, in at least a large number, probably a large majority, of the cases, raise the men under them.

I would with your permission submit the division to you with its organization practically complete, so far as the personnel is concerned.

I would raise a cavalry division if you so desire; but in view of the possibility that there may be difficulty in connection with obtaining horses, and of the possibility of the attack being made against the City of Mexico by way of Veracruz, I should like your permission to raise the division on the following lines.

I would make it an infantry division, with a brigade of divisional cavalry instead of a regiment of divisional cavalry; I would raise one, and perhaps two of the brigades as mounted infantry. For service in Mexico I do not believe that it would be necessary to have a brigade of artillery, and instead I should ask permission to raise one regiment of artillery, and one motor-cycle regiment with machine guns. In addition I should, of course, raise an engineering regiment, an aviation squadron, a division of the signal corps, together with surgical, supply and other services.

I would respectfully ask permission that I be permitted to request the detailing of regular army officers in the proportion of about one to every

¹ Newton Diehl Baker, former pacifist, urban reformer, for many years an associate of Tom Johnson in Cleveland, mayor, 1912-1916, of that city. In March 1916 Wilson appointed him to succeed Garrison as Secretary of War.

² Roosevelt's intention had already been widely publicized. The *New York Times* on June 28 reported, "on high authority," that he was planning to raise a division. Although neither Roosevelt nor the Administration would comment, the rumor was sufficient. Roosevelt was deluged with requests to join his organization. The full-time job of handling this correspondence was given to Regis Post.

thousand men. In the event of war being declared and of my being permitted to raise the division I shall immediately submit to you the names of the regular officers I would like to have as divisional chief of staff, brigade commanders, colonels, lieutenant colonels and majors.

I should like to be permitted to assemble the division at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

I have made conditional offers to various civilians whom I would desire to have as Divisional Quartermaster General, as Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, and Majors; and to a very few whom I would desire to have as captains or lieutenants.

In most of their cases, these offers depend in the first instance upon their ability to raise the men, no less than upon my belief that they can handle them when raised. I do not suppose that you wish me at this time to go into details of any kind, but I hold myself ready to do so, whenever it is your wish.

Of course, I understand that nothing can be done at the present moment; but I desire to have my application before you for action if the emergency arises.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect. *Very truly yours*

6118 · TO FRANK ROSS MCCOY

*McCoy Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, July 9, 1916

Dear Mac, It was good to hear from you; and those enclosures were interesting and instructive.

Whether our people, or rather our Administration, can be kicked into war with Mexico I do not know; but it is difficult to see how it can be avoided. The difficulty I shall have with my division will be persuading men of the right type that they will not be put in a ridiculous position if they enlist; for all fighting men despise the present Administration so, and distrust it so deeply, that they believe it is equally powerless to do well in keeping peace or making war. But I shall get them; and I explain to all that we are simply facing the usual conditions in American history; for at least three times out of war the people and its civil leaders behave so badly in war, and above all in preparing for war, that a few men must individually make good, at their own risk, the shortcomings of the majority.

The one man for whom I shall ask ahead of all others is yourself, as Divisional Chief of Staff. Harry Stimson will be associated with you as Divisional Quartermaster General. You and he will be my right and left bowers. My son-in-law Dick Derby is handling the medical end; I have asked Surgeon-Major Page¹ to come in as head.

I have informed the War Department that I should like to be empowered

¹ Henry Page, Princeton '91, M.D. University of Pennsylvania '94, had served in the army medical corps since 1897.

to raise either a cavalry division, or (which would be preferable if we seriously go to war and attack Mexico City via Vera Cruz) a division of infantry, with one or two of the three brigades mounted infantry, and a divisional brigade instead of a divisional regiment of cavalry — this would really mean three brigades of cavalry, for my mounted infantry would be the same thing, and yet we would not be held up if there were a shortage of horses for the entire division. Instead of a brigade of artillery, I should ask for a regiment, and in addition a regiment of motor cycle machine gun men. I should ask to assemble at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. I should ask for Henry T. Allen as my Senior Brigade commander; Rear Admiral Cameron Winslow would be another; Howze and Harbord² two others. Fitz Lee, Lincoln Andrews, Phil Sheridan, Hugh Wise, Collins, Roscoe, White, Parker would be among the others for whom I should ask — also Chaffee, Wainwright, Christian, Conger, &c. Dan Moore would take the artillery; Smedberg the machine guns.³ I should endeavor to get some of our American aviators back from France for our aero-squadron.

If they'll give me a show, such an outfit will do something! *Always yours*

You can show this letter to any of the above-named men whom you meet.⁴

6119 • TO GIFFORD PINCHOT

Gifford Pinchot Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, July 11, 1916

Dear Gifford, In my Autobiography, published in the fall of 1913, I set forth in full my estimate of you and of your public services during my Administration. Moreover you had a keen understanding of our international duties and our military needs; and your character and standards, public and private, were such as to render you a man eminently fit to represent American ideals in foreign affairs. In view of these facts I had intended, as I at the time told you, if elected President in 1912 to make you secretary of State. I had hesitated between you and Bonaparte, but had finally concluded that

² James Guthrie Harbord was appointed a second lieutenant in the United States Army in 1891 after serving two and a half years as an enlisted man. A major in the 1st cavalry regiment in 1916, Harbord became in May 1917 General Pershing's Chief of Staff.

³ All these officers were serving with the regular army. In June 1916 Edgar T. Collins and Arthur L. Conger, Harvard '94, were infantry captains. The rest, Philip H. Sheridan, son of the brilliant Civil War cavalryman, Thomas J. J. Christian, the grandson of Stonewall Jackson, Adna R. Chaffee, the son of General Chaffee, David L. Roscoe, Herbert H. White, William R. Smedberg, and Jonathan M. Wainwright, the hero of Bataan and Corregidor, were lieutenants or captains in the cavalry corps. All but Roscoe, White, and Conger were graduates of West Point.

⁴ Roosevelt in late June and early July wrote many friends, including Medill McCormick, Stewart White, Sloan Simpson, Robert Bacon, and David Goodrich, asking them to raise troops which, as majors or colonels, they would command.

Bonaparte's preeminent fitness for the Navy would make it imperative that he be returned to the head of the Navy Department. *Faithfully yours*

6120 • TO WILLIAM RUSSELL WILLCOX

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 13, 1916

My dear Mr. Willcox: I do not intend to bother Mr. Hughes or yourself with personal requests save in very few instances, and where I am clear that those requests are in the interests of the election of Mr. Hughes, or of the success of his administration if elected. I am enclosing a letter from Mr. John Marks¹ of Louisiana. This case in Louisiana, in my judgment, comes under both categories. It will help Mr. Hughes in the North to have it known that he stands for the clean anti-Democratic Southerners who, like Congressman Martin, fought under the Progressive banner. Moreover if Martin were elected to Congress, although he would not go into the Republican caucus, he would as a matter of fact co-operate with the Republicans on practically every measure in which Mr. Hughes was interested. He is like most of the Southern Progressives much more progressive than the Northern Progressives, so that he would agree entirely with Mr. Hughes and not with me on the points where Mr. Hughes might think I was too radical. I think it would be a capital stroke if you, Mr. Willcox, would at once write to Mr. Martin yourself.²

By no possibility can the Republicans elect anybody in Louisiana, and if you can help the Progressives elect a congressman there it will be a fine thing.

The very limited number of people in the Progressive Party to whom I owe certain obligations of party loyalty includes two or three Progressive congressmen, provided of course these congressmen are not supporting Mr. Wilson. *Sincerely yours*

6121 • TO CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

Robinson Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, July 21, 1916

Darling Corinne, Thats a very dear letter of yours; you understand me exactly. I'll talk fully with Teddy; I have a very great belief in him.¹ I have sent Mac with my letter to Reynolds,² and with stenographic notes

¹ John Marks, a close friend and neighbor of Whitmell Martin.

² Hughes endorsed Martin, and Martin, unlike John Parker, supported Hughes.

¹ Theodore Robinson was planning to run for state senator in the Republican primaries. He easily defeated the organization candidate in the September primaries and then carried his district in the November election. Robinson served in the New York State Senate, 1916-1918, 1920-1924. In 1924 he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

² Probably a letter to James Bronson Reynolds in which Roosevelt endorses Hughes but questions "whether it is worth while to continue the Progressive Party in this State." — Roosevelt to Reynolds, June 23, 1916, Roosevelt Mss.

in addition to read to him; I have put the request as strongly as possible to have Teddy given the chance, *in Mr. Hughes interest*, to show the stuff there is in him and be judged accordingly. I have seen Mr. Perkins and requested him to keep his hands off Teddy entirely; as I anticipated I found that in what he had been doing Teddy's name had not come up at all, for no one of the Progressives had dealt except with the Progressives — who were giving quite sufficient trouble to absorb the undivided attention of all the wretched creatures who were endeavoring to deal with them. The Republicans are a sordid crowd! They are a trifle better than the corrupt and lunatic wild asses of the desert who seem most influential in democratic counsels, under the lead of that astute, unprincipled and physically cowardly demagogue Wilson; but they are a sorry lot.

For six years I have been I believe emphatically right, emphatically the servant of the best interests of the American people; but just as emphatically the American people have steadily grown to think less and less of me, and more definitely determined not to use me in any public position; and its their affair after all. Poor Teddy may — perhaps largely through association in their minds with me — be experiencing the same fate and may find that through no fault of his (in my case, the fault may have been mine!) his talents and services are passed by and inferior men are put over him. We do not need to be historians in order to learn that the public, like the proverbial white man, is "mighty onsartin." *Your loving brother*

6122 • TO HENRY PINCKNEY MCCAIN

National Archives

Oyster Bay, July 22, 1916

*My dear Sir:*¹ I thank you for your letter of the 14th instant. I assume that your final sentence in which you speak of giving consideration to my letter "Should conditions arise that would make it necessary to call for volunteers," is to be construed in connection with your first sentence, "In the event of war with Mexico." To prevent any misconstruction, I desire to say that the men to whom I would appeal would for the most part refuse to come unless there was a war, and I could not ask them to come merely to act as police and patrol the border. It would not in my judgment, be proper for me to ask the men I have in mind to volunteer for such service, for their volunteering would entail on them grave personal sacrifices which they would not feel it right to make save for a service of grave importance. *Sincerely yours*

6123 • TO JOHN ST. LOE STRACHEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 22, 1916

My dear Strachey: I am sending you a little volume which contains speeches I made prior to the nominating conventions. I made my fight on that species

¹ Henry Pinckney McCain, Adjutant General, U.S.A., 1914-1918.

of preparedness which includes obligatory universal military service, and upon Americanism, with a specific assault upon the "German-American Alliance," and an attack on the administration for its failure to stand up for Belgium.

There has been one very curious feature in my experiences of the last two years. I was attacking my own fellow countrymen, and pointing out their errors and shortcomings unsparingly, and I neither expected nor received sweeping support here at home; although I think I can say that my fight with the black flag hoisted, did literally hammer conviction into the minds of a good many millions of people; and toward the end I secured a very considerable following for the causes I was championing.

I was fighting the battle of the Allies. Naturally poor Belgium was pathetically grateful. France also showed not only much appreciation of me personally, which was entirely unimportant, but a thorough appreciation of the abysmal difference between myself and Wilson, and of the policies we represented, and appreciation of the fact that Wilson had been the dangerous foe of the Allies, as well as of his own country, and had made a pitiable exhibition of the people whom he represented; and *this* was important. In England, with certain striking exceptions, notably the *Spectator*, Mr. Wilson seemed to have fooled the people about as successfully as he has fooled them on this side of the water; and as regards the newspapers such as the *News* and *Chronicle* and magazines such as the *Economist* and *Westminster Gazette*, their attitude seemed to be markedly in favor of Wilson's attitude as compared with mine. Nor was this confined to the liberal or radical press. The *Morning Post* and the *Yorkshire Post*, for example, described my *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* as an electioneering pamphlet; a description so silly, that it is hard to consider it as even malicious. It would be exactly as true to say that Lord Roberts' campaign for universal service was an electioneering appeal to have himself made Prime Minister. The *Morning Post*, like Maxse's magazine, the name of which I have forgotten, has as its correspondent in America, a little Englishman named Maurice Low, who represents all that is worst in yellow journalism on this side of the water. He has acted as a correspondent for various American papers, and his conduct in such capacity was at one time so scandalous that I had to forbid him from entering the White House while I was President. He habitually and consistently practices every form of mean mendacity; and it is from him that the *Morning Post* and other English sources seem to get their views of American affairs; including their views of me. One of the favorite falsehoods of all of these people has been that Wilson has represented so overwhelmingly American sentiment that if, for instance, I had been President my action would have been the same. The astounding thing is that Horace Plunkett has adopted this view, and has been assuring Asquith and other members of the Cabinet that Wilson is really England's friend, and that he was bringing the Middle West to England's support, as I could not possibly do; Plunkett told

this himself to certain American newspapermen, two of whom wrote me; I am at liberty to give the name of one, Gross. Of course, as a matter of fact, if I or any other man of my type had been President we would have acted about Belgium in a way that would have put the United States definitely against Germany; and we would have either stopped the submarine outrages or would have immediately gone to war; and we would have restored order in Mexico, if necessary at the cost of war. I loathe war; but there are things I loathe even more; and moreover to have it known that one is ready, able and willing to fight, is often the only way to secure self-respecting peace.

I can entirely understand why from motives of policy the English Press has refrained from attacking Wilson; but to support him and strengthen him as against men who have really stood for the Allies and for humanity, and who have openly and specifically denounced the "German-American Alliance" and all similar organizations in this country, is a different thing. These papers and publicists have done real harm to England in this country, because they have completely stopped men like myself from doing anything for the English when the administration has gone wrong in the interests of Germany. Whenever we did so the friends of the administration could always invoke against us what seemed to be the general or at least the majority British opinion in favor of Mr. Wilson's position, as against the attitude we were taking. The contrast with the French papers has been striking. They have used entirely parliamentary language; but they have never hesitated to point out the abysmal difference from the standpoint of decency, courage and international duty, between Mr. Wilson's position and the position of those of us who have opposed him. The bulk of English expression has been rather the other way, and any number of people here at this moment use the argument that Wilson should be re-elected, because the English themselves are forced to admit that he has behaved properly, that he has shown great nobility by his steadfast neutrality, and that he has shown a peculiarly high-minded regard for humanity and peace as compared with the bloodthirsty special pleading of men like, for instance, myself.

My dear fellow, I hope you understand that I am not writing this with any view as to what is said about me personally. I immensely value the good opinion of men like yourself, like Arthur Lee and Oliver, just as I would have immensely valued Lord Roberts' good opinion if he were alive. But what I have done has been done solely from the standpoint of the honor and interest of my own country, and what I believe to be the duty of that country in the face of mankind. I wrote *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* as a tract for my own country, and if Englishmen feel that it was an electioneering document, frankly I think it reflects more on their attitude in politics than it does on mine. I cannot be materially helped or hurt by opinion outside of my own country; and I deliberately accepted the temporary ill will and condemnation of what is probably a considerable majority of my own countrymen as a lamentable but necessary incident of doing what I am cer-

tain is for their ultimate benefit. I don't write this from my own standpoint. But I think that it is a mistake from the standpoint of England, for the reasons above given, that this attitude has been taken; and I know that it has caused a good deal of cynical amusement over here among those who delight to point out that the English can be trusted to stand by only the people who are against them. This is of no consequence whatever to me; because I did what I did without any regard to what England's attitude might be, and most certainly I shall continue my course unchanged; and besides I am out of politics, or at least of leadership in politics. But this «may» have rendered it materially more difficult to prevent the Washington politicians from taking an improper attitude.

Give my warmest regards to Mrs. Strachey. *Ever yours*

6124 · TO ANNA ROOSEVELT COWLES

*Cowles Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, July 23, 1916

Darling Bye, The deluge of mail about the highly problematical division has swamped me; I can't begin to look at the ordinary applications; I do'n't, and can't, see one in fifty.

Now, I have put Regis Post in charge of the mail, at the Metropolitan Magazine, 432 4th Ave. Will you get Stewart to write out an application and have it sent *with a guarantee letter by Will*, to Regis Post? Of course as yet everything is in the air. If we are authorized to raise the division, I will at once have the local colonels and captains to whom all such letters from the men in their localities can be sent. At present I can do nothing but have the letters filed.

Archie is working like a demon at Plattsburg, and enjoying it; Quentin, who does not enjoy it, is going thither dutifully this week.

I despise Wilson; but I despise still more our foolish, foolish people who, partly from ignorance, and partly from sheer timidity, and partly from lack of imagination and of sensitive national feeling, support him. The St. Louis Convention was one of the most degrading spectacles we have ever seen.

I am getting into good shape again; and am thoroly enjoying Belle and Kermit, and all the grandchildren, especially Richard and Kim,¹ who are in the house. *Your Devoted Brother*

6125 · TO ROBERT PERKINS BASS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 28, 1916

Dear Governor: Your brother has cabled me twice,¹ but I agree entirely with your view when you say that you "Do not know what I could accomplish

¹ Kermit Roosevelt, Jr., had been born February 16, 1916, in Buenos Aires.

² John F. Bass, then in Paris as a newspaper correspondent, was urging Roosevelt to visit France to help re-establish American prestige.

there under existing conditions." I see thoroughly all of the dangers of which he speaks. It is astounding that our people should be such fools, and should put a premium upon their public men being such fools. You understand the possible ultimate effect on us as a result of the economic agreements the allies have recently entered into. But the only man who can act in this matter is President Wilson, and it is precisely because of President Wilson's action that we are now exposed to danger; and President Wilson has acted as he has done because he could count on the ignorance, the support, or the merely tepid opposition of our people. His conduct has been criminal from the standpoint of international interest; and this is the main reason why I did not under any circumstances consent to be directly or indirectly responsible for supporting him as against Mr. Hughes.

I am wholly unable to understand the blindness with which men like Matt Hale and Heney and other Progressives of their stamp are now acting.² I know that these men are patriotic, but the reason that this country stands badly internationally; the reason it has so much to fear about what will occur after the war, is precisely because our people have either backed Wilson, or have been so lukewarm in their opposition, as to get distracted by all kinds of minor political considerations.

I could do absolutely nothing to stop these agreements. I could do absolutely nothing by going abroad, except to put myself in a humiliating position. I certainly will not in any shape or way undertake the defense of the administration, or make any promise of any kind or sort for the administration with Wilson at the head. On the other hand I will not be put in a position where I am praised at the expense of my country. Moreover I loathe going as a mere looker-on in such a crisis. I have never been among those whose one idea in life is to survey what other people are doing at a momentous time. If I went to Europe at the present time, I would wish to go with arms in my hands, or else as the representative of an armed and resolute nation. As things are now I could not go in either position.

Hughes, I believe, will be a good President, though, of course, it is not in any man's power to say whether he will rise level to the great international needs of the moment, or whether, if elected, he will possess the knowledge and the power to undo the frightful wrongs committed on this nation by Wilson. Moreover, Wilson has committed these wrongs, and has led the nation wrong, because the nation was willing to be so led.

A more sordid set of creatures than the Republicans who nominated Hughes could not be imagined. They nominated him because they had no thought whatever for the welfare of the country, and no appreciation of our international dangers, or proper international relations, and because they did not know his views on the most vital questions, and because they hoped to escape talking about them at all. Of course, it is very galling to have to take any action which helps these scoundrels.

² Matthew Hale, Francis J. Heney, and Bainbridge Colby were perhaps the best known of the many former Progressives who in 1916 came out for Wilson.

It is because men think only of their iniquity that they are willing to take the position taken by Hale, Heney and others; but farseeing men of patriotic purpose must steadily keep in mind that the Democrats have been unfortunately worse. That the attitude of the Democrats at the St. Louis convention was one of greater infamy than any political convention has taken since the Democratic National Conventions that nominated Breckinridge, McClellan and Seymour; and that Wilson is not only the worst President we ever had since Buchanan, but even a much worse President than Buchanan.

Let me repeat that I am wholly unable to see what good I could accomplish by going to Europe. The English would not want me, because the wooden-headed fools have been taken in by Wilson much as he has taken in our own people, and they are inclined to play his game, and they therefore necessarily deserve any trouble that comes to them in consequence. The French do want me, and various of their public men³ have written to me begging me to go over; but I don't believe they have thought out the situation, or have any real understanding of the fact that I could do nothing. I don't care a rap for popularity except as a means to achieving results, and least of all do I care for popularity among foreigners when it would bring me no power to accomplish anything thereby. If I went to France I would probably be well received, but it could hardly fail to be a reception that would emphasize the French dislike and contempt for our government, and this could very easily be turned into an expression of dislike and contempt for our people, which would put me in a particularly awkward position; but I would not mind this if I could do anything. I don't, however, see how I could accomplish anything whatever. I can't promise anything on behalf of this people. I can't express any public opinion as to our proper policy without unreservedly and bitterly assailing Wilson, and I am not willing to publicly assail the American president except in the United States and to my own people. The great service that can be rendered this nation in international affairs is to bring home in striking fashion to our people the infamy, and the folly, the weakness and the lack of patriotism with which Wilson has behaved, and the way in which most of the Democrats and a very large number of Republicans in congress have also behaved. *Sincerely yours*

6126 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 4, 1916

Dear Cabot: I saw you on the stage at the Hughes notification meeting.¹

³ Briand and Hanotaux, among others.

¹ On July 31 at Carnegie Hall Hughes responded to the notification of his nomination — which Warren Harding delivered — with a ninety-minute speech on "America First and America Efficient." The candidate and his address attracted less attention than did Theodore Roosevelt who on the occasion appeared for the first time since 1912 at an official Republican function.

When I come back from Maine, if you are at Nahant, it will, of course, give me real pleasure to stop off and see you. Naturally there are a great many things I would like to talk over with you.

My throat is in bad shape, and I am extremely glad that in your judgment it is wise for me to make only three or four speeches this year, and none of them audience speeches; for I would not be able to go into the bellowing type of campaign where one feels obliged to rival Bryan in noise, at the same time that one represents the opposite extreme of intelligence.² *Ever yours*

6127 • TO BRONSON MURRAY CUTTING

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 8, 1916

Dear Bronson: For two or three years Senator Fall has been on the whole, with the possible exception of Senator Poindexter, the man with whom I have been able most cordially to co-operate among all of the people at Washington. He has done capital work in this Mexican business.¹ He tells me he had a very satisfactory conference with you on the train going West after the Chicago convention, and wishes me to say that he hopes that you and he will be able to co-operate in opposition to the Democrats in New Mexico, and thus assist locally and necessarily the movement we have at heart.² I am very glad to say this, and I earnestly hope you will be able to do so.

He also wishes me to say that Bursum was practically entirely responsible for the sending of the two Roosevelt delegates from New Mexico to the Republican Convention, in the face of a bitter fight engineered by Spiess and Catron. He speaks of the highest terms of Bursum, and says that if he is defeated for the nomination and election as Governor, such defeat will result in the loss of New Mexico entirely for the Republican Party, and the loss of one senator; and probably will place New Mexico in the Democratic column for years to come.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with conditions to make any request of you in this matter. If you can conscientiously and with propriety do as Senator Fall requests, I know you will do so anyhow.

² Nevertheless, Roosevelt in October made a swing through Kentucky, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and New York. In Maine, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Arizona, Colorado, Nebraska, and Connecticut he gave at least one speech during the campaign. This extended speaking schedule was undertaken at the request of the Republican National Committee.

¹ Fall at all times was eager to have America intervene, if not conquer, in Mexico.

² Cutting and other New Mexican Progressives were unhappy about the local Republican ticket. In the state convention the most unsavory element in the party joined Fall to defeat the more respectable members headed by Senator Catron and Charles A. Spiess, Republican national committeeman. Holm Bursum was nominated for governor and Frank A. Hubbell for United States Senator. By the end of August, Cutting had written Roosevelt that he and other former Progressives had declared for the local Democratic ticket but were still supporting Hughes. Roosevelt, on learning of this decision, agreed not to endorse publicly the Republican state ticket.

I am not any too happy with national or local conditions in politics. I feel that the Democratic Party at this time represents the abasement and humiliation of the United States, and all that I can do to overthrow it I will do; but I realize that in many respects that alternative is far from pleasant. I suppose it is never pleasant to do the best possible when it comes so very far short of the ideal and proper best; but I am absolutely clear that the best possible this year is to support Hughes, and where it can be honorably done to subordinate all local fights to the great national need. *Faithfully yours*

6128 • TO JOHN MACRAE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 8, 1916

My dear Mr. Macrae: ¹ I am glad that you are bringing out a special edition of *The Purple Land*,² and I wish this edition included *El Ombú*.³ This work of Hudson's is of great and permanent value. He combines the priceless gift of seeing, with the priceless gift of so vividly setting forth what he has seen that others likewise may see it. He is one of the very limited number of people, including the author of *The Cruise of the Falcon*,⁴ and Mr. Cunningham-Graham,⁵ who have been able to appreciate the wild picturesqueness of the old-time South American life, and who portray it as it should be portrayed. His books come in that very small class of books which deserve the title of literature; and I can hardly imagine any cultivated man with a taste for the adventurous and the picturesque who will not take pleasure in them. *Sincerely yours*

6129 • TO CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 11, 1916

My dear Mr. Hughes: I enclose a letter written to me by a Brooklyn man, a Republican. He is not a Progressive, although, I believe, he voted for me against Taft. I also send you a copy of my answer.

¹ John Macrae, vice-president, treasurer, and, after 1923, president of E. P. Dutton and Company.

² In 1916 E. P. Dutton published a new, slightly revised edition of William Henry Hudson's novel, *The Purple Land*, first published in England in 1885. For the 1916 edition Roosevelt wrote an introductory note similar in tone and content to this letter.

³ Hudson's *El Ombú*, first published in London in 1902, was republished by E. P. Dutton in 1923.

⁴ Edward Frederick Knight, *The Cruise of the Falcon* (London, 1884), an account of a voyage to South America in a thirty-ton yacht.

⁵ Robert Bontine Cunningham-Graham, British author of *A Vanished Arcadia: Being Some Account of the Jesuits in Paraguay, 1607 to 1767* (1901), *The Conquest of the River Plate* (1924), biographies of de Soto and Francisco Lopez, and other books.

I receive a great many letters of this kind. As I have often said, what the average voter wants is not an etching, but a poster, a statement so broad and clear and in such simple language that he can thoroughly understand it.

Wilson has truckled to Germany in every way. I, myself, believe that the Germans who act as Germans, and who prefer you to him, do so simply because they would rather deal with a straightforward man, even when he disapproved of their actions, than with a tricky insincere man who will make promises and then go back on his promises.¹ But the average American is getting pretty thoroughly exasperated with the German-Americans of the George Sylvester Viereck and Horace Brand² kind. He tends to grow restive if he finds himself supporting even the best man, if they also are actively supporting him; and so he welcomes having his leader preach the doctrine for which he stands in such concrete shape that the most captious will recognize its unequivocal clearness.

I am therefore heartily glad that you have, in your Western speeches, been dealing with the issues in such direct straight-from-the-shoulder fashion. It is characteristic of you; and no one can surpass you in this kind of warfare. I believe those speeches have had a great and most beneficial effect.

I shall profit by your suggestion as to my use of the hyphen. I think the suggestion admirable. The trouble is, as you say, that many good people of foreign birth or parentage are entirely unable to differentiate, and think that I am attacking all of the naturalized voters, or the sons of the foreign-born, when I am only attacking those who endeavor to remain foreigners as well as German-Americans. When a campaign is not impending I can make my point in this matter so clear that they do not misunderstand me; but in a campaign, with all of its turmoil and misrepresentation, my method of stating the case seems to have lent itself to misunderstanding; and so I shall do as you suggest, and while I shall set forth my principles just as unequivocally as I have been setting them forth for the last two years, I shall avoid the particular phrase which lends itself to misunderstanding.

Did you see that Cardinal Gibbons has come out for obligatory universal service? I believe that the idea is gaining ground immensely; I am extremely pleased that you believe in it; and I am glad that you approve of my fighting hard for it.

With the heartiest good wishes, I am, *Faithfully yours*

¹A number of German-language newspapers and German-American associations had endorsed Hughes. He had not sought nor did he seek such support, but never during the campaign did he repudiate the professional German- and Irish-American as dramatically as did Wilson. The President, replying in a public telegram to a political threat from the Irish president of the American Truth Society, in late September announced: "I would feel deeply mortified to have you or anybody like you vote for me. Since you have access to many disloyal Americans . . . I will ask you to convey this message to them." So Wilson made Americanism one of his major issues.

²Horace L. Brand, American-born publisher of the Illinois *Staats-Zeitung*.

Oyster Bay, August 19, 1916

Dear Dr. Walsh: I am really interested in the book you sent me, *The Century of Columbus*.¹ It is always a stimulating thing for me to meet you, because, my dear Doctor Walsh, you are in theory of the Thirteenth Century, and I am, in theory, of the Twentieth Century. I say theory in both cases, because when we come down to the practical facts of life, you and I would approve or tolerate substantially the same things, and neither of us could permit the existence of an ecclesiastical or civil system of control over thought which would forbid others from thinking, as I sincerely believe, and from giving expression to those thoughts.

I am interested in your suggestion that it would be worth while to write a history to be called "The Century of Spain" which would follow your *Century of Columbus* — *Columbus* to follow from 1450 to 1530, and "The Century of Spain" from 1550 to 1650.² I understand absolutely, and appreciate that you are not making an argument, but just expressing a "Wonder at what it means." When you say that Spain's great century began just two generations after the Inquisition, and that that century should be compared with what happened to Germany for that one hundred years, and you add "There is not «a leer» in that last remark, just a wandering on!"

I will have to talk this over with you when we meet. Most certainly, I think, the century ended for Germany in 1650 was a pretty melancholy century, but at that same date Spain's century had closed. Don't forget, if you use dates as you do, the Century of Columbus would in history be even more likely known as the Century of Luther! It is very hard to define accurately centuries by men. Seriously, I think, whether you do or do not approve of Mahomet, you will have to speak of the Mahomet or Luther as Mahomet's century, or the Sixteenth Century as Luther's century. You can hold both up as devils or reformers, or occupy an agnostic position in the middle, but for good or for evil, each was the greatest force in that century. Of course, in the Century of Luther, Columbus and Gutenberg played nearly as important parts — indeed, I would not try to apportion the parts the three played, but each of the three rank in history primarily because their names are the symbols of force, of which they themselves were but unconscious fractions. Vasco da Gama may very roughly be said to stand toward Columbus as Wycliffe and Huss stood toward Luther.

I think myself that Spain's great century should be put at each end about sixty years before you put it. From 1590, Shakespeare, and that unamiable, but powerful lady, Queen Elizabeth, come to the front, and Holland, and

¹ James Joseph Walsh, *The Century of Columbus* (New York, 1914).

² This book Walsh never wrote. He turned his hand instead to *What Civilization Owes to Italy* (1923), *The World's Debt to the Catholic Church* (1924), and *The World's Debt to the Irish* (1926).

only a little later Sweden. By that time the days of Spanish monarchies and Spanish universities were waning. I am not familiar with the dates of Spanish architecture. Spanish art was wonderful; but after all Rembrandt was their greatest artist, and with the exception of Cervantes, I think, the Portuguese literature ahead of Spanish.

But all of this does not interfere with my acceptance of the main thesis of your letter, which is that we just don't know what the explanation is as to why nations flourish or decay.

I shall have much to say to you when you bring out Tom Walsh³ to see me in accordance with your promise. *Faithfully yours*

6131 • TO WILLIAM RUSSELL WILLCOX

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 21, 1916

My dear Mr. Willcox: Please look over the enclosed by the time I get to lunch.¹ I believe it is my duty to Mr. Hughes, no less than to myself, to unequivocally put my position forth so it could not be truthfully said that I had in any way weakened or backed water. I asked Mr. Hughes about this before he left, (speaking over the telephone) and he told me to go right ahead and stand for all of the things I stood for in my previous speeches, only to avoid the use of the word "hyphen," because it lent itself to misconstruction. But he said by all means to emphatically explain the same truths and the same ideas that I had explained, but merely not to use that particular word. Accordingly I have not used it.

Will you also glance at Gardner's letter, and talk that over with me when I come. *Sincerely yours*

6132 • TO WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

Thayer Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, August 21, 1916

My dear Mr. Thayer, There is now no reason why I should not speak of the facts connected with the disagreement between the United States and Germany over the Venezuela matter, in the early part of my administration as President, and of the final amicable settlement of the disagreement.¹

At that time the Venezuelan Dictator-President Castro had committed various offences against different European nations, including Germany and

⁰ Thomas Walsh, Brooklyn critic and poet, wrote and compiled many volumes of which one was his *Hispanic Anthology* (1920).

¹ Roosevelt sent Willcox the manuscript of the speech he was to deliver at Lewiston, Maine, on August 31. Roosevelt there attacked Wilson's Mexican policy and championed Americanism, accomplishing the latter — as Hughes had requested — without specific reference to the hyphen.

¹ This, his final version of the Venezuelan episode, Roosevelt elaborated in two later letters to Thayer, Numbers 6135 and 6136; compare with Numbers 3961 and 5050.

England. The English Government was then endeavoring to keep on good terms with Germany, and on this occasion acted jointly with her. Germany sent a squadron of war vessels to the Venezuelan coast, and they were accompanied by some English war vessels. I had no objection whatever to Castro's being punished, as long as the punishment did not take the form of seizure of territory and its more or less permanent occupation by some old-world power. At this particular point such seizure of territory would have been a direct menace to the United States because it would have threatened or partially controlled the approach to the projected Isthmian Canal.

I speedily became convinced that Germany was the leader, and the really formidable party, in the transaction; and that England was merely following Germany's lead in rather half hearted fashion. I became convinced that England would not back Germany in the event of a clash over the matter between Germany and the United States, but would remain neutral; I did not desire that she should do more than remain neutral. I also became convinced that Germany intended to seize some Venezuela harbor and turn it into a strongly fortified place of arms, on the model of Kiauchau, with a view to exercising some measure of control over the future Isthmian Canal, and over South American affairs generally.

For some time the usual methods of diplomatic intercourse were tried. Germany declined to agree to arbitrate the question at issue between her and Venezuela, and declined to say that she would not take possession of Venezuelan territory, merely saying that such possession would be "temporary" — which might mean anything. I finally decided that no useful purpose would be served by further delay, and I took action accordingly. I assembled our battle fleet, under Admiral Dewey, near Porto Rico, for "maneuvers," with instructions that the fleet should be kept in hand and in fighting trim and should be ready to sail at an hour's notice. The fact that the fleet was in West Indian waters was of course generally known; but I believe that the Secretary of the Navy, and Admiral Dewey, and perhaps his chief of staff, and the Secretary of State, John Hay, were the only persons who knew about the order for the fleet to be ready to sail at an hour's notice. I told John Hay that I would now see the German Ambassador, Herr von Holleben, myself and that I intended to bring matters to an early conclusion. Our navy was in very efficient condition, being superior to the German navy.

I saw the Ambassador, and explained that in view of the presence of the German Squadron on the Venezuelan coast I could not permit longer delay in answering my request for an arbitration, and that I could not acquiesce in any seizure of Venezuelan territory. The Ambassador responded that his Government could not agree to arbitrate, and that there was no intention to take "permanent" possession of Venezuelan territory. I answered that Kiauchau was not a "permanent" possession of Germany's — that I understood that it was merely held by a ninety nine years lease; and that I did not intend to have another Kiauchau, held by similar tenure, on the approach to the

Isthmian Canal. The Ambassador repeated that his Government would not agree to arbitrate. I then asked him to inform his government that if no notification for arbitration came during the next ten days I would be obliged to order Dewey to take his fleet to the Venezuelan coast and see that the German forces did not take possession of any territory. He expressed very grave concern, and asked me if I realized the serious consequences that would follow such action; consequences so serious to both countries that he dreaded to give them a name. I answered that I had thoroughly counted the cost before I decided on the step, and asked him to look at the map, as a glance would show him that there was no spot in the world where Germany in the event of conflict with the United States would be at a greater disadvantage than in the Caribbean sea.

A week later the Ambassador came to see me, talked pleasantly on several subjects, and rose to go. I asked him if he had any answer to make from his Government to my request, and when he said no, I informed him that in such event it was useless to wait as long as I had intended, and that Dewey would be ordered to sail twenty four hours in advance of the time I had set. He expressed deep apprehension, and said that his Government would not arbitrate. However, less than twenty four hours before the time I had appointed for cabling the order to Dewey, the Ambassador notified me that His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor had directed him to request me to undertake the arbitration myself. I felt, and publicly expressed, great gratification at this outcome, and great appreciation of the course the German Government had finally agreed to take. Later I secured the consent of the German Government to have the arbitration undertaken by the Hague Tribunal, and not by me.

At that time there was in New York as German Consul-General a very able and agreeable man, Dr. Buenz, a native of Holstein. He was intimate with a friend and then neighbor of mine, Mr. A. W. Callisen — whose father was born in Schleswig, and who, incidentally, was and is exactly as straight an American as I am. Mr. Callisen introduced Dr. Buenz to me; and I found the Doctor an exceptionally well informed man about American matters and indeed about world affairs generally. He was at my house on several occasions, and I discussed many things with him, including the German and American navies. I had, however, no idea that he had any knowledge whatever of the Venezuelan affair until after your book appeared. Mr. Callisen happened to read it, was much interested in the part referring to Venezuela, and wrote to a friend of his, Mr. Ambrose C. Richardson, of Buffalo, a letter running in part as follows: —

“A Chapter of Diplomacy” interested me greatly, all the more as I knew Dr. Holleben personally, and what is still more to the purpose his most intimate friend, Dr. Buenz, at that time German Consul-General at New York. The story is absolutely true, and here is the sequel.

The German and British Governments firmly counted on our well-established

lished jellyfish squashiness and felt sure they had a free hand. The Kaiser and Junker party especially had everything cut and dried, and counted the affair as accomplished. The first time, Holleben informed his government that probably Roosevelt's attitude was a bluff; but on second thought went to his friend Buenz for advice as B. knew the American people better than any German living, and was a close friend of Roosevelt's (I introduced him) and hence a good judge of the situation. Buenz at once assured him that Roosevelt was not bluffing, and that he could count on his doing as threatened; and that in a conversation Roosevelt had shown that he had an intimate knowledge of the strength and condition of the German fleet which was . . . (then) no match for ours.

Holleben was obliged to eat his own words and telegraph in hot haste to Berlin, where his message fell like a bomb shell. You know the rest. This resulted in Holleben's being recalled and dismissed from the diplomatic service. When he sailed from Hoboken not a single member of the diplomatic corps or German official dared to see him off. Only Buenz (and I) dared to brave official disapproval, and went on board to bid him farewell. I went at Buenz's request. I have this story first in hand."

A copy of this letter came into my possession and I showed it to Mr. Callisen when he was here, at my house, on May 7th last. He wrote alongside the part I have quoted: — "The above is absolutely accurate. (signed) A. W. Callisen." Mr. Callisen informed me that he had not intended the letter for publication, but that as the copy had been shown to several people I was at liberty to make whatever use of it I desired.

After your book appeared some person wrote a letter to the press stating that at the time of the Venezuela incident the American fleet was not mobilized under Admiral Dewey in the West Indies. The letter was sent to Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood, of the National Security League, who thereupon wrote to Admiral Dewey for information on the subject. Admiral Dewey answered him as follows: —

"Office of
The Admiral of the Navy
Washington

May 23d 1916

Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood,
25 Madison Avenue
New York City

My dear Mr. Wood,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 22d, asking me to set you right respecting certain facts regarding Colonel Roosevelt's action over Venezuela.

I was at Culebra, Puerto Rico, at the time in command of a fleet consisting of over fifty ships, including every battle ship and every torpedo boat

that we had, with orders from Washington to hold the fleet in hand and be ready to move at a moment's notice. Fortunately however the whole matter was amicably adjusted and there was no need for action.

Hoping the above statement is exactly what you want, and thanking you for the compliments you pay me, I am

very truly yours
George Dewey."

This letter was published in the press; and Mr. Wood then sent me copies of the correspondence. Your biography of Hay is a really great piece of historical writing; and I am glad to be of any service in connection with it.
Sincerely yours

6133 • TO RICHARD DERBY

*Derby Mss.*⁹

Oyster Bay, August 21, 1916

Dear Dick, Ought Ethel in her present state of health to return to Oyster Bay while this paralysis plague is raging? It has killed one girl of her age here in Oyster Bay. I do not know whether weak health is or is not provocative of the disease. I write merely to lay the facts before you. Were Ethel in robust health I would not feel it right for her to be absent from Richard at all at such a time. As it is, I am glad that she should have gone. Will you think over whether it is wise that she should now return? Of course it may be that her health has no effect on the likelihood of her being affected by the disease. If there is such a likelihood she is confronted by the always unpleasant task of choosing between conflicting duties. Do'n't answer me. Merely, *if you think it wise*, write your decision to Ethel.

Richard is as well as possible, and more delightful than ever. I now perform for him the "Dance of Old Man Kangaroo," which much appeals to him; it is rather a strenuous performance, and when he demands "more" I explain to him that Daddy will dance it for him all the time when he comes back from Plattsburg.

Saturday he was in swimming, or rather wading, with us. His Auntie Belle was holding his hand, when he slipped. "Oh, Richard has lost his feet!" said Belle. "No I have not!" promptly responded Richard, holding one chubby foot above water to show that it was still in place.

I wish you could have seen him yesterday afternoon. He had been given the flat copper bowl, filled with water, on the grass alongside the piazza. He had arranged the large woolly tiger looking into the bowl; and the surface of the water was completely occupied by two boats, a swan, and an elderly tennis ball. *Ever yours*

Oyster Bay, August 22, 1916

My dear Bonaparte: I am sending you a pamphlet, which contains my pre-convention speeches, my letter to you, my letter to the Progressive National Committee and Raymond Robins' really admirable statements.¹ I do not pretend that the situation has been a pleasant one, or that I enjoyed it. There is very much that I do not care to write, and I very earnestly wish you would give me a chance to see you when you return here, if you possibly can. If you cannot come out to Oyster Bay, I will come to New York to meet you. I wish to consult with you.²

I am not willing directly, or indirectly, to assume any responsibility for the election of Mr. Wilson, and the only alternative is Mr. Hughes. I believe Mr. Hughes is the exact opposite of Mr. Wilson in making his deeds correspond with his writings and we would be free from the taint of hypocrisy, which attaches to us under Wilson, if Hughes were at the head of affairs. I do not pretend to say that he looks at things as I do, or as I wish he did. But I most emphatically think he stands head and shoulders above Wilson; and there is always the *chance* that with his peculiar temperament, in some great crisis he may rise to a very big height. I emphasize *chance* — and there is none with our friend the Byzantine logothete. *Faithfully yours*

Oyster Bay, August 23, 1916

Dear Billy, Your two notes of the 20th came just after I had mailed my letter to you.

Bowen was our Minister to Venezuela; a pushing, rather strong fellow, but so noisy, underbred, tactless and conceited that Hay could not stand him, and finally we had to get rid of him. I take it for granted that Hay, and possibly I myself, communicated with him from time to time, and doubtless many details were arranged through him, the others being arranged by one or more of the Department clerks. But at the crucial period he played no part; I did not write him of my orders to Dewey or my talk with Holleben; altho of course he must have known that Dewey had the fleet in the West Indies, and that Hay and I were seeing Holleben.

I have no means of getting the exact dates. Of course the dates of Dewey's sailing and return and of the German official notes are on file in the Departments of State and the Navy; and old newspaper files would also contain the discussions in the press at the time when Germany was still refusing to

¹ These documents are in "The Progressive Party — Its Record from January to July, 1916"; see also Numbers 6087 and 6105. Robins' statement presented the arguments Roosevelt himself used for supporting Hughes.

² Bonaparte, at this time undecided between Hughes and Wilson, in a speech to the Maryland Progressive State Committee came out for Hughes on September 15.

arbitrate, and again when she consented, and when the discussion was as to whether the arbitration should be before me or before the Hague Court.

But the crucial fact of the purpose of the mobilization of our fleet near Porto Rico, and of my order to Dewey to hold himself in readiness to sail at an hours notice, and of his knowledge of my purpose (which he shows by his statement that "fortunately the whole matter was amicably adjusted") are all set forth in Dewey's letter, which you will publish; and nothing that Bowen or the German Government can say will offset this letter. Without any further statement from me, this letter alone shows how I applied the policy of "speak softly and carry a big stick."

Next in importance to this, and the only other new fact, is the account of my private conversation with Holleben. When I told it to you I did not suppose that there could be any corroboration. But Callisen's letter supplies the corroboration; and nothing that the German Government or Bowen can say will offset this.

I took no notes, as far as I remember, of what I did, at that moment. I was trying to achieve results, and never thought of the historical record. The only room for contradiction would be as to the *exact* periods of time. I think 10 days was the limit I assigned, and that Holleben came back at the end of a week; but perhaps it would be safer for me, when I correct the proof, to say "a certain number of days" or "a few days." It is also possible that Holleben's final visit to me, or note to me, asking me to arbitrate, was sent to Hay also — doubtless the formal note was so sent — and was on the evening before instead of the morning before, the afternoon I had indicated as that on which I would notify Dewey to sail. *Always yours*

P.S I enclose you an extract from a recent speech of the Democratic Senator Phelan of California which shows, from an enemy, how I handled Japan and our own people.

6136 • TO WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

*Thayer Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, August 27, 1916

Dear Billy, I regard it as on the whole really desirable from the public standpoint that the Venezuelan incident should now be known; both because of our native Americans who need to have their self respect restored by knowing that under proper leadership they can stand up against the Germans (and Japanese!); and because of the decent German Americans who need to visualize the fact that in order to be good Americans it is always possible that they may have to take strong anti-German ground.

While the interview with Holleben was the pressing of the button, do'n't forget that the will and forethought to assemble the battle fleet under Dewey in the West Indies was the installation of the electric plant which made it possible and easy to press the button. In my own mind, as it simply never occurred to me not to insist in some way or other on proper behavior

by the Germans, this assembling of the fleet was the really vital point; the attempt of the German Government through Holleben to bluff was an interesting and amusing but subordinate incident. Power, and the willingness and readiness to use it, were the decisive factors; my "speaking softly," in private conversation, instead of blustering, was wise as well as gentlemanly; but, altho an important, it was a less important, factor.

As for Bowen, he was by no means as important a figure in the transaction as our minister to Columbia, Beaupré, was in the Panama Canal affair; for Beaupré did very real service; and to treat the canal affair as primarily Beaupré's would be much less absurd than to ascribe similar prominence to Bowen about Venezuela.

On Thursday morning next I shall be in Boston on my way to Maine, and shall breakfast at the Copley-Plaza at nine. I suppose there is no chance of your being there for breakfast? Bring Phillips¹ of Houghton, Mifflin & Co, or any one else, if you do come. *Always yours*

6137 · TO CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Hughes Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 28, 1916

My dear Governor Hughes: The other day I asked your son when he was out here to lunch (By the way, what a fine young fellow he is!) to communicate with you briefly about a matter concerning which I now write you more at length.

A certain gentleman,¹ the other day, who asked me to treat his communication as confidential and not to give his name, came to me about a matter which has since then been presented to me by two or three men, one of whom, Doctor Laidlaw,² writes me that he has written to you direct. A number of these men have been strong supporters of yours, and I am confident that in the long run they will continue to support you; but they have been very much worked up by reports made to them from the inside of professional German circles to the effect that you and the Republican Party are really pro-German. Not that any direct pledge or agreement was made, but that assurances were given on which they can rely. The gentleman who put the paper before me has been in an organization which has employed men to get them the inside facts from among the leaders of the German-American Alliance, and of German organizations like the Kriegerbund which are openly for Germany as against America or any other country, and which have been in close alliance with people of the Horace Brand and Viereck stripe.

¹ Duncan Phillips, for many years treasurer of Houghton Mifflin Company.

² Ralph M. Easley.

² Walter Laidlaw, Canadian-born demographer and Presbyterian minister; since 1895 executive secretary of the Federation of Churches and Christian Organizations of New York City.

One of the reports made by the confidential agent who had obtained access to these German organizations is as follows:

They claim that they have absolute assurance through Attorney Sandford,³ the former law partner of Charles E. Hughes, and present counsel for the German Steamship Companies in New York City—that all objection to submarine warfare will be removed—with the exception of war on vessels flying the United States flag; and all such vessels will be instructed that they will be treated as an enemy if they carry ammunition or other war supplies to a European port, so long as the war continues! Should they disobey this warning they will be looked upon as an enemy, and the United States will disclaim any and all responsibility. They are also assured from the same source that Hughes is in sympathy with undersea fighting, or any kind of warfare that is used in hostilities. For this reason there is no objection to such methods; and so long as Germany continues its action, as by above paragraph—the Hughes administration will not interfere. Furthermore, the assurance is given the Germans that all shipments of munitions to the British Allies will cease with the election of Mr. Hughes, thus relieving the danger to American commerce abroad.

The gentleman who submitted it to me has been supporting you; but he told me he would now support Mr. Wilson, because he believed the statements above given were true. I answered him, that, of course, I had never spoken to you about the matter, but that I was willing to guarantee that the statements were false, and I made him give me a copy of the memorandum, which copy is that above quoted. I told him that I would write to you direct, and that as his name was confidential your reply to me would have to be confidential, and that you would have to make matters public in your own way; but that I was willing to guarantee that neither through Mr. Sandford or anyone else, either directly or indirectly, or in any shape or form, did you authorize the statement, or permit anyone to believe, that after you were elected President you would reverse Wilson's policy on two of the very few points where he was right; that is, upon his attitude regarding the shipments of munitions, and his attitude (in words!) in the objections he has made to the submarine warfare. I told him that specifically I was absolutely certain that you never directly or indirectly had given, or would give, to any human being any assurances of any kind whatsoever that you would stop the shipments of munitions to the Allies if elected; or that you would in such event say that you had no objection to the submarine warfare on neutral vessels such as the *Lusitania* and the other vessels that have been sunk by German submarines or that you would in such event say that you would treat these vessels as vessels for the fate of which the United [States] would not be responsible. I furthermore guaranteed that you never had made to any human being any pledge or promise, and that you had not given any assurances, privately, save those you gave in your public speeches openly and to the whole world; and that what you had said in those public speeches would be amply made good; and that therefore

³ Edward Sandford, a marine lawyer who had worked in Hughes's law office.

what in your speech of acceptance you had said about the *Lusitania* would govern your actions, if after you became President any vessel was torpedoed by the Germans under circumstances similar to those which accompanied the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*, the *Ancona*, the *Persia*, the *Arabic*, and the *Sussex*.

I also told him confidentially that you had stated to me that you had read my book *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, and that you found yourself in substantial agreement with the doctrines therein laid down, which, of course, included the explicit statement that it would be a national iniquity on our part to forbid the shipments of munitions to the countries who were fighting for Belgium.

Now, my dear Governor, I hesitated to write you in such a matter, but I found that there was a movement on hand to publish in the *World* and the *Times* statements that certain men who had been supporting you, and whose names would be given, had repudiated you because they believed that there were expressed or implied agreements made on your behalf with the Germans.

I took the responsibility of saying that I would guarantee that any such statement was false.

The men who came to me are thoroughly responsible and upright men who feel very bitterly and strongly in this matter. Doctor Laidlaw, for example, told me that if he does not get "a frank and satisfactory reply to the letter" he sent you, he will resign from the Hughes Alliance, and give his reasons and publish the correspondence. Under these circumstances I felt that if you are willing to write me stating (what, of course, to me personally it is entirely unnecessary to state) that I am absolutely right in the assertions I have made about you, as above quoted, even in advance of communicating with you, such a statement will have a good effect. If you desire it I will put it before Doctor Laidlaw for his confidential information, or I will follow your advice in any way as to how the matter shall be handled.⁴

I went over my *Lusitania*⁵ speech with Mr. Willcox. He seemed to like it, and did not suggest any change, except that I should not use the word "German-American Alliance," because there were some men in that Alliance who did not sympathize in the least with the members of the Alliance who had tried to bring it into politics as a pro-German organization. I accordingly substituted the phrase "professional German-Americans" for "members

⁴ "I endorse unreservedly all that you said on my behalf," Hughes telegraphed Roosevelt, "and am devoutly grateful for your prompt reply in repudiation of such calumnies. I wrote Dr. Laidlaw immediately and answered his questions categorically."

⁵ In various copies of this letter in the Roosevelt Manuscripts, "*Lusitania*" has been corrected to read "Lewiston" or "Maine." It was to his Lewiston speech that Roosevelt referred.

of the German-American Alliance." I hope you will like the speech.
Sincerely yours

6138 • TO HERBERT W. PACKARD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 2, 1916

*My dear Mr. Packard:*¹ According to my views no man who feels, as you express yourself in your letter of August 22nd, can possibly support Mr. Wilson. You say that he has had courage enough to face the hyphens and defy them in the open. He has never mentioned the word "German-American," and our whole trouble with the professional German-Americans, and with Germany has arisen from his cowardice and double-dealing. Why, have you forgotten that in the messages he wrote he never ventured any attack upon the German-Americans who had blown up our factories and murdered our men on our own soil. He actually coupled in his condemnation as equally wicked, the Americans who, as he phrased it, had not been neutral in their expressions about the European War. In other words, he treated the Americans who did their duty by standing up for poor tortured and cruelly wounded Belgium as being as bad as the unspeakable scoundrels who dynamited our factories and murdered our men.²

I am wholly unable to imagine how you can support Mr. Wilson, directly or indirectly under such circumstances. In his speech of acceptance Mr. Hughes emphatically brought out that about the *Lusitania* our business was to have made the Germans understand that we meant what we said about holding them to "strict accountability."

Now as to the support of Mr. Hughes by the German-Americans; they advocated his nomination because it was the only way to beat me, and some of the very men who thus advocated his nomination, included two prominent German-American editors who had been to see me, and who told me that if I was nominated they would support me against Wilson, because he had been so treacherous and had deceived them so, and that they would rather have a man who was openly against them, whose word they could trust, than a man no human being could trust. You can hardly suspect

¹ Herbert W. Packard of Los Angeles.

² The President had not attacked the German-Americans by name. He had not because he was trying to prevent the growth of the kind of prejudice which ultimately comes with war. He had also asked the American people to be neutral in spirit. While he himself tried to be neutral, while he tried to avoid demagoguery, he also attacked disloyalty. "There is disloyalty active in the United States," he stated in his Flag Day address, "and it must be absolutely crushed. . . . It works underground, but it also shows its ugly head where we can see it; and there are those . . . who are trying to levy a species of political blackmail. . . ." In his acceptance speech, delivered on September 2, the day Roosevelt wrote this letter, Wilson condemned "the passions and intrigues of certain active groups . . . who were born under foreign flags. . . ." "I neither seek the favour nor fear the displeasure," he declared, "of that small alien element. . . ."

that these men proposed any conditional support of me under the impression that I was a pro-German.

I am sending you a copy of my speech at Lewiston, Maine. I think you will see that I have dealt with these matters in exactly the fashion that I dealt with them prior to the convention. I wish I could see you and talk over these matters personally. *Sincerely yours*

6139 · TO LYMAN ABBOTT

R.M.A. Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 2, 1916

My dear Doctor Abbott: I hope you liked my speech at Lewiston. I wish to express my obligation to you for the admirable suggestions you made to me, and which I worked into the latter part of the speech.

Now a word as to the action of Wilson in the railroad strike matter.¹ I had prepared an interview to give out, and read it to Gilson Gardner, and then on talking it over with him and two or three others, came to the conclusion that it would do no good, and might embarrass Hughes, and might also interfere with Wilson, and yet without accomplishing anything myself. In case of doubt as whether to speak or remain silent, it is better to be silent, so I kept silence! But I feel very deeply and very indignantly at what Mr. Wilson has done. I think it is as foolish and as wicked to back any labor union which is wrong as to back any great corporation which is wrong. It makes no difference to the State whether we suffer from a White Terror or a Red Terror; whether the tyranny is that of the ministers of Louis XV, or that of Robespierre, Danton and Marat. I have a right to say what Wilson should do; because I would ask him to do nothing more than I did at the time of the anthracite coal strike. Then the mine owners said there was nothing to arbitrate. I got the consent of a commission, with Grover Cleveland at the head, to serve, and arranged for the United States Army to run the mines if there was any delay in accepting the arbitration. In such cases the three parties in interest are 1, the property owners, 2, the laborers, 3, the public; and the President should act primarily as the representative of the public, of the people of this nation as a whole; for this is a national question. Here I should tell the railroad owners and the heads of the Brotherhood that I would appoint a commission which would have included men like Raymond Robins and Patrick Morrissey, and that every question, including the eight-hour law question, without any reserva-

¹ The railroad brotherhoods, refusing Wilson's request to arbitrate their demands for an eight-hour day, had called a strike for September 4. Wilson, at first incredulous, then asked Congress to enact legislation to meet these demands. The Adamson Act, passed on September 2, substituted the eight-hour day for the ten-hour day with no reduction in pay. Wilson asked for this legislation because he did not want to interrupt the flow of materials to Europe and because his advisers were anxious about the labor vote. During the rest of the campaign the Democrats effectively used the Adamson Act in soliciting the support of labor.

tion would be put before that commission, and that I would tolerate no action by Congress in advance of the report of that commission, and that I would tolerate no tie-up of the transportation systems of the country, and that I would use the entire armed forces of the country, if necessary, to run the railroads pending the decision of the commission. I would have also stated that I would see that the commission had the power to interpret and enforce its decrees, so that the men need have no fear that the railroad managers and owners would twist that arbitration so as to bear against them. I would also have had the commission look into the whole question of rates, which must necessarily be considered in connection with the question of wages, and of interest charges, and of salaries to managers &c. As an incident to this, it would be necessary to look into the question of capitalization. I do not believe there should be any attempt to upset or penalize overcapitalization which occurred a number of years ago; but, without attempting to draw an exact line, I believe that any cases of overcapitalization in the last few years should be severely penalized; for all of the public have had full notice during the last few years that overcapitalization was one of the elements which would have to be dealt with in handling the railroad problem; and it was their business before subscribing to the bonds or stock under these conditions to take thought of what they were doing. *Faithfully yours*

6140 · TO EDWIN A. VAN VALKENBURG

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 5, 1916

Dear Van: I was not only immensely amused, but immensely pleased by your note. Praise the Lord, you are a reformer with common sense, and with a gift of humorous insight into your fellows. I would really like to speak to those "Last-ditch gangsters who would scuttle the Ship of State" who are at heart for me and have been so for many years, and are now delighted at the chance to express their real sentiments! But I can't accept. I have sent a letter to Willard as you suggest,¹ but, my dear fellow, as regards your expressing a doubt "whether indeed, there be a future"; as regards myself I have no doubt. Of course, we can never be absolutely certain, but my usefulness to this country depended largely upon the conditions of national and international politics. There have been times and places where my service, although I hope upright and beneficial, would merely have been like those of say Seth Low, or of Hughes himself as Governor. My great usefulness as President came in connection with the Anthracite Coal Strike, the voyage of the battle fleet around the world, the taking of Panama, the handling of Germany in the Venezuela business,

¹Frederick W. Willard, president of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs, had asked Roosevelt to address the league's annual convention. At the suggestion of Van Valkenburg, who described Willard as "a thoroging gangster and trusted Vare ward leader," Roosevelt declined.

England and the Alaska boundaries, the irrigation business in the West, and finally, I think, the toning up of the Government service generally.

Any good man could handle the irrigation business, he could tone up the government service, build up our navy and regular army. My usefulness in 1912 and again this year would have been because we were facing a period when there was need of vision in both national and international matters. I would have done my best work in connection with the European War, the Mexican situation, and the Japanese and Chinese situation, and also in connection with universal military service, which would not be of prime military consequence, but of prime consequence to us socially and industrially. I would also have fought for the industrial regeneration of this country along the lines of the 1912 platform, and fought hard and, I think, effectively; but when 1920 arrives no human being can tell what the issues will be. I am already an old man, and the chances are very small that I will ever again grow into touch with the people of this country to the degree that will make me useful as a leader; and a man who has been a leader is very rarely useful as an adviser, when the period of his leadership has passed.

People always used to say of me that I was an astonishingly good politician and divined what the people were going to think. This really was not an accurate way of stating the case. I did not divine how the people were going to think; I simply made up my mind what they ought to think, and then did my best to get them to think it. Sometimes I failed, and then my critics said my "Ambition o'erleaped itself." Sometimes I succeeded, and then they said that I was an uncommonly astute creature to have detected what the people were going to think and to pose as their leader in thinking it.

I very much wish that I could see you. Naturally I am extremely glad that you liked my Lewiston speech; but there are any number of things I should like to talk over with you. *Faithfully yours*

6141 • TO MEYER LISSNER

William Allen White Mss.

New York, September 10, 1916

Dear Lissner: I am extremely glad to get your letter about the California business. The one thing in the campaign which has so far given me unalloyed satisfaction is Johnson's victory. (Now comes Poindexter victory; and Maine;¹ as I am feeling better! May 14th.²) If we can get Chester Rowell made Chairman of the State Committee of the Republican party, I shall

¹ In the California primary Hiram Johnson had won the Republican nomination for the United States Senate; in Washington in the Republican senatorial primary Poindexter had defeated Congressman William E. Humphrey, and in the gubernatorial contest the progressive Republican candidate had defeated his rival who had made the open shop his platform. These returns demonstrated the continuing strength on the West Coast of progressive sentiment. In Maine in the general election of Sep-

feel that a really immense gain has been made from the standpoint of those who not only believe in decency in Government, but who believe that from this time on, if we do not show vision both as regards substantial social and industrial justice within our own borders; and as regards our duty in international matters alike to ourselves and to others, the gravest troubles loom ahead of us.

I did not know what to do about Johnson personally, and so did nothing. For some reason, when he was in New York, he did not wish to see me, although I finally made him see me for a few minutes. He so evidently desired to keep aloof that I concluded he had his own reasons, and did not further bother him. He did not answer my telegram of congratulation on his victory. Now I need hardly tell you that I don't mention these incidents because I care a rap about them. I am thoroughly devoted to Johnson, and shall do everything I can for him always; but I don't want to do something he would dislike, or hurt him by interfering in a manner unpleasant to him; and I have made no effort to seem to take any part in Californian affairs, lest I should act against his wishes and in a manner distasteful to him.

Naturally what I am about to say I don't wish repeated, although it is substantially what I have written to Rowell, I feel that Johnson's victory in California was the best possible thing for Hughes, both in California and in the rest of the country. If Johnson had been defeated, I should have felt not only exceedingly downcast, but also that the gravest possible blow had been struck against us.³ Little though I like La Follette, I should have regarded the defeat of La Follette by a reactionary in Wisconsin as a disaster. Of course, the defeat of Johnson would be an infinitely greater disaster.

I don't know why Hughes did not insist from the very beginning upon having Johnson as his right-hand man in California. A few years ago I went to Denver when the politico-financial machine was most violent against Ben Lindsey. They had arranged several meetings, beginning with a reception for me, and left Lindsey out of every function. So at the beginning of the brief function I had Lindsey meet me outside the door; I took his arm and brought him in with me to the platform, and had him sit right beside me during my speech.

Speaking of pussyfooting, I guess you feel that my Lewiston speech was free from that reproach! *Always yours*

tember 11 the Republicans swept the state, electing to the United States Senate Frederick Hale, whom Roosevelt had endorsed, and to the governorship Carl E. Milliken, who had in 1912 supported Roosevelt.

² Roosevelt dictated this letter September 10; it was typed after the Maine returns came in, obviously on September, not May, 14.

³ The California situation, in spite of Johnson's victory, was disturbing. The Old Guard remained unreconciled to Johnson's nomination as senator and Rowell's appointment to the Republican National Committee. When Hughes appeared in August he was surrounded at all times by the most elderly of the Old Guard in the state. The division within California cost Hughes the state and with it the election; see Mowry, *California Progressives*, ch. x, and Pusey, *Hughes*, I, 340-349.

Oyster Bay, September 13, 1916

My dear Mr. Reuterdahl: I thank you for your letter. I regret that the *Century* did not publish your statements. You have presented authentic proof of how the Americans at Tampico in peril were deserted by their own Government against the protest of senior American naval officers present. You have shown that the Government at Washington had full knowledge of the danger of the situation through the telegrams from Admiral Mayo sent by wireless to the Navy Department on April 11th, 12th, and 13th. You also give the telegram of Mr. Daniels of April 20th directing the Admiral to proceed to Veracruz. You have shown that Admiral Mayo made an emphatic protest to the Navy Department, stating that he feared the result of the squadron's leaving would be to lose American lives and property. You also quote the telegram sent by Admiral Mayo the following day, containing the protest of the American Consul, Mr. Miller,¹ and requesting authority to remain at Tampico. You have shown that nevertheless the Navy Department on the 21st confirmed its previous orders and directed the ships to leave at once. You have shown that the Admiral put out into the ocean eight miles distant, but received a protest from Consul Miller reiterating his demand for protection. You then quote the telegrams and signals of Admiral Mayo who, in spite of his order, nobly refused to stand by while the lives of American men, women and children were in danger. However, it was now too late. The American fleet had left, and the captain of the British ship *Hermione* stated that for the fleet to return might simply aggravate the situation, and that the British were able to handle it themselves. It is now well known that it was the action of the British and German ships that restrained the Mexicans from shedding the blood of Americans and other foreigners.

You have therefore shown that Admiral Mayo by the Department's orders from Washington had to leave Tampico after he had notified the Departments in Washington, and after the American Consul had joined in the notification to the effect that there was imminent danger of the loss of American lives and American property. You have shown that after he left, the duty, which his superior officer, the Secretary of the Navy for whom President Wilson is entirely responsible, had failed to perform, it was then performed by British and German ships.

You have made your case absolutely clear. As you say in your letter you can furnish complete proof that when the Americans were in danger at Tampico they were deliberately abandoned by the orders of Mr. Wilson's administration, and their lives were saved under foreign flags. You say that the proof of the correctness of your statements is in the wireless records and

¹ Clarence A. Miller.

documents of the Navy Department, and you challenge the Secretary of the Navy to publish all of the wireless records during the Mexican campaign if you are wrong.

Unless this challenge of yours is met, any denial of the facts you allege by any of Mr. Wilson's defenders must be accepted as a denial made with the deliberate purpose of misrepresenting the proof. Moreover, the established facts make it absolutely impossible for President Wilson under any circumstances to clear himself for the responsibility of the transaction.

The allegations have been published again and again in a detailed manner by responsible people. He cannot shield himself behind Mr. Daniels, for Mr. Daniels could do nothing that the President does not order or sanction. And when Mr. Daniels' actions have been brought to the attention of Mr. Wilson, and are not repudiated by him, they become Mr. Wilson's, and Mr. Wilson is fully and completely responsible for Mr. Daniels, for all that he has done and left undone.

Proof is absolute also that when Mayo was at Tampico he had received full knowledge of the rioting and imminent danger to American lives; but nevertheless he steamed away into the ocean, and the Americans were rescued by German and British ships. This action constituted so grave an offense against the honor of the United States, represented so grave an offense from the standpoint of national duty and self-respect, that any man responsible for it should be at once taken out of office. Immediately thereafter the facts were made public in the United States. If Admiral Mayo had been responsible and had not acted under orders, then the only proper course for Secretary Daniels would be to have orders issued for his instant court-martial, and his failure to do so would have shifted the blame at once from the shoulders of Admiral Mayo to the shoulders of his superiors, President Wilson and Secretary Daniels, who did not hold him to account. Therefore if these telegrams did not exist, if there had been no such orders from the Secretary of the Navy to Admiral Mayo, and his superiors, Secretary Daniels and President Wilson, both have been made fully responsible for the guilty transaction by passing it over. As a matter of fact what you have shown is that Admiral Mayo acted with the spirit, the high-mindedness, and with a sense of national and professional responsibility which we are proud to think of as characteristic of the American Navy. You have shown that he did his duty and is to be completely exonerated, and more than that to be applauded for the course he followed. But I wish to insist that by no possibility can President Wilson and Secretary Daniels clear themselves from guilt in the transaction. The facts are indisputable. No one can question that there was the rioting which menaced the lives and property of Americans after the fleet had left, and that protection to the Americans in danger was accorded by German and British ships. For over three years President Wilson and Secretary Daniels have had full knowledge of these facts. If it could be shown that

Admiral Mayo acted on his own responsibility, then President Wilson and Secretary Daniels would stand convicted of having connived at, acquiesced in, and sanctioned wrong by their failure to punish it. But you have proof that their participation was more active, and that Admiral Mayo merely did as his superiors, against his protest, made him do.² *Sincerely yours*

6143 · TO HENRY LUTHER STODDARD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 28, 1916

My dear Mr. Stoddard: Over a year ago Taft and I were both pallbearers at the funeral of Professor Lounsbury of Yale. He came up, spoke to me, and shook hands with me. In my judgment it would have been simply silly for me to refuse to be a pallbearer for Professor Lounsbury on the ground that Taft was also to be one; and it would have been merely bad manners on my part for me to refuse to recognize him when he came up to speak to me. The newspapers made a great hullabaloo about it at the time. They themselves have utterly forgotten the incident, and are now making another hullabaloo over the Union League Club meeting;¹ and in a short time they will forget that exactly as they have forgotten the other incident.

The Union League Club is to give a reception to Mr. Hughes. Among the members of that Club who will be at that reception are a number of men, including Elihu Root, who shared Taft's guilt four years ago. Indeed, if there must be a choice between them, I think that Root's offense was as rank as Taft's and more wanton. It would, in my judgment, have been absurd for me to say that I would refuse to meet Taft, when I have already met Root and many others. My belief is that for me to refuse to come to the Union League Club for the Hughes reception because Taft was to be there, would be a very, very unwise thing.

I shall most certainly not seek him out at the Club. If he comes up to me and wishes to shake hands, I shall shake hands with him precisely as I did over a year ago at Professor Lounsbury's funeral.

As a mere matter of curiosity, I wish you would tell me why you draw a distinction between the funeral of Lounsbury and the reception to Hughes. *Faithfully yours*

² This letter was printed in the New York papers on September 18, 1916. To counteract its political effect, the Democratic National Committee on September 18 published an interview between George Creel and Mayo, then Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, in which the admiral said, "it is a misrepresentation to say that American citizens in Tampico were deserted in an hour of imminent danger. . . ." For an extended treatment of the Administration's part in these Mexican troubles, see Baker, *Wilson*, IV, 313-352.

¹ At a reception for Hughes at the Union League Club on October 3, Taft and Roosevelt met, shook hands, and stood stiffly side by side for a few moments. While this pleased Hughes and most of his supporters, some of the extremists on both sides were displeased by the presentation of even this withered olive branch.

Oyster Bay, September 28, 1916

Dear Jim: That's a very interesting letter of yours! I quite agree with you that Hughes immensely strengthened himself by his attack on the eight-hour and child labor bills.¹ I have taken up the former question at length in my Battle Creek speech,² which I hope you will like.

I think the feeling of which you speak on the part of the National Committee is quite proper. They must be very careful not to permit the impression to get abroad that they believe that Hughes is weak at any point and that I must be sent out to correct the weakness. I need hardly tell you that it has been no light task for me in my speeches to avoid seeming to clash with Hughes and, at the same time, not to go back on any of the things for which I stand. It would be utterly useless for me to speak at all if it was felt that I was soft-pedalling on the *Lusitania* or the professional German-American business or in any way to let up in the specific position I have taken on this and kindred matters; and, besides, even if it were expedient for me to do so, I could not keep silent and retain my own self-respect. I only know I am bound that my speeches shall help and not hurt Hughes, for I feel this country owes it to its own soul to defeat Wilson.

I think it inadvisable for me to make many speeches and I am very glad that in New York the present feeling seems to be that I shall make one speech, say in Carnegie Hall, a few days before Hughes makes his speech at Madison Square Garden. *Always yours*

Oyster Bay, September 28, 1916

Dear Governor That Is, and Senator That Is To Be: I was really pleased to get your letter and I want to congratulate Mrs. Johnson and you again with all my heart. Still more, I wish to congratulate the people of the United States. Incidentally, your nomination was the very best thing possible for the Republican Party everywhere and for Mr. Hughes. Your victory in California was overwhelming and it contains the best augury for the future of the Republican Party that the last eight years have given anywhere.

I am also delighted with Poindexter's victory in Washington and with the victory of the other Progressives in the Republican Primaries, both in Washington and Utah, where, as you know, we have nominated the Gover-

¹Professing to be a friend of labor, Hughes nevertheless opposed the child labor bill on constitutional grounds and the Adamson Act on principle. Speaking of the eight-hour law, which became in time the main target of his campaign, Hughes asserted that "we must never permit any of the processes of government to be surrendered to the dictates of any power. That is the path of disaster. . . ."

²At Battle Creek on September 30 Roosevelt stated that Wilson, afraid of labor and seeking political profit, had surrendered principle and public good to private interests and factional advantage. Such a surrender, he proposed, directly subverted sound nationalism.

nor; and the Governor of Maine, whom we have elected on the Republican ticket, was a supporter of mine in 1912. But it was your triumph and the control by the Progressives of the Republican State Organization in California that represent "the real thing" in the eyes of the public everywhere.

I look forward to seeing Mrs. Johnson and you when you come on to Washington. I am now out of politics personally and shall probably take little or no part in the management of public affairs hereafter. But I don't wish entirely to lose touch with the not too numerous body of men and women in whose courage, sanity, patriotism and efficiency I really believe.
Faithfully yours

6146 · TO CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

*Robinson Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, October 5, 1916

Darling Corinne, I fear I shall be west on the 25th. Otherwise I should jump at the chance to lunch with you and Fannie at the Colony Club. Can I accept for the first subsequent day, (or for that day, if I get back), when I find that you and she are available? I am now being worked to the limit by the Hughes people, who are the very people who four months ago were explaining that I had "no strength" and that the demand for Hughes was irresistible. I most earnestly desire to beat Wilson, I above all things wish not to appear to sulk, and therefore from now on my time is to be at the disposal of the National Committee. Fortunately they realize that it is imperative that I shall have time to prepare my speeches, and that I should be of no use in cart tail campaigning or in flying around the country in an automobile.

Of course Teddy's nomination meant far more to me personally than anything else in this campaign. For the reasons given above it would be highly inadvisable and indeed almost physically impossible for me to go through his district — and I gravely question whether it might not do him harm rather than good; but if any letter from me will do good, or if I can do good by asking any deputation of Republicans or Progressives of the District down to see me, I shall be overjoyed — or to do anything else.

I look forward eagerly to seeing you. Do look at my Metropolitan Magazine article which is just out, I think you'll like the literary style!¹ *Ever yours*

6147 · TO EMMETT JAY SCOTT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 13, 1916

Dear Mr. Scott: I thank you for your letter. Now, will you read this to Mohammed Jama, and tell him that I am very glad to get his letter, but that what we are trying to make everybody in this country understand is that

¹ "The Fruits of Unpreparedness," *Metropolitan*, 44:19, 49-51 (October 1916), an examination of the Mexican crisis in the following literary style: "Do they ['phrase-makers' who 'dwell at ease'] claim that their consciences — 'consciencess,' forsooth! — forbade them to go to war in order to bring the peace of justice to Mexico?"

working with a man's hands, that is, industrial activity, is even more important than a literary education. Mohammed can never be a clerk in this country; he never will know enough, but he can be a very good man with his hands doing industrial work.

There is nothing I am fighting for harder in this country, both as regards the white man and the black man, than to make them understand that they must learn how to work with their hands and support themselves. *Sincerely yours*

6148 · TO ALVIN TOBIAS HERT

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

En route Chicago, October 26, 1916

I now understand that the Americanism part of the Chicago speech to which through Mr. Garfield you objected has been printed and was in the possession of Mr. Butz. If so it will unquestionably get out that this speech has been suppressed and I will not be a party to any such transaction.¹ I greatly regret to cause this trouble but I have told the Republican National Committee all along that I would not speak at all if my silence would benefit Mr. Hughes. But that if I spoke at all that I must say what I believe the vital needs of this country at this time demand. If I find that my speech has been printed so that inevitably it would seem that if I failed to deliver it I was compromising at least in the sense of omission on the issues I regard as vital to the welfare of this nation then I am sorry to say that you must decide whether you would prefer that I do not speak at all or whether at the afternoon or evening meeting that I give the Americanism part of my speech to which through Mr. Garfield you objected. I greatly regret that I accepted the invitation to speak in Chicago at all in view of this complication and I wish to reiterate that the National Committee had full knowledge of my position namely that I was delighted not to speak at all but that if I spoke that I must say exactly what I conscientiously believe ought to be said.

6149 · TO W. H. GILLENWATER

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

Oyster Bay, October 30, 1916

The statement by the Democratic Committee is of course wholly malicious and misleading.¹ In my speeches anywhere I have not spoken of the local can-

¹ On Roosevelt's campaign train, several Illinois Republican leaders had told him to speak softly about the hyphen in the two addresses he was to deliver in Chicago on October 26. Their suggestion he flatly rejected. En route from Cedar Rapids he made the hyphen the subject of his extemporaneous rear platform speeches. In Chicago Alvin T. Hert, Kentucky Republican national committeeman who was in charge of the party's campaign in the West, again asked Roosevelt to moderate his words. Instead, Roosevelt, with the approval of Otto C. Butz, a Chicago Republican and pro-Ally German-American, made the hyphen the central theme of both his addresses. The texts of these speeches were released in full, printed widely throughout the country, and prefaced with such headlines as "Roosevelt Attacks Hyphen in Chicago."

¹ The Democratic State Committee was making political capital out of Roosevelt's

didates and mentioned Judge Kibbey's name in Arizona only in connection with joint statehood. I am everywhere supporting the entire Republican ticket, and at Albuquerque I explicitly said that no man who valued the honor and the safety of the United States should vote for Mr. Wilson or any of his supporters.

6150 • TO AMOS RICHARDS ENO PINCHOT

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, November 3, 1916

Sir: When I spoke of the Progressive Party as having a lunatic fringe, I specifically had you in mind. On the supposition that you are of entire sound mind, I should be obliged to say that you are absolutely dishonorable and untruthful. I prefer to accept the former alternative.¹ *Yours truly*

6151 • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, November 3, 1916

Dear Cabot: I have not the faintest doubt that Bailey's statement was substantially accurate. It corroborates what Bryan himself said. Wilson has denied it, but I attach no importance whatever to Wilson's denial. Breckinridge did not really deny it; and Jeffries has corroborated it. In any event the fact stands out that Wilson acted as precisely in this postscript it was said he would act.¹ *Faithfully yours*

failure to speak for the local Republican ticket during his brief campaign trip through New Mexico; see No. 6127, note 2. After the election Cutting wrote Roosevelt that this telegram to W. H. Gillenwater, chairman of the Republican State Committee, by seeming to identify Hughes with the corrupt state Republican machine, had swung the state for Wilson; see Cutting to Roosevelt, November 17, 1916, Roosevelt Mss.

¹In a public statement Amos Pinchot had asserted that George W. Perkins with Roosevelt's full approval had corrupted the movement that had been the Progressive party. Privately Pinchot concluded that Roosevelt and Perkins were sinister agents in a conspiratorial effort by J. P. Morgan and Company, the United States Steel Corporation, and their affiliates to gain control for their own nefarious purposes of the government of the United States.

¹In a campaign speech Lodge had accused Wilson of planning to temper his first *Lusitania* note with a further communication — or "postscript" — to Germany, indicating in effect that there was no immediate danger of war. Secretary Garrison, Lodge asserted, had persuaded Wilson to drop this plan and the dropping of it had contributed to Bryan's decision to resign. This story had been told to Lodge by a man he believed both informed and reliable. In fact, the senator was wrong only in detail, but the President used the detail to deny the main charge. Wilson stated that "no postscript or amendment . . . was ever written or contemplated. . . ." He did not explain that he had thought seriously of a public statement, from which he had been dissuaded by Garrison, announcing, at the time of the *Lusitania* note, that he intended to create a "cooling off" period similar to that provided for in Bryan's arbitration treaties. Lodge accepted this denial. Years later he discovered how his opponent had eluded him. For full accounts of this episode, with varying interpretations, see Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Senate and the League of Nations* (New York, 1925), ch. iv; Blum, *Tumulty*, pp. 96-98; Baker, *Wilson*, V, 339-360.

Telegram

New York, November 4, 1916

The tone of your telegram is doubtless unintentionally such as to make it necessary for me to speak to you explicitly in return. I had you with me on my train because I wished to emphasize my personal friendship and affection for you. Judging from the inquiries I made of Bob Ferguson and others while in New Mexico there is a partial but by no means complete justification for your position from the local standpoint.¹ But I feel most strongly that you have done harm by putting emphasis on what was relatively unimportant with the inevitable result that you lose emphasis on what is really important. This is not for publication but for your private information. Your position is precisely like that of the well-meaning citizens who in Pennsylvania during the Civil War permitted their antagonism to Simon Cameron to lead them into a course of political conduct which seriously hampered Abraham Lincoln and the Union cause. If you are acquainted with history you will appreciate fully the force of this comparison. I need not elaborate this point although I will be delighted to do so when I see you. In spite of the request of the local Republicans I explicitly refused to say anything on the local situation yielding somewhat against my better judgment to your earnest appeals that I should not take sides one way or the other. When I did this it was of course your bounden duty to see that the men with whom you were in alliance the local Democrats should not themselves try to make capital out of what I had said.² When they did so you should have of course instantly accepted the fact that it made it necessary for me to undo the mischief that they were trying to do. You are supporting men who are standing for Wilson and the dishonor and shame of this country and these men and their backers have made every species of infamous attack on me personally which is unimportant and on every sound principle of American honor and duty. When at your request I consented to keep quiet as to the contest in which you are endeavoring to help these men and not to take sides it became your duty to see that they did not attempt to make improper use of what I had done and I am astonished that you should have failed to understand that when they endeavored to test my action in the past it was out of the question for me to longer remain silent.

6153 • TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Quentin Roosevelt Mss.⁹

Oyster Bay, November 7, 1916

Dearest Q, Just a line to say that we do hope you can get down here for your birthday a week from next Sunday. Archie will try to get down also.

¹ For Cutting's position, see No. 6127.² See No. 6149.

Mother is slowly recovering from a bad cold and the exhaustion of dear Cousin Nellie's¹ visit. She is not strong, and I like to see her do as little as possible. I am in first class shape; even my voice improved during the last three weeks of campaigning. I thought I made rather a good speech at Cooper Union Institute. Well, I hope to heaven we beat Wilson, and believe we shall do so; it would have been a certainty if Hughes had had it in him to make a straight-from-the-shoulder fighting campaign — which would have shown courage, disinterestness, vision and intensity of conviction.

The weather has been perfect, and the "drear November" has so far been very lovely. *Your devoted father*

6154 · TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

Lee Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 10, 1916

Dear Arthur: I have carefully considered your letter (no letter from Grey has come). My dear fellow, I hate not to do anything you ask. But my judgment is most strongly and unqualifiedly that it would be a grave error for me to do so in this case.¹ I have consulted Whitridge and Bacon, both of whom at this moment are more interested in the success of the Allies than in any internal American questions, and they agree with me — Whitridge feeling at least as strongly as I do in the matter. Wilson has probably been elected, and if Hughes were elected it would only slightly alter the case so far as this particular proposal is concerned.² For a number of months to come the American public would positively resent any conduct on my part which could be construed as indicating my presuming to give advice about, or an expression of, American opinion. Wilson would certainly endeavor to do exactly the opposite to what he thought I had indicated; even Hughes if elected would resent any seeming desire of the British and French to consult me; and my coming over would give every greedy sensation-monger in the Yellow press and even in the pale saffron press, the cue to advertize the fact, with statements and inferences grotesquely false but very mischievous. Moreover, those whom I spoke to on your side of the water could not but feel that my words carried weight, and to this extent I cannot be guilty of deception towards them, for my words carry no weight and it would be unwise to pay any heed to what I said as repre-

¹ Miss Helen B. Tyler of Villanova, Pennsylvania, a first cousin of Mrs. Roosevelt.

² Speaking for himself and for Lloyd George, Lee had suggested that Roosevelt visit England and write for American consumption a series of articles on the British war effort.

³ The election had been held on November 7. On the evening of that day it seemed probable that Hughes had won. During the next few days Wilson showed growing strength, but it was not until the week after the election that all doubt was removed. The final result was 9,127,695 (277 electoral votes) for Wilson; 8,533,507 (254 electoral votes) for Hughes.

senting the American people. At the moment I am as completely out of sympathy with the American people as I would have been out of sympathy with the English people in 1910 or the French people in 1904. The Wilson "policies" are those of the Democrats, who have just polled a bare plurality of the popular vote. Mr. Wilson would like to antagonize every proposition I make. The Republicans by an overwhelming majority nominated Hughes precisely because he did *not* represent my views; they thought it wise to dodge the issues I thought it vital to raise. No other man of national importance (for Root really exerted not the slightest weight in the campaign and only spoke once to a half-empty hall) took the stand I took — which I took in every speech. I was the only man who raised my voice about Wilson's iniquity in suffering the German submarines to do as they did on our coast.

If I went abroad I could give you no advice of even the slightest worth. I would diminish my already almost imperceptible influence here at home. I would expose myself to bitter mortifications — no matter how much one condemns one's own country, one cannot stand condemnation of it by promiscuous outsiders (*you* may say *anything* and I will say ditto to it!). I would like to visit the Front at the head of an American Division of 12 Regiments like my Rough Riders — but not otherwise. *Always yours*

P.S. The amiable Bryce steadily exerts what influence he has here on behalf of the Pacifist crowd, who are really the tepid enemies of the Allies.

6155 · TO EDWARD PAGE MITCHELL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 25, 1916

*My dear Sir:*¹ I regret to state that your correspondent who took exception to my quotation about the statement of the New Bedford whaling captain to his mate, has confounded two classics, committing a fault analogous to that [of] confounding Virgil's *Aeneid* with the *Georgics*. It was the mate of a whaler who, after a time of stress with whales, stated that all he wished from the captain was "see-vility and that of the damnedest kind," whereas it was on another occasion when the captain addressed a refractory mate that he stated "All I want from you is silence and damn little of that."²

It is a matter of profound regret to me to see the New Bedford *Mercury* falling from grace in such a fashion as to ignore even the fact that there are two totally distinct stories. For the information of the New Bedford

¹ Edward Page Mitchell, under whose editorial direction and Munsey's proprietorship the *Sun* was then rising.

² Modern research has discovered the existence of only one New Bedford classic, and, further, a contemporary authority, thoroughly trained in the field, doubts the authenticity of Roosevelt's rendering of the mate's displeasure with his captain. In this authority's preferred version the mate speaks as follows: "Captain Simmons, says I, I don't want none of your whisky, gin, tobacco, nor the best of old New England rum. All I want is plain see-vility and that of the god-damnedest cheapest sort."

Mercury I will state that while I cannot claim whaling ancestry, my children number both Coffins and Starbucks among their forebears. The two anecdotes are as I have given them, but I am not able to state with precision who among the four characters were Coffins and who were Starbucks. *Very truly yours*

Nantucket papers please copy.

6156 · TO ALEXIS CARREL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 29, 1916

*My dear Dr. Carrel:*¹ Through the courtesy of Dr. William O'Neill Sherman² I had the pleasure of seeing a number of photographs of the French wounded which were treated by your method. I was literally astounded at the wonderful results secured by this new treatment. I extend to you my heartiest congratulations. Even a layman like myself can see the immense value your discovery will have not only in military but in civil, especially industrial, surgery. If accepted in the army your new method of treatment will not only conserve life and limb, — which from the economic and military standpoint is of vital importance — but will also alleviate most of the pain and suffering of the wounded. I wish it were possible to standardize this method of treatment so as to give the wounded the best that science affords.

With kindest personal regards, believe me *Most sincerely yours*

6157 · TO JOSEPH MEDILL MC CORMICK

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 29, 1916

Dear Medill: Thomas D. Schall was opposed by the Republicans in Minnesota; ran on the Progressive ticket, won out; is an admirer of mine, and I am sure voted for Hughes. See him, hold his little hot hand, and talk awfully pretty to him. Seriously, he is a good fellow, and you ought to keep in touch with him, and he will keep in touch with you.¹ *Faithfully yours*

¹ Alexis Carrel, French surgeon, recipient in 1912 of the Nobel prize in physiology and medicine for his work as a member of the staff of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. At the outbreak of the war Carrel joined the French army's medical service. During the following months he devised, in collaboration with Henry Drysdale Dakin, the antiseptic solution that greatly reduced the mortality rate for wounded men. In 1919 he resumed his work at the Rockefeller Institute.

² William O'Neill Sherman, chief surgeon for the Carnegie Steel Company, the H. C. Frick Coke Company, and other subsidiaries of the United States Steel Corporation.

¹ Thomas David Schall like most other Minnesota progressives had remained in name a Republican. A member of the House of Representatives, 1915-1925, and of the Senate, 1925-1935, Schall ceased to behave like a progressive and became one of the lackluster faithful in his party.

6158 • TO WILLIAM RUSSELL WILLCOX

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 29, 1916

My dear Mr. Willcox: I am very much indebted to you for your letter of November 27th.¹ I need hardly tell you, my dear sir, what a pleasure it was to work with you and how thoroughly in sympathy I found myself with all your principles, and with all your ways of looking at the questions of vital public interest, now before this country. Outside of Mr. Hughes and his immediate circle of friends, I question if there was a man more keenly disappointed than I was.

I hope that you will look at what I have said on the subject in the current number of the *Metropolitan Magazine*.² I shall always be proud of having supported Mr. Hughes and of having been associated with you in this fight. *Faithfully yours*

6159 • TO BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 29, 1916

My dear Wheeler: I am very much pleased with your letter. But as for the question you put, neither I nor anyone else can say what will happen to the Republican Party in the future. It may be that your feeling is justified, and that the party will permanently continue under such management as that which controlled it in Chicago. If so, it cannot hope ever to play more of a part, at the very outside, than the Whig Party played, and, it will be without the presence of any man of the stamp of Henry Clay or Daniel Webster. But of course, it is possible that we shall be able to rejuvenate it. You hardly need to be told how strongly I feel about Wilson, and my utter disbelief in permanent good coming from a victorious Democratic Party which selects an adroit, insincere hypocrite as its leader, and which disregards cowardice in that leader and in the nation, and applauds his breaches of faith and his mendacity as proofs of intellectual acumen. I am sorry to say that, if I had been nominated at Chicago by the Progressives, I doubt whether the Republicans would have accepted me. Frankly, I will say that

¹Both Willcox and Hughes had thanked Roosevelt for his assistance during the campaign. "You worked unceasingly," Hughes wrote on November 25, "to secure the reunion of our forces — through which alone we could hope to succeed." "The splendid way you stood up for me," he continued, "when I was maligned by some of your misguided friends, I recall most gratefully." Hughes did not subscribe to the view, then widely held, that Roosevelt was responsible for his defeat. He believed that in the East the Administration's "insidious appeals to 'Labor,'" in the Midwest the cry of "peace and prosperity," in many sections the argument that "he kept us out of war," and in California conditions he could not explain had cost him the election.

²"We who supported Mr. Hughes will always be glad that we supported him. We believe that his triumph and the national welfare were closely interwoven. We now, for the sake of the nation, earnestly hope Mr. Wilson will meet with every success in the task ahead of him." With these words Roosevelt concluded his article, "The Election," *Metropolitan*, 45:11 (January 1917).

their one chance of winning was with me, and that it would have been to their enormous advantage to have nominated me, (except, of course, as regards those leaders who were really crooked and who could not afford to have the Republican Party win under a man who would have been a menace to their crookedness). But, if I had accepted a nomination against Hughes, or forced Hughes off the ticket and forced a grudging nomination from the Republicans, I would have convinced many good people that I was purely selfish; that I was not thinking of the interests of the country but only of my own success; and, if this feeling became sufficiently widespread I should have been beaten.

Nicholas Murray Butler is exactly what you describe, and his attitude has been just what you say it was. He is the silliest and most vicious of those reactionaries who are really reactionaries, and not merely grafters. The extent of his folly can be judged by the fact that he thinks the Republicans could have nominated Root, or Harding, or Weeks, or Burton, or himself and have won. As a matter of fact, under such circumstances, they would have gotten just half of Taft's electoral vote of 1912, for they would have lost Utah, while they would still probably have carried Vermont. But they would not have had a chance in any other state in the union.

I wish that when you come east you would let me know at least a week in advance. Will you be here this year? Warm regards to dear Mrs. Wheeler.
Faithfully yours

6160 • TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

William Allen White Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 2, 1916

My dear White: I am sincerely pleased to get your letter. I have had two very good letters from Johnson.

My feeling is practically identical with yours. It is not possible for me to become a Democrat. I would like to become an enthusiastic Republican.¹ I can conceive of circumstances under which I should deem it necessary to take up, although only as a follower, the long fight to reorganize a Progressive Party (*this* Progressive party is dead!) — but like you, this to me seems a very remote possibility. I don't want to be a mugwump creature.

¹In Chicago on December 5 White, Rowell, Gifford Pinchot, Raymond Robins, Garfield, and Ickes issued a joint statement with the purpose of permitting Progressives to be enthusiastic Republicans. "We welcome the enactment of progressive measures by any party," the statement read. "But we are firm in the conviction that in the existing two-party system constructive progressivism may best be achieved through the Republican party. But to gain either of these ends the Republican party must be thoroughly progressivized in organization, leadership, and principles." The statement proposed the continuance of the Republican Campaign Committee which had included both Republicans and Progressives. This proposal was rejected in January by the Republicans.

Matt Hale's proposal is, of course, nonsense. Nortoni,² Parker, Lindsey and Halbert, whom he names, were all Wilson supporters, and together with Matt Hale were, and are, playing the part of assistant Democrats. For Lindsey I have no blame at all; I heartily supported him this election. The little fellow ran in both the Republican and Democratic primaries. Parker there is more excuse for, although no justification. Absolutely, the only thing the Progressives did in the south was to elect one Congressman in Louisiana, and we re-elected him this year, he supporting Hughes and repudiating Parker's attitude.

I see no object to be gained by a meeting with the former Progressives who supported Wilson, many of them I know to be sincere and honorable men, just as many of the men who supported Taft in 1912 were sincere and honorable men; as far as I am concerned, I put both sets in the same category. I am unable to understand the attitude of the northern Progressives who supported Wilson. If they declined to support either Wilson or Hughes their attitude would be understandable; but not their support of Wilson, in view of the fact that they were all enthusiastically supporting me throughout the time that my attacks on Wilson were such as to leave me no shadow of justification for any course that could possibly help in the re-election of Wilson, unless the Republicans nominated a man such that his election promised no advantage over Wilson's election, in which case we would have been obliged to run a Progressive ticket.

Matt Hale has no business to call himself a "loyal Progressive." He is an assistant Democrat, and any conference held in connection with him and his associates will represent nothing but aid for an adjunct of the Democratic Party, and will be held under false pretenses.

Now, I entirely agree with your proposal for a conference in the next six or eight months. It should not include more than twenty-five or fifty men. Personally, I should like to see Kellogg of Minnesota, & Stubbs of Kansas, and most emphatically I would not care to take part in it myself if we did not include men like Hiram Johnson, Miles Poindexter and Medill McCormick. La Follette combines with peculiar niceness all the worst faults of the worst standpatters, and the most lunatic Progressives. If he were to be given a vote in the conference I think we might as well invite Nicholas Murray Butler and Amos Pinchot, with the understanding that each was to be given one-half vote. As for Capper and the Pacifists, — there is no use of me personally holding any dealings with them. I think that they occupy exactly the position that was held at the outbreak of the Civil War by the Ultra-Abolitionist Republicans who had supported the Republican Party on the issue of slavery but who actually turned and voted against it, because their pacifist principles did not permit them to stand up and fight for the Union.

² Albert D. Nortoni continued as a Progressive until immediately after the convention, which he attended, in 1916. He then became director of the Progressive Bureau of the Democratic National Committee.

Offhand, it seems to me that wherever possible the Progressives should turn in and carry the Republican primaries, on the basis of trying to restore the Republican Party to applied Lincolnism.

Now as to the part I am to play. You are quite right that no human being can tell what it ought to be; silence and no attempt at dictation for the present, of course. I am too deeply committed on the principles for which I have been fighting to go back on them; I am not speaking of the machinery, I am speaking of the principles. This means that as long as I live I shall stand for the social and industrial principles, substantially as we set them forth in 1912; and, that I shall stand for military preparedness, uncompromising Americanism, and the performance of international duty, along the lines I have spoken and written during the past two and one quarter years. Both programs I may add are simply logical developments and extensions — and not very wide extensions either — of what I fought for, and tried to put into practice, while I was President. I shall do my best to aid the man who will fight for these principles, externally and internally.

I hope the Republicans will so act that I shall be able, as a practical method of achieving these ends, to co-operate with them; but I am not sure. I think if such a conference could be called in New York, say by yourself and Raymond Robins that we could hold it absolutely quietly and without any newspaper publicity whatever. I would not have it called by any officer of the late Progressive Party. That Party is absolutely disbanded in Kansas, as you tell me; and it ought to be disbanded throughout the Union, precisely as it was in Kansas. In New York it has disbanded itself; the rank and file did not vote for it, and it is now off the ticket, off the map. If we had such a conference I think my possible position in the future should be entirely left out of account, and at the very utmost I should be dealt with on the same footing as any one of the other prominent state people. It might be best for me not to attend.

There are some of the regulars in the Republican National organization with whom we may be able to work, such as Hert of Kentucky, for instance; Hays³ of Indiana, and King⁴ of Connecticut. At a banquet to the workers

³ Will H. Hays, ablest Republican organizer since Mark Hanna, had been a precinct committeeman before his twenty-first birthday. Successively chairman of a county committee, district chairman of the state committee, chairman of the Indiana Republican State Committee, 1914-1918, and of the Republican National Committee, 1918-1921, Hays directed with a success that became legendary the party's powerful campaigns of 1918 and 1920. After serving a year as Harding's Postmaster General, Hays left politics to become for two decades president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., and as such custodian of the conscience of Hollywood. In those years he found time to be a director of many corporations, an officer in the Boy Scouts of America, the Salvation Army, and a vice-president of the Roosevelt Memorial Association.

⁴ John T. King, Bridgeport Republican, delegate-at-large to the national convention of 1916. During the next two years he played an increasingly significant role as a political trouble-shooter for Roosevelt. "Very close to [Roosevelt] . . . , with reference to many matters," King was the trusted liaison officer between Oyster Bay and the outlying Republican provinces in the East and Middle West.

of Connecticut the other day, King absolutely paralyzed the standpatters and brought a thousand guests to their feet whooping with delight, when he said that the Republican Party ought to adopt as their social and industrial principles those set forth in the Progressive National Platform of 1912.

I will read *Collier's* at once.⁵ Give my love to Mrs. White and do bring her on here when you come. *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Of course, treat this letter as confidential. After looking it over it seems to me that I have not spoken strongly enough about the proposed conference. I do not think it would do good at this time. I think it would be far better just to have five or six people now and then get together and talk things over. We tend to have too many of our friends whose influences are expressly national. I should like to see a few more with such modest local ambition as to be able to control their own states and districts. I think any public action and especially any public conference at present would put back the movement we have at heart. I am absolutely certain that not only damage would follow from any conference with men like Capper and La Follette, or like the Progressives who are now assistant Democrats. I will see them or any other human beings individually, if they desire to see me, but I won't meet them in a conference where it would be inevitably supposed that I had some particular purpose to serve by trying to get in with them.

6161 • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 4, 1916

Dear Cabot: I am a little concerned over the announcement that Penrose, perhaps with your assistance, is to push a Force bill.¹ I have appreciated the friendliness Penrose has shown me during the recent months, and you are very welcome to show him this letter.

I do not believe that any good whatever can come of such a bill, or of such a movement. I need hardly say that I regard the condition of affairs in the south as an outrage. Mr. Wilson will owe his seat (after March 4th) to the fact that the negroes of the south, who are not allowed to vote, are

⁵ In "Who Killed Cock Robin?" *Collier's Weekly* 58:5-6, 26-27 (December 16, 1916), William Allen White concluded that Hughes had lost the Western states by refusing to take a bold progressive stand on such issues as woman suffrage, prohibition, and the initiative and referendum. To the Western progressive, White pointed out, Hughes seemed to be far to the right of Wilson. The Republican's speeches, he wrote, "might have been made by Chester Arthur, but hardly by Benjamin Harrison." The Hughes of 1906 might have won; the Hughes of 1916 had been so long on the bench that he had lost his competitive edge. Cock Robin, White asserted, had committed suicide.

¹ Penrose on December 5 offered an amendment to a campaign fund regulation bill providing for the federal supervision of elections. The bill was referred back to committee where the Penrose proposal was dropped.

nevertheless used to give to the southern whites (and therefore to the Democratic Party), fifty electoral votes and fifty Congressmen, to which they are no more entitled than the people of Kamchatka. But, as in so many things, clear recognition of an evil may be accompanied by equally clear recognition of the fact that the effort to get rid of it, in the present time, may lead only to worse disaster. In this case I believe the movement would be politically unwise, moreover I believe that the great majority of the negroes in the south are wholly unfit for the suffrage, and that if we were able to succeed in giving them an unbought, uncoerced and undefrauded suffrage we would reduce parts of the south to the level of Haiti — and this Government is at this moment administering the affairs of Haiti, simply because it is helpless to administer them itself, and is so utterly impotent, that even abject Mr. Wilson is not too proud to fight with them.

I further believe that the movement could by no possibility succeed. Even after the war when all the passions of the north were aflame, it proved wholly impossible, by national action, to protect the negro from the white in the south. Any effort to revive such a policy will end in disaster. The Fifteenth Amendment in the south has been a failure and has been largely responsible for the failure of the Fourteenth Amendment. Under the leadership of Andrew Johnson, the south rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, and therefore forced the north to back the evil folly of Sumner and Stevens in pushing the Fifteenth Amendment.

As for a direct popular vote for President, it is not to be thought of at this time. If the President were to be elected in such a fashion, then of course it would become imperative for the National Government to exercise complete control over the elections, and see that the negroes of the south vote, or else that the south's representation in Congress is cut down. It is bad enough to have to endure the south's overrepresentation in the electoral college, (or rather the overrepresentation of the Democratic Party) due to the suppression of the negro vote in the south. But it would be intolerable to submit to such a condition of things if the vote were direct.

From the above you will see that I fully recognize the evil. But I am confident, in the first place, that it would be a bad thing to take it up and deal with it without dealing with the whole question of that very large part of the negro vote in the south which is wholly unfit for the suffrage, and in the second place, that public opinion in the north will not sanction such a policy, and this means, that the best public opinion will be against it. When such is the case, the effort is bound to be disastrous politically and is bound to do nothing but damage, and possibly most damage to the negro of the south. From the party standpoint I am convinced that it would benefit nobody but the Democrats. It would delay the reunion of the party.

By the way, the enclosed (which is from a paper which supported Taft in 1912) is worth your looking at. Return it to me when you are through with it. *Faithfully yours*

Oyster Bay, December 5, 1916

Dear Fair: I have spoken to Chapman and to Bridges about a Polynesian trip which I would greatly like to take next year.¹ Mrs. Roosevelt will go with me. We would like to take a steamer for a six or eight months' trip, to visit the various Polynesian Islands, and perhaps some of the Melanesian Islands. I have asked Beebe to go along. I would like to take the trip under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History, substantially as I took the Brazilian trip, or substantially as I took the African trip for the National Museum at Washington. Now, if I could get the *Albatross*, I could take along for you men who would deal with ichthyology, ornithology, etc. etc. Chapman thinks it possible that you might be able to get for me, from the United States Fish Commission, the *Albatross* for this purpose if I would pay for the coal, which would be the main, although not the only, expense; that you would pay the actual expenses of the naturalists and their equipment; and I think we could arrange subscriptions for anything extra. Would it be possible for you to write to the Government and find out if the Museum could hire the *Albatross* for such a purpose? If so, we could then go over the matter in detail. I should expect to at least partially reimburse myself by writing for *Scribner's* or some other publication. I believe I could make a trip that would be worth while, and that would do credit to the Museum. *Faithfully yours*

6163 • TO HERBERT PUTNAM

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 5, 1916

My dear Mr. Putnam: Mrs. Roosevelt and I have been talking over the disposition of my great mass of papers. They include, in immense numbers, copies of my letters and of letters to me while I was President; also letters from sovereigns, etc. etc. They ought to be in the Congressional Library. If I sent them to you, could they be catalogued and arranged, and permission given to me, or any of my representatives, to examine them at any time, with a clear understanding that no one else was to see them until after my death?¹ *Sincerely yours*

¹ The war ended Roosevelt's plans to sail for the South Seas in January 1918.

¹ Putnam announced that he would receive the papers on these conditions with the "greatest satisfaction." In January 1917 six padlocked cases arrived at the Library of Congress, followed by a note which read, "The Lord only knows where the key is. Break the cases open, and start to work on them!"

Little was done to organize the papers until 1922 when Mrs. John C. Fitzpatrick started work, on funds provided by the Roosevelt Memorial Association. By 1926 the Presidential papers were arranged in alphabetical-chronological order. Since then the post-Presidential papers have been partially organized on the same principle. To this major part of the collection other material has been added through the years by various members of the family.

Oyster Bay, December 12, 1916

Dear Miss Richards,¹ I am really charmed with "A Northern Countryside." I read it all through last evening. It is delightful; a mixture of Mary E. Wilkins without her morbidness and of John Burroughs with that springy strength and buoyancy for which John Burroughs longs but which even in his youth he never attained. It is a real addition to our literature; and, to speak after the manner of a prig about a book which is altogether too fresh and simple and joyous to have a touch of the prig in it, it is mighty good reading for an American!

Now, for comments by an amateur out-of-doors man. I didn't know that buckwheat honey had no sale; personally I like it. Was that "eagle" which went under water with the fish a white headed eagle or an osprey? The "Bay Lynx" puzzles me. The real bay lynx is somewhat *smaller* and thinner haired than the Canada Lynx but otherwise substantially like it. I am half inclined to think your beast was really a, perhaps rather small, cougar; the beast miscalled panther in the east and mountain lion in the west. The hornet-man or bee-man represents one of those queer things in nature for which as yet we have absolutely no explanation; I am convinced that some snake charmers have an analagous quality; I knew a worthless, shiftless old buffalo hunter in the west, thirty odd years ago, who could and habitually did handle rattlesnakes exactly as I have seen an occasional countryman handle bees, hornets and wasps.

One meticulous criticism. Normally "die" is better than "pass on." Simple words, not euphemisms, for elemental facts!

What you said about politics went to my heart. *Why* do Americans, who have been supposed to show at their best in self government, seem to do worse in politics than in anything else except the newspaper business? As soon as they enter politics fairly good citizens turn crooks and really good citizens become impracticable cranks. *Always yours*

6165 · TO EDWIN T. EARL

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, December 20, 1916

Dear Mr. Earl: First let me heartily congratulate you on the result of the libel suit.¹ It was an expensive thing to have done as I know by personal experience, but it is a great service to have rendered.

¹Rosalind Richards, daughter of Laura E. Richards and granddaughter of Julia Ward Howe, author of *The Nursery Fire* (1904), *Two Children in the Woods* (1907), and *A Northern Countryside* (1916).

²An attorney, E. M. Barnes, had brought suit against Earl for a news story printed by Earl which began: "On the ground that he had been convicted of a felony, E. M. Barnes, known as the poet laureate of the Los Angeles courts, this afternoon was ordered disbarred from all Federal courts by Judge Cushman of the United States District Court." Barnes contended that as a result of this story he had suffered a loss of income and reputation.

Now, as to why I did not come to California. I don't feel like telling you in a letter. If you see Garfield he will tell you. Confidentially, I don't mind putting down the fact that I found my coming would be objectionable. Please don't ever quote this. *Faithfully yours*

6166 • TO WILLIAM RUSSELL WILLCOX

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 28, 1916

Dear Mr. Willcox: I am really obliged to you. That's a most interesting set of telegrams! It seems to me it shows that the fundamental trouble was Crocker's resolute determination not to let the Progressives, or the majority of the anti-Wilson forces in California receive fair and equal treatment.¹ Looking at his telegrams I don't wonder that disaster came. It was delightful seeing you at lunch the other day. Many thanks, *Faithfully yours*

6167 • TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

*William Allen White Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, January 1, 1917

Dear W. A. If I were an artist I would open this letter by a drawing of the bats in the belfry of William Allen White.

Hiram Johnson wrote me that in California one large factor in the vote for Wilson was the "he kept us out of war" cry, especially affecting the women. This is yellow, my friend! plain yellow! They didn't mind his having put us into war with Hayti and San Domingo (& twice in Mexico); these were little wars in which only people for whom they didn't care were killed; what they meant was that they objected solely to wars in which their own comfort and skins were endangered. They had no ethical feeling, one way or the other, about it; they weren't concerned with honor or justice or self respect; they were concerned for the safety of their own carcasses.

In Kansas Capper has just been reelected by an enormous majority. It is just as futile to say that he does not represent the yellow streak as to say that in 1863 Vollandigham did not represent copperheadism. If Ohio had then elected Vollandigham it would have meant that, among other motives, copperheadism had influenced her citizens. Capper was not a Progressive; he and La Follette four years ago when the crucial test came threw their influence against the Progressives, and as completely lost the right to claim real progressivism as their creed, as did the abolitionists who in the actual crisis voted against Lincoln. They were worse than the convinced stand-patters.

Capper has out-Wilsoned Wilson on all the points where Wilson was

¹ William H. Crocker had with Rowell represented California on the Republican National Committee during the 1916 campaign. He had effectively blocked the requests Rowell had made to Willcox for recognition and support.

worst. Capper stated that in the event of war it would be far simpler for the population to all come east of the Alleghenies than to try to repel attack; this being said in ridicule of preparedness and at a time when he was denouncing my attitude and praising Wilson and Bryan in contrast. When the Lusitania and the other ships were sunk Capper proposed to meet the emergency by forbidding Americans to travel on such ships! This was (as I said) exactly like a man, whose wife has had her face slapped on the street, declining to act against the aggressor, but telling his wife to stay at home. Now such conduct is yellow; of the deepest yellow. La Follette acted in the same way. And these are the two men whom the people of Kansas and Wisconsin delight to honor!

I am sure that you are right when you say that there are plenty of progressives who voted against Hughes who nevertheless "hate the Wilson foreign policy as they hate poison." But if these men were a controlling element in the west, the Cappers and La Follettes would have been relegated to the rear.

I like Hughes rather less than you do. I feel, and have reason to feel, less friendly to him now than when I wrote you those letters about him. He did a trifle, but only a trifle, worse than I expected. I was voting against Wilson. I was grimly accepting, at great personal cost, a man whose election would have been hailed as a great personal triumph over me by the standpatters, because I felt that Wilson's reelection would be a damage to the moral fibre of the American people. The other day five newspaper boys lunched here. Three had been on the Hughes train. They voted for Wilson. Two had been at Shadow Lawn.¹ They voted for Hughes.

The western progressives prior to the nomination thought better of Hughes than I did. There was no one else whom the Republicans were willing to nominate whom one crowd would or could have supported even as an alternative to Wilson. I did my best, and I think it was *the* best, in a hideously disheartening situation. Hughes did not stand for the things for which I stood—that is why he was nominated. In Congress, as far as expression went, the only two men who supported me were Poindexter in the Senate and Gus Gardner in the House. I was literally the only national leader who dared stand straight on Americanism, preparedness and the performance of international duty. And the Cappers and La Follettes and Grona's were more opposed to me than to anybody else.

Your article in Collier's did real good; and I endorsed every word it said about the east, and the machine and the standpatters. But, assuming for the sake of the argument that I am too near "the wall street ticker and munitions maker sentiment" (a violent assumption), I still fail to see anything but degradation in the success of the La Follette-Capper appeal to the yellow streak. Under Wilson there is once more a connection between Wall Street

¹ Wilson spent much of the 1916 campaign at Shadow Lawn, Long Branch, New Jersey.

and the White House; the recent "killing" made by the Barney Baruch² of Wall Street over the peace message and its interpretation by Lansing is ugly proof of this; whether the information came by a leak from McAdoo, House, Lansing, Wilson himself, or somebody else, matters little.³

The pro-German bunch was against me and for Hughes; but it was far more emphatically for Capper and La Follette.

The policies and principles you describe as those of Mrs. White are exactly mine. Moreover I substantially agree with your view as to the two milk-and-water candidates; Hughes and the Republicans tried to beat skimmed milk with cambric tea; they earned their defeat. I shall never again try to help the Republican party, or work for them as I worked in this election, unless they give me a cause for which I can unequivocally and heartily stand. But both Wilson and the Republican organization believe that the former won in the west because he successfully appealed to the yellow streak. I hope the Republicans also understand that there was genuine opposition to the machine. Personally I believe the west would have responded to a straight-out old-fashioned American appeal for courage and duty; but the leaders refuse to believe this in view of the success of Capper, La Follette and their fellows. *Always yours*

6168 · TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

*William Allen White Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, January 1, 1917

Dear W. A. Your telegram came (just after I had posted my letter) It pleased me much. I am only too eager to believe that the west would stand by such doctrine, if clearly and fearlessly put before it (of course poor Hughes didn't venture even to whisper the doctrine—let alone fearlessly uphold it). The immense majorities for the ultra-pacifists like Capper and La Follette have made the bulk of the eastern politicians and people believe that Wilson won the west on the peace-at-any-price issue. The Democrats

² Bernard Mannes Baruch, skillful member of the New York Stock Exchange, undemanding guide, park bench philosopher, and genial friend to several Democratic Presidents.

³ On December 18 Wilson sent a note to the neutral and belligerent powers of Europe calling for an exchange of views by the belligerents as a preliminary step towards peace. Although he had long contemplated taking this action, the President kept secret his communication until December 20, when Lansing gave the text to the newspapers. Nevertheless, the situation in Europe, rumors about Wilson's intentions, and ultimately the release of the note precipitated a sharp decline in stock prices from which numerous bearish operators profited. After various members of the Administration had been accused of supplying brokers with inside information, a congressional committee investigated the episode. The investigation demonstrated conclusively that there had been no "leak." For the text of Wilson's note, see Baker and Dodd, eds., *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, IV, 402-406; for the report of the investigating committee, see *Alleged Divulgence of President's Note to Belligerent Powers: Hearings Before the Committee on Rules, House of Representatives, Sixty-Fourth Congress, Second Session* (Washington, 1917); for an analysis of the episode, see Blum, *Tumulty*, pp. 122-129.

SAGAMORE HILL.

Jan 1st 1917



unmeaningful effort - to draw
hats from the belfry
of
W. A. White

believe it; Wilson believes it; the men interested in preparedness believe it; the Republican machine leaders are loudly endeavoring to convince themselves that, because of this fact, I would have run worse than Hughes. I am, as an American, very greatly relieved to be able to believe that the real fact was that the west fixed its eyes on Hughes' pussy-footing and lack of vision, and on the machine and reactionary support of him, and voted against him on these counts, and only incidentally for Wilson. *Ever yours*

6169 · TO JOHN ST. LOE STRACHEY

*Strachey Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, January 1, 1917

Dear Strachey, What you have said about the peace proposals is capital. Wilson has played an evil part by his action; he is trying now to bring about a peace as wicked as the peace which Prussia, France, and a minority of the English leaders tried to induce Lincoln to accept. Your quotation from Lincoln was most apt.

Well, at least Hughes would'n't have committed this particular iniquity. Of course I entirely agree with what you write about Hughes. He would have been all right in non-eventful times of peace. His over-caution, his legalism, his sluggish coldness of nature, and his sheer inability to grapple with great issues, made him a complete failure. The trouble was that in 1912 the Republicans deliberately drove from the party all the leaders of vision and idealism. They did not have one man of prominence fit to be President or able to make a good run for the Presidency, at this time. Five newspaper boys were here the other day. Three had been on the Hughes train. They voted for Wilson. Two had been at Shadow Lawn. They voted for Hughes. I believe that Hughes if he had dared to make a straight-out fight would have won. I am sure that he would have been a better President than Wilson. At the very end, Bernstorff turned in and did all he could for Wilson¹ — I think that Wilson's peace note was a partial return for this. But Hughes tried to beat a 97% wrong policy by one which was only say 89% wrong — which was not edifying. As William Allen White says, it is'n't much fun supporting a cambric-tea candidate against a thin milk-and-water candidate!

I greatly admire the Allies' reply to the "poisoned chalice" peace note.² I believe Germany is where the Confederates were in the early summer of 1863; and if, as I am sure they will, the Allies stand firm they will win.

¹ The German Ambassador, after visiting Wilson at Shadow Lawn early in October, had assured American reporters that there would be "no violation of German pledges about submarine warfare. The German Government has promised that and the German Government always keeps its promises, everywhere."

² The Allies in a joint reply to Wilson's peace note refused outright to entertain the President's proposal. Germany also refused and stated she would not endure "any meddling" by Wilson in peace negotiations; see Baker, *Wilson*, vol. VI, ch. ix, especially pp. 398-411.

I should greatly like to read the "Student in Arms."³ Ian Hay Beith⁴ spent a Sunday here recently. I have just been reading "The Anzac Trail."⁵
Always yours

6170 · TO JOSEPH MEDILL MC CORMICK

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 5, 1917

Dear Medill: I of course agree absolutely with you. If only the wings of the Party *could* come to an agreement, both in and out of Congress! Personally, I heartily favored Gardner's statement of opposition to Mann, not that I agreed with the grounds upon which he based it, but because Mann's was the original and outrageous fault.¹ He may just as well understand, and you can show him this letter, that a man who is to be Speaker must pay some heed to the men who are trying to express American sentiment of the old American type; and moreover, that to oppose the Democratic Party in gross is utterly futile, if we back up each act of the Administration in detail. As for there being a "great and continuing abatement of pro-Ally sentiment in Chicago," I can only say that if this means that there is a growth of pro-German and anti-Belgium sentiment, it is equivalent to saying there is a growth of anti-Americanism in Chicago, and I shall fight it tooth and nail, with the black flag hoisted. I am immensely interested in seeing the Republican Party prosper, but I am much more interested in seeing the American Republic stand up to the great ideals of Washington and Lincoln. *Faithfully yours*

6171 · TO HENRY STURGIS DRINKER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 9, 1917

*My dear President Drinker:*¹ About eighteen months ago, you wrote me a letter attacking what I had done in making my speech at the Plattsburg Camp

³ *A Student in Arms* (New York, 1917), by Donald W. A. Hankey, with an introduction by J. St. Loe Strachey.

⁴ John Hay Beith, British novelist and playwright, captain in the British army during World War I. As author, using the name Ian Hay, of *The First Hundred Thousand* (1915) and *Carrying On—After the First Hundred Thousand* (1917), he did much to acquaint British and American citizens with the nature of modern warfare.

⁵ *On the Anzac Trail: Being Extracts from the Diary of a New Zealand Sapper* (London, 1916).

¹ James R. Mann had incurred Gardner's wrath by praising Wilson's December peace note. "This is the fourth or fifth time that [Minority] Leader Mann has given encouragement to the Kaiser's wicked cause," Gardner announced. "I will tolerate such leadership no longer." Gardner planned therefore to support Lenroot of Wisconsin for Speaker of the House, an office the Republicans hoped to win because of the nearly even balance between the parties in the new Congress. The party alignments that developed ensured the re-election of Champ Clark as Speaker.

¹ Henry Sturgis Drinker, engineer, lawyer, and educator; president of Lehigh University, 1905–1920; president of the American Forestry Association, 1912–1916; president of the National Reserve Corps, 1913–1916; chairman of the board of the Military Training Camps Association, 1916–1919.

— a speech previously submitted to General Wood, and approved by him, and a speech which he has since informed me was invaluable in aiding the Plattsburg Camp movement. My position was entirely right, and your position entirely wrong; but I did not, in my answer to you, say what I might have said, because I knew that your activities on behalf of the Plattsburg Camp had been wholesome, and because your evident fear of antagonizing the Wilson Administration, or speaking the plain truth about it, was one that was shared by the immense majority of respectable citizens at that time, and, while it was most mischievous and has been most damaging to the country, and while you were therefore responsible for your individual share in this mischief and damage, you were not single in it, and I did not wish to say anything unpleasant to you.

But the second letter of yours stands on a different footing. In addition to various incorrect statements as to what I have done, you explore the hidden domain of motive, stating in effect, at least by innuendo, that I am opposed to the League simply because I am not its head. (If you had taken the trouble to read what I had written about these movements, long before you started, you would know that I then held exactly the view I now hold.²) I do not wonder that in view of this statement, you "expect no acknowledgment or reply" to your letter, but I think it is better that you should have a reply.

You of the League have chosen as your chief Mr. Taft, and you are therefore responsible for his words on the subjects upon which the League deals. The utterances of the speakers employed by the League, or speaking for the League, are also at least as important as your platform. You quote ex-President Eliot's letter to the American Peace Society, in which he says that this Peace Society represents abject failure. Are you not aware that Mr. Taft holds, as does Mr. Bryan, one of the four positions of prominence, noted on the heading of the letters of this Society? I forget the exact office he fills. But the fact that you chose Mr. Taft, the author of the Universal Arbitration Treaties, and an Honorary Vice-President, (or whatever it is) of this Society, as President of your League makes you responsible for, and endorsers of, his pacifist activities. You quote the statement of the League on behalf of Military preparedness. A more milk-and-water statement could not have been put out. All it says is that preparation for "adequate" national defense is not inconsistent with the purposes of the League, but is "essential thereto." Why, Mr. Bryan himself says he believes in "adequate" preparation, and in this particular connection at this time, "adequate" is a favorite weasel word of all the half-baked pacifists. Congressman Gardner tells me that at least nine out of

² Roosevelt, in an article on "The League to Enforce Peace," *Metropolitan*, 45:15-16, 66-67 (February 1917), had condemned "any movement which interferes with the all-essential movement for spiritual and material preparedness." He left no doubt that the league, of which A. Lawrence Lowell and William Howard Taft were members, was such a movement. For an excellent account of the league, its origins in 1915, its program, activities, and contribution, see Ruhl J. Bartlett, *The League to Enforce Peace* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944).

ten speakers of the League to Enforce Peace, directly or indirectly, oppose Military preparedness. Mr. Taft, according to the papers, immediately after he had been made President of the League to Enforce Peace, announced that to have a larger army than 200,000 men, represented "militarism." He therefore gave the practical interpretation of what you mean by "adequate"; he therefore officially put your League on record as against real preparation. The men who wrote such a plank (which you quote in your letter) about preparation, could not possibly have meant that they favored real preparation, — or else they would not have put in such a cambric-tea performance. That plank itself is enough to show what a mischievous thing the League is from the standpoint of preparedness. The policies of the League are to be taken as expressed by its speakers. I am not engaged in the meticulous business of hunting up the records, to see when these speakers are justified and when they are not justified, by resolutions of the League. You are bound by the words of Mr. Taft just so long as he is President of your League, and you are bound by the words of your other speakers who are sent out by you.

The actual proposal in the resolutions of the League is far sillier and far less defensible than the proposals these speakers sometimes make, which I have accepted as those which I assail.

I wish to attack the most defensible position, so that the League cannot, by shifting ground, seem to meet my arguments. But the actual League proposal is so much sillier than the one I have attacked that I am astounded any intelligent man should favor it.

Your position is not that the League should go to war against a nation that does wrong, but that it should go to war against a nation which declines to arbitrate a wrong, or submit it to the judgment of an outside tribunal, no matter what the wrong may be. I reduce this to a concrete case. Your proposal is that if the Germans sink another *Lusitania*, and the United States shows self-respect enough instantly to go to war, then the League to Enforce Peace would itself go to war, not against the wrongdoer, not against the nation guilty of the crime, but against the nation which declined to submit even for a moment to such an infamous crime! You say that my article has been misleading. I admit it has — to the extent that it has not shown up as strongly as it ought to have shown up the fatuous and vicious folly of yourself and your associates, in making such an infamous proposal as this. Remember that if your League means anything, it means exactly what I have said! If I were President, for instance, and the Mexicans murdered our troops, as they were murdered at Carrizal, and outraged our women, and killed our men; or if the Germans, or Japanese, or any nation murdered our people wholesale on the seas, I would not for one moment bring the matter before any outside tribunal, — any more than I would appeal to some outside tribunal if, when I were walking with my wife, someone slapped her face. Your proposal is, that in such event neutral nations should join to make war, not on the nation that had committed the infamy, but on the nation that instantly

resented the infamy. Such a position is very silly. It is also very base. You have apparently accepted Bryan's peace commission treaties as a model, but your position is here worse than his for, silly though he is, he did not propose to go to war to aid the wrongdoer against the wronged.

I dealt very lightly with the League to Enforce Peace in the article, but when I speak of it again, I shall speak of it as you desire, that is, I shall speak of this feature and expose its fatuity and its infamy. *Sincerely yours*

6172 · TO S. STANWOOD MENKEN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 10, 1917

*My dear Mr. Menken:*¹ As it is unfortunately impossible for me to be present in person, I desire in this letter to express my heartiest good wishes for the success of your meeting and my belief that the movement, in which you are engaged, is one of the really vital movements — indeed at the moment it is I think *the* really vital movement — for the ultimate honor and welfare of this country.

We need, more than anything else in this country, thoroughgoing Americanism, — for unless we are Americans and nothing else, we are not a nation at all — and thoroughgoing preparedness in time of peace against war, — for if we are not thus prepared, we shall remain a nation only until some more virile nation finds it worth while to conquer us.

The work of preparedness — spiritual and material, civic, industrial, and military — and the work of Americanization are simply the two paramount phases or elements of the work of constructive patriotism which your Congress has gathered to foster. There can be no real preparedness in this country unless this country is thoroughly Americanized; for only a patriotic people will prepare; and there can be no deep national feeling for America, until we are all of us Americans through and through.

Americanism means many things. It means equality of rights and therefore equality of duty and of obligation. It means service to our common country. It means loyalty to one flag, to our flag, the flag of all of us. It means on the part of each of us respect for the rights of the rest of us. It means that all of us guarantee the rights of each of us. It means free education, genuinely representative government, freedom of speech and thought, equality before the law for all men, genuine political and religious freedom, and the democratizing of industry so as to give at least a measurable quality of opportunity for all, and so as to place before us, as our ideal in all industries where this ideal is possible of attainment, the system of co-operative ownership and management, in order that the tool users may, so far as possible, become the tool owners. Everything is un-American that tends either to government by a plutocracy, or government by a mob. To divide along the lines of section

¹ S. Stanwood Menken, a New York lawyer, was president of the National Security League.

or caste or creed is un-American. All privilege based on wealth, and all enmity to honest men merely because they are wealthy, are un-American — both of them equally so. Americanism means the virtues of courage, honor, justice, truth, sincerity, and hardihood — the virtues that made America. The things that will destroy America are prosperity-at-any-price, peace-at-any-price, safety-first instead of duty-first, the love of soft living, and the get-rich-quick theory of life.

Preparedness must be of the soul no less than of the body. We must keep lofty ideals steadily before us, and must train ourselves in practical fashion so that we may realize these ideals. Throughout our whole land we must have fundamental common purposes, to be achieved through education, through intelligent organization, and through the recognition of the great vital standards of life and living. We must make Americanism and Americanization mean the same thing to the native born and to the foreign born; to the men and to the women; to the rich and to the poor; to the employer and to the wage-worker. If we believe in American standards, we shall insist that all privileges springing from them be extended to immigrants, and that they in return accept these standards with wholehearted and entire loyalty. Either we must stand absolutely by our ideals and conceptions of duty, or else we are against them. There is no middle course, and if we attempt to find one, we insure for ourselves defeat and disaster.

Citizenship must mean an undivided loyalty to America; there can be no citizenship on the 50-50 basis; there can be no loyalty half to America and half to Germany, or England, or France, or Ireland, or any other country. Our citizens must be Americans, and nothing else, and if they try to be something else in addition, then they should be sent out of this country and back to the other country to which, in their hearts, they pay allegiance. We must have one American language; the language of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and Second Inaugural, and of Washington's farewell address. The American standard of living conditions, and the American standard of working conditions, both must be high. We must insist upon them for immigrants, as well as for the native born. We must insist that the people who work here, live here; that they are not mere birds of passage from abroad. We must insist upon industrial justice, and we cannot get it if we let ignorance and need be preyed upon either by vulpine cunning or by wolfish brutality, and if we do not train the ignorant and the needy up to self-reliance and efficiency.

Preparedness does not mean merely a man with a gun. It means that too; but it means a great deal more. It means that in this country we must secure conditions which will make the farmer and the workingman understand that it is in a special sense their country; that the work of preparedness is entered into for the defense of the country which belongs to them, to all of us, and the government of which is administered in their interest, in the interest of all of us. At this moment, Lloyd George is able to do more than any other

man in rallying the people of Great Britain to the defense of that Empire, because the workingmen, the men who actually do the manual labor, know that he has their welfare at heart, that the national ideal for which he is fighting is that which will give them the best chance for self-development, and for that happiness which comes to the man who achieves his rights at the same time that he performs his duties. He is followed by the people as a whole because they know that he stands for the people as a whole. We in America who are striving for preparedness must make it evident that the preparedness is to serve the people as a whole. The war on the other side has shown that there can be no efficient army in the field unless the men behind are trained and efficient, and unless they are wholeheartedly loyal in their patriotic devotion to their country. Here in America we must do justice to the workers, or they will not feel that this is the country to which their devotion is due; and we must exact patriotic devotion to the flag from them, for if they fail to render it they are unfit to live in this country at all. I appeal to all Americans to join in the common effort for the common good. Any man who holds back, and refuses to serve his country with wholehearted devotion, on the ground that enough has not been done for him, will do well to remember that any such holding back, or lukewarmness of patriotism, is itself an admission of inferiority, an admission of personal unfitness for citizenship in a democracy, and ought to deprive him of the rights of citizenship. As for the men of means, from whom we have the right to expect a special quality of leadership, let them remember that as much has been given to them, so much will be expected of them, and that they have no moral right whatsoever to the enjoyment of the ease and the comforts of life beyond that their fellows enjoy, unless they render service beyond what their fellows render.

I advocate military preparedness not for the sake of war, but for the sake of safeguarding this nation against war, so long as that is possible, and of guaranteeing its honor and safety if war should nevertheless come. We hope ultimately the day will come on this earth when wars will cease. But at present the realization of that hope seems as far in the future as the realization of that other hope, that some day in the future all crime shall cease. By wise action, based equally on observed good faith and on thoroughly prepared strength — the precise characteristics which during the last few years we have failed to show — we may hope to limit the probable field of wars; but at present it is as certain as anything can be that every great nation will at some time or other, as generations follow generations, have to face war, and that ours will be no exception to the rule. It is therefore not merely folly, but criminal and unpatriotic folly, to fail to prepare, or to preach the ignoble cult of the professional pacifist, the peace-at-any-price man.

We need first and foremost a thoroughly efficient and large Navy; a navy kept under professional guidance; a navy trained at every point with the sole purpose of making it the most formidable possible instrument of war the moment that war comes; a navy, the mismanagement of which shall be

treated as a capital offense against the nation. In the next place, we need a small but highly efficient regular army, of say a quarter million men; an army where provision is made for a certain proportion of the promotions to be by merit, instead of merely seniority; an army of short-term soldiers, better paid than at present; and an army which, like the navy, shall be under the guidance of a general staff. Moreover, every year there should be at one time field maneuvers of from fifty to one hundred thousand men, so that the Army Commander, the Corps Commanders, the Division, Brigade, and Regimental Commanders, who would have to face a foe at the outbreak of war, would all have had experience in performing their duties, under actual field conditions, in time of peace.

The events of the last summer have shown that the Hay bill was as foolish and unpatriotic a bit of flintlock legislation as was ever put on the statute book. I have the greatest admiration and respect for the individual militiamen who went to the border. But the system under which they were sent worked rank injustice to most of them, rank favoritism for some of them, and was worse than ineffective from the national standpoint. It is folly, and worse than folly, to pretend that the National Guard is an efficient second line of defense. Remember also that the laws passed nominally for the betterment of the regular army and navy are producing almost no result. The delays in building the ships are extraordinary. The shortage of enlisted men in the navy and army is appalling, nor is it being made good. It cannot wholly be made good under the volunteer system. But much could be done. Our first care should be to make the navy and the regular army thoroughly efficient.

But this is not enough. To trust only to the Navy and the regular Army amounts merely to preparing to let the other men do it. If we ordinary citizens are fit to be citizens of this country, we shall fit ourselves to defend this country. No man has a right to citizenship in a democracy, if, for any cause whatsoever, he is unwilling to fight, or is morally or mentally incapable of fighting, for the defense of that democracy against a powerful alien aggressor. If a man is physically unfit but is right in his soul and in his head, then he can render high service to the nation, although incapable of bearing arms. But, if from any moral or mental causes he is unwilling to train himself to bear arms, and to bear them if necessary in his country's cause, then he has no moral right to vote.

Be it remembered that such a national armed force as that for which I ask, while very powerful for defense, would be almost useless for aggression. I wish to see our Navy second only to that of Great Britain, because Great Britain is the only power whose naval needs are greater than ours. I do not ask that our Army become second, or anywhere near second, to Germany's, because Germany's military needs are far greater than ours; but merely that relatively to our size our army be made to correspond to that of Switzerland.

This would mean that for the last two or three years of school, our boys would have some military training, substantially such as is given in the Swiss and Australian schools; and that at about the age of nineteen they would

spend six months in actual service in the field (or at sea with the fleet) with the colors, and would thereafter for three or four years be required to spend a couple of weeks each year with the colors. Each year, among those who had served well for the six months, a number could be chosen to be trained as officers. These would then be given by the nation for two years, free, a training somewhat like that at West Point, although not as rigid or as thorough. They would be required to pay for this training by, for a certain number of months during each of the few following years, doing their part in drilling the recruits of that year. It would probably be necessary to pay the recruits a small minimum wage so as to be sure that the poorest family would not suffer hardship because of the absence of the young man for six months. No man would be allowed to purchase exemption. The sons of the richest men in the land would have to serve exactly like anyone else, and do exactly the same work — which incidently would be a bit of uncommon good fortune for them.

Side by side with this preparation of the manhood of the country must go the preparation of its resources. The Government should keep a record of every factory, or workshop, of any kind which would be called upon to render service in war, and of all the railroads. All the workers in such factories and railroads should be tabulated so that in the event of war they would not be sent to the front if they could do better service where they were — although as far as possible every strong man should be sent to the front, to the position of danger, while work done in safety should be done by women and old men. The transportation system should receive special study. Factories which would be needed in time of war, should be encouraged by the Government to keep themselves properly prepared in time of peace, and should be required to fill specimen orders, so that there would be no chance of their breaking down in the event of a sudden call at the outbreak of war. Industrial preparedness must go hand in hand with military preparedness.

Indeed, this military preparedness and the acceptance by the nation of the principle of universal, obligatory, military training in time of peace, as a basis of universal, obligatory service in time of war, would do more than anything else to help us solve our most pressing social and industrial problems in time of peace. It would Americanize and nationalize our people as nothing else could possibly do. It would teach our young men that there are other ideals besides making money. It would render them alert, energetic, self-reliant, capable of command, and willing to obey; respectful to others, and demanding respect from others for themselves. It would be the best possible way to teach us how to use our collective strength in order to accomplish those social and industrial tasks which must be done by all of us collectively if we are to do them well.

Just before this war began the male and female apostles of folly and fatuity were at their highest pitch of denunciation of preparedness, and were announcing at the tops of their voices that never again would there be a great

war. These preachers of professional pacifism, of peace-at-any-price, of peace put before righteousness and honor and duty, temporarily lead astray many good and earnest men and women. These good, honest intelligent men and women can be shown the facts and when shown the facts will ultimately see the profound immorality as well as the utter folly of the professional pacifist or peace-at-any-price position. There is, however, little to hope for as regards the professional pacifists themselves. The antics of their brethren in England have shown that even although brayed in a mortar their folly shall not depart from them. At the moment their clamor is drowned by the thunder of the great war. But when this war comes to an end, their voices will be as loud as ever on behalf of folly and wickedness, and their brazen effrontery will be proof against all shame, as well as against all wisdom. They will unblushingly repeat every prophecy that has just been falsified by the merciless march of events; they will reiterate all the promises that have always been broken in the past and will always be broken in the future. They are in the majority of cases primarily concerned for the safety of their own wretched bodies, and they are physically safe in the course they follow, for if the disaster they court should come upon this nation, they would themselves instantly flee to safety, while their folly and wrongdoing would be atoned for by the blood of better and braver men.

It is useless to appeal to these persons. But it is necessary to warn our people against them. If our people fail to prepare, whatever the real reason may be, and whatever the reason is which they allege, their fate in the end will be the same. Sooner or later, in such case, either we ourselves or our children will tread the stony path of disaster, and eat the bitter bread of shame.² *Faithfully yours*

6173 · TO MILDRED MCLEAN HAZEN DEWEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

New York, January 17, 1917

Accept our deepest and most affectionate sympathy for you in your great sorrow.¹ You know how we loved your husband who was the greatest citizen of our country, and the man who rendered a greater single service to it than any other man now alive.

6174 · TO JOSEPH B. MORRELL

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

New York, January 31, 1917

*My dear Mr. Morrell:*¹ You are entirely right.

For the first sixty days, I, like everyone else in the United States, sup-

² This is a final draft of a letter which was read at the meeting of the National Security League on January 26, 1917.

¹ The hero of Manila Bay died on 16 January.

¹ Joseph B. Morrell, New York merchant, Republican, and man of affairs of the type described in Volume II, Appendix III.

ported President Wilson as the only thing to be done, on the assumption that he was speaking the truth, had examined the facts, and was correct in his statement, that we had no responsibility for what had been done in Belgium. While President, I always expected the people to support me in a crisis for a sufficient length of time, to give my policy chance to declare itself, and then if I failed to make good, to hold me accountable. Of course, this was on the assumption that I was speaking the truth, and gave the facts accurately.

After sixty days, I came to the conclusion, for various reasons, that Mr. Wilson had not correctly stated the facts. I went over the Hague Conventions myself. I found that contrary to what had been alleged in Washington, they did demand action on our part, and I came out against the President, and in favor of such action. I held this position for the two and a half years that have since elapsed, and a year and a half later, Mr. Root, and I think Mr. Lodge, took the same position. For a year, after taking it, I was pretty lonely, and almost everybody attacked me for not "standing by the President." As a matter of fact, if I made any error whatever, it was standing by him just sixty days too long. I have never committed the error since, in connection with the *Lusitania*, or the too-proud-to-fight or peace-without-victory propaganda, or anything else! *Sincerely yours*

6175 • TO NEWTON DIEHL BAKER

National Archives

New York, February 2, 1917

Sir: I have already on file in your Department, my application to be permitted to raise a Division of Infantry, with a divisional brigade of cavalry in the event of war (possibly with the permission to make one or two of the brigades of infantry, mounted infantry). In view of the recent German note,¹ and of the fact that my wife and I are booked to sail next week for a month in Jamaica, I respectfully write you as follows.

If you believe that there will be war, and a call for volunteers to go to war, immediately, I respectfully and earnestly request that you notify me at once, so that I may not sail. Otherwise, I shall sail, and in such case I respectfully request that if or when it becomes certain that we will have war, and that there will be a call for volunteers to go to war, you will direct that a telegram be sent to me, at the *Metropolitan Magazine* office, New York, from whence a cable will be sent me to Jamaica, and I shall immediately return. I have prepared the skeleton outline of what I have desired the Division to be, and what men I should recommend to the Department, for brigade and regimental commanders, Chief of Staff, Chief Surgeon, Quartermaster

¹ On January 31 Bernstorff informed the American government that after February 1 German submarines would sink on sight all ships — belligerent or neutral — that they met in a zone around France, Great Britain, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean. As a special concession Germany would permit one American passenger ship each week to call at Falmouth provided this ship were marked distinctively and carried no contraband. Wilson responded at once by breaking diplomatic relations with Germany, though he still hoped to avoid war.

general, etc. etc. etc. The men whom I would desire for officers and enlisted men are, for the most part, men earning their living in the active business of life, who would be glad to go to war at their country's call, but who could not be expected, and who would probably refuse, to drop their business and see their families embarrassed, unless there is war, and the intention to send them to war. So it is not possible for me to do much more in the way of preliminary action, than I have already done, until I have official directions.²
Very respectfully

6176 • TO ELISABETH POTTER CARY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 3, 1917

*Dear Lizzie:*¹ It is always a pleasure to hear from you. I utterly disapprove of any movement which, by such a definition of standard Americanism as is made in the sheet you enclose, would bar say Billy Loeb, — both of whose parents were born in Germany — from enrollment. If, last fall, I could have named a man, whom I thought best fitted to be President, I would have named Billy Loeb! I doubt very much if any of the worthy purposes intended would really be served by (it, in view of the drawers up of that proposal.) such a movement. Good luck! *Sincerely yours*

6177 • TO HENRY LEWIS STIMSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 7, 1917

Dear Harry: I read Root's speech with the greatest care.¹ It is all of it excellent, except the place in which he endorsed Wilson's noble ideals, and the plan to enforce peace without victory. To be sure, he instantly construed each in the opposite sense from that in which, it is possible, Wilson construed it at some period; but this does not alter the fact that the country at large accepted it as an endorsement of Wilson. However, Root is to blame in this matter substantially only as I was to blame, when a month after the outbreak of the war, I stated we had no responsibility for Belgium. I did this on Wilson's statement; and I followed it up by the statement that in such case we would never have any responsibility for any nation which was wronged, and that all thoughts of securing peace and that justice to small nations were forever at an end. In other words I showed that it was a reduction *ad absurdum*,

² To this letter Baker replied on February 3, 1917:

"I have received your letter of February 2. No situation has arisen which would justify my suggesting a postponement of the trip you propose. Your letter and its suggestion will be filed for consideration should occasion arise."

For Roosevelt's reply, see No. 6178.

¹ Elisabeth Potter (Mrs. Clarence) Cary, New York matron, for many years a friend of Roosevelt and his sister Anna.

¹ The speech before the National Security League's Congress of Constructive Patriotism on January 25.

if we ever intended to stand up for justice. But people did not read the article as a whole, and don't now. They read that sentence, and reduced me to the necessity of saying that I was wrong in following the President for the first sixty days; and all that can be said in my favor is that even though it was sixty days before I abandoned the idea of supporting the President & took my own line on Americanism, International Duty, & Preparedness, yet it was a year and a quarter later before the other men of my class in politics began to follow me — Taft has come in on military service now,² just two and a half years after the event. *Always yours*

6178 · TO NEWTON DIEHL BAKER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 7, 1917

Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter, informing me that I could go on my trip to Jamaica. It had crossed my letter to you informing you, that in view of the President having broken off diplomatic relations with Germany, I should of course abandon my trip.

In the event of being allowed to raise a division, I should of course strain every nerve to have it ready for efficient action at the earliest moment, so that it could be sent across with the first expeditionary force, if the Department were willing. With this end in view, I am desirous of making all preparations that are possible in advance. I have intended, in the event of being allowed to raise a division, to request the Department to appoint Captain Frank McCoy, of the regular army, as my divisional Chief of Staff, with the rank of Colonel. Would it be proper for me to ask that he be permitted now to come on and see me here, so that I may immediately go over with him all the questions that it is possible to go over at this time, in connection with raising the division?¹ *Very respectfully yours*

²On February 6, addressing a dinner of the League to Enforce Peace, Taft had spoken for universal military service. The crisis with Germany had persuaded him to support this policy, but it persuaded him also of the increasing desirability of the league's objectives. These during January he had defended against Roosevelt's attack.

¹To this letter Baker replied on February 9, 1917:

"I beg to acknowledge receipt, yesterday, of your letter of the 7th instant.

"In reply to your patriotic suggestion that in due time you be authorized to raise a division of troops for service abroad and that it is your desire, in anticipation of that authority, to take certain preliminary steps, I have to state the limitations under which the War Department is in respect to this matter.

"No action in the direction suggested by you can be taken without the express sanction of Congress. Should the contingency occur which you have in mind, it is to be expected that Congress will complete its legislation relating to volunteer forces and provide, under its own conditions, for the appointment of officers for the higher commands."

Oyster Bay, February 16, 1917

My dear M. Jusserand: I cannot tell whether we shall have war or not; yet it seems to me almost impossible to avoid it. I have already applied for permission to raise a division. It may be that the Government will not intend to send an expeditionary force; it may be that if they do they will not permit me to go with it. In such event, what I should like to do is to raise a division of Americans, who would fight in co-operation with the allies, either under the orders of France or of England. I might be able to make the place of raising it Canada. Of course, I would not attempt to raise it so far as I can now see, unless this country went to war, because I gravely doubt the propriety of an ex-President of the United States attempting to go to war, unless his country is at war. But if we were at war, I should be profoundly unhappy unless I got into the fighting line, and I believe I should raise a division of 20,000 men, even if the Government declined to hold out the promise of an expeditionary force, of which I should form part, to go at the earliest moment. I believe that in six months I could get this division ready for the trenches. Now, I don't want to be a nuisance instead of a help to France and England, but it is barely possible that inasmuch as they want men, it would be an object to them to have these 20,000 men, and that it would be worth their while to have an ex-President with his division in the trenches — and I need hardly tell you that I would not be a political general, and that I would expect no favors of any kind, except the great favor of being sent to the front. Do you care to inquire confidentially of your Government, whether, under the conditions above outlined, it would be likely that they would care to call upon me, and whether I should raise my troops in Canada, and take them over there for final training in France; or, whether it would be better that I should be under the command of English or French Generals? I shall make some inquiry of England also.¹ *Faithfully yours*

6180 · TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

William Allen White Mss.

New York, February 17, 1917

Dear W. A.: I want to answer you *before* reading that letter, because I *don't* intend to make any comments about it, and I *do* intend to tell George Perkins, for the fifteenth or twentieth millionth time, that I hope he won't sign the call, or express a desire to do so, or take any part in national politics at this time;¹ and that he confine himself to the New York State political situ-

¹ Roosevelt wrote a similar letter to Spring Rice. Jusserand responded favorably to Roosevelt's plan; see No. 6184.

¹ "The call," issued in February by Matthew Hale, John M. Parker, and other persistent Progressives, was for a conference in St. Louis to form a "league of liberals" regardless of party affiliation. Colby and Perkins in a letter to former Progressive

ation, where he is needed, and to the co-operative marketing movement; and to profit-sharing in the steel corporation; and to the Palisades Park. There is not a more useful citizen in this country, and the activities I have named are those in which his usefulness is greatest, at this time.

As for myself, at this time I think I could do this country most good by dying in a reasonably honorable fashion, at the head of my division in the European War. Mind you, I don't intend to die if it can be legitimately avoided; and I suppose I shall have my hands full in getting to the front at all, with the dreadful creatures we have at Washington. I don't believe that Wilson is capable of feeling one throb of patriotic devotion to the country; or anything, except mean timidity and utterly cold selfishness.

Love to the Lady, *Ever yours*

6181 • TO HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, February 17, 1917

My dear Governor Johnson: Your letters are always interesting, and illuminating to an extraordinary degree, and I take the liberty of showing them to a few people, whom I think they may enlighten. The war scare has kept Vanderlip¹ here. As I told you, I wish to get the enlightened businessmen into touch with the actual California situation, because if they will really look at the facts, and if they have any vision, and indeed any common sense, they are bound, in such case, to see that California, under you, has trodden the path which this nation as a whole must tread, if we are to avoid the gravest troubles. As for Vanderlip and his type, I am sure they will be your warm supporters and upholders, when once they understand what the facts are. Locally, Vanderlip has had the inestimable advantage of not having spent his entire career in the business world of New York.

Now as to what you say about the war. I think you have furnished the exact explanation, when you say that our people don't really believe that we are up against a world war, and believe that after all it is merely some mysterious bunko game to save the faces of the politicians in Washington, which will serve their purposes, and then pass into the limbo of forgotten things, like the numbers of similar "crises" of the past four years. Mr. Wilson has eaten his own words so often, that he positively relishes them. He is a very cold & selfish man; a very timid man when it comes to dealing with physical danger, and I don't think he is capable of understanding the emotion of patriotism, or the emotion of real pride in one's country. As

state chairmen had denounced the plan. Hale had then denied that Perkins any longer had the right to speak for Progressives. This left Perkins little choice; he remained an unrecognized and unenthusiastic Republican.

¹Frank Arthur Vanderlip, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, 1897-1901, president of the National City Bank of New York, 1909-1919, had been planning a trip to California. Roosevelt had given him letters to Johnson, Chester Rowell, and others of the progressive persuasion.

for shame, he has none, and if anyone kicks him, he brushes his clothes, and utters some lofty sentence. I don't think that he has the slightest feeling against men who merely injure the country. I don't think he has much feeling against any man who humiliates him, if the man also inspires him with physical fear, as in the cases of von Tirpitz, and Carranza. But I believe he possesses a merciless vindictiveness and malice toward all who have exposed his mean misconduct. Whether we will really go to war or not, Heaven only knows, and certainly Mr. Wilson doesn't. Mayor Mitchel told me that at the time of breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, Wilson, three times, through the Collector of the Port, asked him (Mitchel) for police to seize the interned ships, and three times canceled the request, once when the police were already on the dock. He changed his mind on this subject six times in four days. Almost two weeks have passed since the break with Germany, and Leonard Wood tells me that there has not been one particle of effective preparation. Meanwhile, Taft, Hughes, Choate, Root, and the rest, have (presumed to) joined in the howl that everyone must "stand by the President," thus signing blank checks for him, instead of doing as they ought to do, which is to say that they will stand by the President so long as he stands for the honor and vital interests of the United States, and that they will support him to the limit in taking drastic action in answer to the Germans' brutality. Mann & some of the other Republican leaders have turned pacifists of the deepest dye, & all rather worse than Wilson; of course La Follette acts according to his nature — which is that of a skunk. I have applied for permission to raise a division immediately, in the event of war, and if they will give me the permission, I can get into the trenches within six months with my division, but I anticipate heart-breaking experiences over it. If President Wilson would give me a free hand, and send me to the front, I would support him as loyally as any man possibly could, behaving exactly as Thomas and Farragut behaved in the days of the Civil War — I mention them because they were not in sympathy with the party in power. But, it will be very hard for me to raise men if the idea is permitted to gain currency that our army, when raised, is merely to be kept in Oklahoma, and not to be used for fighting. Wilson, by his side-stepping trickery, timidity & shuffling creates the pacifist party, furnishes it ready-made to Mann, Murray Crane, La Follette & Kitchin; and then having himself called it into being, whines for sympathy & support because it is in being, & advances the fact of himself responsible, as the excuse for his not taking fearless and honorable action in international matters.

In your letter you exactly describe the reasons why I opposed Wilson, and supported Hughes last year, when you described your own reasons. I feel precisely the same way; moreover, I am sorry to say that I feel exactly as you do as to the tenacity of malignant purpose of most of the standpatters. Some of them see the light. I have given one of these, John King, the National Committeeman from Connecticut, a line to you. He has definitely

come over to our program; he says that the California example under your administration, must be adopted by the Republican party if it is to win. He has introduced what is practically our 1912 industrial & social program into the Ct. legislation. But the Murray Crane crowd, as far as I can find out, occupy exactly the position of Otis, and his fellow Californians.

Now, as to the repeated accusations about your supposed treachery to Hughes in the election. Two months before Harvey's article appeared,² I was told that it was to appear, and that the facts had been furnished him for that purpose, direct from the Hughes headquarters. I took a certain sardonic interest in Harvey's action, because last spring I met Harvey at Bob Bacon's at lunch. He had spoken with great contempt of Hughes. At the time he was talking of supporting me for the nomination, but said I must abandon my advocacy of universal military training and service. I told him I certainly would not; that there was nothing whatever in the Presidency for me, unless I was to hold it with the understanding that I was to try to do things which, for the sake of this country, I felt ought to be done; that I stood absolutely on our 1912 platform in internal affairs; and that I felt that even more important, at this time, were the questions of thoroughgoing Americanism and of preparedness, both for national defense and for the performance of international duties, and that under no conceivable circumstance would I soft-pedal on either hyphenated Americanism or universal training and service. He then announced that he could not support me. I don't know anything about Alfred Holman. When I was informed of the matter, the name of the man they were going to use was given to me as Creel, who had already attacked you in the interest of Heney.

Now as to the effect of that type of charge. I don't believe that it has any perceptible effect here now. I think that for some weeks people were (stupefied) slightly influenced by it. But I have made careful inquiry during the last month, and I find that the average man has got it definitely in his head that substantially what happened to Hughes, compared to yourself, in California is what had also happened to him, compared to Poindexter in Washington, and compared to Kellogg, in Minnesota; and in fact what happened everywhere. Moreover, intelligent men are beginning to understand that under exceptional provocation, under circumstances which would have made the average man beyond all question abandon support of Hughes, you nevertheless loyally continued your support. I don't suppose I can do you any good in the matter, but if you feel that any further statement or

² In the December 1916 issue of the *North American Review*, George Harvey blamed Hiram Johnson for arranging Hughes's defeat in California. In the February 1917 issue, Harvey published three articles on that question. First, Harvey reasserted and documented his earlier contention. Second, Alfred Holman, editor of the San Francisco *Argonaut*, a Republican, maintained that Johnson and Rowell managed the switch of Progressive votes to Wilson to defeat Hughes and thus make possible in 1920 the nomination and election of Johnson as President. Finally, Frederick M. Davenport in a rebuttal ascribed Hughes's loss of California to the narrow partisanship of Bourbon Republicans; see *North American*, 205:179-220 (February 1917).

article by me will be of any consequence, I will of course write it. Do let me see you as soon as you come east. I wish to tell you *my* experience as regards Hughes!

With warm regards to Mrs. Johnson, *Faithfully yours*

6182 · TO WILLIAM MORRISON PATTERSON

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, February 17, 1917

*My dear Professor Patterson:*¹ I have genuinely enjoyed your book, although I fear in an unintelligent way. It is not a subject with which I am familiar. You interest me much by showing that the extraordinary sense of rhythm, which our Indians possess, does not represent a quality which we could not attain, but a quality which our ancestors probably have had, and which we have lost. In the old days, I was much struck and puzzled by the rhythm of the Sioux and Mandan dance, and of recent years was even more impressed with a Navaho and Hopi song and dance music. I don't know that I have any real ear for rhythm at all. I don't even know enough to be able to tell why it is I like the prose of De Quincey and Poe, which always gives me a sense of color, and of music; and I am very fond of the old ballad poetry, and have always believed that Longfellow, in his "Saga of King Olaf," and "Belisarius," and some of his other poems, reached a very high ballad note — which most of our small cultivated literary people ignore, when they speak patronizingly of Longfellow. (Do you know Professor Kepler?) *Sincerely yours*

6183 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 20, 1917

Dear Cabot: The enclosed letter explains itself. Can you refer the good fellow to the appropriate document?

I have just received your letter of the 13th. What preposterous nonsense of Stimson's to have told you that Root had compelled Wilson to break with Germany. I never heard of such an absurdity. What you say is absolutely true. Wilson won't break definitely with any man of whom he is afraid. Personally, I have begun to doubt whether he will go to war under any circumstances. He is evidently trying his old tactics; he is endeavoring to sneak out of going to war under any conditions. He is a master hand in bullying Congressmen, (including even some Republican Congressmen) and in bullying ordinary Democratic politicians; he is yellow all through in the presence of danger, either physically or morally, and will accept any insult or injury from the hands of a fighting man. Of course, it costs him nothing, if the insult or injury is to the country, because I

¹ William Morrison Patterson, instructor in English at Columbia, 1916-1917; in charge of the Slater Military Corps at Columbia, 1917; author, *The Rhythm of Prose* (New York, 1916).

don't believe he is capable of understanding what the words "pride of country" mean. Well, I never thought the *Evening Post* could be beaten, but the *New Republic* is running it hard from the standpoint of infamy.

I happen to know that nothing is being done for preparedness, just as you know it. Congress is all right. It is the Administration itself that is to blame, and this means not Baker, nor Daniels, nor Lansing, nor Bryan, but Wilson himself. As for La Follette, he has shown himself to be an unhung traitor, and if the war should come, he ought to be hung.¹ *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Mann ought to be put out of the position of leader of the minority. He is rather worse than Wilson.

6184 · TO JEAN JULES JUSSERAND

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 23, 1917

My dear Mr. Ambassador: I am very much pleased with your letter. I earnestly hope that the plan can be brought to success exactly as you suggest. Under any ordinary circumstances, I most earnestly believe in peace, and not in war. But exactly as after the firing on Fort Sumter, my voice would have been for war, and for the continuance of war, under no matter what discouragements until the great object was achieved, so I now earnestly hope — more earnestly than I can express — that President Wilson, and his advisers, will see their way out, and act without further delay. As I wrote you, I gravely question whether an ex-President of the United States ought to leave his country to fight in a war in which his country is not taking part. But the minute we are at war, I intend to do everything that is in me to serve in a manner that will be of most benefit to my people, to France, and to Belgium, and to the Allies generally, and to humanity. And I believe that the best service I can render as an ex-President of the United States, is to be sent with my division to the front, just as soon as it is possible to get my men in shape; that is, just as soon as the division is fit to render service.

With love to Mme. Jusserand, *Faithfully yours*

P.S. I am sick at heart — because our Government still fails to take the decisive step. But if we go to war finally even with the intention of only going to war a little, I shall do my best not to go to war merely a little.

6185 · TO WILFRED HUDSON OSGOOD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 23, 1917

*My dear Mr. Osgood:*¹ Your letter gives me real pleasure. I am taking the

¹ Roosevelt referred to La Follette's opposition to the armed neutrality bill; see No. 6189.

¹ Wilfred Hudson Osgood, naturalist, biologist in the Department of Agriculture, 1897-1909, at this time assistant curator of mammalogy and ornithology at the Field Museum, Chicago.

liberty of sending it on to Beebe, who is responsible for the bat photograph. Now, as to your main thesis; in some ways we are not apart, but I can best illustrate what I mean by taking one of the examples you use. You speak of the pamphlet as being like an article in the *Outlook*. The *Outlook* article and the pamphlet both serve a real purpose; but there is always the tendency to treat them, not as the foundation for, but as a substitute for, work of permanent form. I believe that in literature the utmost damage has been done here in America by the tendency to turn creative scholars to the only field which financially pays them, that is, into magazine or newspaper writing; and such writing is not only evanescent, but must be suited to the desire for momentary enjoyment of large classes of readers, so that there is always a tendency to turn out reams of pretty good second-rate stuff, instead of a small quantity of the first-rate work that alone will endure. I myself for instance, have always found that I was paid almost an inverse proportion to the value of my work.

Now, in a different way, the pamphleteer is subject to the same temptations. He gets no money return; but turning out pamphlets is almost mechanical work & therefore easy; to write a really great book is exceedingly hard. You have mentioned Merriam and Nelson. Merriam had it in him to be the greatest writer of faunal natural history in this country, or in the world. He was fitted to be a great architect. He has gone into the laborious and useful trundling of wheelbarrows with bricks instead. He has done capital work of its kind in this wheelbarrow business; but it would have been infinitely better if he had rigorously cut out a good portion of it, for instance, turning the details of the exceedingly interesting craniological studies of Mexican gophers, and Alaskan bears, to young subordinates, and dealing in a broad way with the results they obtained. This would have been to work in the spirit of Cuvier, Humboldt, Darwin, Huxley. Merriam has phenomenal capacity, but I don't believe he will ever leave any book which will, to subsequent generations, perpetuate the full results of his achievements. I quite seriously regard his study of the Adirondack Mountains, made when he was a very young man, as the best thing he has yet done. I hope he will soon get out his monograph of the bears; but if he does, it will only be a monograph, and he ought to get out a book on the mammals of temperate America, which would last as long as our language lasts, which would be the best thing of the kind ever written about any continent. It should deal with the matter from the Darwin-Huxley standpoint. So with Nelson. Nelson's observations show that his power as a field observer is extraordinary, and in a little study, or sketch, of his of Alaskan birds, he produced real literature. But these observations are scattered here and there, and when Wilson is still read, Nelson, an infinitely younger man, living a hundred years later, will be accessible only to a limited number of specialists, who, in all human probability, will be utterly blind to his best quality.

I cannot help thinking that my comparison with history is just. I respect

the wheelbarrow man in history, and in science — as far as I have any place, even of the most humble description, in either branch, it is as one of their number. But it is a very evil thing if, with smug self-satisfaction, we think there is no need of the big men to deal in a big way, with the big problems. When I see you, I will tell you about Beebe's observations on the Tinamou, and illustrate thereby just exactly what I mean. It will be a very great pleasure to see you, if you come on here, and I will get Chapman, and some others to lunch, and we will talk over this matter. *Sincerely yours*

6186 · TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 5, 1917

*My dear Professor Barrell:*¹ I was greatly interested in both pamphlets. Permit me to say that it is refreshing to find a man who does not generalize from insufficient data, but who yet recognizes that some generalization, some type of general deduction from observed and accumulated data, is essential if American scientific work is ever to raise above the mere collecting of bricks in wheelbarrows.

May I make one suggestion? In Africa I actually saw certain monkeys apparently in the state of becoming terrestrial, instead of arboreal, creatures. One of these species I met only on open plains, with very thin thorn tree forest scattered over them. They galloped off like hares, or foxes, whenever they saw us approaching; and we obtained only one or two specimens. The other I had found purely arboreal, in the dense wet mountain forests; but to my utter astonishment, I also found it along the White Nile, on plains with thinly scattered thorn trees; and although it took to the trees at times, its normal method of trying to escape was by running away on the ground.

Sincerely yours

6187 · TO FREDERIC COLLIN WALCOTT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 7, 1917

*My dear Mr. Walcott:*¹ You have given me just the information I wish about the machine guns, and aviation. On the latter point, it was what I had anticipated.

I shall send back the book at once, but be sure to send it back to me

¹ Joseph Barrell, professor of structural geology at Yale. One of the pamphlets he sent Roosevelt was a reprint of his article, "Probable Relations of Climatic Change to the Origin of the Tertiary Ape-Man," *Scientific Monthly*, 4:16-26 (January 1917).

¹ Frederic Collin Walcott, New York City capitalist; active in Belgian and Polish relief work, 1915-1917; member, United States Food Administration, 1917-1919; Republican senator from Connecticut, 1929-1935.

when the embargo is removed, for I think it is one of the very best books that has appeared during this war.

Now as to the other matter in your letter. I of course, understand that any action you consider is predicated on my being accepted, as you say, by the Government. I shall try to get that backing. But if this country goes to war with Germany, and I find that I am not allowed to raise a division, with the assurance that it is at once to go to the front — and I cannot get in the men I wish unless I have that assurance — then I shall probably try to raise a division of Americans in Canada, to be shipped almost immediately to France for their final training. Of course, when we are at war with a country, I have the legal right to do this, and I have the moral right to the support of my Government in doing it. The kind of action that I should take would, of course, have to depend on which of these two plans I was able to put through. I should infinitely prefer the first, but it might be that I would be driven to the latter. So far as I am able, I shall endeavor to free this country from the disgrace of seeing it embark in a war without fighting — for such a war can only be ended by a peace without victory. *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Pray send a copy of that letter to Garfield at once!

6188 · TO WILL R. SHARKEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 8, 1917

*My dear Senator Sharkey:*¹ Let me, as an American, heartily thank and congratulate you on your effort to introduce military training in the high schools of California.² Of course, what this country needs is universal obligatory military training of all our young men, but until we can get that, the next best thing is to have the individual states act along the lines of your bill. I wish most emphatically to say that the men and women who oppose such legislation, however well-meaning they are, act in a thoroughly un-American fashion; they are opposing the vital interests of this country, and are false to the teachings of Washington and Lincoln. One of Washington's first acts after he became President was to submit to Congress a plan for universal military training of all our young men, rendering it necessary that the man should have received such training before he was entitled to vote. Lincoln actually put through a measure for universal military service, and said in effect that those who opposed it stood below their manly brethren, and were degenerates, and that their manhood had run out. No man can claim to be efficiently patriotic, if he does not stand for thoroughgoing preparedness in this country. *Sincerely yours*

¹ Will R. Sharkey, a Republican state senator from Martinez, California.

² Several Western states passed bills, conforming to the recommendations of the American Defense Society, requiring military training in high schools.

Oyster Bay, March 8, 1917

My dear Cal: I feel as keenly as you do, the treason committed by the eleven Senators in fighting the armed neutrality bill.¹ But I feel infinitely more keenly that the President is a thousand times more to blame, than all the Senators combined. They did badly, but they did badly only because of all the shameful things he has done, and the good things he has shamefully left undone, during the past four years. The bill itself is almost worthless. Armed neutrality is nothing but timid war. The eleven Senators in question have reached a lower depth than the President has reached — but it is only a little lower — because he is so low that there isn't much room to get lower. I am sorry that Frank Kellogg has only come out for armed neutrality, but I am glad he went as far as that. Lodge wants him on the Foreign Affairs Committee, but thinks they will put Knox on. I wrote to Lodge about it.²

I wrote to the President of the Canadian Club, in Montreal, at once. I remember perfectly well declining the invitation. Tell Reilly,³ if I possibly can use him, I shall. *Faithfully yours*

6190 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 13, 1917

Dear Cabot: I telegraphed Johnson at once. I'll let you know when, or if I hear from him. Shall I make another statement about Colombia? in the papers for Monday morning, or in a letter to you? Wire me your views. Knox's conduct is bad. He was in my cabinet at the time; if he thought the action a disgrace he should have resigned; as he stayed in he was honorably bound not afterwards to turn on me. Well, this country is making a pretty poor showing at present!¹

¹ On February 26 Wilson had asked Congress to authorize the arming of merchant vessels. Though the bill prepared in the House appeared to Roosevelt grossly inadequate as a measure of defense, it seemed to a group of senators, mostly Midwestern, unnecessarily aggressive. Led by La Follette, they opposed the act by filibuster and became in Wilson's eyes the "little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own," who "have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible." For a full discussion, see Baker, *Wilson*, VI, 470-485.

² In spite of Roosevelt's and Lodge's support of Kellogg, Knox received the assignment.

³ Henry Joseph Reilly, a close friend of John C. O'Laughlin, an applicant for the Roosevelt division who had graduated from West Point, resigned from the regular army, worked for the *Chicago Tribune*, joined the ambulance service of the British and French armies in Europe, published a book in 1916 on preparedness, and served on the Mexican border. Reilly went to France with the Rainbow Division, fought gallantly — earning the D.S.M. and the Croix de Guerre with palm — and after his return became the publisher and editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, 1921-1925.

¹ The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations voted on March 13 to report out the Colombian treaty. Knox joined the Democratic majority. In the Senate there proved to be much disagreement over the terms of the treaty. The whole matter was then set aside as Congress turned its attention more and more to the situation in Europe.

I look forward to that *Journal* letter.

Glance over the enclosed from Thayer. I think MacVeagh was romancing.² He certainly was about me. I do not for one moment believe that you ever wrote me advising me to close with Colombia's post-mortem offer and give back Panama. But will you not write me a few lines which I can send Thayer with my own denial?

I enclose Garfield's letter because it seems to me so very just. I regard Wilson as far more blameworthy than the "willful" Senators. I am as yet holding in; but if he does not go to war with Germany I shall skin him alive. To think of Hughes' folly, and the folly of those who nominated Hughes, having cursed this country with the really hideous misfortune of four years more of Wilson in this great and terrible world crisis! The people who have at each turn of events shrieked that we must "stand by the President" are only less guilty than he is. The other evening at the dinner given by Cornelius Bliss³ you would have enjoyed hearing me stand Root on his head when he suddenly gave vent to this sentiment; and he promptly reversed himself, too.

Ever yours

6191 • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

*Printed*¹

Oyster Bay, March 18, 1917

Dear Cabot: Johnson wired me his regret at not being present;² I have now written him in full. Here in this country we are paralleled by England's experience, where Lloyd George was the only man who was an imperialistic radical, so to speak, that is who understood that there had to be sweeping internal reforms but that the questions connected with the maintenance and defence of the Empire came ahead of all others. The ordinary liberal or radical in Great Britain became an utterly hopeless nuisance because of his incredible silliness in foreign affairs; and our own progressives and near-progressives and progressive Republicans have tended to travel the same gait. Kellogg, and apparently Poindexter, are pretty sound.

I am so utterly sick of the gush about "supporting the President" that I shall write a brief and courteous, but unequivocal statement of our present

²It was MacVeagh's claim that he and Roosevelt had called on Hay in 1903 to discuss the Colombian situation. The Central American country had offered to accept \$8,000,000 for the canal concession if, on its part, the Administration would refuse to recognize the new Republic of Panama. MacVeagh also said that Lodge had urged the Administration to accept the offer. Roosevelt, after hearing from Lodge, wrote Thayer denying all of MacVeagh's statements; see Roosevelt to Thayer, March 20, 1917, Thayer Mss.

³Cornelius Bliss had given a dinner for prominent citizens of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey at which measures to protect from hostile attack the area surrounding New York were discussed.

¹Lodge, II, 503-504.

²Hiram Johnson had been absent from the Senate during the debate about the Colombian treaty.

condition in face of Germany to the Thursday evening meeting in Madison Square Garden.³ I have kept silent for seven weeks. Whatever the effect on myself, I think that the situation now calls for some statement by me. Taft, Hughes and even Root take part in the general idiot cry which aligns us behind the President, right or wrong — and he is 99 per cent wrong. As I wrote to one of his supporters, he is entitled to “support” in his foreign policy, exactly to the extent that Buchanan was entitled to “support” in his

³ Roosevelt made his statement not to a patriotic rally at the garden on March 22 but to the Union League Club on March 20. It read:

“Seven weeks have passed since Germany renewed with the utmost ruthlessness her never wholly abandoned submarine war against neutrals and noncombatants. She then notified our Government of her intention. This notification was itself a declaration of war and should have been treated as such. During the seven weeks that have since elapsed she has steadily waged war upon us. It has been a war of murder upon us; she has killed American women and children as well as American men upon the high seas. She has sunk our ships, our ports have been put under blockade. She has asked Mexico and Japan to join with her in dismembering this country. If these are not overt acts of war then Lexington and Bunker Hill were not overt acts of war. It is well to remember that during the last two years the Germans have killed as many, or almost as many, Americans as were slain at Lexington and Bunker Hill; and whereas the British in open conflict slew armed American fighting men, the Americans whom the Germans have slain were women and children and unarmed men going peacefully about their lawful business.

“Such are the conditions. Any American citizen who is now pro-German is a traitor to this country; as much a traitor as any Tory who upheld the British cause against Washington. As for the pacifists, they stand on a level with the copperheads who in 1864 denounced and assailed Abraham Lincoln.

“Seven weeks ago we broke relations with Germany. This was eminently proper. But it amounted to nothing, it was an empty gesture, unless it was followed by vigorous and efficient action. Yet during the seven weeks (a time as long as the entire duration of the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866) we have done nothing. We have not even prepared. We have spent our time discussing the proposal to pay Colombia 25 millions of dollars blackmail, to atone for having refused to pay her ten millions of blackmail fourteen years ago. In the days when this Republic prized manhood, a favorite motto was ‘Millions for defense but not a cent for tribute.’ Apparently our present motto is, twenty-five millions for tribute but not a cent for defense.

“Under existing conditions armed neutrality is only another name for timid war; and Germany despises timidity as she despises all other forms of feebleness. She does not wage timid war herself and she neither respects nor understands it in others. Seemingly her submarine warfare has failed, and is less menacing now than it was seven weeks ago. We are profiting, and shall profit, by this failure. But we have done nothing to bring it about. It has been due solely to the efficiency of the British navy. We have done nothing to help ourselves. We have done nothing to secure our own safety, or to vindicate our own honor. We have been content to shelter ourselves behind the fleet of a foreign power.

“Such a position is intolerable to all self-respecting Americans who are proud of the great heritage handed down to them by their fathers and their fathers’ fathers. Let us dare to look the truth in the face. Let us dare to use our own strength in our own defense and strike hard for our national interest and honor. There is no question about ‘going to war.’ Germany is already at war with us. The only question for us to decide is whether we shall make war nobly or ignobly. Let us face the accomplished fact, admit that Germany is at war with us, and in our turn wage war on Germany with all our energy and courage, and regain the right to look the whole world in the eyes without flinching.” — Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.

policies about slavery and secession. Buchanan's policy was better than Jefferson Davis' — and that is about all the praise to which he is entitled.

I intend to go to Florida for some shark and devil-fish harpooning. I can do absolutely nothing here. Wilson evidently does not intend to do anything until Congress meets; and I can return within forty-eight hours; if there is need to, wire me. *Ever yours*

6192 · TO NEWTON DIEHL BAKER

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

Oyster Bay, March 19, 1917

In view of the fact that Germany is now actually engaged in war with us, I again earnestly ask permission to be allowed to raise a division for immediate service at the front. My purpose would be after some six weeks' preliminary training here to take it direct to France for intensive training so that it could be sent to the front in the shortest possible time to whatever point was desired. I should of course ask no favors of any kind except that the division be put in the fighting line at the earliest possible moment. If the Department will allow me to assemble the division at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and will give me what aid it can, and will furnish arms and supplies as it did for the early Plattsburg camps, I will raise the money to prepare the division until Congress can act and we shall thereby gain a start of over a month in making ready. I would like to be authorized to raise three regiment brigades of infantry, one brigade of cavalry, one brigade of artillery, one regiment of engineers, one motorcycle machine-gun regiment, one aero squadron, and of course the supply branches, and so forth. As Captain McCoy whom I asked to have detailed to me as Chief of Staff has been sent to Mexico, I would ask that Captain Moseley¹ be immediately assigned me as Chief of Staff and Lieutenant Colonel Allen, Major Howze and Major Harbord as brigade Commanders. I would further ask for one regular officer of less rank, whose names I will suggest to you, for about every eight hundred or one thousand men in the division.²

¹ George V. H. Moseley, a cavalry officer, West Point, 1899, Army School of the Line, 1908, Army Staff College, 1909, and Army War College, 1911; served on the General Staff, 1911-1912, 1915-1916. In 1918 he became the brigadier general in charge of strategic supply, transportation, and construction for the A.E.F.

² To this telegram Baker replied on March 20, 1917:

"Your telegram March nineteenth arrived. No additional armies can be raised without the specific authority of Congress which by its act of February 27, 1906, has also prohibited any executive department or other government establishment of the United States to involve the Government in any contract or other obligation for the future payment of moneys in excess of appropriations unless such contract or obligation is authorized by law. A plan for a very much larger army than the force suggested in your telegram has been prepared for the action of Congress whenever required. Militia officers of high rank will naturally be incorporated with their commands, but the general officers for all volunteer forces are to be drawn from the regular army."

For Roosevelt's reply, see No. 6195.

Oyster Bay, March 20, 1917

Dearest Eleanor, What happened was as follows.

Within a week of the outbreak of the war, and after the first assault on Liège, a German whose name I have forgotten, but I think a Count, and bearing letters both from the German Embassy and from the head of one of the great German steamship lines on which I have traveled, came to me, at Progressive headquarters, 42d st & Madison Ave. Bowing, he stated that he was the bearer of a message from His Imperial Majesty; that his Majesty wished me to know that he always kept in mind the great pleasure it had given him to receive me as a guest in Berlin and at the palace in Potsdam, and to entertain me, and that he felt assured he could count on my sympathetic understanding of Germany's position and action.

I bowed, looked him straight in the eyes, and answered, in substance, and nearly in words: — "Pray thank His Imperial Majesty from me for his very courteous message; and assure him that I was deeply conscious of the honors done me in Germany, and that I shall never forget the way in which His Majesty the Emperor received me in Berlin, *nor the way in which His Majesty King Albert of Belgium received me in Brussels.*" He looked me straight in the eyes without changing countenance, clicked his heels together, bowed — whereat I bowed in return — and left the room without speaking another word; nor did I speak another word. *Affectionately*

*Printed*¹

Oyster Bay, March 22, 1917

Dear Cabot: On Monday, when the news of the sinking of our three ships came, I sent the enclosed telegram to the War Department. Baker answered, declining the offer, and stating that general officers would be appointed for the regulars and militia. I shall answer respectfully pointing out that I am the retired Commander-in-Chief of the whole Army, and that towards the close of the Santiago expedition I actually commanded a brigade — I am a retired volunteer officer also. Will you tell some of my friends in the Senate and House about the matter, and if legislation is passed, try to have it made proper to employ an ex-President — a retired Commander-in-Chief — in such fashion?

Meanwhile I have notified Jusserand of the facts, and told him that if either Congress or the Administration declares that a state of war exists, I shall take an expeditionary infantry division to France (under the American flag) on my own account if his Government thinks it worth while to pay for us. If his Government does not, I shall try whether Canada would like to pay

¹ Lodge, II, 504-505.

for an American division (under our flag) — I understand that they need more men.

I am sure you liked what I have said during the last two days. I have kept silent since the break; I felt that it would not do for me to fail to speak at this moment. I am of course being pestered every hour to answer questions and make statements; I have done all the preliminary work of the division; there is absolutely nothing I can do until Congress meets; and I am going for a ten days' devil-fishing trip to Florida (it was to have been a month). I shall be back by April 2nd.

Give my warmest regards to Brandegee, Borah and all the men who go straight in this crisis. *Ever yours*

6195 · TO NEWTON DIEHL BAKER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 23, 1917

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram in answer to my telegram of the 19th, and will govern myself accordingly.

I understood, *Sir*, that there would be a far larger force than a division called out; I merely wished to be permitted to get ready a division for immediate use in the first expeditionary force sent over.

In reference to your concluding sentence, I wish respectfully to point out that I am a retired Commander in Chief of the United States Army, and eligible to any position of command over American troops to which I may be appointed. As for my fitness for command of troops, I respectfully refer you to my three immediate superiors in the field, Lieutenant General S. B. M. Young (retired), Major General Samuel Sumner (retired), and Major General Leonard Wood. In the Santiago Campaign I served in the first fight as commander first of the right wing and then of the left wing of the regiment; in the next, the big, fight, as Colonel of the Regiment; and I ended the campaign in command of the brigade.

The regiment, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, in which I first served as Lieutenant Colonel, and which I then commanded as Colonel, was raised, armed, equipped, drilled, mounted, dismounted, kept for two weeks on a transport, and then put through two victorious aggressive fights, in which we lost a third of the officers, and a fifth of the enlisted men, all within a little over fifty days.¹

I have the honor to be, *Very respectfully*

¹ To this letter Baker replied on March 26, 1917:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the twenty-third. The military record to which you call my attention is, of course, a part of the permanent records of this Department and is available, in detail, for consideration.

"The patriotic spirit of your suggestion is cordially appreciated."

For Roosevelt's reply, see No. 6198.

The Last Great Battles

April 1917—January 1919

6196

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Washington, April 10, 1917

Dear John: From the National standpoint, I think it the greatest possible mistake to refuse volunteers.¹ I believe with all my heart in obligatory universal service. If we had had it for twenty years, we would still be using volunteers — for we would take men exactly as the Germans did — men who would not first be called out. But as we have not had it, and do not yet have it, it is utter silliness not to use such men, as would have been in your regiment. Can't you get your Congressmen and Senators to interfere?

I feel that the transfer of General Wood is ominous of grave failure to do what ought to be done in this great crisis.² How I wish the Administration would send an army corps under General Wood, to the front, and give me one of the Divisions, in that army corps. Not only would this be the right thing nationally, but I believe it would be the right thing politically. *Ever yours*

6197 · TO DONALD ROBERT PERRY MARQUIS

Roosevelt Mss.

En route Oyster Bay, April 11, 1917

Well, Don Marquis,¹ friend, and fellow American, the country seems gradually to be coming around to the ideas you and I have long been preaching. I wish to congratulate you on the admirable work you have done.

6198 · TO NEWTON DIEHL BAKER

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, April 12, 1917

My dear Mr. Secretary: First let me say how greatly I enjoyed our conversa-

¹ The Administration's emergency army bill, drawn up shortly after the proclamation of a state of war on April 6, made no provision for volunteers. Instead, a national army of 500,000 was to be raised by "selective conscription." Volunteers, however, were still needed to fill the quotas for the regular army and the National Guard. Later, and in large part because of Roosevelt's effort, the draft bill was amended to permit enlistment in four volunteer divisions; see Numbers 6199, 6203, 6205.

² On March 24 Wood was notified that his command, the Eastern Department, had been divided into three parts; he was asked to take command of either the new Southeastern Department or "the more important" post at Manila or Hawaii. Wood accepted the first of these positions. His transfer to a relatively minor place prepared the way for Wilson to appoint a more junior officer, John J. Pershing, Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces. For an account of this by-passing of Wood, giving his point of view, see Hagedorn, *Wood*, II, 206-213; the Administration's reasons for selecting Pershing over Wood are given in Frederick Palmer, *Newton D. Baker: America at War* (New York, 1931), I, 159-166.

¹ don(ald robert perry) marquis who trained archy and mehitabel to typewrite the stories — toujours gai, boss — that enlivened america in the days of the experiment noble in purpose.

tion the other day, and how much I appreciate your courtesy in calling upon me.¹

I enclose, in accordance with our conversation, copy of the letter I have just sent to Congressman Dent and to Senator Chamberlain.² If there is any way in which you can suggest that I can be of further help to the Administration as regards your obligatory service bill, or as regards the loan, pray command me.

There is one point I did not have a chance to discuss with you, but I suppose it is hardly necessary. If I were a younger man I would be entirely content to go in any position, as a second lieutenant, or as a private in the force. With my age I cannot do good service, however, unless as a general officer. I remember when I went to the Spanish War, there was talk about rejecting me on account of my eyes; but of course, even in the position I then went in, it was nonsense to reject me for any such reason. To the position which I now seek, of course, the physical examination does not apply, so long as I am fit to do the work, which I certainly can do — that is enlisting the best type of fighting men, and putting into them the spirit which will enable me to get the best possible results out of them in the actual fight. Hindenburg³ was of course a retired officer, who had been for four years on the retired list, and who could not physically have passed an examination. I am not a Hindenburg; but I can raise and handle this division in a way that will do credit to the American people, and to you, and to the President. *Very sincerely yours*

6199 · TO GEORGE EARLE CHAMBERLAIN

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, April 12, 1917

Sir: In accordance with our conversation, I have the honor to submit to you my views in writing.¹

I most earnestly and heartily support the Administration bill for providing an army raised on the principle of universal obligatory military training and service. I cannot too strongly emphasize my support of the Administra-

¹ Roosevelt had gone to Washington on April 10 to obtain Wilson's permission to raise his volunteer division. Though Wilson refused to commit himself, he did ask Roosevelt to throw his influence behind the draft bill that was meeting opposition in Congress. After leaving the White House, Roosevelt went to the Longworths' where he saw Baker about the division and Senator Chamberlain and Congressman Dent, Alabama Democrat, about the draft bill. He did not fail to point out that the bill should include a provision for volunteers. In the evening he talked with the French and British Ambassadors.

² See No. 6199.

³ Field Marshal Paul von Beneckendorff und von Hindenburg with his chief of staff, the brilliant Erich Ludendorff, had directed the German victories on the Eastern front in 1914 and 1915. Since August 1916 Hindenburg had been the chief of staff of the German field armies.

¹ Roosevelt sent a similar letter to Congressman Dent.

tion in this matter, and my appreciation of the need of introducing this principle as a permanent feature of our national policy; it is the really Democratic principle, the only principle fit for a free Republic, in which citizenship should be based on equality of both rights and duties, so that universal suffrage and universal service should go hand in hand.

It is along the lines proposed by the Administration that we should inaugurate our permanent military policy; and it is only thus that we can carry on the war in proper manner if it should last a year, or two or three years, or over — and no one can foretell how long it will last. But of course a great system of this kind, a system entirely new in this country, cannot be immediately inaugurated. Many months, probably at least a year or over, must elapse before the army thus raised would be available for use in Europe, in the hard, aggressive fighting campaigns which it is honorably incumbent on us to undertake now that we have entered into the war.

Meanwhile let us use volunteer forces, in connection with a portion of the regular army, in order at the earliest possible moment, within a few months, to put our flag on the firing line. We owe this to humanity. We owe it to the small nations who have suffered such dreadful wrong from Germany. Most of all we owe it to ourselves, to our national honor and self-respect. For the sake of our own souls, for the sake of the memories of the great Americans of the past, we must show that we do not intend to make this merely a dollar war. Let us pay with our bodies for our souls' desire. Let us without one hour's unnecessary delay, put the American flag on the battle front in this great world war for democracy and civilization and for the reign of justice and fair dealing among the nations of mankind.

My proposal is to use the volunteer system, not in the smallest degree as a substitute for, but as the at-present-necessary supplement to, the obligatory system. Certain of the volunteer organizations could be used very soon; they could be put into the fighting within four months. They could, therefore, be used from the beginning as an integral proportion of the expeditionary forces sent abroad; a proportion which would be of constantly increasing size. The volunteers would therefore enable us to take an effective part in the war much sooner than would otherwise be the case. They would represent, moreover, pure gain from the military standpoint; for the law would provide — or Departmental regulations could provide — that they should be composed exclusively (save where the Secretary of War might make exceptions) of men who would not be taken under the obligatory service law. There are many hundreds of thousands of men in this country who are of first-class fighting material, and available for service within a short time, who would eagerly volunteer for immediate service at the front, but who would not be included among those levied under the obligatory service acts, and who could not be expected to enter the regular army or the militia. My proposal is that we utilize these men, who would otherwise remain unutilized; that we utilize them to serve in the fighting line during the many months when other-

wise we shall have few or no men in the fighting line; that we utilize them as volunteers because otherwise they would not be utilized at all. To make use of them as proposed in this letter, would not mean the deduction of a single man from the forces raised under the obligatory law; they would represent purely the addition of a considerable body of troops available for use almost immediately.

I, therefore, propose that there be added to the proposed law, a section based on Section 12 of the Army Act of March 2nd, 1899. This section provided for raising the 35,000 volunteers divided into thirty regiments, which did most of the work in putting down the Filipino insurrection; slightly modifying the language of this act, the proposed section might read as follows: — "The President is hereby authorized to raise a force of not more than 100,000 (or 200,000 or better still 500,000) volunteers to be recruited as he may determine from the country at large, and to organize the same as infantry or cavalry regiments, or in other units, and to appoint officers for the same, these officers to be appointed and retained, or reduced, or discharged in accordance with the rules which he may lay down. All enlistments for the volunteer force thus organized shall be for the term of three years, or the duration of the war, unless sooner discharged." These organizations would be intended for overseas service, as was the case with those raised in 1899.

Under this act I should ask leave to raise, for immediate service overseas with the first expeditionary force, an infantry division of three three-regiment brigades and one divisional brigade of cavalry, together with an artillery brigade, a regiment of engineers, a motorcycle machine-gun regiment, an aero squadron, a signal corps, the supply service, etc. I should request the War Department for the detail of say two officers for every thousand men. I send you herewith a letter for the committee, containing the names of some of the officers whom I would suggest for detail by the War Department, as mentioned in our conversation yesterday; I do not think it should be published at present inasmuch as, of course, the suggestions would be purely provisional and subject to the pleasure of the War Department.

I believe that acting under the direction, and with the aid, of the Department, I could raise the division and have it ready to begin shipment to France in two or three months; my idea would be to have the intensive training in gas work, bomb-throwing, bayonet-fighting, and trench work given in France; they would then be sent into the trenches when they were thoroughly prepared.

As for my fitness to command troops in the fields, I respectfully refer you to my three immediate field commanders in the Cuban campaign, Lieutenant General S. B. M. Young, (retired), Major General Samuel Sumner (retired), and Major General Leonard Wood. In the first fight of the campaign, the Guasimas fight, I commanded first the right wing, and then the

left wing of the regiment. In the second, the San Juan fight, I commanded the regiment. I ended the campaign in command of the Brigade. The regiment, with which I first served as Lieutenant Colonel, and which I afterwards commanded as Colonel, was raised, armed, equipped, drilled, mounted, dismounted, kept two weeks on a transport, and put through two victorious, aggressive fights in which it lost a third of the officers, and a fifth of the men, within sixty days, all told. *Very respectfully*

6200 · TO JOHN CALLAN O'LAUGHLIN

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, April 13, 1917

Dear Cal: I found that it was advisable to send my letters at once as people were inquiring about them from the committees.¹

Now, a word as to my interview the other day. Of course, strictly for your private information, I had to choose my words rather carefully, in private and in public. Everything I have said in criticism of Mr. Wilson was not only true and justified and necessary to say, but has been proved to be such by Mr. Wilson's message the other day. His message bears out all I have said for the past two and a half years, and condemns all he has said and done for those two and a half years. Therefore, I am not going to, directly or by inference, take back one thing. But I am more than willing to let it all drift into oblivion, if he will now go into the war with all his heart, and with single-minded patriotism serve this country. I care nothing for his future, and nothing for my own. But I care immensely for this country, and I wish to have it a land of which my grandchildren will be proud to be citizens.

I put before the President my proposals and the reasons therefor, substantially as I have put them in public. He evidently felt pleased that I was going to support his bill and to ask for action supplementary to it, and not contradictory to it. He suddenly entered into a defense of his past conduct, saying that he had for a long time felt what he now said in his speech to Congress, but that the American people were not awake to the need, and that he had to bide his time; and he added that many people had misunderstood him (hastily interpolating, with obvious insincerity, that he did not mean me). I answered in substance, and almost in words, as follows: "Mr. President, what I have said and thought, and what others have said and thought, is all dust in a windy street, if now we can make your message good. Of course, it amounts to nothing, if we cannot make it good. But, if we can translate it into fact, then it will rank as a great state paper, with the great state papers of Washington and Lincoln. Now, all that I ask is that I be allowed to do all that in me is to help make good this speech of yours — to help get the nation to act, so as to justify and live up to the speech, and the declaration of war that followed." I added that I felt that the situation was

¹For the letters and the interview with Wilson, see Numbers 6198, 6199.

as if Jefferson, after the *Leopard* attacked [the] *Chesapeake*, had gone to war with Great Britain, in which case it would have been Light-Horse Harry Lee's duty instantly to support to the best of his power and ability such action; and that I wished to act toward him as in such case I would have felt it the duty of Light-Horse Harry Lee to act toward Jefferson. *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Of course I am hampered by the folly of the Administration's war proposals. As I told Wilson & Baker, we need the universal military service, or conscription, system to reach people who ought *not* to be exempt from service; but it is nonsense to use it to prevent men from serving; and therefore it is criminal not to supplement it by providing at once for the hundreds of thousands of volunteers which it would not touch, and who could be used for the first expeditionary force.

6201 · TO CECIL ARTHUR SPRING RICE

*Spring Rice Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, April 16, 1917

Dear Cecil, Not having heard from Colonel Hoare¹ as to whether Quentin could waive his oath and remain an American citizen, I presume that there is difficulty over the matter, and so have sent him to our own military school at Fortress Monroe.² Perhaps it is better so anyhow. May I ask you to thank the Canadian authorities from me? Please do'n't forget this.

The Secretary of War has informed me that he will not grant my request to raise a division to be sent at once to the front, and that he does not intend to send troops speedily to the front, nor to employ me.³ I shall write him

¹ Charles G. Hoare, army officer in charge of recruiting and training Canadian and American aviators for the Royal Flying Corps.

² Quentin, who had been planning to join the Canadian air force, enlisted instead in the aviation section of the signal corps. He was transferred almost immediately from Fortress Monroe to Mineola field on Long Island where he completed his training in July 1917.

³ Baker had written Roosevelt on April 13, 1917:

"I have thought earnestly about the subject of our conversation the night before last, and have reached some conclusions which I think, in frankness, I ought to indicate to you.

"The War College Division of the General Staff has repeatedly reaffirmed a recommendation to me in the following language:

"The War College Division earnestly recommends that no American troops be employed in active service in any European theatre until after an adequate period of training, and that during this period all available trained officers and men in the Regular Army or National Guard be employed in training the new levies called into service. It should, therefore, be our policy at first to devote all our energies to raising troops in sufficient numbers to exert a substantial influence in a later stage of the war. Partially trained troops will be entirely unfit for such duty, and even if our regular forces and National Guard could be spared from training duty, their number is too small to exert any influence."

"This policy I have a number of times approved. It is, of course, a purely military policy, and does not undertake to estimate what, if any, sentimental value would attach to a representation of the United States in France by a former President of

at some length in return and will send copies of my letter to you and Jusserand. I shall probably suggest that he ask your two Governments whether they would like to have such a division, with me in it as a brigade commander if they don't wish me to have the command of the division itself. I understand perfectly that your Governments are not willing to do anything in opposition to the Administration's wishes; but perhaps if it asks your Governments whether they would like such a division sent over at once the Governments will answer him as they have answered me privately (yours through Captain Thwaites⁴), namely that they believed to have such a division sent over at the earliest moment would be a good thing.⁵ *Always yours*

the United States, but there are doubtless other ways in which that value could be contributed apart from a military expedition.

"Co-operation between the United States and the Entente Allies has not yet been so far planned as that any decision has been reached upon the subject of sending an expeditionary force; but should any such force be sent, I should feel obliged to urge that it be placed under the command of the ablest and most experienced professional military man in our country, and that it be officered by and composed of men selected because of their previous military training and, as far as possible, actual military experience. My judgment reaches this conclusion for the reason that any such expedition will be made up of young Americans who will be sent to expose their lives in the bloodiest war yet fought in the world, and under conditions of warfare involving applications of science to the art, of such a character that the very highest degree of skill and training and the largest experience are needed for their guidance and protection. I could not reconcile my mind to a recommendation which deprived our soldiers of the most experienced leadership available, in deference to any mere sentimental consideration, nor could I consent to any expedition being sent until its members had been seasoned by most thorough training for the hardships which they would have to endure. I believe, too, that should any expeditionary force be sent by the United States, it should appear from every aspect of it that military considerations alone had determined its composition, and I think this appearance would be given rather by the selection of the officers from the men of the Army who have devoted their lives exclusively to the study and pursuit of military matters and have made a professional study of the recent changes in the art of war. I should, therefore, be obliged to withhold my approval from an expedition of the sort you propose.

"I say these things, my dear Mr. Roosevelt, as the result of very earnest reflection, and because I think you will value a frank expression of my best judgment rather than an apparent acquiescence in a plan which I do not approve, drawn from my failure to comment.

"With assurance of appreciation of your patriotic intentions, I beg leave, with great respect, to remain,"

For Roosevelt's reply, see No. 6203.

⁴Norman Graham Thwaites, a British subject, Boer War veteran, secretary to Joseph Pulitzer, 1901-1911. He served as a European correspondent and as the assistant foreign editor of the *World* until he joined the British army in 1914. After two years in France he was sent to the United States to serve in the British legation in Washington.

⁵Both Marshal Joseph Joffre and Arthur Balfour, the heads of the French and British missions that came to the United States late in April 1917, urged the American government to send a fighting force to the western front at once. The British, however, were less insistent than the French that Roosevelt should command this force. Lieutenant General George Tom Molesworth Bridges, senior military member of the British mission, wired his superiors, according to Newton D. Baker, "protesting against any favor being shown from them toward the organization of any form of volunteer group from America. . . ." (Palmer, *Baker*, I, 202). Joffre, on the other

Oyster Bay, April 23, 1917

*Dear Fred:*¹ I don't like to write to Lowell, because, as I have never had the slightest influence with him in connection with my own boys, I am sure I could be of no earthly use in connection with those of anyone else. Either he will do it for you, or he won't do it at all. Most certainly, he won't do it for me. *Faithfully yours*

6203 · TO NEWTON DIEHL BAKER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 23, 1917.

My dear Mr. Secretary: I thank you for your very frank and courteous letter of April 13th. Of course, my dear sir, you wish me to write with equal frankness in return, and I gladly do so. Since the German message of January 31st, which was practically a declaration of war, I have scrupulously refrained from public criticism of the Administration, keeping silent when I could not support it; but your letter makes it incumbent on me to speak plainly.

My whole purpose is to help make good the President's message. If we make it good by efficient *and speedy* action it will rank with the great state papers of our history. Otherwise, it will amount to nothing. I have ungrudgingly and wholeheartedly backed up the Administration's plans. There was much about these plans of which I entirely disapproved, but I did not wish to mar the support I was giving the President by anything public in the way of criticism. I felt that the employment of the national guard was a mistake; but I said nothing. I did however, feel it imperative (without uttering one word of criticism of your plans) to make a strong appeal for the additional use of volunteers *who would otherwise be exempt from service*, for immediate service at the front. Not to make such use of them is in my opinion a capital mistake.

You say that only "military considerations" should govern your action. In that event I am unable to understand the effort to continue to utilize the

hand, made as strong a case for Roosevelt as diplomacy and discretion permitted. Much of the marshal's first major address in the United States was censored by the State Department, so the newspapers reported and so Roosevelt firmly believed, because it too enthusiastically supported Roosevelt's plans. After Wilson refused Roosevelt permission to raise his force, Clemenceau wrote Wilson a letter, publicly urging him to reconsider his decision; see No. 6218. Although the pleas of the French failed to get Roosevelt to Europe, the British and French together did convince the Administration that an American expeditionary force must be sent abroad immediately.

¹ Frederick Hobbs Allen, classmate of Roosevelt at Harvard, lawyer, public servant — chairman of the Democratic County Committee in Westchester, member of the committee whose report on European agricultural conditions became the basis for the Federal Farm Loan Bank Act, observer at the economic conference in Geneva, 1927.

national guard, when the actual experience on the border has shown that the attempt to do what was done in Mexico, (and what it is now proposed to do in Europe) with the National Guard inevitably produces waste, extravagance, military inefficiency and cruel injustice. Last summer you tried to mobilize the guard. You were not able to mobilize much more than half of it; and of this half three fifths had practically no training, and only one fifth could shoot. Nothing more completely divorced from sound military policy can be imagined than this attempt to utilize the national guard. Did the General Staff protest against it? If so, their protest must have been overridden for nonmilitary reasons. If they did not protest, and if they do not now protest, their advice on other military matters must be regarded as discredited in advance. In this letter of yours you say that only officers of the regular army (Army officers "who have devoted their lives exclusively to military matters") are to be sent on an expeditionary force. Yet the officers of the National Guard are certainly called out on the theory that they are to be sent to the front. Some of them doubtless will be glad not to go. But the many admirable men among them are eager to go; and it is a wrong to them to force them to abandon their business and go into camp when there is no serious intention to use them for the serious work that alone would justify requesting them to make the sacrifices they have made. I wish to point out another thing. You decline my application on the ground of lack of military training and experience; and yet you are summoning, and have summoned, to the field numbers of militia officers, as division and brigade commanders, who have not had one tenth my experience. My dear sir, you forget that I have commanded troops in action in the most important battle fought by the United States army during the last half century, and that I have commanded a brigade in the campaign of which this battle was an incident.

I most heartily favor universal obligatory military training and service, not only as regards this war, but as a permanent policy of the government. Selective obligatory military service, as a "temporary" expedient, is better than having resort *only* to volunteering; but it is a mischievous error to use it in order to prevent *all* volunteering. Universal obligatory service, as a permanent policy, is absolutely just, fair, democratic and efficient. But it needs a period of perhaps two years in order to produce first-class results; and so does the "selective" substitute for it. It is folly not to provide by volunteering for the action that ought to be taken during these two years. (Volunteering to serve in the ranks of the regular army and national guard of course in no way meets the need.)

The vice of the volunteer system lies chiefly, not in the men who do volunteer, but in the men who don't. A chief, altho not the only, merit in the obligatory system lies in its securing preparedness in advance. By our folly in not adopting the obligatory system as soon as this war broke out, we have forfeited this prime benefit of preparedness. You now propose to use its belated adoption as an excuse for depriving us of the benefits of the volunteer

system. This is a very grave blunder. The only right course under existing conditions is to combine the two systems. My proposal is to use the volunteer system so that we can at once avail ourselves of the services of men who would otherwise be exempt, and to use the obligatory as the permanent system so as to make all serve who ought to serve. You propose to use the belated adoption of the obligatory system as a reason for refusing the services of half the men of the nation who are most fit to serve, who are most eager to serve, and whose services can be utilized at once.

You quote with approval the recommendation of certain of your military advisers to the effect that no expeditionary force should soon be sent across to fight. They wish instead that "all the available trained officers and men in the regular army and national guard be employed in training the new levies" so as to exert a substantial influence in a later stage of the war. You add that, as this is the proper "military policy," you do not think it should be departed from for any "sentimental value" or "sentimental consideration." I have not asked you to consider any "sentimental value" in this matter. I am speaking of moral effect, not of sentimental value. Sentimentality is as different from morality as Rousseau's life from Abraham Lincoln's. I have just received a letter from James Bryce urging "the dispatch of an American force to the theater of war" and saying "The moral effect of the appearance in the war line of an American force would be immense." From representatives of the French and British Governments, and of the French, British and Canadian military authorities, I have received statements to the same effect, in even more emphatic form, and earnest hopes that I myself should be in the force. Apparently your military advisers in this matter seek to persuade you that a "military policy" has nothing to do with "moral effect." If so, their militarism is like that of the Aulic Council of Vienna in the Napoleonic Wars, and not like that of Napoleon, who stated that in war the moral was to the material as two to one. These advisers will do well to follow the teachings of Napoleon and not those of the pedantic militarists of the Aulic Council, who were the helpless victims of Napoleon.

If we had been wise enough to begin thoroughgoing preparedness two and a half years ago, after this great war broke out, and if, as the main feature thereof, we had introduced the principle of obligatory universal military training and service, (and had also done such elementary things as running the Springfield factory at full speed, in which case we would now be a million rifles to the good,) there would be scant need of a volunteer force now, for we would have been able to put a million men, well armed and equipped, into the field, and would have finished this war at once. Nine tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. But we were not wise in time. We did not prepare in advance the instruments which would alone be thoroughly satisfactory, and which cannot possibly be improvised to meet immediate needs. Therefore, let us use every instrument that is available to meet the immediate needs. Let us not advance our unwisdom in the past as a justification for fresh un-

wisdom in the present. If the people of a town do not prepare a fire company until a fire breaks out, they are foolish. But they are more foolish still if when the fire breaks out, they then decline to try to put it out with any means at hand, on the ground that they prefer to wait and drill a fire company. Your military advisers are now giving you precisely such advice. Put out the fire with the means available, and at the same time start the drill of the fire company!

Our nation has not prepared in any adequate way during the last two and a half years to meet the crisis which now faces us. You, therefore, propose that we shall pay billions of dollars to the Allies to do our fighting for us, while we stay here in comfort and slowly proceed to train an army to fight in the end, unless the war is over, one way or the other, before our army is ready. This is exactly as if after Sumter was fired on, Lincoln had demanded a draft and declined to use volunteers in the interval. In such a case he would have doubtless had a good army in a year. But it would then have been useless because the Union would meanwhile have been destroyed. Or take the history of the past three years. In 1914 the British were unprepared. They were not nearly as unprepared as we now are, but inasmuch as their danger was far greater (for we have been safe behind the British fleet and the Allied armies) their shortsightedness was probably as blameworthy as ours. For some years Lord Roberts had been preaching universal obligatory military training and service. They declined to profit by his preaching, and war came upon them. In consequence they were wholly unfit to do in the military way what they are now doing and what Germany and France could then do. They immediately sent abroad, however, a small military force which fought valiantly. They followed it by volunteer armies as rapidly as possible. They accepted masses of volunteers from Australia and Canada. All the time they were training the great armies they have now put in the field. If they had acted upon the principles which you desire us now to apply, they would have refused to send any troops at all to France; they would have declined to receive the Canadian and Australian volunteers; they would have kept all their regulars at home to train the new levies; and to any suggestion as to the "Moral effect" of such conduct, they would have responded as you do when you say that a military policy should not deal with "sentimental values" and "sentimental considerations." If England had adopted such a course, it is conceivable that after 18 months her army would have been better than, as a matter of fact, it actually was; but this would not have been of much consequence, because if she had so acted the war would have been already lost.

Our task has been and is incomparably easier and safer than the tasks of the European powers in this war. Any one of them which behaved as we have behaved would long before this time have been ruined. And we can still secure a measure of material well-being while shirking our duty. If we follow the advice of the military men you quote we shall shirk our duty. I earnestly hope we refuse this advice, and play the part of men. I earnestly hope that

we shall not advance our failure to provide universal obligatory military training in the past as an excuse for refusing to make use of the volunteer organizations that we can raise with reasonable rapidity in the present, while we are, with belated wisdom, introducing the principle of obligatory service.

My dear Mr. Secretary, the proposal as you outline and adopt it, must come from doubtless well-meaning military men, of the red-tape and pipe-clay school, who are hidebound in the pedantry of that kind of wooden militarism which is only one degree worse than its extreme opposite, the folly which believes that an army can be improvised between sunrise and sunset. The two kinds of folly are nominally opposed, but really complementary to one another. It is unnecessary for me to say that military men differ among themselves in wisdom and farsightedness, precisely as civilians do. The civilian heads of a government, when faced by a great military crisis, have to show their own wisdom primarily in sifting out the very wise military advice from the very unwise military advice which they will receive. This is especially true in a service where promotion is chiefly by seniority and where a large number of the men who rise high owe more to the possession of a sound stomach than to the possession of the highest qualities of head and heart. The military advice which you have received in this matter is strikingly unwise. I do not know whether those giving it openly advocated the principle of universal obligatory military training two and a half years ago — not within the last few months when people everywhere have been waking up to the matter — but two and a half years ago. If they did not, then they themselves are partly responsible for that condition of unpreparedness which renders it expedient from every standpoint that we should utilize every military asset in the country.

The proposed bill of the Administration, in the last form shown me, was not to take any man over twenty-five. My proposal is to utilize the men who will not be brought in under your proposed conscription. If we had had a wise law for universal military training and service two and a half years ago, it certainly would have included some method for utilizing the men who would be of great value in war, but who are past the age limit when the first training would naturally be given. In the Spanish War I knew well the conditions of the training camps. I know that men put into service for a long period of training with no certainty that they are ever to be employed at the front, will feel far more disheartened than if they could be sent to the front within a reasonable time. I am certain that as rapidly as possible the various units should be transferred to France for intensive training; that as soon as possible an American force, under the American flag, should be established on the fighting line, should be steadily fed with new men to keep its members to the required point, and steadily reinforced by other units, so that it would be playing a continually more important part in the fighting. It is an ignoble thing for us not to put our men into the fighting line at the earliest

possible moment. Such failure will excite derision and may have a very evil effect upon our national future.

So much for the general consideration raised in your letter. Now, my dear sir, for what you specifically say about my offer. You say that the officers in command of any expedition must be chosen from the officers of the regular army, "who have devoted their lives exclusively to the study and pursuit of military matters," and have had "actual military experience," and that it would be improper to trust the "guidance and protection" of the young men sent abroad in such a force, to men like myself. Doubtless the rule you thus indicate is generally wise. But to follow it without exercising any judgment as to exceptions would have barred the confederate army from using Forrest, and the Union Army from using Logan, and would have kept Wood and Funston out of the Spanish War. Most certainly I do not claim to be a Forrest, or a Logan. But I ask you to consider my actual experience. In the Spanish War I took part in raising a regiment, which I afterward commanded. Exactly the same objections were made to the use of that regiment then that you now make to the use of the division (to be composed of just such regiments) which I ask leave to raise. One of the pacifist papers of that day, about a week prior to our going into action, gave expression to this feeling as follows — "competent observers have remarked that nothing more extraordinary has been done than the sending to Cuba of the first United States volunteer cavalry, known as the Rough Riders. Organized but four weeks, barely given their full complement of officers, and only a week of regular drill, these men have been sent to the front before they have learned the first elements of soldiery and discipline. There have been few cases of such military cruelty in our military annals." This was the prophecy. The fulfillment you will find in the reports of the expedition. In health, in achievement, and in the loss necessarily paid to purchase the achievement, the regiment stood with the best and most forward of the regular regiments with which it served. This efficiency was of course largely due to the way we set about raising it, and to the character of its first Colonel — Leonard Wood. He was at the time a surgeon in the U. S. Army. When President McKinley offered me the Colonelcy, I said I would take the Lieutenant Colonelcy if he would make Wood Colonel. Since then Wood's record of achievement (for which he was conspicuously recognized by President McKinley — his promotions of a later date having been in the regular order) have been on a par with those of Lord Kitchener prior to the outbreak of the present war; Lord Cromer once said to me that Wood's administration of Cuba was the greatest feat of the kind that had been done in our time.

At the close of the campaign, I was in command of the brigade, which consisted of my regiment, and of two regular regiments. Since then I have been commander in chief of the Army of the United States, and devoted much time and thought to the study of military and naval problems through-

out the seven and a half years when I was President. I now ask permission to raise a division to consist of regiments like the regiment which I commanded in the Santiago campaign (and I can raise you an Army Corps on this basis). If I were young enough I should be willing to raise that division, and myself merely go as a second Lieutenant in it. As it is, I believe I am best fitted to be the division commander in an expeditionary corps, under the chief of that corps; but if you desire to put me in a less position, and make me a brigade commander, I will at once raise the division, and can raise it without difficulty, if it is to be put under any man of the type of General Wood, General Pershing, or General Kuhn.¹ These men served with loyalty and efficiency under me when I was President, and I believe that they will tell you, and that my former commanders, Lieutenant General Young, retired, and Major General Sumner, retired, will tell you that I will serve with loyalty and efficiency and entire subordination under my superiors. Of course, my dear sir, I could not raise the division speedily and satisfactorily without the active and generous support of yourself and of the Department.

As for the young Americans who you feel should have better guidance and protection than I can give them, my dear Mr. Secretary, why not let them judge for themselves? The great majority of men who were in my old regiment will eagerly come forward under me, in so far as they are yet fit. I believe I can appeal to the natural fighting men of this country. The plan you outline in your letter makes most of these men useless as a military asset to the United States at the very time when they could be most useful. Let me give you two examples. If you grant me permission, I would put at the head of most of my regiments, captains or young majors in the regular army. One of my three civilian Colonels would probably be Roger Williams of Kentucky, who is now a Major General in the National Guard. The other two would be John Greenway of Arizona, and John Groome,² the head of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary. I believe that only the very best men in the regular army would be better Colonels than Greenway and Groome. They can be used to render to the United States, the splendid service they will render, if I am given the division for which I ask; otherwise, if the plan you outline is put in effect, they will be left unused at the very time when their services would be most valuable. As for the time necessary to train the division, I refer you to the time in which my regiment was utilized in the Spanish War. I have just received from one of the highest Canadian military authorities, a letter running in part as follows: — "I can personally say that with the Canadian system of intensive military training your announced plan to have

¹ Joseph Ernst Kuhn, army engineer, military observer with the Japanese army during the Russo-Japanese War, director of the Army Engineer School, 1909-1912, military attaché at the United States Embassy in Berlin, 1915-1916, military observer with the German army, president of the War College, 1917, and during World War I commander of the 79th division for which duty he received the Legion of Honor and the Croix de Guerre.

² John C. Groome, wealthy Philadelphian, commander of the First City Troop, had made a national reputation by his intelligent organization and efficient operation of the Pennsylvania state police force.

Americans at the front in four months would be entirely practical." Under your orders, and by the aid of your Department, I am confident this could be done. If when I made my offer to you nearly three months ago, you had aided me in going ahead (the money I offered was as a gift, not a loan*), and if the Department had acted towards my division as General Wood acted towards the original Plattsburg camp (which started our whole Officers' Reserve movement) that Division would now be ready to sail for France for the intensive training.

I desire that you judge me on my record. All I am asking is the chance to help make good the President's message of April 2nd. If you don't know whether the governments of the Allies would like me to raise such a division, and take it abroad at the earliest possible moment, I wish you would ask those governments yourself their feeling in the matter. I know that they earnestly desire us to send our men to the fighting line; and I have been informed from the highest sources that they would like to have me in the fighting line. Of course, they will not desire to have me go, or the division go, unless the Administration expresses its willingness.

Let me repeat that if you permit me to raise a division, it will be composed of men who would not be reached in the bill you proposed to Congress, and who would otherwise not be utilized at all. I should of course like your authority to have about two regular officers for every thousand men, and perhaps four of the Reserve Officers for every thousand men, and perhaps certain additional ones if you saw fit to grant them. But the subtraction of these men from the number of men available to train the force called out under your proposed bill would be inconsiderable, compared to the immense gain which would come from having such a division put into the fighting line at the earliest moment. You already know the names of some of the regular officers for whom I would ask you. At the head of the medical corps I would ask for Lieutenant Colonel Henry Page, U.S.A. You, of course, know the record of Colonel Page as surgeon and medical director. He has his arrangements made, if he is allowed to go with me; and I believe that no division of any regular army would go with a better medical and surgical preparation than we should have under Colonel Page. In four months the men of the division would have been seasoned, under the thorough training which you rightly demand. Most of the men who would come forward would be seasoned already, exactly as was the case in my regiment nineteen years ago. Very many would have had military training and experience. I very earnestly hope you will be able to grant my request, sir. I make it not only because I most earnestly desire to serve the country under the President and under you, but because I am certain that in this way I can render the best service.³ *Very respectfully*

³ To this letter Baker replied on May 5, 1917:

"I have read several times your long letter of April 22nd, and find myself much embarrassed in attempting more than mere acknowledgment of its receipt. For obvious reasons I cannot allow myself to be drawn into a discussion of your military experience and qualifications. That is a subject upon which my personal opinion

[Handwritten] * The justification for the Government's permitting its use would have been precisely the same as the justification for permitting the men (all volunteers by the way) recently summoned to the officers training camp at Plattsburg to pay portions of their own expenses, or have their friends pay them (which your Department has directed).

6204 · TO JOSEPH MEDILL MC CORMICK

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 25, 1917

Dear Medill: In my opinion nothing can be done through the New York

would be of little importance and upon which I am without the technical qualifications to form a judgment. Nor can I undertake a general defense of regular army officers and particularly of my associates in the General Staff against your suggestion that they may be possibly 'of the red-tape and pipe-clay school.' They are, after all, that part of our professional army of longest experience and by our law are my constituted military advisers. Incidentally, however, I cannot refrain from saying that I have found them men of intense and discerning enthusiasm for their profession, filled with loyalty to their country, and very zealous so to train, equip and use our military forces as to make them most effective and to minimize to the utmost the inevitable losses of life which all uses of such forces necessarily entail. I am, of course, not unaware that there are soldiers not now connected with the General Staff who have an absentee sense of superiority about the conduct of business in which they are not personally participating; but all such differences of opinion must of necessity be resolved in favor of those who are charged with the responsibility for action, as, no doubt, your own experience as an executive has shown.

"The questions raised by your letter, however, seem to me to become simple when stripped of personal considerations. The war in Europe is confessedly stern, steady and relentless. It is a contest between the morale of two great contending forces. Any force sent by the United States into this contest should be so chosen as, first, to depress as far as may be the morale of the enemy; second, to stimulate as far as may be the morale of our associates in arms; third, in itself to be as efficient from a military point of view as is possible, and fourth, so organized and led as to reduce its own losses and sacrifices to the minimum.

"As between a hastily summoned and unprofessional force on the one hand and a part of the regular professional army of the United States on the other, I am convinced that our adversary would esteem the former lightly; that our associates would be depressed by the despatch of such a force, deeming it an evidence of our lack of seriousness about the nature of the enterprise. Unless the whole theory of having a professional army is vicious, a portion of our professional army would be more efficient from a military point of view than such a hastily summoned force, and, quite obviously, the long and systematic training to which the members of our regular army are subjected will have taught them better how to fight without needless exposure and how to protect their health and diminish their losses both in camp and on the field.

"Thus, upon every consideration, my mind justifies the conclusion expressed to you in my letter of April 13th. This reasoning quite frankly eliminates the consideration of personality; but upon that subject there is so much uncertainty of judgment that I do not feel that I could with confidence elect a course at plain variance with every other consideration in order to satisfy a personal conclusion based wholly upon a personal consideration."

On the question of personal considerations Baker spoke more frankly to Alvin Johnson: "As Secretary of War he was under obligation to see that when our boys came to face the enemy they were as well equipped and as well led as possible. We could not risk a repetition of the San Juan Hill affair, with the commander rushing his men into a situation from which only luck extricated them." — Alvin Johnson, *Pioneer's Progress, An Autobiography* (New York, 1952), p. 253.

National Guard.¹ The men I want won't enlist if I can't tell them that I intend to go abroad, and expect to be sent abroad. I am not engaged in enlisting home guards. *Faithfully yours*

6205 • TO WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

New York, April 30, 1917

I deeply appreciate your patriotic work. As both Houses have passed the obligatory service bill,¹ there is now no shadow of excuse for rejecting your amendment and those who vote against it will regard themselves as being hostile to the immediate and efficient use of the men in America peculiarly fit to be used as General Joffre has asked. Will you not show this letter to Lodge, Johnson, Kellogg and our other friends, and get them to exercise their influence in the House. Opposition is of course merely political. This ought not to be made merely a political war.

6206 • TO WILLIAM WINGATE SEWALL

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, April 30, 1917

Friend William: I wish I could help Merrill, but as you know, I am not a businessman, but one who earns his living by the pen, and I simply cannot go into what Merrill desires, especially this year when of my four boys, three have left their business, and one has left college to go into the Army, and I shall have to be supporting the households of two of them. I should suppose it would be pretty difficult to get money now, although I don't know. I am very glad to hear about all your family, and to learn how you are getting on. *Faithfully yours*

6207 • TO ALEXANDER POLLOCK MOORE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 1, 1917

Dear Alex: I am much interested in Mr. Shea's letter. It is impossible to answer his question offhand. It is very important that there should be no improper economy in the things that are necessary, but at a time such as this we should transfer labor and expenditure from superficialities to necessities. Let me illustrate exactly what I mean by two or three examples. I know one

¹ On May 16 Governor Whitman offered Roosevelt a generalship in the New York militia which Roosevelt immediately refused.

¹ On April 28 the army draft bill passed both houses of Congress by decisive majorities. The Senate bill included an amendment offered by Harding which provided for the enlistment of four volunteer divisions. The conference committee of the House and Senate finally accepted, in spite of strong pressure from the White House for its rejection, an amendment authorizing, but not directing, the President to call four volunteer divisions.

or two rich men, with big estates, who are employing laborers in numbers to shift big trees from one place to another. This ought not to be done. Those men should be employed in raising beans and potatoes, because the need to be met is to provide against food shortage, and not to transplant shade trees. Again we need every ship carpenter, every mechanic acquainted with boat building, for the purpose of constructing, at the earliest moment, boats to hunt down submarines, and cargo boats. Therefore, the Government should stop all building of pleasure boats, and should use the shipwrights as boat mechanics to aid in the construction of the submarine chasers, and cargo boats, which it is imperatively necessary to produce. Again, I love flower gardens; but this is the time to use the space for vegetables. In short, let every form of expenditure and labor be for productive purposes, so as to meet the vital needs created by this great war. *Faithfully yours*

6208 · TO ILYA LOVOVICH TOLSTOI

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 1, 1917

*My dear Count Tolstoi:*¹ Through you I send my most hearty congratulations and good wishes to the men who have led the Russian people in this great movement for democratic freedom. I speak to them as a fellow democrat and a fellow radical, when I urge them, for the sake of the ultimate welfare of the mass of the people of Russia, to see that their striking victory is used with such moderation and wisdom as to prevent all possibility of reaction. I have the keenest sympathy with your program for religious, political, and industrial freedom for all, and for equality of opportunity for all. It is not a very easy thing to carry through such a program; and in any such great movement as yours, the danger, at the point you have reached, comes almost as much from well-meaning, unbalanced extremists who favor the revolution, as from the reactionaries themselves. As you have put it, the torch of enlightenment fired the revolt; see that the light of the torch is not dimmed by any unwise and extreme action, and above all not by any of those sinister and dreadful deeds which a century and a quarter ago in France produced the Red Terror, and then by reaction the White Terror. All of us who love liberty, who believe in political and social and industrial democracy, are now looking with eager hope to Russia; and not only for your sakes, but for our own sakes, we beg you, exactly as by courage and disinterestedness you have forced through the revolution so by wisdom and self-control to secure for your country the permanent benefits of the revolution. *Very faithfully yours*

¹ Count Ilya Lovovich Tolstoi, son of Leo Tolstoi, was in the United States on a good-will lecture tour when the March revolution occurred. Before leaving for Russia to take part in the new government, Tolstoi proposed that Roosevelt be made a member of the United States commission to Russia which Wilson was then appointing. Tolstoi's proposal appealed to neither Roosevelt nor Wilson. Among the seven men the President selected, however, there were two — Elihu Root and John R. Mott — in whom Roosevelt had great confidence.

New York, May 8, 1917

My dear Mr. Secretary: Many thanks for your letter of May 5th.

You say that the questions raised by my letter are "simple when stripped of personal considerations." You then describe the war in Europe, and the objects to be achieved by the United States sending over a force to take part in the contest. I, of course, entirely agree with what you thus say, as to the nature of the war, the need of our sending over an efficient force to depress the morale of the enemy and raise that of our friends, etc.

Your next paragraph indicates that your present intention is to send over a portion of the "regular professional army of the United States" (rather than use a force such as I suggest); and you state in the following paragraph that in consequence your mind "justifies the conclusion" expressed in your letter of April 13th. But my dear Mr. Secretary, this is the direct reverse of the conclusion of your letter of April 13th. In that letter you approved the recommendation of the general staff, that the regular army of the United States should *not* be sent over as an expeditionary force, but, on the contrary, should in its entirety be kept here to train the selective draft army; and you dismissed, as of "sentimental" and not "military" value, the idea of sending over this force at once. In your present letter you take the ground that such a force *should* be sent over, and give as two of the reasons that it would depress the morale of the enemy, and stimulate the morale of our associates in arms. I entirely agree with the position taken by you in this letter as to immediately sending an expeditionary force abroad, and as to the fact that it would, among other objects, achieve the two above mentioned. But permit me, my dear Mr. Secretary, to say that this shows that you have reversed the action of the general staff, which you approved in your letter of April 13th, and surely the need of such reversal, as regards the most vital military matter which must immediately be decided, shows that my criticism of the men who gave you the advice was exactly justified. The matter of most immediate importance, which the staff had to decide at the time you wrote me on April 13th, was whether we should at once begin sending forces to the other side, or whether the entire regular army and everybody else fitted to do any soldiering should be kept on this side to train our army for a year or two, in order, as you phrased it in your letter, to use the army for the decisive effect in the later stages of the war. The general staff adopted the latter view, as you stated it in your letter of April 13th. I protested, with all possible emphasis, against this view. The French and the military authorities, with the utmost emphasis, have since protested against it also, and have taken, in this matter, exactly the position which I took in my letter to you, and in my letters to Senator Chamberlain and Mr. Dent, and in my public utterances. From your letter, and from the statements in the press, I gather that the Administration has now reversed the position which was thus taken by

the general staff, and, as regards sending abroad an expeditionary force, has come to the position I have so earnestly advocated, and which I set forth in detail in the letter that you have now answered.

There remains the question of the composition of the force; and inasmuch, my dear Mr. Secretary, as in one of the vital matters the general staff misled you, and inasmuch as my advice has proved to be right, I beg you to at least consider the reasons I now advance for the advice I propose to give, as regards another phase of the matter.

There is every reason why a portion of the regular army should go abroad. There is also every reason why, in view of the smallness of the regular army and the need of its giving instruction, this proportion should not be too large. There is, therefore, every reason why the force should consist of a proportion of the regular army as a nucleus, with an efficient volunteer force under and with it. Under the act of March 2nd, 1899, volunteer regiments were raised which, in actual service in the Philippines, did almost as well as the regular regiments, especially when mixed with them. My own regiment in Cuba was raised under substantially similar legislation, and so I know, at firsthand, of what I am speaking. Our own regular troops, not having been trained in modern warfare, would themselves need some preliminary training in the theater of war before we could expect them to be as good as their French or English allies, or German foes. Volunteer regiments, chosen as above indicated, and used, as hereinafter outlined, in close association with the regulars, could be made almost as good as the regulars during this period of training — and here again, my dear Mr. Secretary, remember that I am not making a mere guess, for I am stating what actually occurred in connection with my regiment at Santiago, and with the other United States volunteer regiments in the Philippines.

I, therefore, respectfully, but earnestly, suggest, that I be allowed, under the direction of the War Department, to raise, or help raise, an army corps of two divisions. Inasmuch as we have no artillery fit to go into the battle front abroad, and inasmuch as it is at least doubtful whether artillery ought to be included permanently in the organization of an infantry division, I assume you would not wish for this first expeditionary force to have artillery. Furthermore, I believe you will find that the wisest military men do not sympathize with the plan of having one divisional regiment of cavalry with each division. Cavalry should be able to act as a mass. I, therefore, very earnestly recommend that in connection with each division we raise a three-regiment brigade of cavalry. As long as the fighting is in the trenches, this cavalry will be used dismounted, and will represent an addition to the infantry strength of equal value. (As soon as we began to fight outside the trenches, the two brigades could be joined together, and could be used as a small cavalry division, under the direction of the corps commander.)

Each of the two divisions sent over would thus consist, in addition to the supply, transportation, and other services, of 3 three-regiment infantry bri-

gades, one three-regiment cavalry brigade, a regiment of engineers, and a regiment of machine guns. (I will give you the details of the organization, if you so desire, and send you also a carefully wrought out blueprint of the entire organization of the division.) For a corps of two divisions, therefore, there would be six infantry brigades, 2 cavalry brigades, 2 machine-gun regiments, and 2 engineers regiments, or 28 regiments in all. There should be one regular regiment in every cavalry or infantry brigade; eight regular regiments in all. This would leave 20 volunteer regiments. As regards 4 of these, I would suggest civilian colonels; 2 of them being of the National Guard; namely, Brigadier General Roger Williams of Kentucky, and Colonel Foreman¹ of Illinois; together with Colonel John Groome of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, and John C. Greenway of Arizona. For the other 16 colonels, together with the corps and divisional chiefs of staff and the like, I would suggest to you captains & junior majors from the regular army, including such men as those I have mentioned — Frank McCoy, Fitzhugh Lee, Edgar Collins, Phil Sheridan, Moseley, Gordon Johnston, Jim Shelley, Hugh D. Wise, the two Parker brothers — (one cavalry, one infantry²) Smedberg, Goethals, Quekemeyer, Quackenbush, Baer, Fitch, Lincoln Andrews, and others.³ For brigade commanders I would suggest to you to appoint men like Lieutenant Colonel Allen, Colonel Howze, and Major Harbord. Rear Admiral Winslow, retired, would make an admirable brigade commander. The corps and division commanders would be, I presume, men already with the rank of General, whom you chose; any men of the stamp of those mentioned in my previous letter, would do admirably. I would be glad to accept the junior brigade generalship, ranking behind the other 7 brigade commanders, as well, of course, as the division and corps commanders. This would be merely giving me the position which I held at the close of the Santiago campaign when, because of my conduct in the field, I was recommended by my superior officers, not only for promotion, but for the medal of honor and for brevets.

In addition, I should trust that you would allow certain junior officers, men like Lieutenant Stonewall Jackson Christian,⁴ Lieutenant Wainwright, Lieutenant Chaffee, and others of like position, to come in as majors or adjutants, or with similar rank. If possible, I should like to use, in each volunteer

¹ Milton J. Foreman served as a cavalry captain in the Illinois National Guard in the Spanish-American War and, in the First World War, as the colonel commanding the 122nd field artillery. A prominent Chicago lawyer, Foreman was a member of the Chicago city council, 1899–1911, chairman of the city's street railway commission, 1900–1902, and of the committee on local transportation, 1907–1911.

² Major Frank Parker of the cavalry and Major John H. Parker of the infantry.

³ Joseph A. Baer and John G. Quekemeyer were both cavalry officers who had graduated from West Point. Gerrit Van S. Quackenbush, an infantry officer, and Roger S. Fitch, a cavalryman, had served in the Spanish-American War, Fitch as a Rough Rider and Quackenbush as a National Guardsman, and had then joined the regular army.

⁴ Thomas J. J. Christian.

regiment, two or three regulars, and six or eight, or ten reserve officers from the Plattsburg and similar camps, together with half a dozen of the best regular noncommissioned officers, giving these the rank of second lieutenant. This would not represent an appreciable drawing off of strength from the body of men you wish to use in training the draft army, for you have about 35,000 men in the training camps, and this proposal of mine would only be to take out all told from the officers and noncommissioned officers of the regular army, and from the reserve officers, between 200 and 300 men, who would be employed in training some 40,000 volunteers. These volunteers would be men of exceptional quality for the war, with the special purpose of being immediately sent to the fighting line in Europe.

Under this plan you would immensely increase the size of the army you sent abroad, and owing to the nature of the volunteer regiments, 4/5 of whom would be under regular officers, and all of them brigaded with regulars, the force would be almost, or practically as good as if composed solely of regulars; and yet you would not be sending abroad a wholly disproportioned amount of our small regular army, and would be enabled to use the others for the purposes of instruction at home. The two divisions at the front would be kept filled, all the losses being made good by recruits; and as rapidly as possible other divisions would be put beside them. In each case, as soon, or almost as soon, as raised, the brigades and divisions would be sent across to, or just behind, the theater of war in France; or if this was impossible, at least to England; and there trained in bayonet work, bombing, gassing, and all the other incidents of modern trench warfare.

I have the highest respect for the individual officers and men of the National Guard, the greatest admiration for the patriotism of those who served on the border last year, and a thorough belief in the efficiency of the National Guard for its proper duty, which is purely state duty. But of course divided control between state and nation is thoroughly vicious. Moreover, many of the men in the National Guard are family men, supporting their families by their wages, and it is a cruel injustice to these men to take them to the front when there are literally millions of other men who ought to go first. Again, there are plenty of men in the National Guard who can do state work well, but who are not fit for a gruelling campaign. Therefore, the National Guard regiment should not be sent out *as such*, if there is a desire either to do equal justice to the men, or to secure efficient results. Each regiment should furnish a nucleus — which might be a quarter, or which might be a half of its strength, and which would be composed both of officers and enlisted men — and should, in most cases, be put under the command of a regular officer; then, around this nucleus as a framework, could be built up a purely National United States regiment, either by volunteering or by the draft. Such a regiment would be fit for duty very quickly, and would render admirable service; while at the same time those guardsmen who ought *not* to be asked to undertake a foreign campaign would be left within the state.

to do the necessary and important state duty which the National Guard is peculiarly fitted to perform.

The selective draft has been authorized by Congress. The Harding amendment (or some similar measure) will enable the Government to admirably use men who desire to serve, whose ardor it is certainly unwise to damp, who could render invaluable service, and who otherwise would be unused. If this amendment is adopted, and the Department authorizes me to raise a force as above outlined, I can at once assign the regular officers whom the Department desires as Colonels to different localities, where they can raise regiments, or battalions, already provisionally provided. We can get private help, precisely as in connection with the training camps. While, of course, we cannot act as instantaneously as if we had begun these steps a couple of months ago, yet we can act with great speed, and in a way to establish the best possible precedent, while at the same time, we are putting a substantial force of good fighting men on the firing line at the earliest possible moment.⁵

I am, sir, with great respect, *Very sincerely*

6210 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Printed¹

Oyster Bay, May 17, 1917

Dear Cabot: I am exceedingly glad that you fearlessly told the truth about the Administration; it was a great and sorely needed service.² Some members of the Senate and House have done badly; these should be unsparingly condemned; on one or two points the Administration has done well; here it has deserved support — and you have always given such support; but as a whole the blame for our grave and numerous shortcomings rests purely on

⁵ To this letter Baker replied on May 11, 1917:

"It does not seem to me that the considerations urged affect in any degree the soundness of the conclusions stated in my letter of May 5th, and I suppose that, since the responsibility for action and decision in this matter rests upon me, you shall have to regard the determination I have already indicated as final, unless changing circumstances require a restudy of the whole question.

"I appreciate your willingness so thoroughly to discuss this important subject, and have read with interest your suggestions for organization and action. It is, of course, unpleasant to find myself at variance with you in a matter of opinion of this sort, but the earnestness with which you have pressed your views is a comforting assurance of the zeal with which you will co-operate in carrying forward unitedly, whole-heartedly and effectively the operations determined upon, now that this particular phase of the question is finally disposed of."

¹ Lodge, II, 525.

² First in a closed, later in an open session of the Senate on May 16, Lodge led an attack upon the Administration. He denounced the alleged usurpations of power by the executive, particularly the establishment of the Food Administration and the appointment of Herbert Hoover as its head with power enough to be a food "dictator." He deplored the refusal of the Administration adequately to inform Congress about plans for using the appropriations requested, especially the \$3,390,000,000 appropriation, then under debate, for extraordinary military expenditures. Most vehemently he assailed Wilson for failing energetically to wage war.

the Administration, and those who support it generally stand on an exact level with those who supported Buchanan. The one real arch offender is Wilson. If our people were really awake he would be impeached tomorrow; Daniels, and Baker, and the General Staff are merely his tools. (Taft's two Chiefs of Staff, Wood and Witherspoon,³ feel even more strongly about the present General Staff than I do.)

The *Boston Herald* has been doing splendid work; if you see O'Brien thank him for me.

I congratulate you and the Republicans and the anti-Administration Democrats on what you have now done.

Of course be very careful never to antagonize Wilson on any point where he is right. But it is imperatively necessary to expose his hypocrisy, his inefficiency, his rancorous partisanship, and his selfish eagerness to sacrifice all patriotic considerations to whatever he thinks will be of benefit to himself politically. *Ever yours*

6211 · TO ANNA ROOSEVELT COWLES

*Cowles Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, May 17, 1917

Darling Bye, I doubt whether the President lets me go; and surely he will try his best to cause me to fail if he does let me go. We all have our troubles! Quentin has grave difficulty with his back; the other three boys, at Plattsburg, have no idea what they will be sent to do. It is exactly as if we were fighting the Civil War under Buchanan — and Wilson is morally a much worse man, and much less patriotic, than Buchanan. At present they have made absolutely no provision to utilize the young men between 18 & 21 — those who did more, relatively, than those of any other age in the Civil War.

I enjoyed my conversation with Joffre; and at neither dinner was there another soul who could speak french to him.¹ Balfour and Malcolm were as pleasant as possible; we enjoyed their visit, and I think they did also.²

My work has become almost unbearable; I am now receiving between four and five *thousand* letters a week. *Ever your loving brother*

6212 · TO JOHN JOSEPH PERSHING

*Printed*¹

Oyster Bay, May 20, 1917

My dear General Pershing: I very heartily congratulate you, and especially the people of the United States, upon your selection to lead the expeditionary

³ The reference was to William Wallace Witherspoon, not Witherspoon.

¹ Roosevelt had met Marshal Joffre at a dinner given for the French war mission by Henry Clay Frick on May 9. Two days later Roosevelt and the marshal met again at a dinner sponsored by a special committee appointed by Mayor Mitchel.

² Balfour and Ian Malcolm, M.P., a member of the British war mission, had spent four hours with Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill on May 13.

¹ John Joseph Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York, 1931), I, 23.

force to the front.² When I was endeavoring to persuade the Secretary of War to permit me to raise a division or two of volunteers I stated that if you or some man like you were to command the expeditionary force I could raise the divisions without trouble.

I write you now to request that my two sons, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., aged 27, and Archibald B. Roosevelt, aged 23, both of Harvard, be allowed to enlist as privates under you, to go over with the first troops. The former is a Major, and the latter a Captain in the Officers' Reserve Corps. They are at Plattsburg for their third summer. My own belief is that competent men of their standing and rank can gain very little from a third summer at Plattsburg, and that they should be utilized as officers, even if only as second lieutenants. But they are keenly desirous to see service; and if they serve under you at the front, and are not killed, they will be far better able to instruct the draft army next fall, or next winter, or whenever they are sent home, than they will be after spending the summer at Plattsburg. The President has announced that only regular officers are to go with you; and if this is to be the invariable rule then I apply on behalf of my two sons that they may serve under you as enlisted men, to go to the front with the first troops sent over.³

Trusting to hear that this request has been granted, I am, with great respect,
Very sincerely yours

P.S. If I were physically fit, instead of old and heavy and stiff, I should myself ask to go under you in any capacity down to and including a sergeant; but at my age, and condition, I suppose that I could not do work you would consider worth while in the fighting line (my only line) in a lower grade than brigade commander.

6213 · TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, May 23, 1917

Darling Belle, I loved your two letters; I shall at once forward your letter to Father York. What a darling Kim is! How I wish I could see him! I

² The War Department announced Pershing's appointment as commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces on May 18; at the same time Wilson signed the draft bill. The President, while approving the bill, made public in answer to a telegram from Roosevelt his intention not to make use of the volunteer divisions provided, at his discretion, by Congress. In his statement he said that "it would be very agreeable" to him "to pay Mr. Roosevelt this compliment [of command of a division] . . ." and that "politically, too, it would no doubt have a very fine effect. . . ." But the compliment could not be paid. "The business now in hand is undramatic, practical, and of scientific definiteness and precision." Other means were required, and "what these means are I know from the mouths of men who have seen war as it is now conducted, who have no illusions, and to whom the whole grim matter is a matter of business."

³ Pershing and Harbord, his chief of staff, to whom Roosevelt wrote a similar letter both agreed that "it would be a waste to encourage your two sons to enlist. . . ." Pershing promised he would ask for Theodore, Jr., and Archibald to join his staff with the ranks they then held in the reserve corps; see Harbord to

would be very discreet until he got used to me, and then I would cuddle him and pet him to my heart's content.

We are thoroly enjoying a visit from Ethel (and tonight Dick) and Richard. Late this afternoon I found them in the North Room; the victrola was playing Garryowen, while Ethel Richard and Dick, hand in hand executed a dance-step march to the tune; whereupon I joined in and executed pigeon-wings in time, opposite them, while the enthralled Richard gazed at my feet.

I am glad that you are comfortable and see something of Kermit. Of course it is simply everything in the world for him to have you up there. Your Sunday sounded like a delightful picnic; and how the homeless waifs you took in must have enjoyed it!

I am glad that Kermit seems to be doing well. It is a grind, of course; but as things have turned out it was the only way by which he could do his part, and make ready for leadership in the fighting, if the utterly selfish and conscienceless rhetorician in the White House ever allows us to do any fighting. Of course I was disappointed at his refusal to use me and my really exceptional body of fighting men, altho I expected it; but I have had a very good time, and have accomplished some things, in my life, and I have not the slightest feeling of rebellion against fate. *Your loving father*

6214 · TO CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

Bonaparte Mss.

New York, May 25, 1917

My dear sir: You have doubtless seen the President's announcement wherein he refused to make use of the Volunteer Forces which Congress had authorized him to permit me to raise.

Prior to this announcement by the President, I had sent him a telegram as follows:

I respectfully ask permission immediately to raise two divisions for immediate service at the front under the bill which has just become law and hold myself ready to raise four divisions if you so direct. I respectfully refer for details to my last letters to the secretary of war. If granted permission I earnestly ask that Captain Frank McCoy be directed to report to me at once. Minister Fletcher¹ has written me that he is willing. Also if permission to raise the divisions is granted I would like to come to Washington as soon as the war department is willing so that I may find what supplies are available and at once direct the regular officers who are chosen for brigade and regimental commands how and where to get to work.

To this the President answered as follows:

Roosevelt, May 22, 1917, Harbord Mss. Both Roosevelts, serving as officers in combat rather than in staff units, were in Europe by July 1917; see Numbers 6235, 6239.

¹ Henry Prather Fletcher, Rough Rider, career diplomat, at this time United States Minister to Mexico. McCoy was then a military attaché at the embassy in Mexico City.

I very much regret that I cannot comply with the request in your telegram of yesterday. The reasons I have stated in a public statement made this morning and I need not assure you that my conclusions were based entirely upon imperative considerations of public policy and not upon personal or private choice.

Accordingly, I communicated with as many of the men who had agreed to raise units for service in this division as possible, and after consultation with about twenty of them I issued the statement which is herewith appended.²

² This statement read:

"May 21, 1917.

"To the men who have volunteered for immediate service on the firing line in the divisions which Congress authorized:

"The President has announced that he will decline to permit those divisions to be organized or to permit me to have a command in connection with such a force. After consultation yesterday, personally or by wire, with some of the men who have volunteered to raise units—regiments and battalions—for the divisions, including John C. Groome of Pennsylvania, Seth Bullock of South Dakota, John C. Greenway of Arizona, John M. Parker of Louisiana, Robert Carey of Wyoming, J. P. Donnelly of Nevada, Sloan Simpson of Texas, D. C. Collier and F. R. Burnham of California, I. L. Reeves, Fraser Metzger and H. Nelson Jackson of Vermont, Harry Stimson, W. J. Schieffelin and William J. Donovan of New York, and Messrs. James R. Garfield, Raymond Robins, R. H. Channing, David M. Goodrich, W. E. Dame, George Roosevelt, Richard Derby and various others who were immediately accessible, it was decided unanimously that in view of the decision of the President the only course open to us is forthwith to disband and to abandon all further effort in connection with the divisions, thereby leaving each man free to get into the military service in some other way, if that is possible, and, if not, then to serve his country in civil life as he best can.

"As good American citizens we loyally obey the decision of the Commander in Chief of the American army and navy. The men who have volunteered will now consider themselves absolved from all further connection with this movement. The funds that have been promised will be treated as withdrawn and applied to other purposes. I therefore direct that this statement be sent to the leaders in the various States who have been raising troops and that it be published.

"Our sole aim is to help in every way in the successful prosecution of the war and we most heartily feel that no individual's personal interest should for one moment be considered save as it serves the general public interest. We rejoice that a division composed of our fine regular soldiers and marines under so gallant and efficient a leader as Gen. Pershing is to be sent abroad. We have a right to a certain satisfaction in connection therewith.

"The Brooklyn *Eagle* last evening stated authoritatively that 'the sending of this expedition was a compromise between the original plans of the General Staff, which favored no early expedition, and the request of Col. Roosevelt for authority for an immediate expedition. The Roosevelt agitation, backed by the express desire of such distinguished military leaders as Gen. Joffre and Gen. Pétain, unquestionably had its effect in bringing about the Pershing expedition. The compromise is that France gets American soldiers in the trenches but Roosevelt will not lead or accompany them. It is believed in Washington that any criticism for turning down Roosevelt will be fully answered by the fact that American soldiers are going over.'

"If this gives the explanation of the matter, I gladly say that we are all unselfishly pleased to have served this use, although naturally we regret not to have been allowed ourselves to render active service.

"It is due to the men who have come forward in this matter during the three and a half months since February 2nd, when I began the work of raising one or more divisions, that the following facts should be known:

"If yesterday my offer immediately to raise four divisions for immediate use at the front had been accepted the various units of the first division would tomorrow have begun to assemble at whatever points the War Department had indicated, and they would have assembled in full force and without an hour's delay as rapidly as the War Department directed them where to go and as soon as it provided them camping places, tents, blankets, etc.

"We were prepared by the use of private funds partly to make good any immediate lack in such supplies as regards many of the units. Fifteen days afterward the second division would have mobilized in a similar fashion, and then, at intervals of thirty days, the two other divisions.

"In accordance with what I had found to be the wish of the military authorities among our allies the divisions would have been ready to sail for France for intensive training at the theater of war in thirty days, if the War Department were able to furnish supplies; and we would have asked permission to use the rifles and ammunition now in use in the French and British armies.

"All four divisions would have sailed and two would have been on the firing line by September 1st, the time at which the Secretary of War has announced that the assembling of the selective draft army is to begin. About one half of our men, at least of those in the first division, were men who had already seen military service.

"I wish respectfully to point out certain errors into which the President has been led in his announcement. He states that the purpose was to give me an 'independent' command. In my last letter to the Secretary of War I respectfully stated that if I were given permission to raise an army corps of two divisions, to be put under the command of some General like Wood or Pershing or Barry or Kuhn, I desired for myself only the position of junior among the eight brigade commanders. My position would have been exactly the same as theirs, except that I would have ranked after and have been subordinate to the rest of them.

"The President alludes to our proffered action as one that would have an effect 'politically,' but as not contributing to the 'success of the war,' and as representing a 'policy of personal gratification or advantage.' I wish respectfully but emphatically to deny that any political consideration whatever or any desire for personal gratification or advantage entered into our calculations. Our undivided purpose was to contribute effectively to the success of the war.

"I know nothing whatever of the politics of the immense majority of the men who came forward, and those whose politics I do know numbered as many Democrats as Republicans. My purpose was to enable the Government to use as an invaluable military asset the men who would not be reached under the selective draft, who were fit for immediate service, and the great majority of whom would not otherwise be used at all.

"As above pointed out, all four divisions, if the War Department could equip them, would have been sent to the aid of our hard-pressed Allies before the training of the selective draft army was even begun, and they would not have been put into the firing line until the French and British military authorities deemed them fit.

"The President says in effect that to comply with our offer would have been mischievous from the military standpoint and he adds that the regular officers whom I have asked to have associated with me are 'some of the most effective officers of the regular army,' who 'cannot possibly be spared from the duty of training regular troops.' One of the chief qualifications for military command is to choose for one's associates and subordinates 'the most effective officers,' and this qualification the President thus states that I possess.

"As for my withdrawing them from the 'more pressing and necessary duty of training' the troops, I wish to point out that I had asked for about fifty regular officers from lieutenant colonels to second lieutenants for the first division. This would be only about one tenth of the number who will go with General Pershing's division which, the President announces, is to be composed exclusively of regulars. Therefore, the present plan will take from 'most pressing and necessary duty' about ten times as many regular officers as would have been taken under our proposal.

I now release you and all your men. I wish to express my deep sense of obligation to you and to all those who had volunteered under and in connection with this division.

As you doubtless know, I am very proud of the Rough Riders, the First Volunteer Cavalry, with whom I served in the Spanish-American War. I believe it is a just and truthful statement of the facts when I say that this regiment did as well as any of the admirable regular regiments with which it served in the Santiago campaign. It was raised, armed, equipped, drilled, mounted, dismounted, kept two weeks aboard transports and put through two victorious aggressive fights in which it lost one third of the officers and one fifth of the men; all within sixty days from the time I received my commission.

If the President had permitted me to raise the four divisions, I am certain that they would have equaled this record, only on a hundredfold larger scale. They would have all been on the firing line before or shortly after the draft army had begun to assemble: and moreover they could have been indefinitely reinforced, so that they would have grown continually stronger and more efficient.

I regret from the standpoint of the country that your services were not utilized. But the country has every reason to be proud of the zeal, patriotism and businesslike efficiency with which you came forward.³

With all good wishes, *Faithfully yours*

6215 · TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, May 28, 1917

My dear White: I thank you for your kind letter of May 19th. It is not in a sense of ill feeling that this letter is written. I write it only because, much as I value your friendship for me, I value far more the service you could render this country; for you have very extraordinary ability and, therefore, I feel that it is really lamentable when you use this great ability against the interest of the nation.

"It has been stated that the regular officers are opposed to our plan. As a matter of fact 'the most effective' fighting officers have been eager to be connected with or to have under them the troops we proposed to raise.

"The President condemns our proposal on the ground that 'undramatic' action is needed, action that is 'practical and of scientific definiteness and precision.' There was nothing dramatic in our proposal save as all proposals indicating eagerness or willingness to sacrifice life for an ideal are dramatic. It is true that our division would have contained the sons or grandsons of men who in the Civil War wore the blue or the gray; for instance, the sons or grandsons of Phil Sheridan, Fitzhugh Lee, Stonewall Jackson, James A. Garfield, Simon Bolivar Buckner, Adna R. Chaffee, Nathan Bedford Forrest; but these men would have served either with commissions or in the ranks, precisely like the rest of us; and all alike would have been judged solely by the efficiency — including the 'scientific definiteness' — with which they did their work and served the flag of their loyal devotion."

³Roosevelt sent similar letters to the men who were to have commands in his division.

At the same time, with your letter, an anonymous ill-wisher from Kansas sent me a copy of your editorial eulogizing Wilson for the part he has played in this war in language which would hardly be used even by the degenerates of the *New Republic*; and I received another letter from an individual Nebraskan who expressed his belief that Bryan was the greatest man since Christ.

Now to have an unknown man make this statement was of no consequence, but your statement, which was just as foolish, was of consequence, for you occupy a great position and when you devote your abilities to misleading the people, there is always the chance that you may do serious damage.

My dear fellow, you are a moralist, and you are a literary artist. Now in cold-bloodedness I want you to consider your statement that Wilson has done more for Democracy than the men who have fought the battles of this war. Seven million men have lain down their lives; four times that number have been wounded or disabled. Vast populations are straining every nerve on a scale of unparalleled heroism and you actually write that all this colossal effort, all this heroism, all this self-sacrifice is of less consequence than the cheap platitudes of an utterly selfish, utterly treacherous, utterly insincere hypocrite, that is looked upon by the mass of people in every country but our own with contempt, which the Germans partly conceal because they still hope to use it, and which our Allies conceal because they do not think it wise to offend the United States.

I don't even understand what you mean when you speak of Wilson's service to Democracy in connection with this war. Before he came into it the Russian Revolution had put all the Democracy on one side. Why Asquith had stated over and over again in even better language than Wilson, what the war was for, and his language had far greater effect upon the world at large than Wilson had. Wilson did not come into this war for Democracy. For two and one half years he announced again and again and again that he was neutral and that we should all be neutral in the war; and he didn't know what the different peoples were fighting about; that he didn't side with one party more than with the other; and we had no concern with the purpose of the war, and finally, that we ought to strive for a peace that did not bring victory. If we are fighting for Democracy what did he mean by saying that he hoped there wouldn't be victory for Democracy. He is a treacherous hypocrite and to praise him is to praise his moral obliquity. He came into this war purely because he couldn't stop the Germans from murdering our citizens, and in the effort to stop murdering our citizens he was perfectly willing to betray the Allies and to see Democracy trampled underfoot by Prussian Militarism.

My dear White, I am genuinely shocked at your praising Wilson. Buchanan is infinitely more entitled to praise. He carried Kansas and California last year on the issue of: "He kept us out of war," and he put us into war

within a month. How any human being can fail to detect such hypocrisy, I fail to understand. I have upheld him and refused to assail him since the war broke out because I wished to give him every chance, but he is exceedingly base; his soul is rotten through and through; he hasn't a thought for the welfare of this country; or for our honor; or for anything except his own mean personal advancement. *Faithfully yours*

6216 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.^o*

Oyster Bay, May 30, 1917

Dearest Ted, I loved the "little bear" letter; darling Eleanor almost wept over it, and I gave it to her to keep. The big bear was not, down at the bottom of his heart, any too happy at striving to get the two little bears where the danger is; elderly bears whose teeth and claws are blunted by age can far better be spared; but (to change from allegory to the first person!) I do not sympathize with the proverb: — "God keep you from the werewolf and from your heart's desire!" It is best to satisfy the heart's desire; and then abide the fall of the dice of destiny.

I think I satisfied Kermit. I was able first to get Quentin into the flying squadron — and now there are literally thousands of applicants who can't be reached. Then I was able to make the try for you and Archie. At the end of August I'll do my level best for Kermit, the shape of my effort depending upon the conditions, including especially whether he gets into active service or into the reserve.

The enclosed letter and memorandum are very satisfactory. You see that the Secretary has now approved your detail; of course I shall not be entirely sure that Wilson won't make him change his mind until you have actually gone; but it is now unlikely that you won't go, and you have established a claim for service abroad that can hardly be ignored. Pershing and Harbord have certainly behaved like trumps. Collins is another trump. Only he and the family are to see the correspondence.

Eleanor and the children are out here and I fairly revel in them. *Your loving father*

Send back the enclosures.

6217 · TO AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER

R.M.A. Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, June 6, 1917

Dear Gussy, After much thought, and considerable irresolution, I have decided not to apply to the President as you suggested.¹

¹ Roosevelt had prepared the following application:

"If there is any position in the line of the army whether with the drafted troops or with any other troops, in which I can be of service I apply to serve in such position for the duration of the war. My training, experience and qualifications

I made the application I did make, because at this particular time there was a really great service which I was competent to render and which no one else could render nearly as well. I could have raised four divisions (or eight divisions — 200,000 men) of the finest fighting men, could have put the finest fighting edge on them, and could have got them into the fighting line at the earliest moment, long before we had even begun to prepare our army here. Then it would have mattered very little whether or not I personally cracked — from pneumonia in the trenches, or shell fire, or exhaustion or anything else. But there are scores of men better fitted than I am to drill troops, especially drafted troops or militia, at home, far away from the firing line.

To ask to do a big job, a hazardous job, which I could do especially well was one thing; to ask to do a much smaller job, which many other men can do at least as well as I can do, is another thing. If the President asks me to do it, I shall accept at once; but I do not feel inclined to ask him as a favor to me to put me to work at a relatively easy job for which I have no unusual fitness. I bitterly hate not to be in the war; but I do'n't see that I would be of much use in drilling troops at home; certainly my usefulness would not be great enough to make me feel like asking the job as a favor, altho if the President asked me I would accept, as a matter of duty. I wished to render service; I do'n't wish to be put in the position of seeking a job where there is no particular service for me to render, and when the President would treat me as an importunate and self-seeking beggar.

For instance, I would literally, and gladly, give my life to command a brigade of regulars under Pershing; but I would not dream of asking for such a position, because I am not certain that to give it to me would mean a service to any one except myself; whereas if allowed to raise four divisions of volunteers I would be doing a service of prime importance both to this country and to the Allies.

If there is a disaster, or if there is a need that I can meet, I will volunteer instantly. But I have the right to do so when it will be evident that I am trying to serve the country and not merely myself. *Always yours*

6218 · TO GEORGES EUGÈNE BENJAMIN CLEMENCEAU

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 6, 1917

*My dear M. Clemenceau:*¹ I appreciate very deeply your editorial, which has

fit me for the line and not the staff; I believe they especially fit me for the work at the front. I am informed that under the regulations my age, 59 years, bars me from any position less than that of brigadier general; but if this is not so, or if you have power to put aside the regulation, I will serve in any line position whatever to which I am assigned."

¹ Georges Eugène Benjamin Clemenceau, the "Tiger," who in Keynes's words "had one illusion — France; and one disillusion — mankind, including Frenchmen. . . ." For long a publisher — *La Justice*, *Le Bloc*, *L'Aurore*, *L'Homme Libre* — and for

been telegraphed over to several of our papers.² I cannot overstate how bitterly I regret that the President refused my offer to raise troops. I would have been able to raise between 100,000 and 200,000 men. The first division of 25,000 could have left a week after the President gave me the permission. The other divisions would have come along at intervals of 15 to 30 days. They would, of course, have needed intensive training on French soil, but even our small body of regulars will need such training, for hardly any of them know anything about the art of warfare as it has been developed in this great and terrible struggle. Of course, I can only write you privately, and must request you not to publish this letter, but I wish you to understand how much I appreciate your sympathy and understanding. I wished to give France immediate help, and to use the volunteers in order to establish an army of at least 100,000 men at the front, and to keep it growing until the regular draft army could be shipped across. The only comfort I have is that my four sons and one of my two sons-in-law are in the army which is being raised, and I hope they will all of them get to the other side. *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Of course the fundamental trouble with Mr. Wilson is that he is merely a rhetorician, vindictive and yet not physically brave; he cannot really face facts; he cannot help believing that inasmuch as sonorous platitudes in certain crises win votes they can in other crises win battles. Unfortunately pacifist voters, and brutal men with rifles in their hands, cannot be reached by the same arguments!

6219 · TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

Lee Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 18, 1917

Dear Arthur: I write to ask a favor; and I very earnestly hope you will grant it, and secure its granting by others, even although it costs you some trouble. The fact that I ask it at such a time shows how deeply in earnest I am.

longer a political figure — mayor of the 18th arrondissement of Paris, member of the Chamber of Deputies — Clemenceau at this time was head of the French Senate's commission on the army and a leading figure in the commission on foreign affairs. In November 1917 he became head of the government, remaining in office until 1920. ² Clemenceau, in an open letter to Woodrow Wilson published in his own paper, *L'Homme Enchaîné*, which before government censorship had been *L'Homme Libre*, had said, "in all candor, that at the present moment there is in France one name which sums up the beauty of American intervention. It is the name of Roosevelt, your predecessor, even your rival but with whom there can now be no other rivalry than heartening success. . . . [Roosevelt] is an idealist, imbued with simple vital idealism. Hence his influence on the crowd, his prestige, to use the right expression." "The cause of humanity," Clemenceau concluded, "which is also your cause, will owe to . . . [the soldiers of France] something approaching a miracle. Since it is in your power to give them before the supreme decision the promise of reward, believe me — send them Roosevelt."

The enclosed letters explain themselves. I have sent copies to be forwarded to you through Spring Rice, so as to avoid all chance of miscarriage. Please read Kermit's letters, and then forward the one to Lowther;¹ and read mine (to Lloyd George) before delivering it to him.²

Kermit's whole training fits him for work in the open, in such a campaign as that in Mesopotamia. Ted and Archie are about to join Pershing's force; Quentin will probably go to France in a month in the Aero Corps; Dick Derby will go over in the Medical Corps. But Kermit can do his best work in Mesopotamia. Moreover, all the other four will probably soon be at the Front; whereas Kermit might perhaps be kept here for nearly a year, training conscripts, if I cannot get him sent by you to the Tigris land.

I have absolute confidence that he will make good, or I would not ask you the favor. If Wilson had permitted me to raise my Division — or rather Divisions, for I would have raised four — Kermit would have been a Captain under Seth Bullock in the Black Hills Battalion, with young Phil Sheridan of the Regulars as his Colonel. I ask for him now a Second Lieutenantcy; and that he shall not be asked to forswear his allegiance, but merely to swear that he will loyally serve your King and Government for the length of this War.

You do not need to be told that I have fought for the Allies from the beginning of the War, exactly as I have fought for preparedness and for action by our people in the interest of American honor. It is precisely because I have thus strenuously fought for your country and for mine that (Wilson) my political enemies have deprived me of the chance to fight in the field. But my four sons and one of my two sons-in-law are going. In view of this record I ask that Kermit be given a chance to serve at the Front in the Mesopotamian campaign, where I know he will be of real use — I ask that he be permitted to render service to your flag as well as to my own. Will you try to help me, old friend?

Give my dearest love to Ruth, and to Faith;³ Ethel has a little daughter,⁴ 24 hours old, and is doing well; Archie has married a war bride;⁵ he will be sailing two months after marriage. We are all well; Edith is taking her position with the resolute courage you would expect; I am denied the

¹ Sir Henry Cecil Lowther, major-general on the British General Staff, 1916-1918, veteran of the Boer War, military attaché in Paris, Madrid, and Lisbon, 1905-1909, secretary to the Governor-General of Canada, 1911-1913. Commanding troops along the western front until wounded in 1915, he then became secretary to Sir John French, the British commander-in-chief. Later he was a Member of Parliament, 1915-1918, 1921-1922.

² Lowther and Lloyd George forwarded the letters to the War Office which offered Kermit a commission as a captain in the motor machine-gun corps in Mesopotamia. With the close of the campaign in Mesopotamia, Kermit in June 1918 joined the 7th field artillery regiment of the American 1st division in France.

³ Faith Moore, sister of Ruth Moore Lee, daughter of the American, John Godfrey Moore, financier, "market mover," partner in the financial house of Moore and Schley.

⁴ Edith Roosevelt Derby.

⁵ Archibald had married Grace S. Lockwood, the daughter of Thomas St. J. Lockwood, in Boston on April 14, 1917.

chance to do anything except to try to help my sons to get to the Front, to face whatever fate awaits them, as honorable gentlemen should. *Ever yours*

6220 • TO LEONARD WOOD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 22, 1917

Dear Leonard: I was immensely pleased with your note. I cannot help grinning over the way in which the attempt to exile you has turned out. You have had a really wonderful reception in the south, and have made a wonderful impression there.¹ To my great amusement General Bridges, the Englishman, who is rather taking the Administration view, told me that the President had informed him that he had purposely sent you to the south, because of the great work he knew you would be doing down there! I asked Bridges if that was the reason the President had tried to get you to go to the Hawaiian Islands. Bridges seems to be a good fellow, but of the somewhat thickheaded British type. He expressed doubt as to whether our volunteers would have done well, and to my immense amusement, gave as a justification of the doubt the fact that he did not think the Australians and Canadians were as good as the British tommies, and expressed disapproval of their discipline.

I am absolutely certain that if you were given a free hand, not merely in the south, but in the country at large, you would have instead of 100,000, 500,000 men ready for training in Europe by November. But, as you say, there never has been such effort as now to keep concentration and control in Washington, and the woodenheaded way in which they do this makes the situation one fraught with ugly possibilities of delay and disaster.

I regard the University of the South as one of the very best in this country. It publishes a quarterly magazine which is better than anything of the kind done by any other University. The University of Georgia also stands high, although not as high.

I feel exactly as you do — I am trying to do the best that can be done. I have not criticized the President since April 2nd, but neither do I lie about him! I intend to tell the truth, and point out the criminal folly of our having failed to prepare, and to speak plainly of the dangers ahead.

Ted and Archie have sailed to join Pershing. I hope that in sixty days Kermit, Quentin and Dick Derby will also have sailed, but of course I cannot be sure.

With love to Mrs. Wood, *Always yours*

¹ "His journeys through the Southern states for the selection of camp sites," wrote Wood's biographer, "were one continuous triumphal progress. . . . Everywhere he emphasized 'the little done, the undone vast'; spoke of a long hard war, the need for earnestness, the will to push forward and carry through. There was in his gravity, his enthusiasm for the cause, something that stirred in these Southerners emotions which had not been stirred in fifty years." — Hagedorn, *Wood*, II, 223.

Oyster Bay, June 26, 1917

My dear Sir: ¹ I very earnestly hope that the Government will at once recede from its position.² If our Red Cross units are not desired abroad, whether with the base hospitals of the Allies, or anywhere else, then we can use them purely for our people or with our own armies; but wherever we do send them it should be on the assumption that we no more permit distinction to be made among the American personnel on the ground of birthplace or parentage than on the grounds of creed. Service in the Red Cross should be like service in the ranks of the army; no man worthy to serve in one should be barred from service in the other. If any spy or disloyal person is found in either, in the theater of war, he should be hung out of hand or shot by drumhead court-martial, without mercy, whether he is of native or foreign parentage. But it is an intolerable wrong and insult to discriminate or permit discrimination, between loyal and devoted Americans because of their parentage or birthplace.

I have the right to speak in this matter because I have insisted that we should take the most drastic measures against any men who act disloyally; and I hold that all men who attack our allies or uphold our enemies while we are in this war, are disloyal to America. While this war lasts we should not permit any German newspaper to be printed in this country unless it contains an English translation of every article. No man can now be loyal both to this country and to Germany; no man can be both a German and an American; he must be either all German or all American. If he is the former he should be turned out of the country or put in a detention camp. If he is the latter it is an intolerable outrage not to treat him as on an exact equality with all other good Americans.

When I was President, one of the men who sat in my cabinet was born in Germany; another was a descendant of one of Blücher's colonels. The man who has been closest to me politically for the last fifteen years is of German parentage. In this great crisis no organization has done better work in rousing the slumbering patriotism of the nation than the Vigilantes;³

¹ C. A. A. McGee of San Diego, California, was one of many Americans who had written Roosevelt protesting against the government's policy of excluding Americans of German, Austrian, Turkish, or Bulgarian birth from service with Red Cross units overseas. In releasing his reply to the press, Roosevelt explained that among all his correspondents on the subject he had chosen McGee because he was an old friend and supporter and an American of the "purest dye," without a "suspicion" of German blood.

² The government had established its policy at the request of the British and French. On June 22 the State Department had explained that the exclusion of Americans born in the countries at war with France and England applied only to those Red Cross units that would serve with the Allied forces, not to the units attached to the American army.

³ The Vigilantes were writers and artists organized as a society in March 1917 to support the causes of preparedness and Americanism.

and no one of the Vigilantes has done better work than Hermann Hagedorn, of German parentage. If I had been allowed to raise the four divisions of volunteer troops which Congress authorized me to raise, I would have asked that one of the divisions should be commanded by General Kuhn, the head of the War College, and another division, or else a brigade, by my old head of the Philippine Constabulary, Colonel Bandholtz.⁴ Both are of German parentage, both are Americans and nothing else; and I would eagerly and proudly have served under either. Four of the regular officers whom I would have recommended for Colonels are of German parentage or descent. One of the few nonregulars whom I would have recommended for a Colonelcy, at present the Colonel of a National Guard regiment in Illinois, is of German parentage (and not of my creed, by the way); and he told me that 85% of the men who would have come in with him were of foreign parentage. My headquarters chaplain (also not of my religious creed) would have been a retired regular army officer, born in Germany; my brigade quartermaster a man of German parentage.

These men, and many, many others like them, are fit to lead our armies in war, and to hold our highest civil offices; and they stand in the forefront of our citizenship in time of peace. They are Americans in every fiber of soul and body. I would gladly confide the honor of the flag to their keeping, exactly as I would gladly confide my own honor and good name to their keeping. I resent any slur on their loyal Americanism as keenly as I would resent any slur on my own; and if they, and those in heart like them, from the highest to the lowest, are not fit to represent this country — in the army, in the Red Cross, in any and every capacity — at home or abroad, then no Americans are fit to represent us.

I earnestly hope that the Government will punish with alert, instant, and unsparing severity any man of whatever origin who is disloyal to us or false to our allies, in any position, during this war; but I no less earnestly hope that the Government will refuse to permit any discrimination among true and loyal Americans because of their parentage, birthplace, or creed.

Yours truly

6222 • TO ELEANOR ALEXANDER ROOSEVELT *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.*^o

Oyster Bay, June 27, 1917

Darling Eleanor, I miss the little family *very* much! — most of all the dainty, pretty, exceedingly efficient and exceedingly companionable little mother, but also the three blessed small people; Gracie and Teddy and Cornelius of

⁴Harry Hill Bandholtz served in the Philippines from 1902 to 1913, for the last six years as a brigadier general and the chief of the Philippine constabulary. He was chief of staff of the New York division on the Mexican border in 1916 and went to Europe with the 27th New York division. After the war he was in command of the District of Washington, and in 1921 commanded the forces that suppressed the striking miners in West Virginia.

the white head and the black heart. I can just see Gracie marshalling Teddy for the extraordinary effort to frighten at least one pig; and breakfast is a distinctly tame affair when I no longer have to guard against an affectionate, busy and officious Ted doctoring "Grandfather's soup" with salt.

On Sunday Lloyd Griscom was to have brought over the Italian delegation, and Mother had prepared to receive them, not with pleasure, exactly, but with patient and resolute purpose. However at the last moment Griscom at whose house they were lunching called me up in much agitation to explain that inasmuch as the Prince¹ (of whose existence I had until that moment been ignorant) was a royalty, the State Department and the Italian Ambassador² felt I must call on him first. I answered all right, that if he would send over his car I would call on His Dago Highness at once, but that there was then no need of the party coming over to my house. However they insisted on returning; and the Colonel who was acting as Aide to the Prince telephoned the fact to Mother, with much satisfaction, "so that she would not miss His Highness." Being fairly familiar with Mother, I grinned to myself, knowing that the warning would enable her to make a getaway. Sure enough, when we reached the house Mother was technically out — having hastily run upstairs and gone to bed with her boots on, so to speak. I took much pleasure in the fact that Grace Vanderbilt³ who was in the Prince's party was sincerely sorry for the mischance which had deprived Mother of such high pleasure.

Ethel looks so well and pretty, and little Edie is a very cunning wee baby. Quentin is really flying well, and he and Flora⁴ have such fun together; they are to drive here this evening. Mother and I take long rows in the boat — the one with the chair, Eleanor.

Give my love to your charming mother. *Ever yours*

6223 · TO KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 3, 1917

Dearest Kermit: You have of course received my telegram. I enclose copy of Northcliffe's. I wired him that on your behalf I accepted "eagerly and gratefully" and asked when you were to sail. I shall ask him, expressing the hope that you sail as soon as possible.

Are all your things ready so that you can sail at once?

Please see Major Collins, and if he advises it *also* Col. Wolf,¹ at once, and find out what steps you are to take so as to be able to leave camp immediately if the call comes to have you sail forthwith. Meanwhile, go on

¹Ferdinand of Savoy-Genoa, Prince of Udine, head of the Italian war mission.

²Count Vincenzo Macchi di Cellere.

³Grace Wilson Vanderbilt, wife of Cornelius Vanderbilt.

⁴Flora Payne Whitney, Quentin's fiancée.

¹Lieutenant Colonel Paul A. Wolf of the infantry.

with your work, right up to the handle; I shall treat nothing as settled until I get more direct and explicit information, if possible at first hand.

Well, you are not to be behind! I know just how you feel; you hate to go; and you would hate far more not to go. Now, I need hardly say that you have a heavy weight of responsibility on your shoulders—you have an obligation to England, to America, to yourself, and to me. You must not only *do* what is right, but also *seem* to do what is right. Not only can there be no looking back, but no acting so as to cause even a suggestion that you are expecting any favor or behaving save as any subaltern, eager to get to the front, would behave.

This has special reference to darling Belle and Kim. You have no right to do more than provide for them and say good bye to them here on this side. The British War Office must get no impression that you intend to try to go to war en famille. My own feeling is very strongly that wives ought not to be near the firing line; if they go, as Eleanor is going, it must be separately from their husbands, and in good faith to work as assistants in the Hospitals, or wherever it is—and they must not go on the request of their husbands or through influence, especially influence by me. I never wrote a line or said a word to get Eleanor over in the position in which she is going; nor did Ted. This is war; it needs the sternest, most exclusive, and most business-like attention; and no officer, (especially an officer of a foreign nationality who has been approved by favor) must try to get his wife near him on the campaign, or try to have her go over with him. He must devote himself solely to his grim work.² *Your loving father*

6224 · TO RALPH MONTGOMERY EASLEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, July 5, 1917

My dear Mr. Easley: You say you "don't know what the answer is to some of the questions" you raise. I *do* know. The rule is perfectly simple and safe—treat every American of German origin as a good American, if he so acts; and if he shows himself disloyal, treat him as you would any other disloyal man, shooting him or hanging him, if that is possible. The difficulty of which you speak is caused by the attitude of the present administration, that is by Mr. Wilson. President Wilson for 2½ years deliberately connived at the traitorous and murderous propaganda of Germany in this country. He failed to act against the criminals in any effective fashion. He fails now to act effectively against them. If I were in power I would put Viereck (whom you name) instantly in jail, exactly as was done with those two Columbia students, for Viereck is conducting a campaign of treason against this country.¹ But nothing more unpatriotic could be imagined than to

² This letter is an unaltered version of a copy prepared by Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt of the original which is not now available.

¹ The cases were not identical. In June one Barnard and two Columbia students who had urged their fellows not to enroll for the draft were indicted for con-

split our people along lines of national cleavage, as would inevitably follow any policy of discriminating for or against any citizens because of their national origin, instead of treating each of them on his worth as a man, and his conduct as an American. My dear Mr. Easley, you aid the German propaganda of disloyalty in the most efficient way if you act so as to make loyal Americans of German origin feel that they are discriminated against and thrown back with the others. *Faithfully yours*

6225 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, July 8, 1917

Dearest Ted, Just a line, through Eleanor, to wish you every luck. Like Artemus Ward I am straining every nerve to get all my wife's relations to the front! (My sons *are* my wife's relations, ar'n't they?). Quentin has his commission and hope to sail in ten days. Lord Derby,¹ thanks to Lord Northcliffe, has offered Kermit a staff position with the British General in Mesopotamia, and he'll be sailing immediately. *Your loving father The Slacker Malgré Lui*

6226 · TO VICTOR A. OLANDER

*Printed*¹

Oyster Bay, July 17, 1917

*My dear Sir:*² I thank you for your courteous letter enclosing the report of the Committee on Labor of the Illinois State Council of Defense, concerning the race riots at East St. Louis. They had nothing to do with any commission or alleged commission of rape or any other crime. Aside from race antipathy, the report seems to show that the riots were due to economic conditions. I was not informed, in any way, as to these economic conditions which it is alleged led up to the riot, until after Mr. Gompers's speech on July 6th.³ When on that evening I made my first remarks on the riot I

spiracy against the United States government. The two men were convicted; the girl, acquitted, was nevertheless denied her degree. Elsewhere in the United States some socialists and anarchists, some German sympathizers, some pacifists had been punished for refusing to register or for their outspoken objections to the draft. Everywhere the resentment against these people persuaded many Americans that resistance to military service was more intense than it actually was. Many were persuaded this resistance arose from a German plot. So convinced, Roosevelt on the fourth of July had assailed conscientious objectors as vigorously as he had condemned the enemy. Viereck, at the time this letter was written, had been urging the continuation of the teaching of German in schools and colleges.

¹ Edward George Villiers Stanley, seventeenth Earl of Derby, in 1917 Secretary of State for War; later ambassador to France, 1918-1920; also known for his interest in racing and shooting.

² *The Foes of Our Own Household* (New York, 1917), Nat. Ed. XIX, 168-172.

³ Victor A. Olander, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

³ Roosevelt and Gompers had then both discussed the riots in East St. Louis in their speeches welcoming the new envoys from Russia.

supposed the underlying cause to be racial, and in my remarks I made no allusion whatever to organized labor, or indeed to labor at all, in connection with the riots. It was Mr. Gompers's speech which first gave me clearly to understand that the fundamental cause was alleged to be economic, and that organized labor regarded itself as especially concerned with the riots. Then my attention was called to the newspapers of July 4th, which carried an alleged statement by Mr. Michael Whalen, President of the Central Trades and Labor Councils of East St. Louis. If this statement is correctly reported, Mr. Whalen said: "The chief objection to the negroes is that they would not unionize, and would not strike." I hold, with the utmost intensity of conviction, that it is absolutely impossible for us to succeed along the lines of an orderly democracy, a democracy which shall be industrial as well as political, unless we treat the repression of crime, including crimes of violence, and the insistence on justice obtained through the enforcement of law, as prime necessities. I, of course, refuse, under any conditions, to accept the fact that certain persons decline "to unionize and strike" as warranting their murder, or as warranting any kind of violence against them. But I go much further than this. I will aid in every way in my power to secure, by governmental as well as private action, the remedying of all the wrongs of labor, and in so acting I shall pay no heed to any capitalistic opposition. But I refuse to treat any industrial condition as warranting riot and murder; and I condemn all persons, whether representatives of organized labor or not, who attempt to palliate or excuse such crimes, or who fail to condemn them in clear-cut and unequivocal fashion. I heartily believe in organized labor, just as, and even more than, I believe in organized capital; I am very proud of being an honorary member of one labor organization; but I will no more condone crime or violence by a labor organization or by working men than I will condone crime or wrongdoing by a corporation or by capitalists. A square deal for every man! That is the only safe motto for the United States.

This is a democracy, a government by the people, and the people have supreme power if they choose to exercise it. The people can get justice peaceably, if they really desire it; and if they do not desire it enough to show the wisdom, patience, and cool-headed determination necessary in order to get it peaceably, through the orderly process of law, then they haven't the slightest excuse for trying to get it by riot and murder. All the governmental authorities concerned in the East St. Louis situation should have taken notice of that situation in advance and should take notice of it now. The National Government, and all local governmental authorities in places where such a situation is likely to arise, should take notice now, and act now. Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. If there has been improper solicitation of negroes to come to East St. Louis, or improper housing and working conditions among them after they have come, or an improperly low wage-scale, or if anything else improper has been done by

the capitalists and employers, so that injustice has been done the working men, then it was the bounden duty, and is now the bounden duty, of the government authorities to remedy the wrong and see justice done the working men. But the first consideration is to stop, and to punish, lawless and murderous violence. Lawless violence inevitably breeds lawless violence in return, and the first duty of the government is relentlessly to put a stop to the violence and then to deal firmly and wisely with all the conditions that led up to the violence. If black men are lawlessly and brutally murdered, in the end the effect is to produce lawlessness among brutal blacks. Recently the I.W.W. has been guilty of all kinds of misconduct, and has been acting as in effect a potent ally of Germany, with whom we are now at war; and finally their lawlessness produced an explosion of counter-lawlessness. Of course the government should repress both kinds of lawlessness. It should prevent all lawless excesses against the I.W.W. and it should also act on the theory that these excesses are fundamentally due to the previous failure of the government to deal in drastic fashion and with all necessary severity with the turbulent, lawless, murderous, and treasonable practices which have been so common among the I.W.W. and kindred organizations. And then it should deal in thoroughgoing fashion with the social and industrial conditions which have produced such results. We Americans must hold the scales even.

A few years ago certain negro troops shot up a Texas town, and the other members of their companies shielded them from punishment. The government proceeded to the limit of its power against them all, and dismissed them from the army; not because they were black men who had committed a crime against white men, but because they had acted criminally; and justice should be invoked against wrong-doers without regard to the color of their skins, just as it should be invoked against wrong-doers without regard as to whether they are rich or poor, whether they are employers or employees, whether they are capitalists and heads of corporations who commit crimes of cunning and arrogance and greed, or wage workers and members of labor organizations who commit crimes of violence and envy and greed.

I have just received an abusive letter from an organization styling itself "The Industrial Council of Kansas City," and claiming to be affiliated with the Federation of Labor, which states that I accused organized labor of being responsible for the outrages at East St. Louis. I made no such accusation until the fact that there was at least a measure of truth in the accusation had been in effect set forth in the speech by the special representative of organized labor at the meeting at which I spoke and by the telegram quoted in that speech. Whenever I have the power, I will protect the white man against the black wrong-doer, and the black man against the white wrong-doer; I will as far as I have power secure justice for the laboring man who is wronged by the man of property, and for every man, whether he has property or not, if he is menaced by lawless violence; and when I haven't the power, I

will at least raise my voice in protest, if there is the least chance of that protest doing good.

We are at this moment at war with a most formidable and ruthless enemy. We are fighting for our own dearest rights; we are also fighting for the rights of all self-respecting and civilized nations to liberty and self-government. We have demanded that the negro submit to the draft and do his share of the fighting exactly as the white man does. Surely, when such is the case we should give him the same protection, by the law, that we give to the white man. All of us who are fit to fight are to serve as soldiers, shoulder to shoulder, whether we are farmers or townsfolk, whether we are working men or professional men, men who employ others or men who are employed by others. We fight for the same country, we are loyal to the same flag, we are all alike eager to pay with our bodies in order to serve the high ideals which those who founded and preserved this nation believed it our mission to uphold throughout the world. Surely, in such case it is our duty to treat all our fellow countrymen, rich or poor, black or white, with justice and mercy, and, so far as may be, in a spirit of brotherly kindness.

The victims of the mob in East St. Louis were very humble people. They were slain, and their little belongings destroyed. In speaking of the draft riots in New York during the Civil War, Lincoln, addressing a working men's association, singled out as the saddest feature of the riots the killing "of some working people by other working people." We have recently entered into a war, primarily it is true to secure our own national honor and vital interest, but also with the hope of bringing a little nearer to all the world the day when everywhere the humble and the mighty shall respect one another's rights and dwell together in the peace of justice. Surely, when we thus go to war against tyranny and brutality and oppression, our own hands must be clean of innocent blood. We hope to advance throughout the world the peace of righteousness and brotherhood; surely we can best do so when we insist upon this peace of righteousness and brotherhood within our own borders.

In securing such a peace the first essential is to guarantee to every man the most elementary of rights, the right to his own life. Murder is not debatable. *Sincerely yours*

6227 · TO GEORGE EUGENIEVICH LVOV

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 20, 1917

*My dear Sir:*¹ Through the courtesy of Professor Shatzky,² one of the envoys of the Russian Mission to the United States, I desire to send you this

¹ Prince George Eugenievich Lvov, Prime Minister of the Russian National Cabinet from March until July 1917 when Alexander F. Kerenski, whose policies he considered too liberal, succeeded him.

² Boris E. Shatzky, in charge of the Russian Information Bureau in New York City, spokesman for the new Russia in its intent not to negotiate a separate peace with Germany.

brief line of greeting, and of most earnest hope and admiration for the great Russian Republic. I had the honor of being chosen to greet the Russian delegates by the City of New York, and I now beg through you to confirm my expression of good will for the Russian people.

I speak for the immense majority of my fellow countrymen here in the United States, when I say that we hold Russia in peculiar friendship and esteem. For two generations this feeling of good will for Russia has been traditional in this country. We immensely admire and believe in the Russian people. Formerly this great admiration of ours for the Russian people had to struggle against our disbelief in the autocratic government which oppressed the Russian people. Now, thank Heaven, we need have no such mental reservations. Now we stretch out our hands across the ocean with brotherly love for, and the firmest trust in the great Russian democracy. We hail the advent of Russia to a foremost place among the free peoples of mankind, and we are glad for the sake of the world that now from Sandy Hook across America, across Asia, across eastern and middle Europe, to Warsaw, the people rule themselves; and we wish for you the same career of orderly liberty that we hope to gain for ourselves. We glory in the great triumph of the Russian arms that has just taken place. We feel that this is the harbinger of the success which is to crown the efforts of the free peoples of the world, against the intolerable brutality and arrogance, and the lust of world conquest, and the desire to trample all other peoples under their feet, which have become the distinguishing marks of the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns in its dealings with the rest of mankind.

The path of self-government is very difficult, and only those peoples can tread it who are able to control their own passions and follies. We Americans and you Russians alike need ever to remember this elemental fact, we need ever to remember that the right to govern ourselves can be kept only so long as we show the power, and recognize the duty, thus in very fact to govern ourselves. There must always be control somewhere; and if we do not control ourselves, then assuredly in the end someone else will control us.

On behalf of all our people I salute the Russian people. Your people stand shoulder to shoulder with our people from this time on, in the struggle for democracy, for justice to all men, for the orderly liberty which is the only sure and permanent safeguard of self-government. Our task at the moment is scornfully to override the wicked or foolish creatures who would strive to make us weaken in our efforts to win an overwhelming victory in the great war to which we are committed. All who strive for an inconclusive peace with Germany are enemies of liberty and justice. The only way by which to make sure the future of liberty is to secure the complete overthrow of the Germany of the Hohenzollerns.³

With all good wishes, *Sincerely yours*

³ Roosevelt sent an identical letter to Michael I. Tereshchenko, Lvov's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Oyster Bay, July 25, 1917

Dear Coolidge: Ridgeway¹ is an exceedingly brilliant, and most unsafe, writer. As regards this particular quotation of his, he has no possible authority for the extreme definiteness with which he dates the Etruscan rise to power. The Umbrians may (or may not) have had ancestral connections with the round-headed people of mountainous mid-Europe, who, by some authorities, are called "Celts." But the (possibility) probability is very strong that these round-headed Alpines were entirely different from the tall, blond, long-headed men who were the leaders and (probably the) front-rank warriors in the hordes which the Romans and Greeks described as "Celtic" during the 4th, 3rd and 2nd Centuries B.C. *Ever yours*

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July 26, 1917

*Dear Miller:*¹ I am wholly unable to answer your question. I don't even know whether it is Japan's reluctance, or the reluctance of the European powers,² which is the cause. Entirely confidentially I wish to say that in my judgment one immense by-product of benefit from our going into this war will be that a year hence we shall be in a position to defend ourselves from Japan, if attack is made, whereas in peace the Wilson-Baker-Daniels regime would have made us utterly helpless to do so. I don't for a moment believe that there is any possible purpose of using Japan in quelling an insurrection in India. I think that suggestion has merely been part of the anti-British propaganda. Japan is far more likely to use India as a power in her Chinese game.³ I wish I could see you. *Ever yours*

Oyster Bay, July 27, 1917

*My dear Mr. Post:*¹ I heartily congratulate the Aero Club of America on its efforts to secure a great aerial government program here in America. It

¹ Sir William Ridgeway, since 1892 professor of archaeology at Cambridge University, author of articles and books on a variety of subjects in which Roosevelt was interested, including the Romans, early Irish epic poetry, the differentiation of species of zebra, and the dramas of non-European races.

² George E. Miller, since 1887 a member of the staff of the *Detroit News*, head of that journal's Washington bureau, 1905-1918, later president of the North American Newspaper Alliance.

³ To have Japanese military forces employed in the European theater.

⁴ Capitalizing on the preoccupation of the western powers and on revolt within China, Japan had taken over areas of China previously controlled by Germany and had made her extraordinary demands upon China for large political and economic concessions.

⁵ Augustus Post, secretary of the Aero Club of America, participator in the Gordon Bennett balloon races, 1908, thirteenth person to fly an airplane in the United States.

should be one of the most important features in that work of adequate preparedness in advance which depends for its success primarily upon the adoption of the principle of universal obligatory military training for all our young men. I believe that the peculiar American characteristics especially fit us for success in developing and using the airplane on land, and the hydro-airplane on sea; yet this country, which gave birth to aviation, has so far lagged behind that now, three years after the great war began, and six months after we were dragged into it, we still have not a single machine competent to fight the war machines of our enemies. We have to trust entirely to the machines of our Allies. I am not prepared to speak as to the sufficiency of airplanes to do some of the tasks which you have in view; but that they will be a very great factor in the accomplishment of these tasks, I am sure. As you well say, this should be the fifth arm of our Army; and it should be made a long-reaching weapon, to use effectively, if conditions at any time arise that will enable it to strike the deciding blow.

It may be utterly impossible to strike that blow without a thoroughly effective air force; and it is utterly impossible to improvise such a force. It has been unpardonable folly on our part as a nation that for three years, with this great war staring us in the face, we have absolutely failed to prepare for it; and our folly has been at least as marked as regards aviation as in any other field. No one can tell how long this war will last. If we are true to ourselves, we will make it last just as long as is necessary in order to secure the complete overthrow of the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns. Therefore, we should at once begin to prepare on the largest scale for warfare in the air, as one of the great features of the warfare of the future. In all probability such preparation will be of the utmost consequence in this war. I am absolutely certain it will be of the utmost consequence in preventing us from being overwhelmed by disaster in some future war. *Faithfully yours*²

6231 · TO RAY MCKAIG

Roosevelt Mss.

Private not for Publication

Oyster Bay, July 31, 1917

*My dear Mr. McKaig:*¹ Your letter was most interesting, and surely your account of your organization in North Dakota is extraordinary. It means an

² Through Post's influence this letter was published in the New York papers on August 6.

¹ Ray McKaig, organizer and publicist for the National Nonpartisan League, the farmers' party which Arthur C. Townley had begun to organize in North Dakota in 1915. Townley and his efficient colleagues traveled through the state, collected dues of sixteen dollars for two-year memberships, published the *Nonpartisan Leader*, and framed a platform that satisfied the long-frustrated demands of their constituency. Roosevelt had considerable sympathy with the league's economic objectives in North Dakota, but he preferred co-operative to state-owned ventures; see "The Farmer: The Corner-Stone of Civilization," *Foes of Our Own Household*, Nat. Ed. XIX, 113-131, especially 115-116. By 1918, however, because of Townley's objections to the draft and other war measures, Roosevelt placed the leaders of the league

immense amount to have the farmers willing to pay \$16.00 a year and then stand loyally by their representatives. But you do not tell me just what your program is, and how far it has been realized. I greatly wish you would advise me on these points. I at times write for the *Kansas City Star*,² and I shall be very glad to forward a copy of your letters to Mr. Kirkwood.³ I should also like to forward a copy to Mr. Charles Barrett, head of the Farmers' Union.

I am a little of a Missourian myself! I don't know how all your plan will work out in practice, indeed I don't know all of your plan, but I do most emphatically feel that we cannot rest content with things as they are, and rather than do so I welcome seeing any plan tried. Then by actual process of "trial and error," as the biologists say, we will find something that will work, and we won't stand still like mere petrified fossils until disaster comes. I think it peculiarly good that such a plan as yours should be tried in North Dakota where the population is mainly a farmers' population, so that they can themselves determine, and pay for, the policies they desire.

But I have been much upset by statements that your organization has really been a pacifist and pro-German and therefore anti-American organization. There is no use of our going into any question of reform, unless we first settle that it is we ourselves who are to determine what the reforms shall be, instead of having it determined for us by Germany, or Japan, or any other foreign nation. *Faithfully yours*

6232 • TO ALBERT JEREMIAH BEVERIDGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 31, 1917

My dear Senator: I am immensely pleased that you liked my review.¹ I could not forbear pointing out that the biographer of Marshall had himself for twelve years in the Senate been one of the great exponents of Marshall's principles — with Lincoln's democracy added. Yes, friend, time has more than justified the course you and I followed, not only as regards our fight for preparedness, but as regards our fight for internal reform and efficiency.

With warm regards to Mrs. Beveridge, *Ever yours*

with those of the German-American Alliance and the I.W.W. in his legion of the damned; see "The Square Deal in Americanism," *The Great Adventure* (New York, 1918), Nat. Ed. XIX, 301-314, especially 302.

² Roosevelt did not begin to write regularly for the *Star* until October 1, 1917. The paper thereafter published his column and by-line about once a week; before October, only two or three articles appeared under his name.

³ Irwin Kirkwood, since 1915 editor and general director of the *Kansas City Star*.

¹ In Roosevelt's review of the first two volumes of Beveridge's *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston, 1916-1919), a parallel with the situation of 1917 was discovered in the effort of the great Chief Justice, a good and moral man of force who defied popular opinion and "the underhanded but malignantly bitter leader of the anti-National forces," Thomas Jefferson, to make the nation strong and powerful; see *Outlook*, 116:448-449 (July 18, 1917).

New York, August 3, 1917

Dear W. A.: I never see the *Atlantic*, but in view of your statement I shall look up the August number and read Kellogg's piece.¹

I enclose two letters, one to Jusserand, and one to Bunau-Varilla in Paris, who speaks English admirably and is a journalist; and I think he is the man who would be most useful to you. He is the man with whom I was thrown in close contact through and about the Panama Canal; he can tell you about that also. I know slightly a great many public men in France, but I have never given anyone a letter to them, for I do not know them well enough.²

Now, as to what you say about Wilson. I entirely agree with you that we should stand for whatever good things he does. I stand by him in these matters and stand most actively by him against the La Follette-German-socialism-pacifism combination. But I regard it as the gravest possible moral offense against this country to stand by him *as a whole*, or to use language about him which will mislead people into the belief that on the whole he has done well and ought to be backed. Fundamentally our whole trouble in this country is due more to Wilson than any other one man, and his foes of the stamp you mention are able to attack him now only because of the weapons he himself forged for their use. Everything he has said since April 2nd can be justified only if we not merely unstintedly condemn, but treat with abhorrence what he had done before; and he has *done* badly. As Raymond Robins said to me, "Wilson has spent two and one half years dulling the conscience of our people and weakening their moral fiber, and then without any change in circumstances he reversed himself while running full speed; and naturally the machinery stops and an immense number of people are completely puzzled and find themselves wholly unable to get up any moral enthusiasm." He won the election on the "He kept us out of war" issue. He had no convictions in the matter. He has no convictions at all; although he has opinions and coldly malicious hatreds. He thought, and thought rightly, that this was a good campaign cry until after election. Hughes did not meet the issues squarely, and the bulk of the Republican leaders were but very little better than the Democrats. But the fact remains that it was Wilson who was the great offender, and that the damage he did to our people morally and materially during the last three years will bear evil fruit for a generation to come. Moreover his attitude since the declaration of war has been one of intolerable hypocrisy. It was possible to make some kind of a defense for our going to war on the ground that we were fighting purely for our own interests and rights, and because after two years Germany still adhered to the position about which we had sent her an ultimatum two years previous.

¹ In "Headquarters Nights," *Atlantic Monthly*, 120:145-155 (August 1917), Vernon Lyman Kellogg reported his impressions of the German army.

² White, who was about to go to France as an inspector for the Red Cross, had asked Roosevelt for letters of introduction to prominent Frenchmen.

Mind you, I say it was *possible* to take this attitude; but it would not have been a *proper* attitude, for there was more justification for going to war immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania* than there was for going to war last Spring. But what is perfectly impossible, what represents really nauseous hypocrisy, is to say that we have gone to war to make the world safe for democracy, in April, when sixty days previously we had been announcing that we wished a "Peace without victory," and had no concern with the "causes or objects" of the war. I do not regard any speech as a great speech when it is obviously hypocritical and in bad faith; nor do I regard the making of such a speech of service to the world. I regard it as a damage to the cause of morality and decency.

So far as concerns what Wilson has done in the past few months, I think on the whole it has been badly done; and, what is more, that it has been badly done because of very evil traits on his part. He was emphatically right about the draft. He was emphatically wrong about the militia and about turning down the volunteer system as a vitally necessary stopgap. He took these attitudes because he was much more anxious to spite Leonard Wood and myself than he was to save the country. He has permitted seven months to go by without making an effective move in the vital matter of shipping, because for political reasons he was not willing to back Goethals. To have appointed Daniels and Baker originally was evil enough; to have kept them on during a great war was a criminal thing.

The greatest damage that can be done to the cause of decency in this country is to stand by Wilson in such a way as to imply that we approve or condone his utterly cynical disregard of considerations of patriotism and national efficiency and his eagerness to sacrifice anything if to do so will advance his own political interests. He has just one kind of ability; a most sinister and adroit power of appealing in his own interest to all that is foolish and base in our people. He not only appeals to base and foolish men; he appeals also to the Mr. Hyde who, even in many good and honorable men, lurks behind the Dr. Jekyll in their souls. *Faithfully yours*

6234 · TO GEORGE WILLIAM RUSSELL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 6, 1917

My dear Russell: ¹ I received on July 23d yours of the 4th. I have read your pamphlet with the greatest interest. It ought to have been republished in this country. In fact I may have it republished yet. But there have been so many stupid letters and stupid and malicious and bigoted articles on the Irish ques-

¹ George William Russell, "AE," Irish poet and painter, a founder of the Abbey Theatre, friend of Sir Horace Plunkett, "a blend between the farmer and the mystical poet." Russell was a government appointee to the conference summoned to submit a plan of self-government for Ireland. His "Thoughts for the Convention," published in the *Irish Times*, he had sent to Roosevelt. Russell's position — common to most moderates — was ultimately accepted by the convention which in April 1918 reported a plan for a parliament for the whole of Ireland.

tion in the various papers here that I wanted to let the New York public, and the American public largely follows the New York public's judgment in such matters, have a rest before having your pamphlet reprinted. I agreed with all of it except its conclusion. Colonial Home Rule is all right, but if Ireland is not to be absolutely independent, if Ireland is not to raise and have control of her own separate army, and her own navy, and her own international affairs, and her own coinage, if she is not to have her own diplomatic and consular service, then, as she must necessarily and should rightfully bear her proper proportion of the Imperial expenses for army, navy, diplomatic affairs and consular business, it seems to me that she should have a voice in such questions as war and peace, army and navy, diplomatic and international affairs, and that she cannot well have that voice unless she has representatives in the Imperial Parliament. Besides, when this war is over, I am entirely satisfied that Canada and Australia and I think, too, South Africa, will either have representatives in the Imperial Parliament or they will become independent. Canada will no longer go on as she has been. The feeling is widespread and very deep in Canada against being committed to policies of war and peace and yet having no direct voice in questions of war and peace or involving the Imperial army and Imperial Navy, Imperial policy and diplomatic and consular affairs. I know for a fact that that is the feeling in Canada. I am told that it is the same in Australia. I assume that the same feeling exists also to a degree in South Africa. So that if Ireland has a reduced representation in the British Parliament, after Home Rule has gone into effect, she will but be leading the way toward a real Imperial Parliament.

I am delighted, above all things, that you are in the convention. I am glad that you had your vacation before the convention started. You will never have a greater opportunity for a great public service, even though it may involve personal inconvenience or cripple the paper for a little while.

I read in the paper that the convention met and adjourned to September 8th, at which a committee on permanent organization will report. There were also cable dispatches about ten days ago to the effect that on September 8th, or thereabouts, the convention would reassemble and work for about a month, and then adjourn for about a month, and the delegates would go to their various sections and explain the tentative suggestions or plans that had been offered or agreed to in the convention. This was supposed to be on the theory that the delegates to the present convention had not been directly chosen by the people; that the work of the convention must be approved by the people; and that if it was submitted in mid-channel as it were, and adopted after the delegates had explained their views, it would more or less have a public sanction. My judgment is that such a course would be disastrous in the last degree. That is simply not the way constitutions are framed or any compromise carried out. Compromise must be the soul and the essence of your convention. The thing to do is to act, act finally, and then explain it afterwards. Don't stop halfway across the bridge to explain. That can

lead to nothing but disunion and discord. After all, these delegates have been chosen under a pledge that they are representative and that their work will be approved by the English Parliament. It's the work of the convention that the country should be asked to approve, not its debates or tentative plans offered in its debates. I am certain that if the people who framed the constitution of the United States, and that was a matter of compromise from first to last, had adjourned midway, and gone back to their respective States to explain the various proposals and why they were for or against this or that proposal, there never would have been a constitution adopted. What they did was to meet, debate, agree, compromise and vote for a constitution. It was a patchwork and it was nothing but compromise. But it has lived, and under it, as interpreted by our Supreme Court, this country has grown to a hundred million, and has fought three small wars, and one of the greatest wars in history, abolished slavery and now, thank God, is taking its part in this war. Even that constitution was reluctantly adopted by the necessary two thirds. But it was put up to them either to take that or anarchy. But the work of your convention should be submitted to the people of Ireland as a whole, as the result of a compromise, assented to by all the delegates, Catholic, Protestant, Ulsterite, Nationalist and Independents, as the best that can be worked out, with the alternative, either expressed or implied, that they should take this compromise as a step in the right direction, or the present condition of anarchy and dissatisfaction must continue. Personally I believe that Ireland will get more now if she accepts the work of this convention, provided, always, there is no dismemberment of Ireland, than she will if she waits until after the war.

There ought to be no difficulty with the Parliamentary Party representatives. The holding out of the Sinn Feiners against the convention is not, in my opinion, an unmixed evil. It should be a constant reminder of the fact that the days of compromise, of agreement to partition, of pettifoggery, of giving with one hand and taking away with another, have passed. All I can do is to hope for the best.

I agree with you that politically Ireland seems to be backward. There has been a great deal of political education outside of the regular parliamentary party. I think the Irish volunteers encouraged a hopeful spirit of self-respect and discipline. There ought to be good material for a real constitutional settlement. But it's secret diplomacy, intrigues, flabbiness and weakness, that are the things to be feared. There must be no repetitions of the imbecility and cowardness that prompted Redmond to agree to partial partition twice, first at the Buckingham Palace Conference, and again a year ago when his agreement with Lloyd George was repudiated by Asquith at the dictation of the Tory reactionaries in England.

New York had a Constitutional Convention in 1915. It was rather a representative body. I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the *Delegates' Manual* of that convention. The first part of it giving the con-

stitution of the State of New York you may not be interested in. But the part on pages from 110 to 115, inclusive, giving the organization of the convention, and the standing committees, and the rules of the convention, pages 117 to 135, inclusive, and the subsequent rules all relating to the convention, special committees, and miscellaneous provisions, might be of great interest to you. Then, also, there is a digest, page 172 et seq., of miscellaneous rules and precedents applicable to assemblies. I am sorry that I did not send this to you before. The biographies and half tones that make up the second part of the book, may be disregarded. The revised record of the New York Constitutional Convention is in four large volumes, making up 3361 pages, without the index, but you would have no time to study that now. The manual that I am sending you, however, may be of use if not to you at least to Horace Plunkett or to the secretaries.

You have a great opportunity for great service. The world will applaud a settlement that will be a real solution. A division of Ireland, even two or three counties, will be regarded as an Ulster victory and will be branded by Irishmen all over the world as another English trick. Anything even that looks like an Ulster victory will be bad. People in this country understand the Irish question better than people in England dream of. People in this country sympathize with Ireland because they feel that she fairly won her innings and was cheated out of it. They know, as I wrote to Plunkett a few days ago, that the resistance by Ulster of Home Rule would never have gone to the extent that it did but for the encouragement of Englishmen and English financiers; that the English interests and Tory reactionaries who wished to prevent the carrying forward of English fiscal reforms, looked about for a way of defeating the Liberal Party and said: "Why, there's Carson, he can always be depended upon to do a thorough job, and there's Ulster. Let's make Carson the hammer and Ulster the anvil and we'll raise 'a moral issue' and 'a religious issue' and the Ulster people will swallow it, and we'll either break the Liberal Party or force an election; not because we love Ulster or are afraid of religious persecution, but because we propose to get the Liberals out and the Tories in, for it serves our personal and business and economic interest to do so." The rest you know, the rest is well known here; the House of Lords act; delay; and then when the House of Lords Act was passed, the Ulster volunteers, Carson's treason, disaffection in the army, the Curragh treason, Carson's visit to the Kaiser, open threats of rebellion in Ulster by Carson and the others in and out of Ulster, the Buckingham Palace Conference, its failure, and then the war. Nobody disputes today these three facts: (1) That Germany would not have forced the war if she had thought that England would come in. (2) That Germany felt sure that England would not come in because chiefly of the Ulster business and what was believed in Germany to be general treason and disaffection in the English army. (3) That therefore Carson, Smith and Company and the English Tories, who backed them, are more responsible for this war than any other body of men in the world except the German general staff. That's

the belief of people in this country generally. Even if it be said that it's a wrong belief, or an unfounded belief, still I say to you as a fact that it is their general belief. Then even when the war broke out Asquith, in a spirit of attorneyship and not of statesmanship, put the Home Rule Act on the Statute Book but provided that it should not go into effect until after the war and then only with amendments, giving, as was said, a promissory note payable after death; giving with one hand and taking away with the other. So if the English people care a damn about public opinion in this country, let them look to it, in their own interest, that there shall not come out of this convention a suspicion or a belief that Ulster has won, that Ulster has had her way, that secret diplomacy again has come out on top, that back-stair intrigue and private understandings and not broad statesmanship and a genuine desire to promote the interests of Ireland have had the day.

Personally since we came into the war, I am interested in Ireland only as a part of the British Empire. I have been saying for months that Ireland is the scene of Germany's greatest and most bloodless victory. Sixty to seventy-five thousand British soldiers locked up in Ireland, recruiting hurt if not almost stopped in Ireland, and thus a possible and probable loss to the British army of another seventy-five thousand at least, making one hundred and fifty thousand taken out of the firing line and without the firing of a German gun, nor the loss of a butcher with a spiked helmet on his head. In addition to that, volunteering brought almost to a standstill in Canada, and conscription defeated in Australia. That's a big price for England to pay. I hope that the straight thing will be done now and that these bad conditions in Ireland may be reversed, that Ireland will be given Home Rule promptly, genuine Home Rule to an undivided Ireland, that the English soldiers now in Ireland can then go back to the firing line, that enlistment will be resumed in Ireland, that a different feeling will prevail in Canada and Australia, and that public opinion in this country will applaud and rejoice at the work of the convention as a genuine honest settlement. If the work of the convention brings about this result, Plunkett and you and men like you, too, will have done not merely lasting good for Ireland, but will have delivered a powerful blow toward the defeat of the common enemy of all.

With kind regards, I am, *Sincerely yours*

6235 • TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.^o*

Oyster Bay, August 9, 1917

Dearest Ted, Your letter has come, and I am immensely delighted, all the more because of my surprise, for I had no idea that you could make a *regular* regiment in a line position;¹ and I knew, and cordially sympathized with,

¹ Theodore, Jr., had been ordered to command the 1st battalion of the 26th infantry regiment in the A.E.F.'s 1st division. Archibald was transferred to his brother's regiment shortly after this letter was written. Quentin sailed in July for Europe with the 95th aero squadron. Also in July, Kermit reached England en route to Mesopotamia.

your desire to be in the line. You have the fighting tradition! It is a great thing to have done; I am very greatly pleased.

Evidently Archie has done very well also. Personally I do not in the least regret that he is not in your regiment; I much doubt the advisability of having brothers together in a regiment as a *permanent* thing, altho it may be well, and indeed very desirable, for some particular emergency. In the same way, if I had obtained a division or brigade I would not have wanted any of my sons on my staff or around headquarters.

The enclosed about Kermit also pleased me much. I have no idea that the War Department will act favorably on the recommendation, but it has real value, nevertheless. Quentin must be in France by this time with the rest of the first group of airmen.

Ethel has had an anxious time with little Richard who had to be operated on for appendicitis. Dick is with her, from Oglethorpe, in fine shape, and eager to be on the other side; he will return to Oglethorpe as soon as we are sure that all danger of complications is over, which will I think be soon.

I do'n't write you anything about the way military matters here are progressing because I do'n't know what the censor will let pass.

I am busy, writing and occasionally speaking; I have had various offers which are good from the financial side; but my interest of course now lies entirely in the work of you four boys, for my work is of no real consequence — what I did was done in the Spanish War and the decade following; and now I am overjoyed that you four have your chance, whatever the cost.

I suppose you have heard from the blessed little family at Newport and know that they are all well.

Cousin Emlen & Cousin Christine are great comforts to us. Gracie is with us for a fortnight; we are devoted to her. *Your loving father*

6236 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Ms.

New York, August 15, 1917

Dear Cabot: To whom does Moreton Frewen refer? ¹ Grey, the Governor-General of Canada, or Edward Grey, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs? I will write as soon as you let me know. By the way what is Moreton Frewen's address?

No wonder you find the situation trying. I do my best to stem the tide of which you speak. Congress has done excellently; the fault is exclusively with the Administration. The shipping was not delayed only for three months; it was delayed for six months.² It was inexcusable of the President not to begin to prepare the day after the German note was received.

¹ Frewen had told Lodge, who then wrote Roosevelt, that Earl Grey, the former Governor-General of Canada, was seriously ill. He died on August 29.

² Lodge had condemned Wilson for supporting William Denman against General Goethals during their prolonged disagreement over shipbuilding policy, a disagreement which seriously delayed the construction of merchant ships and provoked

The whole attitude of the administration has been really infamous. I agree absolutely with what you say as to policy as regards the earnings of industries, and handling our business affairs.³ I also of course absolutely agree with your criticisms of the ridiculous creatures whom Wilson puts in office. Denman was an active pro-German, a man of ability, but morally unfit for the job. Bainbridge Colby has not a qualification for the place he was put in, nor for any other place, and neither has Lippmann. Felix Frankfurter would do well in certain positions, but he is an absurd misfit in the position in which he has been put.⁴ *Ever yours*

P.S. Your telegram has just come; I'll write Earl Grey.

6237 · TO THOMAS EDWARD WATSON

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, August 17, 1917

My dear Mr. Watson: I have no idea how to advise you, because I am utterly ignorant of the law.¹ It certainly seems to me an outrage that you are not given specifications of the complaints against you which in the opinion of the Post-Office Department justify the refusal of the mails to you. Most emphatically judging from the comparatively small number of extracts from your paper which I have read, it is an outrage for the Administration to proceed against you when it does not interfere with publications in New York such as those of Messrs. Bernard Ridder² and Viereck. Until I know what it is the Department objects to in your publications I am unable to say more than that on its face there seems to have been a gross discrimination against you, and that I believe you are entitled, at any rate morally, to a full bill of particulars. *Faithfully yours*

Goethals' indignant resignation. Lodge expected Edward N. Hurley, whom Wilson had appointed chairman of the shipping board, to perform adequately; see Lodge to Roosevelt, August 14, 1917, Roosevelt Mss.

³ Lodge believed that business should be permitted to earn large profits which should be subject to heavy taxes to defray the expenses of war. A limitation on profits, he feared, would discourage business expansion and thereby cripple the war effort. Roosevelt did not entirely agree with the details of this policy; see No. 6241.

⁴ Lodge had also objected to the appointments of Bainbridge Colby as a commissioner on the United States Shipping Board and Walter Lippmann and Felix Frankfurter as assistants to the Secretary of War. Frankfurter was also made counsel to the President's Mediation Commission.

¹ Under the authority of the Espionage Act of 1917, Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson had without explanation excluded from the mails Thomas E. Watson's *Jeffersonian*. On September 1 Judge Speer refused to grant an injunction to restrain federal authorities from enforcing this exclusion; see No. 6247. A few weeks later the old Populist leader suspended publication of his periodical.

² Bernard Herman Ridder, son of Herman Ridder; since 1915 president of the New York *Staats-Zeitung*.

New York, August 17, 1917

Dear Arthur: You can't imagine how Edith and I reveled in your letter. It was written with all your old-time spirit and humor; and we enjoyed every word, including the reference to the ex-President of the United States in his family role of Bongo. Of course, my dear Arthur, we were touched and pleased by what you said of our family. I am very proud of my four boys and of Dick, and I am very, very proud of their gallant little wives, and proudest of all of Edith.

I hope the censor won't see this, but I will chance it. It was the most colossal misfortune of the century that in this crisis, the crisis which from the standpoint of the world is as great as the crisis of the Civil War was to the United States—it was the most colossal misfortune that in this crisis our President should be an absolutely selfish, cold-blooded, and unpatriotic rhetorician. Wilson has a very great deal of ability of the most sinister type: which consists in puzzling honest stupid men; in appealing to powerful and evil men; and above all in appealing to whatever is evil or foolish in the average man, who, although he has these qualities in him, also has very noble qualities to which the right appeal could be made. The average man has in him both the Mr. Hyde and Dr. Jekyll. Lincoln could successfully appeal to one side of him; Wilson does successfully appeal to the other. Every trouble we have at this moment in this country is primarily due to Wilson. All the men who are opposing the war, or attacking England, or praising Germany are merely quoting what Wilson said as late as December and January last. Our greatest danger now is the effort for "peace without victory," for which the Hearst and German papers, and all the pro-Germans and pacifists, now strive; and here all they do is to quote Wilson's elaborate arguments of last winter. Of course I live in terror of his reverting to that idea; but I hope that the mere march of events will force him into a constantly stronger warlike effort, which will itself finally commit him irretrievably. What we are doing in preparation would have been excellent if we had started doing it just three years ago. As a matter of fact, during the seven months we have done very little. Wilson has believed that his purpose would be served by lofty rhetoric of the utterly insincere type, by lending money and furnishing food and munitions of war. At the bottom of his heart he is anxious to prevent any fighting by our troops. In the first place he does not wish anyone to gain any glory in the war. His antagonism to Wood and myself is partly because he has been obliged to reverse himself and come to the policy we have for three years advocated, and partly because he feared we might get credit if we went to war. He was not in the least afraid of our doing badly. He is not a patriotic man, and he would have been glad to send us if he thought we would do badly. What he was afraid of was that we would do well. It has been literally criminal to waste

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Roosevelt and Wood at Plattsburg: "Shame and disgrace will come to us if we do not keep ourselves in shape to guard our own vital rights."



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seven months before seriously starting to build cargo ships, and during this interval he has prevented Schwab¹ from building them for your people. I of course absolutely agree with you that what we need now is men at the front; and always more of them; and that the moral effect of resolute energy would be immense. Late though it was, the condition of things was so evenly balanced in Europe that if Wilson had acted with any real energy and wisdom, if he had drawn on every resource of the nation, and had begun speeding up for the war as soon as the German note arrived on the 31st of January last, I believe we would now have struck the decisive blow. With our enormous wealth and resources I still believe that we shall become a ponderable element in the war next spring; but until that time I doubt if we will count for as much as Belgium or Roumania. I am doing everything I can, but it is mighty little. Our people are very far away from the actual scene of events. They are prone to boastfulness and to self-satisfaction, and they tend to behave a good deal as Asquith and the people behind him would have behaved three years ago if England had been separated from the continent by the Atlantic Ocean instead of by the Channel.

One small but real difficulty with which I steadily have to contend is the natural desire of the Allies to overpraise Wilson. It would be a frightful mistake not to speak well of him, so far as what he has done warrants speaking well of him, and to refrain at all hazards from uttering a word of criticism about him; but to praise him without reserve, as many Englishmen and Frenchmen naturally tend to do, is not only a damage to the United States (which of course does not concern them) but is a very great damage to their own countries; for if Wilson renews his confidence that in the end by dexterous thimblerrigging he can secure a peace without victory, and get the applause of the pacifists and pro-Germans here, and at the same time escape any condemnation from the bewildered people who if properly led would make any sacrifice in order to secure the necessary overwhelming triumph, the result may be very evil. Ian Hay Beith offers an example in point. He has had a most fulsome article of praise about Wilson, not merely praising him for going into the war which was quite proper, but praising him for all he did before the war, which was about like praising Asquith and Haldane for their attitude to Germany and Lord Roberts prior to the war. This article was brought to Wilson by one of his friends, and this friend remarked to me in triumph, without any idea of the importance of what he was saying, that it had a real effect in making Wilson believe that there was no hurry, and that the Allies would be quite satisfied by benevolence, money and food from us, without putting our men into the firing line in large masses. It would have been very foolish for Beith to have at-

¹ Charles M. Schwab after service in the Carnegie, Edgar Thompson, and Homestead steel companies became the first president of the United States Steel Corporation. During the war he was director of shipbuilding for the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

tacked Wilson; and as he hasn't the slightest obligation to America there was no reason why he should not try to damage America; but it is not a nice thing for him to try to damage France and England. Of course, the simple truth is that we would have gone into the war far more heartily immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania* than at the time we finally did go rearwards into it. Wilson did not wait until he had America behind him before entering the war; on the contrary he did everything possible to prevent the feeling in the United States against Germany from growing as it actually did grow, and from pushing him into the war. He did all that he could to excite feeling against the Allies, and he never acted against Germany until, in spite of himself, the feeling grew so strong that in a moment of petulance he did act; and since acting he has done his level best to kill the spirit of our people. I do not mean that he had any preference for Germany over England or France; he had no preference for any nation—not even for the United States. His preference was solely for himself and his thought has been and is now solely for his own personal and political fortunes.

Give my love to Ruth and Faith, and congratulate them upon what they are doing. Ethel has spent three weeks in St. Luke's Hospital with poor little Richard who had appendicitis, but she has just moved him out to our house together with the baby.

With very hearty good wishes, *Ever yours*

6239 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.⁹*

Oyster Bay, August 22, 1917

Dearest Ted, Eleanor's and Archie's letters have come,¹ and seem to indicate that Archie was not very well pleased with his former regiment and is very much pleased where he is at present, under you in your battalion. Nevertheless I wish you and he would consider most seriously what I have said as to the inadvisability, other things being equal, of one brother being in immediate command of another. There is always risk for the younger one in such an arrangement, for if he does well and the older one treats him with justice it is nevertheless certain to be set down to favoritism. I do not, of course, and can not, know the facts as they are; therefore I can not advise; but I do ask you to consider what I have said. You might talk of the matter with Colonel Duncan²—to whom pray present my very warm regards.

Monroe,³ against every discouragement, and altho refused admission to

¹ Eleanor was in Paris with the Y.M.C.A.

² George Brand Duncan, Theodore, Jr.'s, commanding officer, was promoted in August 1917 to brigadier general in charge of the 1st division's 1st brigade. In this position he became the first American officer to command a sector of the western front.

³ Monroe Robinson.

the camps three times on account of his eye, kept on and is now a 2d lieutenant in the 2. M.C. George⁴ is Adjutant General of a brigade under General Michie.⁵ Stewart Elliot⁶ is in the flying corps. I had a very interesting letter from Rudyard Kipling about Kermit's and Belle's visit to him; and a very satisfactory letter from Kermit. The papers say that he visited your camp. Ethel's babies are now with us; she is at Oglethorpe with Dick; he hopes to get across next month.⁷

Well, I am *very* proud of you — and of all my boys. And my only personal consolation is that I was in the only war I had a chance at, even altho it was only a small one. *Your loving father*

Ought I to write you care of the War Dept or merely American Expeditionary Army, France?

6240 · TO ELEANOR ALEXANDER ROOSEVELT *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.*⁹

Oyster Bay, August 23, 1917

Dearest Eleanor, Your letter from Paris was most satisfactory. You lovely, competent person, I delight in thinking of you with your French Class of Troopers in the evening, and of your care of the canteen — in the famous rubber boots, I hope — in the afternoon.

The Lady Camel is *very* well, thank you; she had rather forgotten about being a camel until the other afternoon when I mentioned it, and she instantly looked very pretty and felt very woebegone, and realized that she was mated to a dull-nerved, coarse-natured unappreciative and non-understanding boor — a jovial boor, which made it worse — and that life stretched before and behind in a straight, monotonous, dusty road of uncheered duty. Then we *did* cheer up; and took a three hours row on the glassy sound, in the boat with a chair in it — by the way, *does* the memory of the inequitably divided chairlessness of the picnic boat still rankle?

Every body works but Father! I spend my time refusing innumerable requests from Tom-fools who think speeches *would* count, and making a very speeches which as a matter of fact *do'n't* count. Large masses of men still vaguely feel that some how I can say something which will avoid all criticism of the Government and yet make the Government instantly remedy everything that is wrong; whereas in reality nothing now counts except the actual doing of the work; and that I am allowed to have no part in. Generals

⁴ George Roosevelt.

⁵ Robert E. Lee Michie, a career cavalry officer, had been a member of the American mission to Russia. On his return to the United States he took command of the 53rd infantry brigade. He died shortly after he arrived in France.

⁶ Stuart Ellis Elliott, grandson of Roosevelt's mother's half brother, Daniel Stuart Elliott, was training at Mineola field.

⁷ Derby spent thirteen months in France as division surgeon for the 2nd division of the A.E.F.

Wood and Crowder have been denied the chance to render service;¹ appointments are made primarily on grounds of seniority — which in war time is much like choosing Poets Laureate on the same grounds; naturally their feelings are too deep for full expression.

There is plenty of traitorous talk here, by avowed traitors, and pro-Germans, and pacifists; but the Government only acts where it has a private spite to gratify; and mine is mere empty denunciation.

Well, at any rate I am very, very proud of my four boys and their wives, and of Ethel, and Dick and Flora. *Your loving father*

6241 · TO HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, August 28, 1917

My dear Senator Johnson: I write to express a word of sympathy with you in your position as regards the excess profits matter, as I understand it.¹ Of course it would be a calamity to restrict profits so as to reduce production. In the purchases made by the Government it ought to pay prices high enough to enable not merely the big manufacturers, but the smaller and less advantageously situated manufacturers, to secure a generous living profit. This means that the big manufacturers would have excess profits; and the proper way to reach these is by taxing them heavily. What is most needed at present is a very heavily graduated tax on the excess profits due to war conditions; a tax as heavy as Great Britain has now imposed. *Very sincerely yours*

P.S. I don't suppose that this will be of the least use to you, my dear Senator, but if by any chance you care to make use of it, you are entirely welcome to do so.

6242 · TO JOEL ELIAS SPINGARN

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, August 28, 1917

*My dear Major Spingarn:*¹ I wish to thank you for that volume of capital essays. The two last were especially enjoyed by me because they were more

¹ Wood had been given a minor post commanding the 89th division of the new national army. Enoch Herbert Crowder served as the army's provost marshal general from May 1917 to July 1919.

¹ Johnson, supported by La Follette, Norris, and Borah, proposed on August 31 an amendment to the war revenue bill providing for a flat rate of 73 per cent on excess profits. Nearly all the Republican senators joined the Administration to defeat the amendment. These Republicans, headed by Lodge, Kellogg, and Poindexter, supported the recommendation of the Senate Committee on Finance for a tax graduated to a maximum of 60 per cent on all earnings above the average profits for the years 1911 to 1913. Roosevelt believed the maximum rate should be, as in Britain, 80 per cent; see No. 6249. The bill, signed on October 3, called for a tax which was about like that proposed by the finance committee and endorsed by Lodge, Kellogg, and Poindexter.

¹ Joel Elias Spingarn, professor of comparative literature at Columbia, 1909-1911; unsuccessful Republican candidate for Congress from the 18th District of New York,

within my very moderate powers of critical appreciation. I know nothing of the drama except that I am ashamed to say I don't care to go to the theater; and nevertheless I do very greatly care to read certain plays in my library. But your two final chapters dealt with matter I *can* fairly well understand, and I agree with every word. Personally, I don't care a rap whether we call *The Flight of a Tartar Tribe*, or certain paragraphs in the *Confessions of an Opium Eater*, prose or vers libre. I think that it might help the eye to have parts of them arranged as the *Spoon River Anthology* is arranged, in irregular lines. But in any event I enjoy what seems to me to be the rhythm, and the beauty and majesty of the diction. I enjoy Wordsworth's sonnets and I enjoy Shakespeare's sonnets; and I don't care in the least if someone proves to me that Shakespeare did not write sonnets but something else. On the other hand, I loathe Wordsworth's *Excursion*, and not Matthew Arnold himself would persuade me to read it. I delight in "The Saga of King Olaf" and Othello and "Belisarius," and Simon Danz, and the Mystery of the Sea, and I don't care for *Evangeline* or any of Longfellow's plays; and I cannot give any reasoned-out explanations in either case! *Faithfully yours*

6243 · TO WILLIAM GREENOUGH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 29, 1917

*Dear Greenough:*¹ That's a very interesting letter of your father's. I entirely agree with every point that he makes, excepting my usefulness. I fear it would not be wise for me to act as he suggests, because Wilson would take peculiar pleasure in following the directly opposite course from anything I recommended. I may have to go over to see how things are after our boys get to the front, but even then I shall be reluctant to go, because I shall be so helpless, and yet people will expect that I can accomplish something. One of the most ominously instructive things in history is the difference between Hannibal's career when, although in an incredibly difficult position, he had behind him the war party of Carthage and an army he and his father had trained; and the last unhappy decade of his life when he was in Asia Minor, continually asked by Asiatic Kings to help them do something against Rome, and yet absolutely powerless to accomplish anything in the positions in which they put him. *Faithfully yours*

1908; delegate to the Progressive National Conventions of 1912 and 1916; chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1913-1919; infantry major in the United States Army, 1917-1919; author of many books including *Creative Criticism* (1917) which he had sent to Roosevelt.

¹ William Greenough, New York City lawyer.

Oyster Bay, September 1, 1917

Dearest Ted, Your letters are most interesting; and I am *very* proud of you! I have just written Colonel Duncan, as you requested.

Evidently you have done extremely well with your battalion. Yes, I was entirely wrong about the job of being Major; under present conditions its like being Colonel in my day, and the Colonel is like an old-style Brigade Commander. In Cuba when I was Colonel I had in my "regiment" 8 troops of 70 men each; a smaller command than yours. You have had gruelling work; but, Lord, it has been worth while!

I have just received the nicest letter from Colonel Pouydraquin, commanding the division of Chasseurs Alpins who were with your division;¹ it ran in part (I translate freely): — "We were particularly touched to meet in the first line among the company officers your two sons; it was a pleasure to see their fine energy and soldierly eagerness. The companies they commanded, and to which they themselves gave the example of duty, are already to be singled out as among the best of the young troops of the 1st Division." Its worth while to have made such an impression; and I am a proud and happy man when I think of you two — and of my other two boys also.

I am immensely pleased that Kermit got down to see you. He is just where he ought to be. And so is Quentin.

It is difficult to write you of anything here, because it all seems trivial compared to the real work, the work of all of you at the front. I am so emphatically out of kilter with the Administration that I can do little except war on the Hun within our Gates, and try to spur our people forward to constantly speedier and more effective action. I am about to publish a book for which Mother gave me the name — "The Foes of Our Own Household." I wish we would act more speedily in the present; and I wish that we would now prepare for the future by introducing as a permanent policy universal obligatory military training.

General Wood has been given a division of the drafted army to train, in Kansas; naturally he feels very bitterly.

After Oct 1st I shall write for the Kansas City Star, at a salary of \$25,000; I shall still write a short monthly editorial for the Metropolitan at a salary of \$5,000. About all I can do now is to earn what money I can for Archie, & perhaps Quentin, during the war, and have things ready for them to start after the war. My real task is done, and most satisfactorily done, by mother and by me — the raising of you four boys, in such shape that we lift our heads with pride whenever we think of you, or whenever anyone asks after you.

¹ Colonel N. Pouydraquin's celebrated "Blue Devil" Chasseurs Alpins were training Pershing's troops in small arms and hand-to-hand combat.

I have to make an occasional speech; but I make none which I can possibly avoid.

In preparation, we have wasted many months; but now we do seem to be beginning. Tomorrow, Sunday, I go over to visit the 69th at Mineola; the Colonel was in the Santiago campaign with me.² Thanks to Franklin Bell I got Monroe put under him, at Yaphank, with the drafted men. George is Brigade Adjutant with General Michie. We have excellent material in the National Guard and drafted army; but the regiments ought to be under young Regular officers; only the old officers who are good should be kept.
Your loving father

6245 · TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT *Archibald B. Roosevelt Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, September 1, 1917

Dearest Archie, Your letters are the greatest possible comfort and pleasure.

Here Mother interrupts to send the enclosed letter; it is her first essay in typewriting; I laughed until I cried over it, and have persuaded her not to make a correction; it contains any amount of news, and the spelling, the repetition of letters, the use of capitals, the telescoping of words, and a genial aspect of exhilaration make it a document of priceless worth.

I have written you how greatly attached we have become to Gracie; I love her dearly; I wish she could be always in the house; and when you come back you will find her and little Archie-or-Dabney permanently installed here! Mother and I will look after her exactly as if she were Ethel.

Last Sunday Captain Bertrand¹ of the Chasseurs Alpins came out to lunch; we had the Couderts and Arthur Hill, who speak French well; and we were immensely taken with him personally, and fairly enthralled by his accounts of his personal experiences. He was touchingly attached to you; and I really think that he enjoyed being at our house and meeting us. I had just written a review of a French book about one of his comrades, also a Protestant, Raoul Allier.² I have always found that French and Swiss-French protestants are the continental Europeans for whom I care most.

I am steadily preaching our duty to see this war through, at no matter what cost, and no matter how long it takes; and this altho selfishly I should rejoice beyond measure at anything that sent you four home. But as you say, there are prices too dear to pay for safety! And, Lord, how the good fellows

² Colonel Charles De Lano Hine, commander of the 165th — formerly the 69th — infantry regiment in New York's 42nd National Guard division.

¹ Georges Bertrand-Vigne, served in the French embassy at Washington during the Second World War.

² For the *Outlook* of September 5, 1917, Roosevelt wrote a short essay on the life of Roger Allier, a Chasseur Alpin killed in the war, as described by the boy's father, Raoul Allier, a professor of Protestant theology in Paris. The lesson of the book for Americans in 1917 could be found in the fact that it "is singularly free from bitterness."

that are left behind envy you who have gone! Dick is fretting so that Ethel writes she eagerly desires to have him go; I am about to try to use any influence I have with Gorgas for him.

I am more proud of you, and of the other three, than I can say. And every one who speaks to me of you boys does it with a look and in a tone that make my heart swell. I am particularly proud of you and Ted having at once got into the line; and this has impressed every one. Well — the mighty days came, and you and your brothers were equal to the days.

Flora has been out here for dinner again, and is a perfect trump; she'll be in the same class with my other three daughters in law!

Bob Perkins was out here last week, once for dinner, and once for lunch; he has received a letter from you and another from Ted, and was immensely pleased.

The National Guard regiments are just going into camp, and the draft army contingents are slowly beginning to assemble for *their* camps; I think the officers in both cases, but especially as regards the draft army, have their work cut out. I am glad Kermit is not in it.

General Franklin Bell told me that if the Government would not send him abroad he intended to retire and then to cross the seas as a volunteer, and that he hope Leonard Wood and I would go with him — as the Three Elderly Musketeers I suppose; and I fear we would not be very welcome auxiliaries.

Indeed it is the finest thing going to be a member of the First American Expeditionary Force; and I agree with every word you say as to how we ought to handle our military forces. But of course I can not in even the smallest degree influence the men at Washington.

Ethel is with Dick at Oglethorpe; Richard and wee Edie are too dear for anything. *Your loving father*

6246 · TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Quentin Roosevelt Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, September 1, 1917

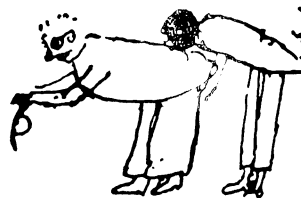
Dearest Quentin, We were immensely pleased to get a note from Miss Emily Tuckerman saying that you, and the blessed Harrahs, were all in Paris together. I hope you saw Eleanor.

Miss Giren Wilson is just leaving for six months in France with the Red Cross; she is immensely pleased. The other evening she and darling Flora came over to dinner. Really, we are inexpressibly touched by Flora's attitude towards; she is the dearest girl; and the way that pretty, charming pleasure-loving young girl has risen to the heights as soon as the need came is one of the finest things I have seen. By George, you *are* fortunate.

I suppose you are now hard at work learning the new type of air-game. My disappointment at not going myself was down at bottom chiefly reluctance to see you four, in whom my heart was wrapped, exposed to danger



Little old S.O.B. Jr.
Black chauffeur



My Mary - she is wearing (unpinned)

He is severe but - Kindly to all
Ordinary Members of his Family

But - when he hears Mother coming his
Face shows that - he knows his Place



while I stayed at home in do-nothing ease and safety. But the feeling has now been completely swallowed in my immense pride in all four of you. I feel that *Mother*, and all of *you* children, have by your deeds justified *my* words! !

I hope to continue earning a good salary until all of you come home, so that I can start Archie and you all right. Then I intend to retire. An elderly male Cassandra has-been can do a little, a very little, towards waking the people now and then; but undue persistency in issuing Jeremiads does no real good and makes the Jeremiah an awful nuisance.

I am just publishing a book, for which Mother gave me the title: — “The Foes of our own Household”; I dedicate it on behalf of both of us to our sons and daughters — the latter to include daughters in law, and Flora shall have her copy with a special inscription to show that she is included among those of whom I am most proud.

I make a few speeches; I loathe making them; among other reasons because I always fear to back up the Administration too strongly lest it turn another somersault. At the moment New York City, having seen the National Guard, fresh from gathering at the Armories, parade, believes that Germany is already conquered! *Your loving father*

6247 • TO EMORY SPEER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 4, 1917

My dear Judge Speer: This letter I suppose must be treated as purely personal and private because I do not know whether I am violating any of the proprieties in writing to you. If so, my dear Judge, I know you will pardon an old friend and admirer, a man who feels that you have rendered, often at great personal cost, invaluable services to our nation.

I write for information, purely for my own private use, about the keeping of Watson's paper, *The Jeffersonian*, out of the mails. He has sent me a pamphlet purporting to give his editorials on the war issues, because of which his paper was ruled from the mails.

I am absolutely opposed to Mr. Watson on certain of the positions he takes — and you may notice that one of his chief counts against Mr. Wilson is that Mr. Wilson has adopted *my* views! I am, for example, entirely and fundamentally opposed to his views about sending troops abroad, and about the unconstitutionality of the draft. I believe in universal obligatory military training and service, and I believe that in time of war all the people of this country, and especially all the soldiers of this country, can be used by the nation in any way, and in any part of the world, where their services will do most good. There are various other statements he makes to which I am, of course, equally opposed; but these two I single out as in the present matter the most important.

But to say that a man's position is wrong is not in the least equivalent to

saying that his paper should be kept out of the mails because he takes that position. As far as I can see, Mr. Watson's chief offense now is that he continues to take the positions which President Wilson took for two years and a half prior to our entering into the war. I thought President Wilson all wrong, and my opinion is not altered. I thought his letters and speeches calculated to do the most far-reaching harm to the American people — and I think they did such harm; I think he did a hundred-thousand-fold more harm than poor Watson could possibly do. But I would not say that it was improper to circulate his speeches through the mails. I think, however, it was just exactly as improper so to circulate them as now to circulate Mr. Watson's paper. Let me repeat that the head and front of Mr. Watson's offending is that he continues to take substantially the position which Mr. Wilson for two and a half years took, and that he fortifies himself by quotations from Mr. Wilson's speeches and writings. I think he is all wrong. I think Mr. Wilson was all wrong; and Mr. Wilson can only be justified now if he and his supporters frankly admit that he was entirely wrong and that he won the election last year on false pretenses; but I would not on this account regard Mr. Wilson as being subject to impeachment. Yet I would think, with my present knowledge, that to keep *The Jeffersonian* out of the mails, and to impeach Mr. Wilson for what he has done, would stand on about the same level.

Again, why has the Administration selected poor Tom Watson to attack? The great Hearst papers and most of the leading German-American papers have been far more vicious and dangerous [and] should, beyond all pressure, be forbidden the mails if there is even serious thought about forbidding Watson's paper to go through the mails. Excepting their size and power, and excepting the fact that these big papers have on various occasions of great importance heartily supported Mr. Wilson in the past, or bitterly attacked Mr. Wilson's political enemies like myself; and excepting the fact that of course they may turn out to be political allies and supporters of Mr. Wilson's in the future, I do not see what ground there is for discriminating in their favor as compared with poor Watson's *Jeffersonian*. You of course in this matter could only decide the case that was before you, but why did the Administration in enforcing the law make such discrimination?

Now, my dear Judge, if you care to write me privately on these matters, I shall be very glad to hear from you.¹ If I have written a letter which ought not to be written to a Judge, I shall ask you to excuse me on the ground that I am not a lawyer and do not know the etiquette in such matters. In any

¹Replying to Roosevelt's letter, Judge Speer said: "While I, of course, agree with much that you write, I could only pass on the case made by the pleadings and the proof. To much of the proof, I did not refer in my opinion because I thought it would give too much encouragement to the enemy. Indeed a number of affidavits were submitted which indicated the most widespread disobedience and threatened resistance to the Selective Draft Enactment, all fomented by the matter printed by Mr. Watson."

event, I shall not speak of having written you, and shall treat our correspondence as purely confidential. *Faithfully yours*

6248 · TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT *Archibald B. Roosevelt Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, September 8, 1917

Dearest Archie, I take advantage of the chance to send this letter by Mrs. Augy Belmont.¹

Your letters to Gracie drift through to us; the dear girl sends us copies; and we enjoy them hugely. Lord, what a good time we'll have when we are all together again! How many, many things there will be to talk over! I feel just as you do about this war; I doubt whether it will be quite as long as you think; but of course I don't know; and at any rate, long or short, at whatever cost, we must see it through. It is a very hard thing on you four to go; but it would be infinitely harder not to go, not to have risen level to the supreme crisis in the world's history, not to have won the right to stand with the mighty men of the mighty days.

This is Gracie's home, and her children's, as it is yours, for all the lives of all of you; and hardly her own father and mother can feel a more tender fondness for her than I do.

Last evening Major Donovan² of the 165th (who would have been a lieutenant colonel in my division) and his four captains dined here. They hope to go abroad in two or three weeks; and then I hope they will see you. They have good fighting stuff in them. Their regiment is at Mineola where I visited it; it is built around the old 69th N.Y.N.G. as a nucleus. They are having difficulties not only with their multitude of raw recruits but with some of the elderly regular officers; for the War Department is paying an amount of attention to seniority that inevitably means much slurring of merit and promotion of demerit.³ In the field I found by actual test that *most* of the elderly regular officers were of little use, altho some were excellent; and that of the younger ones at least a third could with advantage be supplanted by vigorous young men from outside, whose inferiority in military peace-experience was offset by superiority in natural aptitude and in experience in handling men. Wood and I were better than all but half a dozen of the regular Generals, Colonels and Majors, altho inferior to plenty of the younger men; and Jack Greenway, Dave Goodrich, Rock Channing & others of our captains and lieutenants were better than any except the very best of the corresponding

¹ Mrs. August Belmont toured France in the fall of 1917 to obtain information for Red Cross workers who were being trained in this country.

² William Joseph Donovan, lawyer, public servant. In the First World War he won the Congressional Medal of Honor; in the Second World War he organized and brilliantly directed the Office of Strategic Services.

³ It has been pointed out that many of the defects in our troop training described by Roosevelt were rectified in the Second World War as a result of our experience in the First World War.

regulars. On the other hand the poor officers, of our regiment and of the National Guard regiments with us, were very much more numerous than, and very much worse than, the poor officers among the regulars.

I helped the Major review the parade of the drafted men in New York. They have now begun to assemble at the training camps, under the officers from the Plattsburg camps — James and Monroe for example have started for Yaphank, here on Long Island. Those young bears have their troubles before them! I *am* glad that you and Ted are in France with the regulars. And I am more proud of you and of the other three boys than I can possibly put into words. It is becoming the custom for families with members at the front to put out flags with a star for each one of the household who has thus gone; and we have hung out our flag with four stars.

Yesterday the weather was lovely, and mother and I spent some hours in the rowboat on the Sound; the water was like glass. Ethel is still away with Dick, and Richard and the wee baby are with us. *Your loving father*

6249 • TO FRANK BILLINGS KELLOGG

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, September 8, 1917

My dear Senator Kellogg: I am greatly obliged to you for your letter. I am enclosing herewith copy of my speech with the part marked which covers what you speak of.¹ I never mentioned any percentage. Of course, I accept your statement that the tax actually imposed is substantially as high as that of Great Britain and this entirely meets my desire.² I also, of course, entirely understand that we cannot adopt the method adopted in Great Britain to find out what the percentage should be. My speech and the chapter in my forthcoming book where I take substantially the same position, were drawn up in outline by me nearly six weeks ago. I went over them with Vanderlip, with Wiggin, the President of the Chase National Bank, with Fred Allen whom I regard as one of the ablest of the young New York businessmen, and with George Perkins, so that I should be sure to get the ideas of the businessmen who I thought were entitled to be heard.³ After the speech, or the chapter of the book, had been submitted to them, all four expressed themselves in writing to me as in entire agreement with what I had said. You

¹ Roosevelt in a speech given at Chatham, New York, on September 5 advocated "a heavily — a very heavily — graduated tax on the excess profits due to war conditions, a tax as heavy as Great Britain has now imposed."

² Although the maximum rate in the Senate bill was 20 per cent below the top British rate, Kellogg argued that the bill permitted fewer exemptions and laid heavier rates on the lower brackets than did the British tax system.

³ Albert Henry Wiggin was president, 1911–1917, and chairman of the board, 1918–1921, of the Chase National Bank. During the war he served as United States Fuel Administrator for New York State. Frederic Winthrop Allen, stroke of the Yale crew, elected vice-president of the Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York, 1910, was after January 1915 a partner in Lee, Higginson and Company. Roosevelt also consulted Otto Hermann Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb and Company.

do not need to be told the contempt I have for La Follette and his associates, but I have a very great respect for Senator Johnson. By the way, I should be glad to have you communicate to him the substance of this letter and show him the copy of the speech, and of course, show the letter and the speech to Lodge and Poindexter. Let me reiterate that your statement that this excess profits tax is higher than that of Great Britain amply satisfies me. I am as you know, attacking openly and as strongly as I know how, La Follette and the I. W. W. and the party Socialists and all of the rest of that gang. But I most emphatically hope that none of us shall in any way be responsible for enormous profits being made out of the war. As I have said in the speech, there should emphatically be a generous living profit; a profit such as to encourage the maximum of production, but after this has been allowed for, then I do think that it would be a grave misfortune not to provide for a very heavy progressive tax on the excess profits. The phraseology I use is in effect that suggested to me by Frederic Allen. Let me also again say that what I wrote was long before any debate came up, and indeed was sent out to the newspapers some days before the speech itself was delivered. As regards La Follette, anything he proposes I look upon with the deepest distrust but of course neither you nor I would be willing to let this distrust warp our judgment if we found that for some doubtless bad reason he happened on some one point to advocate something good.

I am greatly obliged to you and Lodge and Poindexter for having written me. You can guarantee that I do not intend in any shape or way to embarrass you and men like you. Let me know always when there is something coming up as to which you think I ought to be informed. *Faithfully yours*

6250 · TO WILLIAM CRAWFORD GORGAS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 11, 1917

*My dear General Gorgas:*¹ You and I were comrades in the work of the Panama Canal, and because of that comradeship I now wish to appeal to you, as strongly as I know how, for a favor which I would not ask were I not convinced that to grant it would be to render a service to the United States.

My son-in-law Surgeon Major Richard Derby is in the Medical Officers' Reserve at Fort Oglethorpe. His superiors, Colonels Page and Munson,² can give you full information as to his medical and military professional fitness; I know how highly they have recommended him or I would not ask for him what I do ask. Any New York doctor of standing, especially if he has any knowledge of St. Luke's Hospital, will tell you that Derby is one of the very best men of his age in the profession in New York.

His four brothers-in-law are over, as near the front as any Americans can

¹ Gorgas since January 1914 had been surgeon general of the army.

² Edward L. Munson, trained at Yale, a member of the medical corps of the United States Army.

now get. He wishes with all his heart to himself go over, to be as near the fighting front as anyone, and to be on the spot, ready to go to the fighting front with the first men of his corps who go thither. This is the privilege, the privilege of being where at most risk to himself he can render most service to the army and the nation, which I ask for him.

May I ask that you summon him before you, listen to him, and see whether it is possible to send him over to be with General Pershing's army, at as early a moment as is possible? I ask you to see him, so that you may yourself size him up, and may learn just what position or positions he thinks he is most competent to fill, and then yourself decide what can be done with him.

If you desire I can cable my old friend General Pershing; I hold myself ready to do whatever you tell me in the matter. *Faithfully yours*

I personally vouch for Richard Derby; he is one of the most efficient, high-minded, loyal and fearless men I ever met.

6251 · TO JOSEPH BUFFINGTON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 12, 1917

*My dear Judge Buffington:*¹ I venture to call your attention to Mr. Russell J. Coles of Virginia, whom I had the honor of introducing to President Luther, and whose name has been suggested for an honorary degree by Trinity.² I take a great interest in Mr. Coles because he has done really extraordinary work in the domain of what may be called the faunal naturalist. In connection with ichthyology and because he has also been engaged in very useful work along a totally new line in connection with Mr. Hoover's Food Bureau. Mr. Coles is a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute and his original interest in fish was merely that of so many Virginia sportsmen. But he gradually grew to extend his interest into the scientific side of the subject. He got into touch with the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, and the American Museum of Natural History at New York, and became the best collector and preserver of big and rare fish, and far and away the best expert as regards their life histories. Dr. Lucas of the American Museum of Natural History can give you full information as to his really remarkable scientific work. For the last six months he has been experimenting on the good qualities of the shark and rays with a view to developing hitherto unused food resources should this war last for a long time. Some of his discoveries have been noteworthy.

Mr. Coles is a type of man who does the original work, both in the lab-

¹ Joseph Buffington, a leader of the Pennsylvania legal profession, since 1906 United States circuit judge for the third circuit, later senior and presiding judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

² Roosevelt, much impressed by Coles's career, had himself proposed the scientist to President Luther as a candidate for an honorary degree. Buffington was one of several prominent alumni of Trinity to whom Roosevelt wrote about Coles.

oratory and out-of-doors, which, more and more other foreign nations have grown to recognize as the essential in scientific research. In its own field, this work corresponds to that done by men like Professor Bingham of Yale and Professor Farraday of the University of Pennsylvania in their fields. I very earnestly hope that in Mr. Coles' case it can be endorsed and approved by such an institution of learning as Trinity with its high standing and history. I am, *Very respectfully yours*

6252 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.^o*

Oyster Bay, September 13, 1917

. *Dearest Ted*, Many happy returns of the day!¹ I do hope that you are spending it with Eleanor. Well, until you are an old man you will never be able quite to understand the satisfaction I feel because each of my sons is doing and has done better than I was doing and had done at his age — and I had done well. And of course this is preeminently true of you. I do n't mean that any of you will be President; as regards the extraordinary prizes the element of luck is *the* determining factor; but getting in the class of those who have to their credit worthy, and even distinguished, achievement — that's what I mean.

Mrs. Belmont is taking a letter to you; but as I hear that she has put off sailing I am sending this anyhow.

Eleanor wrote me the most delightful account of Belle's start for Madrid; it was at the best Hurrah level. I love Belle.

Tommy Hitchcock, senior,² is doing wonderfully well in aviation. After six days he went up alone. They have finally developed a motor which is somewhere near the standard of the motors in the fighting planes at the front. I went up for half an hour with one of the pilots of the new machines; and I wish mother could have gone; she would have enjoyed it, for we go fast and yet it is entirely safe.

I am sending you my new book; not to read, for that would be pointless, but just for the satisfaction of sending it to you. I have now begun to write for the *Kansas City Star*, which gives me an opportunity to comment immediately on whatever I think necessary.

A national guard division is over at Mineola, untrained of course, but armed and fairly well equipped and clothed. I have had a number of the officers over here. It expects to go abroad by the end of this month. The draft army is now assembling at the different camps; the officers, from the training camps, are good; the men are willing; but they have for the most part no arms, and have to drill with sticks; and immense numbers have

¹ His thirtieth birthday.

² Roosevelt meant Thomas Hitchcock, III.

no uniforms, while there is a shortage of blankets and tents. Dick, James³ and Monroe are at Yaphank; George is with his N.G. division in South Carolina.
Your loving father

6253 · TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT *Archibald B. Roosevelt Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, September 19, 1917

Dearest Archie, Tell Ted that Colonel Croft left his note for me yesterday at the Metropolitan; Mother and I leave for the west tomorrow; but I have written the Colonel asking him to dine or lunch any day after we return.

Gracie will be here for Oct 8th, and I will most strongly express my approval of your staying by the line and refusing a staff position. We are fighting men; it is in the line that we can do our work to best advantage. I am sure I can make her understand.

I am entirely content to accept your's and Ted's judgement as to your being in the same regiment, as you have evidently thought the matter out.

I am delighted with all I hear of you. You ought to be a captain. I did not doubt that you and Ted would be *at least* up to your jobs, and above the average of those about you; but I thought you might suffer from jealousy. In '98 (hear the veteran of the 10th legion!) I was better than any colonel save one in the regulars before Santiago; but there were a number of the captains and lieutenants whom I esteemed as being at least my equals. In the army it is only the exceptional men who can so conquer the unfavorable conditions in our service as to go on improving after they become Majors; and as soon as a man ceases to improve he goes backward. Of the younger men, a proportion are never able to do really first class work; not as large a proportion as among graduates of Harvard or Yale, but a fair proportion nevertheless. I firmly believe that if allowed to raise my volunteer divisions, on the lines you know, they would have been at this time superior to any other troops in our army. At Santiago my regiment was on the whole better than 21 out of the 24 regular regiments there represented. The fighting officers of our regular army are on the average at least as good as those of any other army in the world. The General Staff, and bureau officers, at Washington at this time are as a whole very poor — with some marked exceptions like Generals Squier & Crowder and Col. Van Deman. But our root trouble is with the men at the top — the three civilians in the highest places who control our army and navy. If our people were reasonably intelligent and informed all three would now be impeached for criminal misconduct in failing to prepare three years ago. The man who really did try to prepare us, Leonard Wood, has been punished with rancorous malevolence, precisely because he did his duty. *Your loving father*

³ James A. Roosevelt.

New York, October 4, 1917

*My dear Mr. Hoover:*¹ I have just telegraphed you on receipt of your letter, which I did not get until after my return from the west. I need hardly say how heartily I am in sympathy with what you are doing, and how strong a supporter I am of you and your movement. I entirely agree also with what you say as to the peculiar need of the movement from the standpoint of the workingman. The workingman is getting enormous wages, but his dollar is purchasing so much less than formerly that there is very grave discontent.

Therefore, my dear sir, I am in entire sympathy with you. But I don't know enough to make a really convincing speech *only* on this matter. It has been in this connection as with the Liberty Loan. I have not made any speech *only* on the Liberty Loan, because while I may not share any other quality with Abraham Lincoln, I do share his lack of intimate acquaintance with finance! Therefore, I have spoken as strongly as possible for the Liberty Loan, but always in connection with some other speech; and this is a course I have followed as regards your work. Can't you or Walcott² arrange to have me given a little précis of what I should say, so that I can use it whenever I do have to make a speech, or can use it if you would like in connection with my work for the *Kansas City Star*? I am very sorry I cannot do as you request; indeed, my dear sir, I would if I were competent for the specialized kind of speech.³ *Faithfully yours*

6255 · TO FRANK ANDREW MUNSEY

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

New York, October 4, 1917

Dear Mr. Munsey: Of course, you did not write the enclosed editorial, called "Arms and Our Men" and so will you please pass this letter on to the man who did write it?

The *Sum* is so very straight and so very sane in war matters that I really regret it has written this editorial. This speech of mine to which it refers was an indictment of our whole people for having failed to prepare in advance; just such an indictment as in the last paragraph in the article is wrongfully made against Congress alone. To show the damage done by failing to prepare in advance, I instanced the shortage of rifles. General Crozier in his articles

¹ Herbert Clark Hoover, then, as United States Food Administrator, formulating his program to save food and keep the prices down by persuading consumers not to purchase commodities at prices above those designated as "reasonable," by prosecuting profiteers, by fixing the price of wheat, by instituting "meatless" and "wheatless" days, and by voluntary reduction of purchases of canned goods.

² Frederic C. Walcott.

³ Although Roosevelt did not make any special address about the work of the Food Administration, he did, as he promised, continually ask the American people to support the food program as a necessary part of the war effort.

expressly admits that what I said was true.¹ His excuse is utterly unworthy. I have trained raw troops. I know how regulars are trained. I know that really efficient officers after training a recruit a week without arms, always like to give him his rifle, train him with that rifle, and train him to take care of it. General Crozier was at one period a very good bureau man for bureau work. He never was a field man, and for the last few years his work has not been done in a way that should make him the head of his bureau at this time.

Two of the Major Generals in charge of the cantonments have told me that they were gravely handicapped in their work by the shortage of rifles and by the complete absence of guns for the artillery. Of course, they can't say this publicly or attack the Administration.

General Crozier's statement as to the "perfectly endurable delay" is entirely wrong. If we were to make new rifles, it was in my judgment, and is I believe in the judgment of the best military men, such as General Leonard Wood, a capital mistake not to have taken either the French or English rifle and its ammunition. Crozier is directly responsible for our not having many hundred thousands of the new rifles now.²

You say in your article that "naturally we have no million new rifles stored in arsenals." There is nothing natural about this, and it was the gross fault of President Wilson and his officers of the War Department including General Crozier. All that was necessary was to run the Springfield Arsenal full time day and night, just as big private businesses are habitually run; then between the time of our first ultimatum to Germany and the declaration of war we would have had over a million more rifles than we actually did have.

In the last paragraph you say that the real responsibility rests on Congress. It does not. It rests on the Administration, that is President Wilson. It is he who is primarily responsible for our unpreparedness; it was he who remained deaf to appeals and who misled Congress and the people by his attitude. For a year and a half he did everything in his power to prevent all preparedness. Then for a year and a half he went every which way, speaking for preparedness sometimes, sometimes speaking and *always* acting against it. After

¹ On September 26 at Camp Grant in Illinois, Roosevelt used the fact that there was one rifle for every three men in camp as a point of departure for a general attack on the Administration's armament program. There were not enough field guns or airplanes. Major General William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, replied two days later that by the time any soldier was ready to go to Europe there would be a rifle for him and that in camps there were enough for purposes of drill. The *New York Times*, a paper favorable to the Administration, considered Crozier's defense a justification of Roosevelt's criticism. Roosevelt himself in the *Metropolitan* in December and the *Kansas City Star* on December 27 again assailed "broomstick preparedness." "Let Uncle Sam . . .," he said, "realize from the experience of the immediate past that unless he prepares long in advance he will be utterly helpless if suddenly menaced with war by a great military nation."

² The War Department had adopted the British Lee-Enfield rifle which was being manufactured in quantity in the United States. Then, at Crozier's urging and over Wood's protest, the department changed the caliber of the rifle to that of the Springfield. Because of this change few Enfields reached American troops before spring 1918.

Garrison was turned out for standing even for an insufficient measure of preparedness, it was utterly impossible to expect that Congress would act favorably.

One of the difficulties I continually encounter in criticizing La Follette is that he is for the most part merely repeating statements that President Wilson made as late as January last, (and also his recent statement that we have "no special grievance against Germany"). Our real difficulty in securing preparedness at present comes from the fact that Mr. Wilson's great adroitness and cleverness (and entire absence of conviction) were during two and a half vital years used to persuade the people *not* to prepare. *Faithfully yours*

6256 • TO CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

*Robinson Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, October 5, 1917

Darling Corinne, It was dear of you to ask us to Henderson; but I think I had better go to a regular ex-trainer where I will *have* to be good!¹ I have of course stood by Mitchell; but I am having my usual experience of being pestered by his fool friends to be "active" in the campaign, which would merely damage him;² he must fight his own fight for Mayor, and any prominence on my part would hurt him — just as I had to fight my own fight for Governor. And if I did take an active part, Mitchell's own friends would soon be saying that I was trying to attract attention to myself!

In my book I told a very small part of the truth that ought to be told; our people are too foolish to face anything like the whole truth at present.

Dearest love to Douglas, Helen and Teddy. *Your devoted brother*

6257 • TO WILLIAM WINGATE SEWALL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 8, 1917

Friend William: This is to introduce one of my best friends, Mr. Hermann Hagedorn. He is writing a biography of me.¹ I told him there is no one who could more clearly give the account of me when I was a young man and ever since, than you. I want you to tell him everything, good, bad and indifferent. Don't spare me the least bit. Give him the very worst side of me you can

¹ To get some rest and lose some weight, Roosevelt had decided to go to the training camp of Jack Cooper in Stamford, Connecticut.

² During the New York mayoralty campaign Roosevelt made one speech and issued one public statement in behalf of John Purroy Mitchel whose allegiance to the "silk-stockings" and unrestrained jingoism had cost him the Republican nomination. Running as an independent with the endorsement of Roosevelt, Root, Hughes, Whitman, and several prominent Wilson Democrats, Mitchel was defeated by Judge John F. Hylan, the Tammany and Hearst candidate, but finished ahead of Morris Hillquit, an antiwar Socialist, and of William M. Bennett, the weak Republican candidate.

¹ Hagedorn, armed with this and many similar letters, collected the materials for his *The Boys' Life of Theodore Roosevelt and Roosevelt in the Bad Lands*.

think of, and the very best side of me that is truthful. Also, I want him to meet Mrs. Pride. I want her to tell too about my residence with Wilbur,² and I want Mrs. Sewall and her both to tell of me and the ranch house when they lived there. I have told Hagedorn that I thought you could possibly come nearer to putting him "next me," as I was seen by a close friend who worked with me when I had "bark on," than anyone else could. Tell him about our snowshoe trips, tell him about my meeting our friend Brown this year and recognizing him and remembering all about him after thirty-five years. Let him see Brown if you can. Tell him about the ranch. Tell him how we got Red Finnegan and the two other cattle thieves. Tell him everything.
Ever yours

6258 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.*⁰

Jack Cooper's, Stamford, Connecticut, October 20, 1917

Dearest Ted, After some weeks delay the foreign mails came through in a bunch and I received your very interesting letters. I am so very glad you saw darling Eleanor — but I well know how terribly hard it was to say good bye to her again. However, you and your brothers are playing your parts in the greatest of the world's great days, and what man of gallant spirit does not envy you? You are having your crowded hours of glorious life; you have seized the great chance, as it was seized by those fought at Gettysburg, and Waterloo, and Agincourt, and Arbela and Marathon.

You are indeed to be congratulated on having General Duncan for your brigade commander and General Seibert¹ for your divisional commander. I am sure that your division is now ready for service. I grow hot with indignation over the folly and complacent sloth responsible for the fact that there are not now, as there readily could have been, half a dozen other divisions to go with you to the front. At the moment I am doing what I can to help the liberty loan; I have taken sixty thousand dollars worth of bonds. I am also warring against the Huns within our gates, from La Follette and Hearst to the Socialists and I.W.W., whenever the chance offers.

The things I would like to tell you I do not suppose the censor would pass. *Your loving father*

6259 · TO ELEANOR ALEXANDER ROOSEVELT *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.*⁰

Jack Cooper's, Stamford, Connecticut, October 20, 1917

Darling Eleanor, I am so glad Ted got up to see you. You have been such a comfort to the other boys; and I hear from everyone of the remarkable work you have done.

²Roosevelt meant Wilmot Dow.

¹William Luther Sibert, at this time commanding officer of the first American troops in France.

Do you remember the piece, "Napoleon in Harlem," which you showed me? Well I am living in the middle of it now. I came up here to stay a fortnight and lose a little weight and get a little wind. The household enthalls me. The men are professional athletes, touching the underworld on one side, and gilded youth and frayed gilded age on the other; and accepting it all as simply as so many June bugs. Jack Cooper is an old-time skin-glove fighter, who has made training almost into a fine art, and is an intimate friend of noted criminals and multimillionaires, with sporting persons of both sexes thrown in. Gus Nowka is a heel-and-toe ex-professional; a Spanish-war veteran, and Y.M.C.A. physical instructor; he reads the Y.M.C.A. bulletin with absorbed interest. Their attitude towards life and their surroundings is precisely that of the persons in "Napoleon in Harlem." Jack Cooper shook his head over the life business of a friend which to me seemed no more odd than his own, and remarked "some guys will do most anything to earn a living"! Gus, who came here from Germany when one year old, but who is a New Yorker of the straightest sect, remarked on seeing some Italians going off with shotguns: "They ought'n't to be allowed to do that; I never did stand for furriners anyway!" The housekeeper, chamber maid and waitress is a most friendly and capable girl of Irish parentage, Margeret Walsh. The fat cook, Rose Hoffman, is "a Hungarian lady; her husband is a German gentleman." Her son is in the regulars — the family pedigree reminds me a little of the kangaroo whose "father was a whale with a feather in his tail who lived in the Greenland sea, while his mother was a shark who kept very dark in the Gulf of Caribee."

Gus is a good citizen; he is devoted to his wife and his two children, and I had them come up here for the day, accompanied by a Dr. Farrar, a Dutch Reformed clergyman who has been an ideal to Gus and his wife, and who is really a fine fellow.

[Oyster Bay] October 27, 1917

I came back here Monday evening, and day before yesterday your three darling children arrived. I can't say how I have enjoyed them. Gracie is the most winning little thing I have ever known; she mothers the small boys; and is so sure that we all love her! The first evening I read her Peter Rabbit and Benjamin Bunny, while Mother as an interlude read her Little Black Mingo — Gracie felt that to have us read alternately prevented monotony. Ted's memory was much clearer about the pigs than about me; he greeted me affably, but then inquired of a delighted bystander — Mary, I think — "What is that man's name?" At supper, in pure friendliness and from a desire to encourage closer intimacy, he put the question to me direct, in a deep voice. Gracie explained that I was Grandfather (adding that she had two Grandmothers, who were twins) and that Ted was Theodore Roosevelt 3d. I endeavored to explain that I was the first of that name; but the effort was a failure. Cornelius was not shy a bit; he was immensely excited by the toys he found, and called

the little cars "trolley cars"; he promptly ran them up and down my arm. Then he told me they were "birthday presents" to him — they were not presents at all, as he simply seized them by force majeure; but your Mother had received presents on *her* birthday, and he now astutely treats the possibility of a present as giving *him* a birthday. This afternoon I took the three down to that haven of delight, the pig pen; I trundled Cornelius in his baby carriage while Gracie and Ted alternately carried and did battle over my long walking stick. We fed the pigs with elderly apples; then we came to a small rick of hay down which I had to slide each of them in turn until I finally rebelled; then halted so that each might get a drink of water; "and so homeward," as Mr. Pepys would have said. Gracie and Teddy have delightful times with Richard. Little Edie by the way is sometimes laid on the sofa in my room for me to take care of while I am dressing.

Phil has just been in to say good bye before sailing. I don't know when Dick will sail and Ethel come back. *Your loving father*

6260 · TO ERNEST E. SMITH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 26, 1917

My dear Sir: I am not sure I know who Mr. Frederic C. Howe is.¹ Isn't he one of Mr. Wilson's officeholders? It is only necessary for me to test his fitness to discuss any question of this kind by calling your attention to page 481, where he says that the primary motive behind the demand for intervention in Mexico was the pressure of American investors, and his further statement that it is this demand for the protection of investments that explains the rapid growth of "navalism" in the United States, of recent years. These statements are deliberate falsehoods. If Mr. Howe knows nothing whatever of the subject on which he is writing, then he is to be excused on the grounds of complete ignorance; but if he knows anything about it, then he is deliberately and shamefully misstating the facts. I can speak at firsthand on both those subjects. The question of the protection of investments hasn't had the smallest effect on the growth of what Mr. Howe ridiculously styles "navalism in the United States." As for the intervention in Mexico, — it was demanded primarily by decent Americans who objected to seeing American men, women and children killed by the hundreds in Mexico, and had nothing of any kind, sort or description to do with the question of investments. Im-

¹Frederic Clemson Howe, a Cleveland lawyer, had worked with Tom Johnson and Newton D. Baker for municipal reform. In 1914 Wilson appointed him commissioner of immigration for the port of New York. In this post, which he held until 1919, he spent a great deal of time in writing about municipal administration and international peace. His books, especially *Socialized Germany* (1915), *Why War* (1916), *The Only Possible Peace* (1919), and *Revolution and Democracy* (1921), preached the doctrine that imperialistic capitalism was the basic cause of international conflict. In the article which angered Roosevelt, "Financial Imperialism," *Atlantic Monthly*, 120:477-484 (October 1917), Howe argued that the United States with its dollar diplomacy was as guilty as any European power of precipitating international strife.

mediately following these statements, Mr. Howe says that President Wilson has declined to sanction the old-world idea of extraterritoriality when weaker nations are involved. Is Mr. Howe so shamelessly ignorant of the matters of which he writes as not to be aware that President Wilson has taken possession of the two weakest independent American nations — Santo Domingo and Haiti — and made their entire territory "extraterritorial" in the sense in which Mr. Howe uses the word? I do not know the justification for Mr. Wilson's attitude in this matter, but it was certainly never anything like as great as the justification for action in Mexico; and not 1/1000 part as great as the justification for what I did in Panama.

There is no "jingo talk going about" that is one one-hundredth part as unpatriotic and as vicious as talk like this of Mr. Howe's; not to speak of the infamous utterances of La Follette and his fellows, and the Hearst papers and the Germanized Socialists. *Sincerely yours*

6261 · TO GRAYSON MALLETT-PREVOST MURPHY

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, November 1, 1917

*My dear Major Murphy:*¹ There is a valued friend of mine, Mr. Joseph Murray, who is anxious to go over under the Red Cross. I have known him intimately for nearly forty years. When a boy under age he served in the Army of the Potomac. After the Spanish War he had charge of the Red Cross at Montauk Point, and did admirable work, for, although a self-made man, without much education, he has great energy and executive ability. Is there a chance for him under you on the other side?

With heartiest good wishes, and begging to be remembered to Dr. and Mrs. Lambert, *Faithfully yours*

6262 · TO GEORGE A. DYER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 6, 1917

*Dear Mr. Dyer:*¹ That's a capital editorial of yours. If you care to, you can point out that what I said was written just before the Italian disaster, and this disaster proved with absolute conclusiveness the justice of my position.² It is the papers like the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the similar people, who are responsible for our shortcomings; by their failure justly to criticize Mr.

¹ Grayson Mallett-Prevost Murphy, New York financier; Spanish-American War veteran; in 1917 commander for Europe of the American Red Cross. He later served as an aviation officer in the A.E.F.

² George A. Dyer, editor of the *Censor*, a periodical published in St. Louis.

³ Roosevelt in the *Kansas City Star* of October 18 had condemned the failure of the Administration to declare war on Germany's allies. To remain at peace with these allies was to act "absurdly" and to break our promise "to make the world safe for democracy." After the great defeat of the Italian army at Caporetto, Roosevelt demanded even more vigorously a declaration of war on Austria and Turkey.

Wilson for such frightful blunders as this of failing to declare war on Austria — and of his failure to do the things *in time* which he has done *since* the disaster, when it was too late.

With hearty thanks, *Faithfully yours*

6263 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.^o*

Oyster Bay, November 7, 1917

Dearest Ted, I loved your letter describing the Sergeant and giving hints of others among the enlisted men of the battalion. I suppose you are now having foretastes of real trench work; I don't know what to say about it, and so I don't attempt to say anything. You are doing the job which beyond all others it is a matter of pride for an American to do at this time; I am beyond measure proud of you and your brothers.

Ethel and Dick have been here for four days; yesterday afternoon he got his orders, and this morning Ethel has gone in with him to see him off. You may see him before you get this letter.

The Mayoralty campaign has ended as I feared it would in a sweeping victory for Tammany, while the Socialist anti-war candidate ran close to Mitchell. The straight Republican candidate was an almost negligible factor; his vote if added to that for Mitchell would not have elected the latter. The Socialist vote was rather ominous. Still, in the aggregate it was only about one fifth of the total vote. It included the extreme pacifist crowd, as well as the vicious red flag men, and masses of poor, ignorant people who for example would say "he'll give us five cent milk" — which he could have given about as readily as he could have given the moon. Hylan was the candidate of Tammany and of Hearst, who is the most sinister pro-German traitor in the country and much the ablest and most dangerous. Hylan is a violent anti-English Irishman, who prior to the outbreak of the war had been in all the societies run in the interest of Germany — pacifist societies, freedom-of-the-seas societies, &c &c — but who has been loyal since the war broke out. His father was a Union soldier. He may do better than we think; I can only hope that he will continue to use the police effectively against German spies. But he was elected by the Hearst influence, by Tammany Hall, by the nearly solid professional German and Irish vote, by the Catholic Church, and by some decent citizens who got frightened over the Socialist vote.

Mitchell has given us the best municipal administration we have had for fifty years. He was not popular. Partly this was due to the good things he had done. Partly it was due to unwise things or failings that hurt him, not as an administrator, but as a candidate. He had failed to keep in touch with the masses of the voters — he had'n't visited the East Side, or spoken to negro meetings, or let the Brooklyn and Bronx plain people understand from him personally what he was doing; he had given the quite unjustified impression

that he was too much with the Vanderbilts and in night restaurants where he danced.

In Bridgeport I spoke for a Republican Congressman¹ whom we elected by a majority greatly in excess of that in the Presidential year, on a straight-out support-the-war and never-again-be-caught-unprepared platform. There are all kinds of things that will have to wait for me to tell until the young vikings come back and gather around the old hearthstone. *Your loving father*

6264 · TO ERNEST LUNDEEN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 7, 1917

*My dear Mr. Lundeen:*¹ I thank you for your frank and manly letter. I understand now, as I did not before, the reasons that influenced you in your vote against the war, and while I cannot agree with you, I appreciate your point of view, and I do not question your loyalty. In effect, you say that President Wilson won his campaign last year on a plea for peace, on the cry that "he kept us out of war," the charge being that the Republicans would plunge us into the world war; you say that this was the Democratic campaign cry in Minneapolis; that the President carried your city by a very large majority; and that you regarded yourself as bound by a mandate by the people. While, as I have said, I do not agree with you as to your action, I do entirely sympathize with the bewilderment of an honest man under such conditions. As you point out, the election was won under false pretenses; and a very great part of the difficulty that now confronts this nation in arousing a proper war spirit is due to the fact that, for the two and a half years preceding our entry into the war, our Governmental leaders dulled the moral conscience of the people by arguments against our so entering it; arguments which were just as untrue and unjustifiable then as they are now. Naturally, it takes time to get people who have been misled back to the right course—the very course which they have for two and a half years been told was the wrong course.

Of course, you are absolutely within your rights in discussing the conduct of the war. It is exactly as important that there should be truthful criticism of official acts that are wrong as that there should not be untruthful attacks upon acts that are right; and you render a service to the public when you censure the gross unpreparedness of this nation, and point out where the responsibility lies, and do all you can to remedy all that is inefficient and

¹ Schuyler Merritt, Republican representative from Connecticut, 1917–1931, 1933–1937.

¹ Ernest Lundeen, Republican congressman from Minnesota, 1917–1919, voted against entering war with Germany, against conscription, and against war with Austria. Defeated for renomination in 1918 largely because of this record, Lundeen nevertheless held fast to his agrarian isolationist convictions, opposing our entry both into the League of Nations and into the World Court. Later elected Farmer-Laborite congressman, 1933–1937, and senator, 1937–1940.

incompetent in the handling of the war. The criticism must be truthful and must not be made in a captious spirit; but I believe that in this country during the last three years even more harm has been done by the foolish persons who have protested against truthful criticism of the Administration when it went wrong, than by the men who have supported it when it went wrong and have opposed it only when it went right.

As for the future, our duty — your duty, my duty, the duty of all good Americans — is clear. Every measure that the Administration takes for the efficient prosecution of the war, we shall heartily support. We must send our troops to fight beside our allies abroad because if we do not do so then sometime or other we shall have to fight without any allies at home. We ought to introduce at once, as our permanent national policy, the principle of universal obligatory military training and military service for all our young men. We must back up the Liberty Loans. We must fearlessly insist upon the utmost efficiency in the handling of the war. We must fearlessly criticize whatever is wrong. Above all, we must insist that there shall be no inconclusive peace, no peace that is not based upon complete and overwhelming victory. We are in this war, and we must put it through. Then we must continue our preparedness so that never again shall we be put in a position so humiliating as that in which we have been during the last nine months. Never again must we be caught so unprepared as to be obliged to trust to the strength of others, and not to our own trained strength, for our safety. *Very sincerely yours*

6265 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, November 13, 1917

Dear Cabot: It is not my affair I know, but I hope you will be cautious in handling the neutrality business so far as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland are concerned.¹ It would be an outrage to permit any one of these small nations to go to war with Germany, for it would be overwhelmed, and we would be powerless to help them. In handling our commerce as far as these nations are concerned, I think we should steer as far from the attitude the Administration now occasionally seems likely to take as from the directly opposite attitude which as late as a year ago it was adopting as regards neutrals. We ought to refuse these neutrals things that give more help to Germany than is offset by the necessary benefit to the neutral. But I do not think that we should punish Germany a little by doing something that ruins the neutral and will probably envenom it against us, and

¹ The Scandinavian countries and Holland and Switzerland were not included in the order of October 2 which lifted the general embargo proclaimed in August on foodstuffs, coal, and iron. The violent protest of the five countries caused the War Trade Board, acting in concert with the other Allies, to establish export quotas for these countries. In 1918 trade between this country and the five was reopened after guarantees had been given that American goods would not be transshipped to Germany.

throw it into Germany's arms. It is important that each case be judged on its merits, and very full information.

The shilly-shallying of Wilson since February 2nd, his delays and refusals to act, and the way in which he has gratified his private malice at the expense of the country, are among the main factors responsible for the disasters in Russia and Italy. *Faithfully yours*

6266 · TO WILLIAM TEMPLE HORNADAY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 25, 1917

*Dear Mr. Hornaday:*¹ I heartily approve the effort to secure the dismissal of all teachers who refuse to sign the loyalty pledge or who in any way have shown the slightest symptoms of disloyalty to this nation or of sympathy with Germany and the other foes of this nation at this time. A public school teacher should stand in loyalty and Americanism precisely where we expect an officer of the Army or Navy to stand, and should be held to an equally rigid accountability for the slightest symptom of disloyalty or of failure in thoroughgoing Americanism. *Sincerely yours*

6267 · TO JAMES BRYCE

Roosevelt Mss.

Toronto, November 26, 1917

My dear Bryce: It was a very great pleasure to get your letter and I thank you for your more than kind invitation for my sons. But they are all abroad already. Three of them are with Pershing's Army in France, two having just been in the trenches while the third is in the Aviation Corps. The fourth is with your forces in Mesopotamia. I have a son-in-law with Pershing in France also.

You are quite right, the things we were writing about a year ago are like the snows of last winter. Thank Heaven America has come into the war. In my judgment we are not as united nor as enthusiastic as if we had come in immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania*; and curiously enough one of Mr. Wilson's Presidential Electors from California who was out to see me the other day, volunteered this statement himself. Still we are in and I believe the feeling is growing stronger month by month. I am much pleased that you say you wish that I were in the war in France. I am going to indulge in the boastfulness of saying that if Mr. Wilson had accepted my offer when I made it on February 2nd last, I would have had at least two divisions doing their part in the great and splendid British drive that has just taken place, and we Americans would have had the proud honor of spending our blood in the

¹ William Temple Hornaday, zoologist, after 1896 director of the New York Zoological Park; president of the American Bison Society, 1907-1910; promoter of the 1913 tariff law prohibiting the importation of wild bird plumage for millinery purposes; author of books about the Congo, the American bison, taxidermy, the Canadian Rockies, and American natural history.

joint effort of the joint armies, instead of merely looking on while you do the work. I am interested in your saying that you wish the American troops were alongside of yours; and perhaps you will be interested in knowing that my two sons, Ted and Archie, (the former of whom is a Major and the latter a Lieutenant in the 26th Infantry, and who have just been with their regiment in the trenches), have written me to the same effect. They say that they think they could learn more from the English than the French, and though they like and admire the French, they would have more understanding of the English. I heartily agree with your view that it would be far better if our army were put in with yours — and as I said above, had we shown proper energy we would have had two divisions and perhaps four divisions, or over one hundred thousand men additional, in the drive you have just made.

I am pretty despondent about Russia.¹ However I still hope, and I am inclined to believe, that they *cannot* make a really separate peace, and therefore Germany will not get any food from them. I am a little melancholy about Italy also. The French people I admire as much as you do, and I abhor their politicians as much as you do. As I grow older I confess I am greatly puzzled and perplexed at the undoubted fact that certain peoples do not, under democratic conditions, get the government they unquestionably deserve. As for the Germans, I do not know whether most to admire their efficiency or to abhor their hideous moral degeneracy. You will be interested to know that I am perfectly certain that the great majority of Americans of German descent are exactly as loyal as any other Americans. Indeed, it is my belief that if our Government had taken the right stand from the beginning there would never have been any pro-German agitation here.

I am not sure but what there will be almost as great political changes here after the war as in France and in Britain. I sometimes wonder whether there is not a small silver lining to the Russian cloud, in the shape of the object lesson taught by the antics of the Bolsheviki. I cannot help hoping and believing that England, France and America, with the Russian example before them, will show some reluctance to try any experiment that will tend to produce anarchy. I am a very radical democrat, and I grow more, rather than less, radical, as I grow older; but I am equally radical in the insistence on orderly liberty, and upon efficiency — *efficiency in the interest of the man who toils*, but not in the interest of the man who wishes the reward of toil without toiling. Here in the United States what we need is resolute leadership to secure justice for the laboring man and the farmer, and this we cannot have without vision; but we also need equally resolute insistence that there

¹ On November 6 the Bolsheviki had captured most of the offices of the Russian government, a *coup d'état* formally recognized the next day by the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The new government, headed by Lenin, considered the war a capitalist, imperialist venture to be terminated as soon as possible. While within Russia the first phase of the Red Terror began, the government opened peace negotiations with the central powers.

shall be no disorder and none of the crackbrain action, which under the pretense of lifting the lowly merely smashes the man on top and brings down everybody under the ruins.

My dear Bryce, I hope you realize how much I appreciate your letter. Mrs. Roosevelt found it as interesting as I did. I need hardly say that we always think with affectionate regard of you and Lady Bryce. I wish I could see you to talk over the things of such lamentable interest in the world at present — although I think it would take aeons to talk it all over satisfactorily! *Ever faithfully yours*

6268 · TO THOMAS W. NOWLIN

Roosevelt Mss.

Toronto, November 26, 1917

My dear Sir: I am greatly interested in your telegram. You state that you were Chairman of the County Central Progressive Committee of San Francisco, a member of the California delegation to the National Republican Convention of 1912, and also a member of the California delegation to the Progressive Conventions both of 1912 and 1916. You state that you and the Progressives who think like you have never hitherto supported Mr. Fickert for the office of District Attorney. But you add that in the present struggle you and they stand strongly for him because of the fight he is making against the anarchists, because in your opinion the issue is simply patriotism against anarchy. You say that the friends of the bomb-throwers and anarchists are using every means of deception and intrigue to secure the recall of Mr. Fickert and that the issue is naked between sedition and patriotism.¹

Information I have is to the same effect. That there are good people who have been misled into taking the other view I do not question, but there is in my judgment also no question that all the opponents of law and order, all the pro-Germans and all the men who are against straight United States senti-

¹ This was the Mooney case. In July 1916 a bomb had been thrown along the line of march taken by a preparedness parade sponsored by businessmen in San Francisco and opposed by many local labor leaders. Ten people were killed in the explosion. District Attorney Charles M. Fickert ordered the arrest of Thomas Mooney, an associate of the McNamaras. Also arrested were Mooney's wife, two union officials, and Warren K. Billings, a man with a criminal record. Of these five only Mooney and Billings were convicted after the trial had attracted national attention as a struggle between capital and labor, patriotism and sedition.

After the conviction Fremont Older sought to remove Fickert by the use of the recall. He published letters from Frank C. Oxman, a leading witness for the prosecution, revealing that Oxman had perjured himself with Fickert's connivance. When approached by friends of Fickert in November 1917, Roosevelt wired the district attorney assuring him of his support. Three days later, on November 20, he wired Older objecting to his actions. A letter to Reverend Paul Smith similar to this one was sent and later published. Even without these endorsements, Fickert undoubtedly would have survived the effort to recall him. There is a description of the bomb-throwing, trial, and later developments in this famous case in Ernest Jerome Hopkins, *What Happened in the Mooney Case* (New York, 1932). For an interpretation of Roosevelt's part in the episode, see Martin Swanson, ed., "Theodore Roosevelt and the Mooney Case" (San Francisco, 1921).

ment will be exultant if Mr. Fickert is recalled. I think there is not a pro-German, or anarchist, or I.W.W. in the United States who will not be given heart by such a result. I have already received telegrams and letters from anarchist agitators and rabid Germanized Socialists foully attacking me, for the frankly avowed reason that the writers of these letters and telegrams disapprove of my action against the McNamaras; of my former action against Moyer and Haywood and the Western Federation of Miners, and of my condemnation of the I.W.W., and wish Fickert to be recalled precisely because they feel that the issue against him is primarily an issue on behalf of the anarchist elements which I have always opposed and which these writers support. There are of course in addition very good men who have written me against Mr. Fickert on other grounds. But I am convinced that the real underlying reason for the move against Mr. Fickert has been his prosecution of the bomb-throwers, his efforts to detect and bring to justice the assassins, who murdered ten persons in the Preparedness Day Parade and wounded fifty others.

A gentleman in whom I have great confidence Judge Henry E. McGinn, of Portland, Oregon wired me as follows:

Fickert recall is instigated by the supporters of the defendants in the San Francisco Preparedness Parade Bomb cases. I have investigated this matter very carefully and am convinced that Fickert is right and that opposition to him comes primarily from the sympathizers of accused bomb-throwers. As between Fickert and the bomb-throwers I am with Fickert.

Mr. Charles F. Hanlon, the President of the Pacific Coast Defense League, was the first man to have the matter called to my attention. The Foreman and Secretary of the Grand Jury wired me as follows, —

On the third day of May nineteen seventeen the following resolution was adopted: To the public. After a careful and conscientious investigation covering every phase of the charge of subornation of perjury preferred against F. C. Oxman conducted by this jury under the able direction of Robert M. Clarke, Assistant Attorney General, we the Jury find no cause for criticism of the district attorney's office in connection with the bomb cases and we unanimously commend Charles M. Fickert for the able and fearless manner in which he has performed his duties to the people of the state of California in connection with these cases. John D. Spreckels, Jr. Foreman, Thomas J. Dillon Secretary and the sentiment of that body is far stronger today.

The Judge who tried the case² wired me as follows, —

You have truly sensed the situation in the bomb cases. Do not permit the paid enemies of good government to deceive you by cunningly devised misstatements. They are not for us, they are moved and handled by an organization and paid propaganda which is trying to sabotage the courts and gas the defenders of the law. Two of these cases were tried in my court and in one the defendant Billings convicted before Oxman. The much abused was discovered as a witness so I know

² Judge Frank H. Dunne, one of the judges who presided at the trials of the five indicted for the explosion of the bomb.

whereof I speak your firm stand for the right. They are supported by overwhelming consensus of opinion by the best American thought of this City and State. A villainous and well-financed publicity bureau has poisoned the nation with lies and libel.

Mr. Goldsborough, who is personally much attached to Mr. Fickert's opponent, sent the following, —

I note in the local press that Mr. Sweigert asks you by telegram to withdraw your recent letter in support of Mr. Charles M. Fickert, District Attorney of this City who has in the performance of his sworn duty gotten the ill will of the bomb-throwers and other criminal element and has to stand for an election recall in December. If you will pardon the suggestion you should ask Mr. Sweigert to withdraw his candidacy for his popularity may hide the real issue in this recall election which is shall San Francisco be in the hands of anarchists or law-abiding citizens. Mr. Fickert is a man of courage and ability and has risked his life in the prosecution of this gang of criminals and no decent man should run against him as a recall candidate. Make the bomb-throwers put up a candidate out of their own ranks and then the electorate may have a fair square issue to vote upon. Have written.

The Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Association has wired me as follows: —

The Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Association of San Francisco comprising seventy-six organizations with combined membership of over seventeen thousand directed its board of governors composed of Chairmen of its thirty active committees to make searching investigation of proposed recall of District Attorney Fickert and vested such board of Governors with full power to act in subsequent meetings. The Board of Governors passed unanimously the following resolution, Resolved that the Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Association strenuously oppose the Fickert recall and that the executive officers be and are hereby directed and authorized to use all available means to defeat such recall. The Civic League desire to assure you as per your telegram to District Attorney Fickert that you have an absolute correct conception of the situation out here and that behind the recall are the forces of anarchy against law and order.

Let me in closing thank you for your telegram and say that I appreciate it, and that I agree with you as to the course we should follow in this matter.
Faithfully yours

6269 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.^o*

Oyster Bay, November 29, 1917

Dearest Ted, I have just had two very nice letters from General Pershing and Colonel Harbord, both speaking of you in high terms; the latter speaking of your having got your men to a "razor edge" of efficiency. Indeed there is a curiously marked agreement of everybody as to how well you are doing — and Archie's belief in and devotion to you are quite touching. Aunt Grace



“Fear God and Take Your Own Part”



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¹ At T
the Pr
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² Older
Francis

had a cable which seems to show that you had a couple of days with Eleanor in Paris — splendid!

On Monday I spoke in Toronto, on the invitation of the Canadian Prime Minister. Mother and Ethel and Flora went with me; we were given a private car, stayed at Government House, and I was received with frantic enthusiasm. It was one of the rare occasions when I did not mind speaking, for it was ad hoc; they are raising a new loan, and are in the throes of an election to decide the question of conscription, and I was anxious to do anything which they thought would help them.¹

Flora was dear. It was, naturally, the first thing of the kind that she had ever seen, much less taken part in; and she was absorbedly interested, and was a great companion for Ethel — who for the time-being suddenly became a little girl again.

In this country the analogue to the bolsheviki agitation is well under way. Hearst adroitly foment it; La Follette is its most dangerous potential leader; the I.W.W and the Socialists, and all similar organizations, and all the editors like Fremont Older,² and all the professional pacifists, and the restless, mischievous creatures like Billy Kent & Amos Pinchot, give it strength. They do most mischief when they get behind some fairly good man and thereby confuse the ordinary citizen — who is not unapt to be puzzle headed. Of course our root trouble lies in our Governments attitude during the 2½ years preceeding our entry into the war, and its refusal now to make this matter one in which all good citizens can join without regard to party, and paying heed only to the larger interests of the country and of mankind at large.

Alice is here for Thanksgiving, and as usual I talk politics at length with her. I now strike hands with anyone who is sound on Americanism and on speeding up the war and putting it through to the finish; and we *ought* to take heed of our industrial and social matters, too.

Kermit has written from Bagdad, early in September; he had been made Captain of Sappers and sent at once to the front; I suppose he has been in the heavy fighting there. *Your loving father*

6270 • TO KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 29, 1917

Dearest Kermit: What I suppose will be your last letters from the ship have come (together with a note to me from good Foran; do thank him for me if you see him). Naturally, we were overjoyed to get them. Belle has written

¹ At Toronto on November 26 Roosevelt supported the war loan, conscription, and the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, who defeated Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the election.

² Older, Roosevelt felt, had taken sides against the forces of law and order in San Francisco; see No. 6272.

me dear letters; you and she and Kim are never out of our thoughts. I'm greatly concerned about General Maude's death.¹

Now, as to your question concerning returning to Europe at the end of the cold season if there seems to be a letup in operations along the Tigris and Euphrates. My advice must be of the most tentative kind, for I am not on the ground, and anyhow no one can foretell the six months' future. But of course, as I need not say, the matter of prime importance is to be sure that your superiors in Mesopotamia are satisfied with the course you take, and thoroly understand that it is taken for the purpose of getting into the thick of the fighting. Naturally, if the opportunity arises for you to serve in the American Army, in our own uniform, I shall be glad; *but only if the British are satisfied to have you leave*. Your first duty, until the end of this war, is to do, *and to have the British know that you do*, whatever service they think you can most usefully render. Therefore I tentatively advise you not to form even a tentative . . . for months to come. I know that you will do the finest kind of work wherever and whenever you are given a chance. Then, when you have done this winter all that you have been given a chance to do, go over with any of your superior officers with whom you have become on fairly close terms the whole situation, making it clear that you wish to do what is most useful; and be largely guided by their advice.

Hurrah! Just at this point I get the mail, with your first letter from Baghdad. Indeed it *is* interesting, to think of you being [in] such a city at such a time, and not as an onlooker but as one of the men engaged in doing the great deeds. It is pretty well worth while, old boy; and I am more proud of you, and pleased with you, than I can say. I am so glad that you got there just in time to be sent to the front to take part in the successful fighting that seems to have occurred during the last two months. Of all the boys you were the first to see active service, altho Ted and Archie have now returned from a fortnight in the trenches, in a quiet sector, with their regiment. Pershing wrote me in real praise of Ted. I should suppose that your position with the sappers was very good, and what you wanted? I think I wrote you what Lord Derby cabled me that poor General Maude was much pleased with you and had assigned you to work which he believed you would like.

Russia's breaking has been a bitter mischance. To me it is even more bitter that if only the country — that is, Wilson — had done as duty bound, we would have been able last spring to exert such strength as in all probability to keep both Russia and Italy steady, and very possibly to have ended the war this fall.

Alice and Ethel and the children of course, are here for Thanksgiving. We don't yet know whether Dick has reached France or is still at sea. *Your loving Father*

¹ In Baghdad, Sir Frederick Stanley Maude, commanding general of the British army in Mesopotamia, had died of cholera.

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 12, 1917

*Dear Sir:*¹ In answer to your question I wish to state that at the outbreak of the war I advocated prohibiting the use of all hard grains, of all grains that can be used in food products, for the making of alcoholic liquor. I am sure that this would have eliminated much of the evil of intemperance which now seriously handicaps our preparations for war. When we must feed our army and help the armies of our allies not a bushel of grain should be permitted to be made into intoxicating liquor. Neither the men in the army nor the men engaged in doing vital work for the army in connection with railroads, factories, mines and shipyards should be allowed to waste strength and health in drink at this time. The same reasons that render it necessary to prohibit the sale of liquor to soldiers in uniform, or within a given number of miles from a military camp and to stop its use on battleships, apply to extending similar protection for all citizens engaged in the work of railroads, factories, mines and shipyards.

I may mention that my sons who are now in the army in France write me most strongly (just as General Pershing has expressed his public opinion most strongly) as to the harm done to the men of the army by permitting the sale of liquor to them, stating that they believe in absolute prohibition for the army in wartime—and one of them adding that his experience has made a permanent prohibitionist of him.

I wish your Board every success in its effort to stop all waste of food, men, labor and brain-power during these days when the nation needs every energy of every man at his best.² *Sincerely yours*

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 12, 1917

Dear Rowell: That's a mighty nice letter of yours.¹ But the way I look at the case is this. Judge Dunne you speak of as a decent and loyal fellow. It is quite impossible that any substantial injustice was done Mooney and

¹ Clarence True Wilson, clergyman, from 1910 to 1939 national secretary of the Temperance Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, general secretary of the church's Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals. His writings on his specialty include *A World Vision of the Temperance Reform* (1911), *Dry or Die: the Anglo-Saxon Dilemma* (1913), and *Pocket Cyclopedia of Temperance* (1915).

² This letter was published in part in the New York papers on December 25, 1917. A week before, Congress had presented the Eighteenth Amendment, prohibiting the sale of alcoholic liquors, to the states for ratification. Since August 1917 the Lever Act had prevented the use of grain in the making of distilled beverages.

¹ Rowell had explained how antagonisms between capital and labor in San Francisco distorted the Mooney and Billings trials.

Billings in view of Judge Dunne's statement as I quoted it. As for Fremont Older, Rudolph Spreckels and Willie Kent not only do I regard their judgment as hopelessly unsound but I feel they have gradually grown to be downright sympathizers with anarchy and murder, and this to the extent in the case of Older at least of becoming an accessory to the gravest wrongdoing. Your comparisons of them with Lincoln Steffens, Amos Pinchot, La Follette and Hearst are I think substantially right, excepting that I believe Fremont Older is about as bad as La Follette. I cordially agree with you that Hearst stands on an eminence by himself. By the way, I allude to both La Follette and Hearst in a little book I am sending you, containing the lectures I recently delivered at Princeton.² I wish you would look it over. I deal with the President in it.

Now, you say that Mooney is a known anarchist and sympathizer with dynamiters and has done bombing himself and was suspected of complicity in this outrage.

From the information I get and above all from my knowledge of the McNamara case and the Moyer and Haywood case and various I.W.W. outrages, I feel that it is perfectly clear that Billings and Mooney were among those responsible for the bomb outrages. I am inclined to think that the verdicts are absolutely just, and I am certain that the evidence is such that would warrant and require the execution of both men under the procedure of Martial law; and martial law is the proper way for dealing with outrages of this character when it proves impossible to get at the criminals under the ordinary process of civil law and when failure to get at them means grave menace to the country and indeed to the foundation of civilized society. As for the case being used by the Bolsheviki anarchists in Russia in their claim that America is not a democracy, I can only say that I believe that the Bolsheviki anarchists in question and their orators care not one rap whether Mooney and Billings were guilty or not. On the contrary, I haven't a doubt from my knowledge of the American Bolsheviki people that their heated championship of Billings and Mooney is due precisely to their conviction that they are guilty. If Billings and Mooney were not anarchists, were not bomb-throwers, were not murderers and were really entirely innocent, well-behaved, law-abiding men, then the Bolsheviki people at home and abroad would be utterly indifferent to their fate. It is *because* they represent anarchy and murder and *because* the Bolsheviki adherents wish to prevent anarchy and murder from being punished, that they champion the cause of Mooney and Billings. The Bolsheviki in Russia objects to American democracy because murderers and dynamiters were punished, not because of any idea that well-behaved citizens could be falsely accused of such crimes.

Let me repeat that yours is an awfully nice letter. I received a much less

² Roosevelt's Stafford Little lectures were published as *National Strength and International Duty* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1917).

reasonable telegram from Meyer Lissner and I am sending him a copy of this letter with the exception of this final paragraph. *Faithfully yours*

6273 · TO JAMES WOLCOTT WADSWORTH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 13, 1917

My dear Senator Wadsworth: I want to congratulate you upon your speech yesterday and upon the investigation.¹ Would it help or hurt if I wrote a brief editorial in the *Kansas City Star* saying that you had performed a great public service, that your obvious purpose was merely to find out the facts so as to remedy the defects and enable us to take steps that would prevent the repetition of these defects, that you were trying as everyone knew, to speed up the war and that it is the highest duty of Congress to back you in finding out all the good and all the bad that has been done? I shall be glad to get any suggestions. Gen. Johnson's statement in contradiction of yours is false as to Dec. 1st.² Emphasize what the conditions were *until* you & others started the agitation. *Sincerely yours*

P.S. Crozier's testimony yesterday seemed to me to be a frank admission of the essential truth of your charges.

6274 · TO RICHARD DERBY

*Derby Mss.*⁹

Oyster Bay, December 18, 1917

Dear Dick, Of course your letter was the greatest possible joy and relief to Ethel, and only less so to us. You had an exciting time! That picture of the crowd of men in the companion way, with the solid masses of water rushing in, under the pale blue light is something I shall not soon forget. Moreover, between the lines of your letter we read of exciting events.

Ethel is really better, and I believe that being out here is a good thing for her. In spite of the cold it gives her a rest, and she thoroly enjoys seeing her children growing up in the home where she grew up. These same children are unceasing delights. Richard is the manliest, busiest little fellow imaginable. I am of course of second rate importance in his life, my chief useful function being to give him a lump of sugar as soon as we come down to breakfast (which is apt to be hand in hand while we negotiate the stairs) and then to have him hold the strainer while I pour the hot milk into my coffee

¹ Wadsworth in his speech had described the shortage of clothes, arms, and equipment at four large army camps. He had also been the prime mover in getting the Senate Committee on Military Affairs to begin an investigation of these shortages on December 11. General Crozier admitted deficiencies before the committee and blamed conditions on lack of funds, complicated contract procedures, labor shortages, and on the Secretary of War. Roosevelt came incisively to Wadsworth's support in the *Star* on December 18 and 20.

² Brigadier General Evan M. Johnson, an infantry commander at Camp Upton, denied that his troops were insufficiently clothed. He refused, however, to make any statement about rifle and machine-gun shortages.

— a feat full of possibilities. But when I was away for six days the little fellow asked me on my return: — “were’n’t you homesick for me while you were away, Grandfather?” As for Edie she is such a darling that I want to take her up and cuddle her all the time; she smiles and laughs and crows and waves her little arms and legs, and is most alluring.

Cold weather has come, and there has been a heavy snowfall, so Richard is thoroly enjoying his sled. I had a two hours gallop over the snow yesterday.

On Saturday I was at the National Army camp at Chillicothe. General Glenn¹ is doing admirably; but his men have no cannon, trench mortars, or machine guns, and no prospect of any until spring, and an insufficient number of rifles. I am exceedingly glad that you have gotten to the front in France!

Mother is fairly well; she can do an immense amount within the length of her tether; but her tether is short. *Always yours*

6275 · TO FELIX FRANKFURTER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 19, 1917

My dear Mr. Frankfurter: I thank you for your frank letter.¹ I answer it at length because you have taken, and are taking, on behalf of the Administration an attitude which seems to me to be fundamentally that of Trotsky and the other Bolsheviki leaders in Russia; an attitude which may be fraught with mischief to this country.

As for the conduct of the trial, it seems to me that Judge Dunne's statement which I quoted in my published letter, covers it. I have not been able to find anyone who seriously questions Judge Dunne's character, judicial fitness and ability, or standing. Moreover, it seems to me that your own letter makes it perfectly plain that the movement for the recall of Fickert was due primarily not in the least to any real or general feeling as to alleged shortcomings on his part, but to what I can only call the Bolsheviki sentiment. The other accusations against him were mere camouflage. The assault was made upon him because he had attacked the murderous element, the dynamite and anarchy group, of labor agitators. The movement against him was essentially similar to the movements on behalf of the McNamaras, and on behalf of Moyer and Haywood. Some of the correspondents who attacked me frankly stated that they were for Mooney and Billings just as they had been for the McNamaras and for Moyer and Haywood. In view of Judge Dunne's statement it is perfectly clear that even if Judge Dunne is in error in his belief

¹ Edwin Forbes Glenn, commanding officer of the 83rd division then in training at Camp Sherman, Ohio.

² In San Francisco to investigate the Mooney trial, Frankfurter maintained that "all kinds of local issues and personal issues" were involved in the recall of Fickert which he could not consider a matter "between patriotism and anarchy." Fickert's supporters, he felt, had drawn upon Roosevelt's "good nature and patriotism" to get him "lined up" in a local affair which his assertions from afar only confused.

as to the trial being straight and proper, it was an error into which entirely honest men could fall.

But the question of granting a retrial is one thing. The question of the recall is entirely distinct. Even if a retrial were proper, this would not in the least justify a recall — any more than a single grave error on your part would justify your impeachment, or the impeachment of President Wilson for appointing you. Fremont Older and the I.W.W. and the “direct action” anarchists and apologists for anarchy are never concerned for justice. They are concerned solely in seeing one kind of criminal escape justice, precisely as certain big business men and certain corporation lawyers have in the past been concerned in seeing another kind of criminal escape justice. The guiding spirits in the movement for the recall of Fickert cared not a rap whether or not Mooney and Billings were guilty; probably they believed them guilty; all they were concerned with was seeing a rebuke administered to, and an evil lesson taught, all public officials who might take action against crimes of violence committed by anarchists in the name of some foul and violent “protest against social conditions.” Murder is murder; and it is rather more evil, and not less evil, when committed in the name of a professed social movement. It was no mere accident, it was the natural sequence of cause and effect that the agitation for the recall of Fickert, because he had fearlessly prosecuted the dynamiters (and of course no human being doubts that Billings and Mooney were in some shape or other privy to the outrage) should have been accompanied by the dynamite outrage at the Governor’s Mansion. The reactionaries have in the past been a great menace to this republic; but at this moment it is the I.W.W., the Germanized Socialists, the Anarchists, the foolish creatures who always protest against the suppression of crime, the pacifists and the like, under the lead of the Hearsts and La Follettes, and Bergers and Hillquits, the Fremont Olders and Amos Pinchots and Rudolph Spreckels who are the really grave danger. These are the Bolsheviki of America; and the Bolsheviki are just as bad as the Romanovs, and are at the moment a greater menace to orderly freedom. Robespierre and Danton and Marat and Hébert were just as evil as the worst tyrants of the old regime, and from 1791 to 1794 they were the most dangerous enemies to liberty that the world contained. When you, as representing President Wilson, find yourself obliged to champion men of this stamp you ought by unequivocal affirmative action to make it evident that you are sternly against their general and habitual line of conduct.

I have just received your report on the Bisbee Deportation.² One of the

² The President’s Mediation Commission, for which Frankfurter was counsel, had submitted on November 6 its report on the Bisbee deportations. The report reviewed a deplorable episode: in June 1917 at Bisbee in the Warren District of Arizona, the copper workers of the I.W.W. went out on strike. Their grievances, the commission decided, did not justify a strike, but there had been no machinery to provide mediation for the grievances. Although there was no violence, the county sheriff through the governor requested federal troops. After two investigations, army officers de-

prominent leaders in that deportation was my old friend Jack Greenway who has just been commissioned a Major in the army by President Wilson. Your report is as thoroughly misleading a document as could be written on the subject. No official, writing on behalf of the President, is to be excused for failure to know, and clearly to set forth, that the I.W.W. is a criminal organization. To ignore the fact that a movement such as its members made into Bisbee is made with criminal intent is precisely as foolish as for a New York policeman to ignore the fact that when the Whyo gang³ assembles with guns and knives it is with criminal intent. The President is not to be excused if he ignores this fact, for of course he knows all about it. No human being in his senses doubts that the men deported from Bisbee were bent on destruction and murder. If the President through you or anyone else had any right to look into the matter, this very fact shows that he had been remiss in his clear duty to provide against the very grave danger in advance. When no efficient means are employed to guard honest, upright and well-behaved citizens from the most brutal kind of lawlessness, it is inevitable that these citizens shall try to protect themselves; this is as true when the President fails to do his duty about the I.W.W. as when the police fail to do their duty about gangs like the Whyo gang; and when either the President or the Police, personally or by representative, rebuke the men who defend themselves from criminal assault, it is necessary sharply to point out that far heavier blame attaches to the authorities who fail to give the needed protection, and to the investigators who fail to point out the criminal character of the anarchistic organization against which the decent citizens have taken action. Here again you are engaged in excusing men precisely like the Bolsheviki in Russia, who are murderers and encouragers of murder, who are traitors to their allies, to democracy, and to civilization, as well as to the United States, and whose acts are nevertheless apologized for on grounds, my dear Mr. Frankfurter, substantially like those which you allege. In times of danger nothing is more common, and nothing more dangerous to the Republic, than for men — often

cided that troops were "neither needed nor warranted"; there was no disorder or probability of disorder. Nevertheless, the sheriff organized a large posse of deputies who on July 12 rounded up 1,186 strikers and forcibly deported them by train to New Mexico where for several days, abandoned by the posse, the deported men were without adequate food, water, or shelter. During this period the sheriff and various company executives, controlling the local telephone office, attempted to prevent or censor telephone and telegraph reports about what was going on. In reviewing this unhappy situation, the President's Mediation Commission concluded that the right of free movement in the Warren District had to be restored and preserved; recommended that such deportations should in the future be dealt with as a federal offense; and observed that the episode had deeply distressed laboring men throughout the country.

³ "The greatest of the gangs which came into existence in New York after the Civil War was the Whyos, as vicious a collection of thugs, murderers, and thieves as ever operated. . . . It has been said that during their period of greatest renown [the 'eighties and early 'nineties] the captains of the Whyos would accept no man as a member until he had committed a murder. . . ." — Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York* (New York, 1928), ch. xi.

ordinarily well-meaning men — to avoid condemning the criminals who are really public enemies by making their entire assault on the shortcomings of the good citizens who have been the victims or opponents of the criminals. This was done not only by Danton and Robespierre but by many of their ordinarily honest associates in connection with, for instance, the "September massacres." It is not the kind of thing I care to see well-meaning men do in this country. *Sincerely yours*

6276 · TO GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 21, 1917

Dear George: Don't you think you pay too much attention to Hearst's papers? He is a greater foe of ours than the Japanese. I haven't a question that Japan has kept in mind only its own interests; but Hearst has kept in mind only the interests of Germany. He has been (violently) fundamentally anti-American. This very article is subtly hostile to our allies, especially England.¹ Hearst must know perfectly well, if he knows anything, that the danger of the future is an alignment or understanding between Germany and Japan if Germany wins; and that under no circumstances whatever would the British Empire join with Japan to hurt us. Japan's conduct in this war has been from her point of view, entirely correct. The only reason that it contains any menace to us is because Wilson's conduct has been infamous; and Hearst has been heartily backing Wilson whenever Wilson went wrong (as he generally did) and doing everything he could against men like myself. Nothing he says is entitled to any consideration. *Faithfully yours*

In this article Hearst assails Japan for doing *precisely what he advised America to do*; Japan for 2½ years acted far better than America; and as for Japan not having sacrificed her men in battle, why in the first two months of her war she lost twenty times as many soldiers as we have lost in our first *ten* months!

6277 · TO ELEANOR ALEXANDER ROOSEVELT *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, December 23, 1917

Darling Eleanor, A glorious Xmas present arrived in the shape of four cakes of the soap I love! And the address, with Ted's name, was in your hand. It was just dear of you to send them — and the idea of your thinking about it, with all the things you have on hand!

This is Sunday; and as your blessed bunnies will (as I quite agree is much best) be in Portchester on Xmas day, I took my three presents to them on Friday, your dear mother having suggested that I should have the fun of

¹ The New York *American*, of December 20, 1917, in an editorial entitled "The Attitude of Japan During This War Is Not Altruistic, but Is Exceedingly Shrewd," accused Japan of rendering limited assistance to her allies while acquiring territory and commercial advantages in the Far East at the Allies' expense.

giving them myself. The bunnies were awaiting me with an eager, and purely cupboard-love, expectancy; and they were the very cunningest things I have ever seen. For Gracie I had brought three boxes of doll's furniture, and in a real little-girl way she at once sat down, made the covers of the three boxes into three rooms (which she explained were the dining room, drawing room and bed room) and, distributing the furniture accordingly, paid no attention to the toys of the little boys. Sonny (who had previously announced to your mother that "grandfather was a sweet person"!) received a very meritorious and brilliant duck on wheels which he dragged round the room for some time, then dropped, and with a rush literally sat down in the middle of Teddy's toy. This was a circular track with a train which ran when the engine had been properly wound up; and both as regards putting together the track and winding the engine your mother showed her superior fitness for the suffrage by exhibiting infinitely more intelligence and mechanical address than I did. Teddy loved his toy; and at moments fell fiercely on Sonny in the effort to prove to him that he was neither translucent nor diaphanous and interfered with the progress of the train when he sat on the track.

You have done admirable work in Paris, and have been the greatest comfort not only to Ted but to the other boys.

Will you do me a favor? Gracie's baby is now only some six weeks off;¹ she longs to hear about Archie; wo'n't you write her a rather full account of him?

And I wish you would write us all that you are allowed about some feat in which Archie was engaged, which he alludes to as if it was rather dangerous and had been fairly creditably performed, but without giving us a hint as to what it was. I hear continually of how very well Ted has done. There is very little I can do here, except to try to get our people to speed up the war; the failure to begin work on the cargo ships with the utmost energy a year ago was a grave misfortune. *Your loving father*

6278 · TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Quentin Roosevelt Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, December 24, 1917

Dearest Quentin, Mother, the adamantine, has stopped writing to you because you have not written to her — or to any of us — for a long time. That will make no permanent difference to you; but I write about something that may make a permanent difference. Flora spoke to Ethel yesterday of the fact that you only wrote rarely to her. She made no complaint whatever. But she knows that some of her friends receive three or four letters a week from their lovers or husbands (Archie writes Gracie rather more often than this — exceedingly interesting letters).

Now of course you may not keep Flora anyhow. But if you wish to lose her, continue to be an infrequent correspondent. If however you wish to

¹ Archibald Roosevelt, Jr., was born February 18, 1918.

keep her write her letters — interesting letters, and love letters — at least three times a week. Write no matter how tired you are, no matter how inconvenient it is; write if you're smashed up in a hospital; write when you are doing your most dangerous stunts; write when your work is most irksome and disheartening; write all the time! Write enough letters to allow for half being lost. *Affectionately A hardened and weary old father*

6279 • TO L. B. HAYES

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 2, 1918

*My dear Mr. Hayes:*¹ In our interview you stated that you knew that the American Defense Society would evade or refuse my request that the Boston Chamber of Commerce at once investigate its financial status. Mr. Hurd² promptly and gladly acceded to the request, and now you decline to make the investigation. Accordingly I have written Mr. Hurd asking that the District Attorney be at once requested to undertake the investigation.³ The Society has at stated intervals had a full investigation of its accounts by a responsible accounting firm.

Now as to your other points. The American Defense Society does a totally different work from the National Security League. Each is doing admirable work; it is an error to say that they are "doing practically the same work." I am a member of both, and I know.

There are sound arguments both for and against tying up the volunteer vigilance work "directly and closely with the Federal government." On the whole I think that the arguments against have most weight. Such work as that of Mr. Cleveland Moffett against the soap-box anarchist and pro-German agitator was undertaken precisely because the Government was not acting in the matter.⁴ Through the Police Dept. here I have some knowledge of the limitations of the national Government's work along this line.

Mr. Hurd is going to change the Advisory Board into Honorary Vice-Presidents. I did advise and keep in touch with the larger measures of policy and action; such as the action against Senator La Follette, the proceeding

¹ L. B. Hayes, representing the Boston Chamber of Commerce, had told Roosevelt that the chamber was disturbed by the way the American Defense Society collected and spent its funds. He cited the example of a man named Dingley who misused the society's letterhead and the names of its sponsors in raising money in Boston.

² Richard Melancthon Hurd, president of the Lawyers Mortgage Company, in January 1918 chairman of the board and, a few months later, president of the American Defense Society.

³ The New York district attorney's office, after making an investigation of the society's finances, reported that its affairs were managed with care and efficiency.

⁴ Cleveland Langston Moffett, an editor of the New York *Herald* and author of innumerable tales of love, adventure, and war, began his work against anarchist and agitator when he was arrested in August 1917 for attempting to break up an anti-British meeting. The American Defense Society came at once to his support by arranging to have the Vigilantes bring to prosecution all speakers who uttered disloyal remarks.

about the German Insurance Companies, the meeting in which Mr. Beck took up the anti-German propaganda and Mr. Hearst, and Mr. Hornaday's campaign against the treasonable position of certain socialist public-school teachers.⁵ But I did not keep in touch with certain other activities where my name appeared without any knowledge on my part; and therefore I deem it best that hereafter I shall merely be an Honorary Vice-President.⁶

As you suggested I saw Mr. Hurd alone. But I was rather amused at, for instance, your saying it was "unnecessary to point out the reasons" why Mr. Quinby should not be present. Mr. Quinby, a Harvard man, is Secretary of the Union League Club, and is of the highest social and business standing. Perhaps I can make clear to a Boston man the status of Messrs. Hurd, Appleton⁷ and Quinby by saying that it is in essentials like that of Major Henry L. Higginson; to assail them or their work on account of dissatisfaction with something they have done or left undone is justifiable to the exact degree that it is justifiable to assail Major Higginson's work with the Boston symphony on account of dissatisfaction with his attitude towards Mr. Muck and the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner."⁸

I wish to state most emphatically, of my own knowledge, that the American Defense Society has done an invaluable work for patriotism, for Americanism and for pushing this war through to a victorious conclusion. It is now assailed and it has always been assailed with peculiar bitterness by the pro-Germans and the agents of Germany. I entirely agree with the statement of Mr. Hurd to the effect that in doing such an immense amount of work, necessarily without previous organization, it was inevitable that some should be poorly done; and in addition there has been some avoidable carelessness, notably in the case of the relations of the Society to Dingley, and also in connection with the use made of the names of the members of the Advisory Committee. There have also of course been, especially at the outset, some honest errors of judgment; and doubtless some of the many persons from

⁵ The American Defense Society in 1917 had sought to exclude La Follette from the Senate, had sponsored the attempt of H. C. Quinby to close down all German-owned insurance companies in the United States, and had supported the effort of Dr. William T. Hornaday to expose and remove public-school teachers who were instructing their students in "alien socialist ideas." In the work of the society James M. Beck took a great interest. A lawyer and congressman, he continued, in speeches and books, to argue the case for his definition of Americanism in the 'twenties and 'thirties.

⁶ Roosevelt became the society's honorary president on January 16.

⁷ Robert Appleton, a member of the publishing firm of D. Appleton and Company, was the society's treasurer.

⁸ Henry Lee Higginson, the moving spirit behind the Boston Symphony Orchestra, had been supporting the conductor, Karl Muck, a Bavarian-born Swiss who was disinclined to play "The Star-Spangled Banner" at the symphony concerts. The conductor's position was that, on grounds of "artistic taste," "patriotic airs" had no place on a symphonic program. Public opinion in time defeated both Muck and his sponsors. In March 1918 the conductor resigned, his resignation forced not so much by the turmoil over the national anthem as by the hostility rising in the American public against anything remotely German. In spite of his resignation and the flimsy nature of the case against him, he was interned as an undesirable alien.

time to time employed have proved unfit for the purpose. I welcome any criticism, and where such criticism is from a responsible source I will at once investigate the matter, exactly as I have done in this case, and as I did in two or three preceding cases; and Mr. Hurd and his associates have always shown, as they are now showing, an eager desire to correct any abuses and remedy any error. I will eagerly co-operate to prevent any such errors or abuses in the management of the Society. To destroy or injure the Society however would benefit but one set of people — the allies, tools and agents of Germany in this country. *Very truly yours*

6280 • TO WILLIAM RUSSELL WILLCOX

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 2, 1918

My dear Mr. Willcox: I earnestly hope that the Republican Party as such will do everything possible to get all its representatives in Congress to vote in favor of the Constitutional amendment, giving women suffrage. This is no longer an academic question. The addition of New York to the suffrage column I think entitles us to say that as a matter both of justice and of common sense the nation should no longer delay to give women suffrage.¹

Will you also let me urge as strongly as possible that there be an immediate addition to the Republican National Committee of one woman member from every suffrage state? I do hope this action can be taken.²

With great regard, *Faithfully yours*

6281 • TO JOHN BIDDLE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 3, 1918

*My dear General Biddle:*¹ In view of our old acquaintance I am going to write you frankly and confidentially and if you don't feel I have the right to, why my dear General you need not answer the letter and I won't have my feelings hurt in the least.

I write you because I happen to know that you are one of the officers

¹New York voters had approved a woman-suffrage amendment to the state constitution in the November balloting.

²On January 9 a Republican congressional caucus endorsed the woman-suffrage amendment then before the House. Though Wilson countered this move by pledging Democratic support, the many Democrats, mostly Southerners, opposing woman suffrage almost defeated the measure in the vote taken on the following day. In the Senate the Southern Democrats were able on October 1 to defeat the amendment. This defeat, in the opinion of several Democratic leaders, was a major reason for the party's poor showing in the fall elections. The new Republican Congress finally passed the Nineteenth Amendment in June 1919, and the states ratified it in time to permit women to vote in the election of 1920. It was not until after 1920, however, that the Republican party adopted Roosevelt's suggestion to have a national committeewoman from each state.

¹John Biddle, superintendent of the United States Military Academy, 1916-1917; Assistant Chief of Staff, U.S.A., November 1917-March 1918; commanding general of the American forces in England, March 1918-June 1919.

who thoroughly appreciate the need of training our men in modern war. I have been in several camps; I have spoken to a number of the young regular officers and to the best of the young reserve officers as to the needs. My information is that in most camps the shortage of clothing and the like has been pretty well met, and the need for rifle practice is being met. The condition as regards the artillery is very discouraging for most of the men have done a large part of what it is possible to do with logwood cannon. But I suppose nothing can be done about this, because we haven't the cannon. In the same way the lack of trench mortars and of machine guns or auto-rifles I suppose cannot at present be met — although I saw at Chillicothe that General Glenn had had his men themselves manufacture some trench mortars and I saw them practice. But my information is that nothing like the proper use is being made of the French and English officers over here who could teach modern war. In one camp for example the proportion of officers who are schooled in rifle practice to officers who are schooled in bombing is 72 to 1; the proportion is not nearly as bad in bayonet work. Of course nothing is being done about training with auto-rifles. A large part of the trouble is due to the attitude of many of the regular officers (most but not all being elderly officers) who seem to feel it an insult if they are required to try to learn anything from the French or British officers. This is of course all nonsense. If I had been allowed my division I would have had every officer in it devoting all possible time to profiting at every point from an intensive training under such French and English officers, as for example those at the Harvard and Yale Schools, and I would have realized that I had most to learn myself!

In three weeks I am coming on to Washington. Would you be willing to have me put before you the situation in this respect, so that if you saw fit you could do whatever was possible that you deemed advisable to speed up the work of teaching our men modern warfare? I would in confidence give you the names of a number of men from whom you could get further information.

Hoping my dear General, that you will not regard me as intrusive, I am
Very faithfully yours

6282 · TO HEYWOOD BROWN

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, January 7, 1918

*My dear Mr. Brown:*¹ I must give myself the pleasure of saying how much I have enjoyed and profited by your articles concerning our army. My two boys have written me personally along the lines of your suggestion, that it

¹ Heywood Brown, newspaperman, wit, student of action in the sun field and behind the footlights, member of the Thanatopsis Literary and Inside Straight Club, in the 'thirties active in liberal movements, at this time a correspondent for the *New York Tribune*. Among his many books are *The A.E.F.: With General Pershing and the American Forces* (1918), *Seeing Things at Night* (1921), and *Pieces of Hate and Other Enthusiasms* (1922).

would be far better if our troops were trained by the English. Will you let me thank you for your references to the two boys, and especially to Ted? You gave me a much clearer idea of what Ted is doing and of the difficulties he has had to encounter and the way he has overcome them than I had before, for the two boys evidently fear the censor and write most cautiously, saying nearly nothing about military matters. When you return I hope you will let me know. It will be a great pleasure to have you break bread with me at Sagamore Hill.

With all good wishes, *Faithfully yours*

6283 • TO RAYMOND ROBINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 14, 1918

My dear Mr. Robins: Colonel Thompson¹ has handed me your letter of November 19th and the enclosure. I regard the letter as far and away the most illuminating and instructive statement of the situation that I have seen. I shall, of course, govern my conduct and my utterances hereafter absolutely by it. I am particularly glad to get it because in my not unnatural indignation at much of the conduct of the Bolsheviki I have used expressions which I shall hereafter avoid. There is no danger whatever of my ever getting to sympathize in any way with the reactionaries in Russia, but I had supposed that the Bolsheviki were necessarily purely ephemeral possessing some unpleasant analogies with the men of the red terror in the French Revolution —, and of course it has been a very bitter thing to all of us who have sons on the western front to feel that they might be overwhelmed by a huge German offensive which was set free by the defection of Russia under the lead of the Bolsheviki.²

I very seriously question whether any other individual, except (possibly one or two Generals) perhaps (& only perhaps) some General, has rendered anything like the service that you have rendered to civilization and to the allied cause during the last five months. *Always yours*

¹ William Boyce Thompson, miner, financier, banker, and philanthropist. Bored with stocks, bonds, and the accumulating of money, he turned eagerly to the support of Herbert Hoover's Belgian relief work and then to the organization of the Red Cross mission to Russia. As its leader in 1917 he strove vainly to obtain American aid for the Kerenski regime. He himself contributed a million dollars in an attempt to keep the Russian armies fighting on the eastern front. Returning to this country in 1918, he sought to obtain the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, whom he had opposed in 1912 and 1916, for President in 1920.

² Without modulating his condemnation of Russian Communism, Roosevelt in his newspaper and magazine articles recognized — as did Robins — the evils that bred it. "On the whole the worst fate that can befall any country is to fall into the hands of the Bolsheviki," he wrote in a characteristic contribution to the *Kansas City Star* of June 5, 1918. "Therefore, we should visit with heavy condemnation the Romanoffs of politics and industry who, by Bourbon-like inability to see or refusal to face the future, make ready the way for Bolshevism." Roosevelt unlike Robins did not publicly recommend that the United States give Russia aid to buttress her weak domestic economy.

New York, January 16, 1918

My dear Whitney: I have just read your Sunday article¹ and I wish first to express my very great gratitude as an American to you for what you set forth, and then to express my very great regret at certain statements in the conclusion, which to the extent that they are accepted will nullify the work that you have done. I assume that your partly mythical recommendation of the House Committee is politically wise and is done for that reason.

First let me most earnestly and heartily thank you as an American and moreover as a man whose sons are at the front, for setting forth the conditions in France. I have known of these conditions but not so that I could speak of them. I have known of the fact that many thousands of coffins have been sent abroad, and yet that many of our men are practically barefoot. I have known of the failure in motor cars, in clothing, and in the furnishing of defective ammunition. I have of course known that the only guns and auto-rifles we had were from the hard-pressed French. I have known of the utter incompetence of many of the elderly officers. But the circumstances were such that I was not at liberty to speak of these matters as to our forces abroad. I have known five times as much as I have told about our training camps at home; but as regards these home training camps I could myself speak on a good many points from firsthand observation. You absolutely put the case as it should be put when you say that the only tolerable attitude for our government to take should be the single-minded desire to care for the comfort and effectiveness of our fighting forces in France, and that half-measures will not suffice. You put the case in a nutshell when you say that it is the absence of appreciation of the necessities of the hour by the responsible heads of government that has resulted in the lack of efficient organization; and that the secrecy insisted upon by this government as to what it has been doing is most mischievous. As you say, we need to look uncolored facts in the face; we need to hear the truth.

But my dear fellow at the end you come down to concrete recommendations. You say that "the Senators and Representatives must abandon politics for patriotism" and must "get behind the President," and you say that "the President's present attitude reveals an understanding of the character and size of the task," and that he "breathes the spirit of stalwart patriotism and grim determination."

This absolutely nullifies all that you have said in your article itself. You make the familiar attack on Congress which is the refuge, and has from the beginning been the refuge of every man who wanted to say something to condemn what has been done, but did not dare to call attention to the real

¹ Caspar Whitney had returned from Europe where he had served as a war correspondent for the *New York Tribune*. In a series of blistering articles he had attacked the administration of our war effort, especially in the services of supply and transport which were, he said, a "joke."

offender. As a matter of fact Congress has on the whole done admirably. It has done infinitely better than the President. There has been on the part of all but a very small proportion of the Representatives, the highest spirit of patriotism. Unlike the President the Rep. Senators & Congressmen have not played politics. The only adverse criticism that can be properly made upon them is that they have been altogether too timid in dealing with the President and have not ventured to tell the truth about his shameful and shameless misconduct. To blame Congress is to divert the popular indignation into a safe and harmless channel where it will have no effect whatever, which is utterly unworthy of you, and if successful, my dear Whitney, it means the absolute neutralization of what you so admirably did in all of your article up to the end.

Every specific shortcoming and failure you describe is due more to the President than to any other one man; and most of them are due exclusively to him & to no one else. You say that Wood told the truth and that he has been punished for it by the politicians. Yes — the politician who punished him for it was the President. A member of the House Committee, Vance McCormick, found congenial the task of keeping alive the President's malice; but it was not necessary.² The President was coldly malicious to Wood, and it simply never entered his soul that the interests of the country were to be balanced for a second against the gratification of his personal spite toward Wood. You speak of the misconduct of Crozier. Crozier was kept in high position by the President and encouraged by him precisely because he gave testimony that contradicted Wood and furnished excuse for the President's persistent refusal to do his duty. You complain of the failure to tell people the truth. It is the President who prevents people being told the truth. La Follette and the other unpatriotic Senators and Congressmen have shown their lack of patriotism most conspicuously by persistence in quoting and approving the President's words in the past, words which were just as false when the President uttered them as now when La Follette and Hearst repeat them. If La Follette is false to this country, which I gladly admit, then the President, although not technically, was morally, exactly as false a year ago. Baker has been the instrument of the wrongdoing. He is a kindly pacifist with a good deal of ability of a certain kind, but utterly incompetent to do the work of the War Department. This is why he was chosen by the President. Garrison left the cabinet because although he had done Wilson's dirty work far beyond the limit which self-respect ought to tolerate, there came a point when his patriotism was aroused to revolt because Wilson's attitude amounted to absolute refusal to prepare in any way for the war that might overwhelm us. Wilson supplanted him by one of the three or four most prominent paci-

² There was no Democratic McCormick in the House in 1917-1918. Vance Criswell McCormick, a Harrisburg newspaper publisher and chairman of the Democratic National Campaign Committee in 1916, was never a congressman. In January 1918 he was chairman of the War Trade Board.

fists at that time holding public office, with full knowledge, & with deliberate purpose to avoid preparing. The machine-gun business is due to and could only have been done with Wilson's complete approval, exactly as I happen to know at firsthand that the squabble on behalf of wooden ships which has been so disastrous in its effects, was approved by Wilson who did what he could to push through the ruinous wooden ship program, and encouraged the delay.³ To excuse Wilson for any part of our shortcomings and failure to prepare for & to handle the war situation is precisely as if I tried to excuse myself for my responsibility as President for sending the battle fleet around the world, or taking Panama, or settling the anthracite coal strike, and endeavored to unload this responsibility onto somebody else. Wilson is almost solely responsible for all our shortcomings before we went to war & since. He is doing very badly at this moment.⁴

To point out fearlessly and ably as you have done our shortcomings and then at the conclusion to advise backing up the President and criticizing Congress, is literally as if the anti-Tweed-ring men had made a truthful and forceful attack upon the Tweed ring, and had ended by advising people to stand by Tweed and attack the men whose only fault was that they had not criticized Tweed with sufficient severity.

It may be wise not to criticize Mr. Wilson at all, although I very gravely doubt this. But most certainly there is not the smallest justification for leading our people astray by anything that hides the misdeeds of the President, or for assailing Congress, which has done so much better than he has done and which has shown an almost servile eagerness to serve him and has almost never gone wrong, for the last year, except in refusing to take the proper stand against him.

Let me repeat that I cannot too strongly express my admiration for all of your article *until you came to give concrete advice as to what should be done*. If the American people heeded this advice it would absolutely and completely nullify the value of the article and would do what Wilson wishes; for all he desires is to have people contradict themselves and assume an attitude which means marking time. To him, winning this war, or getting an

³ Changes in design and introduction of new models had delayed the production of machine guns and automatic rifles. The squabble over the construction of wooden ships produced the resignation of Goethals, general manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, who believed all available energies and materials should be devoted to building steel vessels.

⁴ Roosevelt found support for his condemnation of Wilson from Republican and Democrat alike. Three days after this letter was written George Chamberlain, Democratic chairman of the Senate military affairs committee, told a National Security League audience that "the military establishment of America has fallen down. . . . It has almost stopped functioning." A few days later Chamberlain presented a bill to create a war cabinet of "three distinguished citizens of demonstrated . . . ability." Roosevelt went to Washington to assist in forcing the bill through. Wilson attacked Chamberlain, his committee, and his bill and offered, in February, an alternative proposal in the Overman Bill. Passed in May, this gave Wilson authority to reorganize government agencies and departments concerned with prosecuting the war.

inclusive peace, is a matter of indifference. He is concerned purely with his own fortunes. He is now hand in glove with Hearst, who assumes the duty of violently protesting against everybody who tells the truth about the situation. Wilson is a physically timid man, a hypocrite, and as an administrator is as incompetent as Buchanan, Jefferson or Madison. But he is a past master in the art of adroit demagoguery, and he is an exceedingly clever rhetorician. Unfortunately while these qualities are very advantageous to himself personally they are both very damaging to the United States and also very advantageous to Germany.

I believe that a considerable number of men will accept your premises and therefore reject your conclusion; and I believe that your article will do real good; but it will not do one tenth of the good that would be done if you simply declined to say anything on behalf of Wilson which if true proves that the facts you set forth in your article must be false. There is no need to blame him if you think this unwise; but inasmuch as he is far & away the chief offender it is evil folly to praise him. I am certain that you have set forth the facts exactly as they are. I am certain that you set forth as it should be set forth the need of telling the truth to the American people. But if these facts are as you stated them, no more crushing indictment against a President was ever framed, and if there is real need for telling the truth, then you ought not to end your indictment by recommendations on behalf of Wilson and against Congress, which can only be accepted upon the theory that your indictment itself was a mere piece of rhetoric and is to be accepted purely in a Pickwickian sense. I feel so strongly about the immense service you can render this people and about the way in which you will nullify this service by a 50-50 attitude, by playing hot at one end of your article and cold at the other end, that I very greatly wish you would be willing to let me see you and put the matter before you. *Faithfully yours*

6285 · TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, January 18, 1918

Darling Belle, I hope you can read or listen to this letter by the time it reaches you. You need not be told how overjoyed we were, how proud we were, when the cable came saying you were well and that blessed little Joseph Willard had arrived.¹ Will you call him Joe or Willard? What fun Kim and he will have! This morning I was holding and playing with smiling, cuddling little Edie, and I told her all about her having a little cousin who was even smaller than she was. A kinsman of the Consul sent me a photograph of the donkey on which Kim rides.

We have just sternly disciplined poor Quentin about not writing often enough, even to Flora; and immediately afterwards found that he was recovering from an attack of pneumonia. He was with Eleanor at Christmas —

¹ Joseph Willard Roosevelt, born January 16, 1918.

really Eleanor has been the kind of comfort to those three boys! — but he felt too dismal over the Christmas away from home to be really cheered up.

Well, I hope that by the time this reaches you Gracie's baby will also have been born. Archie — that iron personage — has written about all that is going on with such outspoken bitterness that I have strongly urged him to be more reticent, for fear the censor submit his letters to the War Department and get him into a scrape. I think I wrote you that Pershing had recommended him for a captaincy; whether the Department will give it to him I do'n't know. Ted's superiors speak the highest terms of him.

I have not heard from Kermit since I last wrote you.

Ethel had a delightful and amusing time matronizing a week-end house party at Flora's. It was of the usual inconsequent kind characteristic of those very wealthy, kindly, self-absorbed members of the out-door-sport wing of the smart set; and Ethel was humorously appreciative of all they were and did — especially when they went to an officers ball at the nearby camp and returned after midnight with three unknown Brooklyn girls and their escorts, but no chaperone, and renewed the dance at home.

I do'n't write about the war. I am heart sick over the delay, the blundering, the fatuous and complacent inefficiency, and the effort to substitute glittering rhetoric for action. I have no idea how long it will take to ferry over an army of a size that will it a ponderable factor in the war.

With warm regards for your mother, father and sister,² and deepest love for the two babies, *ever lovingly Kermit's father*

6286 · TO RICHARD MELANCTHON HURD

Roosevelt Mss.

Washington, January 23, 1918

My dear Mr. Hurd: Will you look over the enclosed letter by President Luther? If the book¹ is as he describes, and I am confident that his quotations from it are accurate, I quite agree with him that Mr. Thorstein Veblen ought to be in jail. Is there anything that our Society can do in the matter?
Faithfully yours

6287 · TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Quentin Roosevelt Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, January 27, 1918

Dearest Quentin, Last week Mother and I spent four days at Washington with Sister and Nick, who were dear, of course. I was kept on the jump, literally without a minute's intermission, seeing Senators, Congressmen, publicists, army officers and the like, and had no time to be melancholy (although plenty of time to be uncomfortable and indignant over the delay and incom-

² Mary Elizabeth Willard.

¹ In *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation* (1917), Thorstein Veblen maintained that business and patriotism were not only useless in themselves but also the primary obstacles to enduring peace.

petency); but it was rather hard on darling mother, for so many of her old friends were dead and so many of those who were not had grown so very old that she felt as if she were revisiting a scene from which all she knew had vanished. Major Loeffler called on me; an old dear; he was filled with reminiscences of you, especially the time you came to the office with all the snakes disposed around your person and Congressman Pete Hepburn with mistaken kindness started to help you off with your jacket — and then I never saw so old a gentleman make so agile a jump! Charles turned up also.

Yesterday Mr. & Mrs. Tommy Hitchcock came over, very proud of young Tommy, of course. Thank Heaven I can be equally proud of you and the other boys! My only regret is that you can't get married to Flora at once.

They said that young Tommy wrote that he was practicing shooting all the time and that it was difficult and absolutely indispensable work. Have you been able to practice it at all?

Mother stopped at Baltimore for a few days with Belle James,¹ and I am here with Ethel and the two children. A heavy snowstorm is on, and the cold is bitter; which merely reminds us of what all of you have to endure.

Your last letters have been more than satisfactory. Now, don't bother to write to me. My letters are so dull I am ashamed to send them; but I'll write every week. Your letters are exceedingly interesting; just write to Flora, and also to Mother; Mother will pass her letters round so that all those in this household will get the benefit.

The North Room is closed by gaudy portières; we keep the logs blazing in the library and find it cosy and comfortable. I am kept very busy writing, and occasionally speaking, always on behalf of the war; so long as we are still in the talky-talky stage some one has to do the talky-talky on the right side. *Your loving father*

6288 • TO ALBERT SHAW

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 31, 1918

Dear Albert: By George, that's a corking letter of yours. Don't be surprised if I plagiarize it in one of my speeches or editorials. If you happen to have seen my recent editorial called "The neck of the bottle" you will see that I have grasped exactly what you point out, as to the shipping being the key to the situation.¹ Moreover, I absolutely agree with you as to the fact that our universal service army should have been used more even in industry than for war. *Faithfully yours*

¹ Isabella Hagner of Baltimore and Washington, social secretary for Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Wilson, had married Norman James, a Baltimore businessman.

² Shipping was, indeed, the bottleneck. The vast government ship construction program failed to produce any significant results before the war ended. The first ship built at the huge Hog Island yard was not delivered until December 1918. Without the British merchant marine, neutral shipping, and the confiscated German vessels, little American manpower or material would have reached France.

Oyster Bay, January 31, 1918

*My dear Professor Macurdy:*¹ Praise Heaven there are still one or two writers left who do not demand an immediately utilitarian purpose in their studies! My four sons are fighting the Germans and Turks. If only I had been allowed to go with them I should have studied exhaustively trench mortars, bayonet work, antiaircraft, guns and gas fighting, in addition to trying to make a contribution of my own by adapting large-scale Rocky Mountain hydraulic mining to the exigencies of modern trench warfare. But for recreation I wish to turn to the "Close Fighting of the Myrmidons" and the "Wanderings of the Danubian River Folk."

Don't forget you are to let me see you whenever you come to New York.
Sincerely yours

6290 · TO KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, February 2, 1918

Dearest Kermit: Since my last letter your letter about Tekrit¹ has come, and I am overjoyed. Three cheers! You have proved yourself; you have made good; you have justified the sorrow and worry you and darling Belle have shared. I am more pleased than I can say. You have actually taken part in a big phase of the greatest war in history; you have efficiently done your duty for the right in the times that tried men's souls. It is better than to be drilling drafted men with wooden cannon here at home, isn't it?

Whether or not we shall see the much-heralded tremendous German offensive I have no idea; her army is still very powerful; but there is no question that the economic strain and social and political unrest within her borders have grown very dangerous; and Austria is if anything in worse shape.

My usefulness is very limited. I do fulfil a modest function, that of telling disagreeable truths which ought to be told but which it is very unpopular to tell and which nobody else will tell. This is a factor in making the Administration do about a fifth of what it ought to and could, instead of only a twentieth. But I tend to be regarded as merely a scold. I am no longer in touch with the dominant currents of the American stream of purpose and perception — I can't say "thought," for there is uncommonly little of it at

¹ Grace Harriet Macurdy, professor of Greek at Vassar College, author of many articles and books in her field, including *The Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides* (1905), *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Woman-Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt* (1932), *The Quality of Mercy: the Gentler Virtues in Greek Literature* (1940).

² Tekrit, a town in Iraq, the birthplace of Saladin, the site of a battle in November 1917 in which the town was captured from the Turks.

present. All I wish is to keep on until all of you get back and take up your own lives, and until Quentin marries Flora, and then I shall retire; it is not wise to linger superfluous on the stage; and it is worse to be sour and gloomy and forecast all kinds of evil because the new generation must be spoken to in a different manner — for better or worse.

I am writing darling Belle, saying that I do hope she will take thought primarily of the two children (it is useless to ask her to take thought primarily of herself); that so she can serve you best.

I suppose that Ted and Archie are in the trenches for good now. I do not venture to write you about either public or military matters.² *Your loving Father*

6291 • TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, February 2, 1918

Darling Belle, Your New Year letter has just come; and one from Kermit describing the battle of Tekrit. Well, he's been in the game, now! I am so pleased; he has the nature which would make it dreadful for him not to have actually had a hand in the real service.

The Lazlo photo has come. I think it remarkable; but personally I care even more for the Sergeant, which to me seems to have a singular quality, a blend of both the spiritual and the heroic. It is just like Kermit's soul! But I am immensely pleased with the Lazlo also; and Mother I think really prefers it.

I am a little, and only a little, concerned about blessed Kim. Now, darling, will you let a fussy old grandfather say a word? Don't let your devotion — your very beautiful devotion — to Kermit cause you to forget that everything else should yield to your doing what is wisest and best for the two children. This is the best way to serve Kermit at this particular time, and it is your first duty. Show this paragraph of the letter to your dear father and mother and get their frank judgement in the matter!

Naturally I am very glad that Archie is a Captain. I suppose he is now permanently in the trenches. I do hope that nothing happens to him until Gracie's baby is born, some time this month. I shall see her in Boston next week.

I take a grim satisfaction in seeing that the Germans, who used the Bolsheviks for their own purposes, now have an incipient bolsheviki movement of their own which is causing them trouble. I can only hope that this will interfere with their great drive. It is not pleasant that after one year of war we should still have failed to prepare any real force of a size that will be a material factor in a battle of decisive type. *Lovingly Kermit's father*

² This letter is an unaltered version of a copy prepared by Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt of the original which is not now available.

Oyster Bay, February 2, 1918

Dearest Archie, If you want shoes or other things for your men and can order them abroad, get them and tell the Farmers Loan & Trust Company to pay for them and at once send the bill to me; or I will put to your credit any money you wish; and cable me if you wish me to send anything from here.¹ I have told you that thanks to my pen I am making money; I have no object in doing so unless I spend it in this crisis for you and Gracie and your brothers and for your comrades if I can relieve their grinding needs.

I suppose you are now in the trenches. Whether the great German drive will materialize or not I have no idea. The revolt in Germany is evidently serious and shows that the economic strain and social unrest are very serious.

I am not in sympathy with the bulk of my fellow countrymen, and therefore am no longer fit to lead the public men or politicians. The Republicans have on the whole behaved far better than the Democrats; but even among them there are any number of pacifists and shortsighted reactionary materialists; and I see very evident, altho furtive, tendencies to deal with the pro-Germans — chiefly among the Democrats but also among the Republicans. I do not now possess the power of appealing in convincing manner to our easy going, shortsighted, fairly well-meaning countrymen; probably I am too extreme. Well, all I now care for is to keep on with my work until the war is over and all of you get back; while the war lasts I serve a very limited public usefulness by telling truths which nobody else will tell; and my real usefulness is helping to keep things going until the soldiers return to their wives and children and sweethearts! I am to see darling Gracie next week.

The only thing they have caught me on so far is my statement — on your say so! — that thousands of coffins have been sent to France. Of course I do n't bring you in in any way; but can you without trouble put me in the way of getting at the facts? My Y.M.C.A. controversy still rages fitfully!

Mother looks too pretty for anything. *Your loving father*

Oyster Bay, February 5, 1918

My dear Mr. Adams: I thank you for your several letters, but you put me in a quandry by sending me your speech of acceptance of the Chairmanship. I need hardly say that I have none but the friendliest feeling toward you, but I do not think it is wise for you to accept the Chairmanship at this time and under existing conditions.¹ I have not heard from Mr. Hert but I did in-

¹ Roosevelt sent 200 pairs of shoes to the men.

¹ John Taylor Adams, the vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee, expected to inherit the chairmanship which Willcox had announced he would vacate. He had no real following, however. Progressives believed him too conservative;

cidentally hear through the Police Commissioner of Cincinnati (whose name at the moment I forget) that you were said to have approved the sinking of the *Lusitania*, or at least to have defended the Germans for so doing, and on other occasions to have expressed very strong pro-German feelings. This information came to me at second hand and I have paid no heed to it and simply mention it because of your allusion to the possible action of Mr. Hert. If you will communicate with Mr. Hynicka,² the Ohio Committeeman, he will give you full information.

I don't remember the exact language of that suggestion of mine but it was to the effect that we should see that the Republican Party speaks of its record of the past only to indicate its action in the future, and that our loyalty to Lincoln is not merely loyalty to his actions on the problems of his day, but an expression of intention to apply his vision and forward-looking spirit and purpose in turn to the industrial and social problems of our own day and to try to represent the great forward drive of all the American people, workingmen and farmers, businessmen and professional men toward a system which will be based both upon the most generous justice by each toward all his brothers and that highest efficiency by all in the work, the benefit of which is as near a height of justice as we can obtain to be shared among all. I make no pretense to choose the exact words but this I think is the spirit. *Faithfully yours*

6294 · TO WILL H. HAYS

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, February 6, 1918

Dear Mr. Hays: As I shall have to go under the knife,¹ I won't be available for consultation for a week or two. John King is very close to me. He will present you this letter. He will do everything he can for you, or if you and the others deem it impossible to elect you and possible to elect somebody else, he will work with you to elect that other person. Will you treat him as my particular and confidential friend, and consult and advise with him? I shall ask him to show this letter also to Messrs. Hert, Howell,² Marlow³ and the other men who are standing with us at this time, on an occasion which I believe to be of very grave import to the future of the Republican party

conservatives were skeptical about his organizing ability; those who had wished for earlier participation in the war felt he had been unduly hesitant about our entry into the conflict. Roosevelt supported the ultimately successful candidate, Will Hays.

² Rudolph Kelker Hynicka, Republican national committeeman from Ohio.

¹ Fever contracted first in Cuba and again, more severely, in Brazil had remained with Roosevelt. One of the recurrent episodes put Roosevelt in bed in the first days of February. While ill, abscesses in thigh and ear increased in severity. On February 6 he was operated on. For one month thereafter he was weak and uncomfortable, with a temporary loss of equilibrium. As a permanent result of the operation he lost his hearing in the left ear.

² Robert Beecher Howell, Republican national committeeman from Nebraska, United States Senator, 1923-1933.

³ Thomas A. Marlow, Republican national committeeman from Montana.

and therefore of the nation, of which you and I and John King and the men I have named above wish that Party to be the farsighted and efficient servant.
Very truly yours

6295 · TO GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, February 18, 1918

Dear George: I had hoped not to have to take up any such matter as that dealt with in your letter until I left my bed in the hospital. But you are one of the very, very few men — and there are very few indeed — whom I would answer under these conditions.

You send me a statement from the *World*. It was the first time of course that I had seen it, or knew of its existence. This statement of course was directly due to the appearance, one or two days previously, of the statement which I saw I think in the *Times* and *Tribune* or *Sun*, announcing that you had called upon me here, and going on with a statement which inevitably created the impression that you were speaking with authority as my representative.¹ The announcement that you had seen me was not given out from the hospital or with my permission. You were the first person I had seen since I came to the hospital with whom I spoke on politics. Even when Will Hays called me up on the telephone, my daughter answered and did not tell me that he had called me up. You say you called up Miss Stricker² on Saturday to give me a message about King, but that she did not come to the telephone. My daughter informs me that she went to the telephone but that you then told her that what you wished to say to Miss Stricker was, that you would like to see the copy of the letter to Adams which I told you I was going to show you. You seem to feel a resentment that Miss Stricker was not

¹ Once again Perkins had thrust himself and Roosevelt into the center of speculation about Republican politics. In St. Louis, leading the opposition to Adams (see No. 6293, note 1), he had reawakened the resentments of Republican regulars against the wanderers of 1912. Adams retired from the contest for chairman of the national committee only after Penrose promised him that Perkins' Progressives would not be permitted actively to participate in the reorganized Republican councils. The national committee by tabling a resolution to keep six Progressives on an advisory committee seemed to keep this promise. Nevertheless Perkins, after returning to New York and visiting Roosevelt, told the press that the progressive element had obtained such control of the Republican organization that the nomination of a progressive in 1920 was certain. He had earlier stated that he believed the election of 1920 would center upon the great social and international issues raised by the war. Newspapermen — aware as they were that Roosevelt had supported Hays, that Roosevelt of all Republicans was most articulate about the issues Perkins had in mind, that Perkins had in the past spoken for Roosevelt, and that Perkins had just visited Roosevelt — generally concluded, as did the New York *Times* on February 16, that "already the progressives, headed by George W. Perkins, are laying their plans to draft the Colonel for the big national contest." The *World* on February 18 agreed that a Roosevelt boom was under way but maintained that Roosevelt, through John T. King, his new spokesman, had helped Penrose in St. Louis and would work with the Old Guard for nomination in 1920.

² Josephine Stricker, at this time Roosevelt's secretary.

at the telephone. My dear George you evidently haven't an idea of the way in which Miss Stricker, my wife and my two daughters have been worked almost to the point of exhaustion while I have been in the hospital. Miss Stricker has been here every day, including Sundays, from right after breakfast until late in the evening, and Mrs. Roosevelt could not have existed without her. Miss Strand³ has had also to be here most of the time. A large part of the time Miss Stricker is downstairs seeing people, thereby enabling Mrs. Roosevelt to rest a little. It is utterly out of the question for her to be answering the telephone continually, as she is continually expected to do by everyone. My daughter, Mrs. Longworth has sometimes taken that job off her hands, and sometimes takes off her hands the job of seeing people below, but of course, she can't see the reporters and others as Miss Stricker can.

This article from the *World* you send me, contains in the headlines two statements, of which you call my attention to one. It in the first place states you *were* my mouthpiece. In the next place it states that John King *is* my mouthpiece. Neither statement is true — one not a particle more so than the other. Nobody is my mouthpiece. As I have repeatedly known you to say, I speak for myself. There are occasions when on some definite matter I request you to act for me; there are occasions when I request King so to act for me. There will be other occasions in the future when I shall request Hays to act for me. The only person whom I authorize to speak for me on ordinary occasions is Miss Stricker.

Much of your letter, it does not seem to me, worth while to discuss. You say that King deliberately created the impression that Hays would be dominated by Penrose. I do not believe that he has created any such impression. Various people after the article in the *Times* and other papers appeared, came to me stating that you were creating the impression that you were dominating Hays and representing me. I made them the same answer about you that I am making about King. You say that this kind of publicity (referring apparently to the *World* article) will be unwelcome to Hert, Howell and others. Unless you write to them and tell them of the existence of the article, I don't think they will, any of them, ever know that it has appeared. I very gravely question whether now, 36 hours after its appearance, anybody remembers it, so as to seriously consider it. It will cause such a temporary flurry as the article of yours in the *Times* and other papers of which I spoke, caused. You of course, understand as well as I do that the *World* intends to make mischief any way it can. It will delight to say that Hays and I are dominated by you in the interest of Wall Street, a charge it has made against me in connection with you several hundred times. It will also delight to say that Hays and I are dominated by King in the interest of Penrose and the machine. This will be just as big a lie as the other. It will probably use both lies alternately, and neither of them will have the slightest effect, unless some good fellow like yourself should be unwise enough to treat them as you are treating this state-

³ Roosevelt's nurse.

ment in your letter to me. Two months ago the *World*, and various other papers, were announcing that I was under the domination of Smoot and Jonathan Bourne. Our not overwise friend, Shelley,⁴ of Montana, wrote me a letter on the subject, and I enclose you a copy of my reply, which I think covers the Penrose case precisely as it covers the Smoot and Bourne case, and as it will cover all the similar stories which from now on will appear every few weeks.

I am exceedingly sorry that you feel as you do about King. As you know I do not share your views any more than I share the views of the men who come to me to attack you. My dear George, I shall continue to act in the future precisely as I have acted in the past, and I shall do so wholly without regard to what the *World* or the *Journal* or the *Evening Post*, or even more reputable papers may say. I am very deeply interested in certain great matters of principle at issue before the country. I wish to do as little fighting as possible of a personal kind, even against men like Murray Crane, and most emphatically I shall do none when the affair is a grievance among my own friends, for which I am in no shape or way responsible. The Adams matter was so vitally important that I finally took a hand; but I shall take no hand in a squabble among my friends on a point which seems to me ludicrously unimportant. When Hays comes on I shall see him alone with King, if King wishes. I shall also see him alone with you, if you wish. Yesterday I saw Quigg, who came to see me at Penrose's request; just before I became sick I saw Pinchot; if either Quigg or Pinchot wish to see me alone with Hays I should at once do so — not that I have any idea that they will so wish to see me.

Personally I think it is worse than a waste of time to pay heed to stories such as those in the *World*, which you enclose. I say this to you now on Monday; on Saturday I was saying the same thing to other people who were making exactly similar complaints about you in connection with the stories in the *Times* and the *Tribune*, etc.

If any advice I gave could be heeded I should give with all possible emphasis to everyone, the following advice: To quit talking in the papers; to quit saying anything that would give any color to the belief that having just won a great victory for decency we are now eagerly endeavoring to start a pointless squabble among our own people; and to refuse to be taunted into heeding the *World* or any similar dishonest and hostile newspaper.⁵ Faithfully yours

P.S. I have an eighth grandchild, my fifth little grandson — Archie's and Gracie's baby, just born this morning.

⁴ Oliver Hazard Perry Shelley, editor of the *Montana Progressive*, 1914–1917; secretary of the Montana Progressive State Central Committee and Montana Progressive national committeeman; Republican national committeeman, 1920–1924, and in that capacity manager in Montana of Harding's campaign in 1920.

⁵ This advice Perkins accepted. He had only one objective, he explained to Roosevelt, "harmony, harmony, harmony."

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, February 18, 1918

Dearest Kermit: Four of your letters written in the last two weeks of November have just come. They are delightful. Of course in a way I sympathize with you in your feeling that you would liked to have been at the taking of Jerusalem,¹ but after all the essential thing is to get at the battle front and there do your duty, and this essential thing has been accomplished. Moreover, it would be very hard after all to have a more interesting experience than you have had with Indian as well as English troops in a campaign through the strange country that saw one of the two earliest and greatest of civilizations, and that they saw this succeeded by other and wholly distinct civilizations until they died away into a barbarism not really more advanced than the barbarism from which the first of these civilizations had sprung five thousand years previously.

It would be delightful if you could get in that light-armored-car battery. It would be the modern equivalent of the most efficient form of fighting light cavalry. If by the end of the cold season your superiors are willing to have you come to France and you find you can do it and wish to do it, I cannot see any possible objection. If you got back on the French front I should write to Pershing and try to get you transferred to our army, and I think I would succeed, although of course I cannot guarantee it. Most of the fighting Generals of our army would like to do for me anything they dare. But of course the War Department would hail the chance in so far as they dare to do me or those near me an injury. Fortunately, they have a wholesome respect for my fighting powers. Here we have finished the first year of the war and have accomplished, in a military sense, absolutely nothing. We have never had a more incompetent Administration than the present one and it is most incompetent in everything connected with the war. The frightful mis-handling of the machine-gun situation alone ought to have meant the impeachment not merely of the Secretary of War but of the President. However, our army in France is now reasonably well supplied — at last has plenty of shoes and clothing and has obtained airplanes, field artillery, machine guns and auto-rifles from the French. But it is sickening to feel that this army including Ted and Archie, may be sacrificed without any adequate reinforcement, because of the folly, and worse than folly, of our high civilians at home, and of the fuddled elderly fools of the regular army who were kept in high position by these same civilians during the first year of the war. Congress has behaved infinitely better than the President and the Senate investigating committee has forced the worst of the swivel-chair War Department Generals out of office.² I think there will be a slight improvement and of

¹ By General Edmund H. H. Allenby on December 8, 1917.

² Shortly after the Senate Committee on Military Affairs began to investigate the War Department, Baker relieved the Chief of Ordnance, the Quartermaster General, and the Chief of Coast Artillery. To these positions he appointed, in an acting capacity, Charles Brewster Wheeler, George Goethals, and John D. Barrette, respec-

course in the end even though the incompetence of the Administration prevents our exerting more than one quarter of our strength, yet even the expression of this quarter will accomplish a great deal.

It is the greatest relief and delight to us to think of Belle, darling Belle, and blessed Kim and the blessed new baby. Our anxiety now is for Gracie. I have just been over selections from Archie's letters, which he sent me and which she will see whether the *Atlantic Monthly* would like to publish, of course anonymously. They are well worth publishing but that does not in the least mean that the *Atlantic Monthly* will accept them.

I am writing from the Roosevelt Hospital where I have been for nearly a fortnight and shall be for a fortnight more. My old Brazilian trouble, both the fever and the abscesses recurred and I had to go under the knife. It was entirely trivial. I think mother has written you about it. I can quite honestly say that my only feeling was the deepest gratitude that it was not one of you boys, and a very earnest wish that it were possible for me to play my small part by taking it, instead of having some similar thing happen to one of you boys. I of course have had the best of care from the Doctors and nurses. I am in clean, pleasant surroundings. Mother is staying in the hospital and Ethel and Alice are in every day and any number of friends — many more than I can as yet see (Miss Stricker to whom I am dictating this letter ejaculates "many more than you could ever see"). I have taken a somewhat sardonic amusement in the real panic that affected a great many people when for a moment it looked as if I might not pull through. They have been bitterly against me for the last three and a half years and have denounced me beyond measure.

But when they thought I might die they suddenly had an awful feeling that maybe I represented what down at the bottom of their hearts they really believed to be right, and that although they have followed Wilson they knew also, down at the bottom of their hearts, that they did so only because he pandered to the basest side of their natures, and gave them an excuse for following the easy path that led away from effort and hardship and risk and unpleasantness of every kind, and also incidentally from honor and duty.

Well, old side partner, your letters are perfectly delightful and surely you must know how my heart thrills with pride whenever I think of you. I don't believe in all the United States there is any father who has quite the same right that I have to be proud of his four sons. *Your loving father*

6297 · TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, February 21, 1918

Dear Arthur: Your letter gives me great concern and puzzles me not a little.

In the first place I am at the moment in the hospital, from a couple of
tively. In March, Peyton C. March, relieving Tasker Bliss, became Acting Chief of Staff. These able men soon had the War Department operating more efficiently.

rather severe operations, and it would be two months before I could go abroad without the serious risk of merely adding to your hospital population in England.

In the next place, after two days' pretty steady thinking I am inclined most gravely to doubt the wisdom of my going at all. In view of your letter I shall see Sir A. Caird,¹ through whom I shall send this letter, and talk over the matter fairly freely with him. I shall not tell him anything about what you say of Lloyd George but will treat your letter as if it came on your own initiative. I shall be glad of course to have you show this letter to Lloyd George and also to Northcliffe if you so desire.

At the outset let me say that I absolutely appreciate the extreme difficulty of the position of the English government. You must stay in with Wilson up to the point where it ceases to be advantageous to England to do so. You must consult only the interests of England and of the Allies. On no account must you even seem to assail or criticize him; but it may be just as bad for you to praise generally what he has done. Wilson is the most utterly incompetent Administrator (for reasons both mental and moral) with which this country has ever been cursed in a great crisis, with the possible exception of the War of 1812. You say that Lloyd George, like all of you, is greatly concerned at the distressingly slow development of America's effort, and the deadly paralysis which seems to have overtaken such purely business affairs as building ships and running railroads,² and that this delay is subjecting you, and in particular the French and Italians, to a most dangerous strain. I absolutely agree with all this; and indeed I would use stronger language about our delay and inefficiency. I have been doing everything I possibly could to wake my fellow countrymen to their shortcomings, and have spoken to them as mighty few politicians have ever spoken to voters. I would give anything in the world if I could make America more efficient and speed up the war; and I would do this primarily for the sake of our own honor and interest, and secondarily for the sake of England and the other allies.

But how to do this is a very difficult question. I do not believe that the prime need is to teach this country about England's effort. I think that this country now as a whole believes England has been making and is making a great effort. The trouble is that it believes it in an aloof way, and, what is much worse, it looks with similar aloofness upon its own effort. In my judgment, the way to render help to the Allies is primarily to wake America to its own shortcomings as regards its own effort, to enlighten it as to the need of making that effort quickly and formidably felt; or in other words, to struggle as hard as possible to increase our weight in the war. It would be

¹ Sir Andrew Caird, administrator of the New York headquarters of the British war mission to the United States.

² The failure of the railroads to relieve the continuing congestion in the transportation system persuaded Wilson to have the government on December 28 take over the management of the railroads. William G. McAdoo, continuing to serve as Secretary of the Treasury, became also the Director-General of Railroads.

a far more difficult thing for me to get our country speeded to action by knowledge of England's effort than to get it speeded to action by knowledge of its own shortcomings and duties.

You say that it will add enormously to the dangers and difficulties of the situation if the wholeheartedness and intensity of England is disbelieved in America, and if our people consequently get to thinking that we need not hustle about helping you because you are not hustling about helping yourselves. I do not believe that this is the feeling in America. It certainly is not the feeling in any audience to which I speak. Almost without exception in every speech, I speak of the tremendous nature of the British effort, as well of course as of the French effort, and say that we owe our safety purely to the British fleet and the French and British armies, that this ignoble position must end, and that, to use my exact expression, we must not be in the position of the substitute who goes into the game only as the referee blows his whistle. I shall consult Caird as to his belief in the existence of any such feeling. My own impression is that it is not a considerable factor in the situation. We are still, after a year of war, much in the condition in which England was after two or three months of war. I believe that the only way by which we can get our people thoroughly aroused is by telling them the truth about their own effort, explaining to them fearlessly their shortcomings and exciting and appealing to their pride.

At any rate I am certain that the real damage done to the cause of England is done by agencies which you are as powerless to stop as I am, namely, by the fatuous, or worse than fatuous, Englishmen who keep praising Wilson and praising the American effort and who are therefore continually used by Wilson and his followers to prove that the men like myself are merely factitious trouble-breeders when we speak of the delay and inefficiency in our effort. For example, on the day after your letter came there appeared in the New York papers, and other big papers in the country, two column articles consisting of long extracts from the *Manchester Guardian* and *London Nation*, and an address quoted from the *London Observer*. All three dwell upon Wilson's wonderful work and upon the enormous amount that America is doing and has done. This is not only used in the Administration papers as a complete answer to the efforts of the minority of the Senators and of men like myself in trying to speed up shipbuilding, the work of the War Department, etc., but it influences perfectly honest friends of mine to a point that makes them ask whether I am not mistaken after all, and whether we are not doing pretty well, as is shown by the fact that the English are much pleased by our efficient effort. *You* cannot stop this kind of thing, and *I* can only partially offset its destructive effects. Great good though Northcliffe did (and I appreciate to the full the immense value of his work in this war) he did real harm on one point while over here, for his praise of Wilson was used to answer those of us who have been trying to wake up the American people to their shortcomings, and to spur Wilson into action — for he has

never acted except when he was literally flailed into it, and he grasps at every word of praise as a justification for doing nothing except indulge in further windy promises. Wilson is at heart a pacifist; he is not pro-German, but neither is he pro-Ally or pro-American — he is purely pro-Wilson. He is primarily interested in serving his own political purposes; secondarily in gratifying his spite where that is possible; and if he thought it safe he would even at this date desert the allies and go in for an inconclusive peace, or stand with the allies and yet try to keep out of the fight altogether, or merely put one hundred thousand men or so in the field and let them be sacrificed; or in short do anything else whereby after cold and utterly selfish deliberation he thinks his own interest will be served. Moreover, he is a rhetorician pure and simple, and an utterly inefficient administrator. He is a very adroit demagogue, skilled beyond any man we have ever seen in appealing to the yellow streak in people. But he has not the slightest understanding of the need of efficiency in a desperate crisis like this. In this respect he is like certain of your own people whom I met eight years ago who were quite incapable of thinking excepting in terms of Parliamentary majorities.

Now this being the kind of man we have, and such as I have above set forth being the temper of our people, I most gravely doubt whether to have me come to England — especially inasmuch as it would have to appear that I came on my own initiative and without any wish from your government — would be wise or advantageous. Remember, the same considerations which make it necessary for you to say that although Lloyd George attaches much importance to the request you make, and although it really comes from him, yet that it would not do for him to appear in the matter — that the same considerations would hamper him far more and hamper your government far more as soon as it was actually announced that I was going over. It might become absolutely necessary for Lloyd George in order to do his duty by serving England, to placate Wilson by putting me in a position where I would be humiliated and my future usefulness impaired. I hope that I have made clear that I absolutely agree with Lloyd George that he must not do anything that would embroil him with Wilson or give even the slightest chance for Wilson to let it be known that he had a grievance, or, as he would be more likely to do, secretly to instigate his friends and supporters to allege that he had a grievance and begin snarling at England in consequence. If I went over, all the Administration people here would at once announce that I was trying to butt in, that the British government had not asked me to come, that my purpose was merely to embarrass Wilson and to advertise myself.

Moreover, the bulk of our people are now interested primarily in the American forces abroad. They would expect me to be with that army, and to talk of that army, as my primary duty; and I am inclined to think that I should be very seriously hampered by the Administration in so doing, and I might either expose myself to much humiliation or cause Pershing a great

deal of trouble. Remember that I would everywhere appear as coming uninvited by foreign powers and undesired by my own people. I do not see how such a condition could fail greatly to weaken my position and to render whatever I said of comparatively little consequence.

Moreover, my dear Arthur, I am not at all sure that your army would really welcome me. When the English and French Missions were over here, last year, your military representative General Bridges, evidently a good and gallant soldier, but a man of the stiffest British regular traditions and wholly ignorant of the condition of our regular army, really exerted what influence he could to prevent my being sent over with the divisions I proposed to raise. I don't believe he could in any event have done anything to help me, for Jusserand and Joffre cautiously tried and completely failed. I mention the matter merely to show the attitude which I think you would find your army would take — Bridges completely failing to understand that I was dealing with a situation where I knew our regular army would be handled exactly as it has actually been handled by the pipe-clay-brain gentry, of the type of Scott, Tasker Bliss, Crozier and Sharpe,³ and the other Shafter-like creatures who have handled it for the first year. I tell our people that they must get hundreds of thousands of men and tens of thousands of cannons and machine guns at the front; and then a couple of days later it is announced that the English and French only want provisions and don't want to have done what I have just said ought to be done. A week or two later the announcement is retracted; but the mischief has been done.

From the very nature of the case I cannot be in the confidence of your Civil and Military authorities, and I thoroughly appreciate this and entirely see the wisdom of it; but such being the fact I think it would be very dangerous for me to come over as you suggest. My own view at present is that whatever I can do can best be done here. I may be mistaken, but it is my honest belief that my criticisms and attacks have represented almost the sole reason why we have done anything at all, and that if I had not been here we would not have had troops on the other side and would not have even begun a shipbuilding program — in other words, that Wilson has only been hectored into any kind of activity at all by his fear of the effect I was gradually producing. He generally does most of the things I advocate, but only from one to three years after I have advocated them.

I very deeply regret to write you like this. I hate not to do anything in the world that you think would be of value to England in this crisis, and therefore of value to my own country and the rest of the allies. I know you will believe me when I say that there is literally nothing I would not do to serve the cause. But it is very important that I shall not take a false step and

³ Hugh Lenox Scott had been Chief of Staff, U.S.A., November 1914–September 1917; Tasker Howard Bliss succeeded him; Henry Granville Sharpe was Quartermaster General, soon to be relieved in the Secretary's reorganization. See No. 6296.

shall not destroy my own usefulness and damage the cause by unwise action. What I have written represents my deep belief. I shall cautiously sound out the French Government, as my relations with Jusserand are such as to warrant my doing so. But there never was a more heartsickening position than that in which I am. You yourself know exactly what it is, and you can make Lloyd George understand it by telling him that my perpetual nightmare is that the small body of American troops now at the front in France, who include two of my sons in the infantry and one in the aviation service, may be callously sacrificed by Wilson, through entirely insufficient support being given them, either because he thinks on the whole such sacrifice is the least disadvantageous way out of it for him, or else from sheer administrative incapacity on his part. If I went abroad I know that with cold venom he would see if there was not some way by which he could do me mischief and cause any effort I make to fail; and he would be quite indifferent to the fact that thereby he would be bringing failure to an effort on behalf of the allies.⁴
Ever faithfully yours

P.S. Kermit has another son, and Archie has a son just born, so we now have eight grandchildren. Pershing has written me that Ted is one of the best battalion commanders in the first division — the regular division. Archie has been promoted from Second Lieutenant to Captain for gallantry and efficiency in a raid between the trenches. Quentin's commander in the aviation has written me that he is among his best men.

6298 · TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, February 25, 1918

Dearest Archie: Of course we are in the seventh Heaven of delight over darling Gracie and blessed Archie junior. It's just as fine a thing as ever happened. I am more sorry than I can say that I was not able to get on to see Gracie before the baby was born; but, if fortune favors me, in five or six weeks I shall see her. Ethel has doubtless written you that she got to Boston just before the baby was born and returned four days later. Well, think of little Archie being born with his father just promoted to a Captaincy and in the trenches. He will have every right to be proud of his parents! Gracie's people sent you a cable, and so did we but of course we do not know whether you got either. If we don't hear from you in a day or two I think I shall recommend that a cable be sent to Eleanor with a request to notify you. Evidently Kermit has suddenly heard rumors about me, for we received a cable of inquiry from Bosra. However, my own trivial affairs are completely swallowed up in the joy over Gracie and little Archie. By the way Major

⁴ Further thought only strengthened Roosevelt's conviction that he should not go to England; see No. 6314.

General Allen called upon me yesterday having just landed from France and spoke in the very warmest and highest terms of Ted and yourself.

Since writing my last letter I have had to suffer a complete change of mind about publishing your articles. Cousin Emlen protested most strongly, saying that some of the expressions would be recognized by people who had seen copies of your letters, and this would identify you and that of course trouble might come with the War Department. A properly constructed War Department or Administration would welcome the publication of just the kind of thing you have written; but it is a question whether trouble might not come to you now. The *World* the other day suddenly sent in to say that it understood I had received interesting letters from my sons. This means that it is possible that some of our kinsfolk, to whom parts of your letters have been shown may have spoken of them in ways that finally reached *The World*, and I guess on the whole it is safest for the time being not to carry out the plan of publication in the *Atlantic Monthly*. It can be done far more at length, and I believe far more usefully, later.¹

I am enclosing such a very nice letter; I really think you ought to see it. It is fine to have one of the men in your company speaking of you in this fashion in a private letter which he could not imagine would ever get to your ears. As you will see, I don't even know his name. *Your loving father*

6299 · TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, February 28, 1918

Dearest Quentin: Just a line to say that I am getting on splendidly, so well that mother went out on Sunday to spend three days in the country with Ethel and the babies. I shall not leave the hospital for another week as I am still very unsteady on my legs, and while the wounds have to be dressed once or twice a day it is more convenient to be here. My letters are unexciting at best but in the hospital nothing occurs at all so I shall only try to send you a note. I am immensely pleased at everything I hear about you. By the way, little Tommy Hitchcock has turned out a crackajack, hasn't he? ¹ I am so pleased. At the bottom it is the same qualities that made his father do so well in racing, hunting and polo, and thank Heaven both the father and son had the serious side to them which made them honorably resolute to get into this war.

But after all is said and done there isn't another man in the country who has the same right that I have to feel proud of my four sons. *Your loving father*

¹ In 1919 two articles entitled "Lest We Forget," written and signed by Archibald Roosevelt, appeared in the May and June issues of *Everybody's Magazine*. In the articles the author criticized the Administration for failing adequately to train or equip American soldiers.

¹ Hitchcock, an aviator in the French army, had shot down two German planes.

P.S. I have just seen your letter to Ethel & cabled you at once. I am exceedingly indignant at Ted & Archie. You have acted just right, except that you have erred slightly from overeagerness to get to the front.² I am more proud of you and satisfied with you than I can say. But you must take care of your health; and after you have gotten to the front, you must [not] insist upon taking or staying in any position merely because it is more dangerous than another position in which your superiors think you can be more useful.

6300 • TO MARTIN J. HUTCHENS

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, February 28, 1918

Dear Mr. Hutchens:¹ That's mighty nice of you and I very much appreciate the editorial. But I greatly fear that the little Indian girl would not care for the book which I first read, on being allowed to read anything, for it was a volume of Mommsen's *History of Rome*! But I followed it with a volume by Van Loan, of stories on horse racing,² and with *Via Berlin* by Marriott Watson,³ both of which I found very good reading. Faithfully yours

6301 • TO JAMES JOSEPH WALSH

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, February 28, 1918

Dear Dr. Walsh: Many thanks for the book; and as I have never failed to read with great interest and pleasure everything you have written, I shall doubtless enjoy this book also. Of course, I absolutely agree with what you say. There will be no culture in the hearts of our people until we make the farmer's tools and the kitchen utensils beautiful as well as useful; and nobody alive today can go beyond the artists who lived in the open, who hunted and fished and wrote poetry and did art work and were soldiers at need. Among the multitude of things I don't understand is why there should be a dearth of first-class literary work in this country at the very time when some sculptors and some architects are doing and have done infinitely better work than has ever been done here before — Saint-Gaudens, MacMonnies, French, the builders of the Pennsylvania and Grand Central stations, Richardson and one or two others have during the last quarter of a century done work which has only been surpassed in two or three of the greatest periods of a few of the greatest nations. Of course it has been work sprung from our own soil and inspired by our own ideals and needs. Always yours

² Quentin reached the front early in July.

¹ Martin J. Hutchens, Missoula, Montana, newspaperman.

² Undoubtedly *Old Man Curry*, by Charles E. Van Loan, a popular author of books about popular American sports, especially baseball.

³ Crittenden Marriott, *Via Berlin* (New York, 1917).

Telegram

New York, March 4, 1918

Situation in Wisconsin seems serious. I am on good terms with both Lenroot and McGovern. Use me in any way if you think I can be of service.¹

6303 · TO WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, March 4, 1918

Dear Will: If I possibly can, I intend to deliver the speech I have promised to make before the Maine convention on March 28th. I have submitted copies of the proposed speech (in preliminary form) to Chairman Hays, to the Maine people, and to various other men, including the two labor Republican congressmen — Nolan of California and Cooper of Ohio.¹ If you have the time I wish you would read over this copy, submit it to Root, and with Root call upon me at the Hotel Langdon (Fifty-sixth Street at Fifth Avenue) on Wednesday or Thursday and tell me anything you have to say in the way of criticism or suggestion.²

Pray give my warm regards to Mrs. Taft. *Faithfully yours*

¹ McGovern, Lenroot, and James Thompson, a La Follette Republican, were candidates for the Republican nomination for the United States Senate to complete the unexpired term of Democratic Senator Hustung who had died. Thompson, who was without enthusiasm for the war, would probably have won the nomination had anti-La Follette Republicans divided their votes between McGovern and Lenroot. To prevent this, on the day this telegram was sent, a conference of Wisconsin Republicans decided to support Lenroot. A week later McGovern withdrew from the primary which Lenroot won by a narrow margin. In the election campaign he opposed Victor L. Berger, antiwar Socialist, and Joseph E. Davies, Democrat and former Federal Trade Commissioner, who enjoyed the active assistance of the Wilson Administration. Lenroot, carefully enthusiastic about the prosecution of the war, carefully critical of the Administration, triumphed in the election, as he had in the primary, without the intercession of Roosevelt.

² John Gordon Cooper, British immigrant, railroad fireman, Republican congressman from Ohio, 1915-1937.

³ Taft, unable to accompany Root, made his suggestions about the speech by mail. Roosevelt also consulted Lodge. The revised address, entitled "Speed Up the War and Take Thought for After the War," Roosevelt delivered in Portland, Maine, on March 28 to the Republican State Convention. He praised the Republicans for their nonpartisan devotion to war measures, condemned the Administration for its sluggishness in making war, called for a declaration of war against Turkey, for one hundred per cent Americanism, for longer hours of work in war plants, for universal military training — to be continued after the war. Turning to postwar issues, he urged America to steer between reaction and radicalism, individualism and collectivism, to adopt measures to decrease farm tenancy, increase public irrigation projects, encourage co-operatives, control but not destroy large corporations — perhaps by a national licensing system — protect the interests of labor — largely by encouraging co-operation between labor and management but also through a system of old age, sickness, and unemployment insurance — by public housing projects, and by reductions in the hours of labor. Printed and broadcast as a campaign document, Roosevelt's speech specifically proposed domestic reforms about which Wilson in 1918 only generalized.

Oyster Bay, March 8, 1918

Dearest Archie: You are entirely right in feeling irritated over the publication about the alleged drunkenness in the army.¹ I was to blame, but I was not nearly as much to blame as you would gather. What I did was, after General Pershing's order concerning the liquor came out, to state to a temperance man my support of the order and to say that it was absolutely necessary and proper, and that both of my sons had written me speaking of the need of it, and that one of them had said that his experience had made him a prohibitionist. In any army but our own, and in our own in every war up to this time, such a statement would be accepted as a matter of course and entirely proper. For example, when I was President dozens of letters were published from officers speaking of the damage done by unregulated saloons in the neighborhood of posts and of the need of a canteen in consequence. However, having in view the attitude that has actually been taken, and having in view my own position and the need of being very cautious about hurting you, I had no business to make the statement. Nevertheless the mischief came from an entirely different bit of scoundrelism on the part of a Prohibition Clergyman. His committee issued an inflammatory attack on the army. They did not use my name or yours, but published a statement saying that the sons of "a well-known private citizen" had written that the army was a sink of iniquity, etc. I instantly stated that if they meant me by, "the well-known private citizen," the statement was a deliberate and outrageous falsehood; that none of my sons had written me anything of the kind and that on the contrary they had written me directly the reverse. This statement was widely circulated through the press. Of course, if the military authorities had wished to do justice in the matter they would have treated this as ending it; for remember that my only statement was one backing the policy of General Pershing's order; and stating that one of my sons had said that his experience tended to make him a prohibitionist. But the fact that this clergyman and his associates played the part of lying scoundrels, and the further fact that the War Department could not have avoided seeing my immediate denial that there was any truth whatever in that story, does not excuse me for having said anything about you. Don't forget however, when you say your letters are only meant for me, that on two or three occasions you have asked me if I couldn't make protests, or call attention to defects. Let me repeat nevertheless that I had no business whatever to say anything that by the remotest possibility could get either you or Ted into trouble. It is for this reason, as I have already written you, that I have finally decided that it will not be well to have anything you wrote, no matter how unobjectionable, and even without your name, appear in the *Atlantic Monthly* or anywhere else. There just

¹ On Christmas Day 1917, the papers carried a story that Roosevelt "says sons write of harm done in France by liquor." See No. 6271.

isn't any telling what innocent sentences might be twisted to your detriment.

Although your small boy is three weeks old there has not yet come any answer to the various cables to you announcing his birth. I had one sent from the hospital at once; Gracie's family telegraphed twice. Dick has written us that he saw the announcement in the *Paris Herald*. Finally we cabled Eleanor to let you know. Evidently it is easier to get news to and from the British Army. When Belle's baby was born the cable was sent to Kermit at once and the answer from Mesopotamia received that very day. I take it for granted however that you must have heard long before this time. Both Gracie and the baby are doing very well. At the end of this month I have to go on to speak at Maine, which I think I shall then be able to do, and mother will go on with me to Boston and both of us see your family.

After leaving the hospital I was two or three days at the Langdon Hotel and then came out here. The ice and snow have gone. The two babies are dear. *Your loving father*

6305 · TO ALICE APPLETON MEYER

R.M.A. Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, March 10, 1918

Dear Mrs. Meyer, There is nothing I can say that will in any way lighten your grief;¹ and that I dearly loved George you already know. Yet I cannot forbear writing you a word of deep sympathy. You have been a staunch friend; your sorrow would be our sorrow in any event; and in this event we mourn George as we would mourn very, very few outside our own family. He was as loyal and devoted a friend as ever lived; he possessed that fine courage and fearless uprightness of character which mark only the few among all whom we meet on our way through life; and he was a singularly useful public servant. I prized his friendship greatly; I felt honored by my association with him in public work.

It is idle to try to comfort you; and yet, my dear Mrs. Meyer, as we of our generation draw near the inevitable, it is a fine thing to meet it with the gallant heroism your husband showed; and you yourself have "warmed both hands at the fire of life"; much, very much, has been yours. *Faithfully and affectionately*

6306 · TO KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 11, 1918

Dearest Kermit: Just before leaving the hospital who should turn up but Edmund Heller, recently back from his Asiatic expedition. He is exactly the same as ever, and after a while casually mentioned that he was engaged. In response to my inquiries he told me that the young lady's name is Miss

¹ George von L. Meyer died March 9.

Hempl;¹ that she also is a graduate of Leland Stanford and that she is a very ardent and successful bacteriologist! Isn't the last touch lovely? He evidently felt that this made the marriage most suitable and indeed I felt so too. He would like to get into the war but is a little overage.

Although Archie's baby is now over two weeks old we have as yet had no answer to the cables sent him. I hope he has received them and that the delay is merely in answering. However, by this time he ought to have received our letter about the event.

I have been reading Layard's account of his travels three quarters of a century ago.² Think how incredible it would then have seemed that the Germans and the English would ever meet in battle on the Tigris!

The Bolsheviks seem to have absolutely ruined Russia.³ Apparently the Russians have for the time being lost all national spirit. For centuries they have most cruelly persecuted the Jews, and now the Jew leadership in Russia has been a real nemesis for the Russians. The surrender to Turkey of all that Russia had gained from Turkey in the last ninety years is a misfortune to civilization. Moreover, the smashing of Russia is an immense advantage to Germany. For the Russian people I suppose one must feel sympathy; but for their leaders, who are responsible for the disintegration of Russia and for the retreat of the Russians in face of the Asiatic, I feel both contempt and abhorrence.

Thanks to the exposures made by Senator Chamberlain's Senate Committee there is now a real start being made in the War Department. I think that Pershing has done admirably and his regulars are in good shape. It was however a criminal act to refuse to raise volunteers of the best type and instead to send abroad the divisions of National Guardsmen. However, I think that from now on the National Guard Divisions and Draft Divisions will begin to show very real progress, because I believe that the men high in power have begun to realize that fine phrases are not efficient substitutes for wise and energetic action, and that we may actually be forced to fight in this war — down at the bottom of their hearts they have hitherto felt a sneaking hope that they could get out of the war without fighting and could merely organize the Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. and Food Conservation and the like, and then claim that they had a victorious war without bloodshed.

I am back at Oyster Bay, very much to my enjoyment, and shall stay here for three weeks, until I go up to make a rather important speech in Maine.

Your loving father

¹ Hilda Hempl Heller, Stanford '14, daughter of George Hempl, professor of Germanic philology at Stanford.

² Sir Austen Henry Layard directed the excavations of Nineveh and Ashur for the British Museum. He was the author of *Nineveh and Its Remains* (1849), *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (1853), and *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia* (1887).

³ On March 3 Russia had signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk surrendering Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, the Baltic provinces, Finland, and Transcaucasia.

Arlington Robinson wrote me such a nice letter while I was in the hospital.

6307 · TO HENRY LEWIS STIMSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 12, 1918

Dear Harry: Your letter is most interesting. I was particularly pleased to learn what you say about our army, and was almost as glad to get the little glimpse you gave me into the British army.¹ When you spoke of the particular British division with which you were as having suffered 120% of casualties, you gave me a vivid idea of what was ahead of my own boys! * I was a little concerned with your remarking that most of the British Commanding Officers were not keen, thoughtful men with original ideas, such as the one with whom you were. I wish also to express my hearty agreement with what you say that now, having been actually at the front in danger, you will hereafter accept any position to which your Commanding Officers assign you, instead of protesting against it because it is one of less danger; you must simply take the ground that you wish to work wherever it is most useful. I have been preaching this to my own boys! Of course they wanted to be in the danger zone, and it was perfectly right that they should be in the danger zone at first, for the kind of young man whom we respect feels his pride aroused if it is proposed that he shall not be put near the flashing of the guns. But after a few months of this it is my judgment that he ought or ought not to serve in a position of either danger or safety, exactly according to the views of his superiors as to where he can do the most useful service. For example, if I had my way every Quartermaster would have served in the line; but after he had been in the line I would then use him wherever I thought he could do most good.

I am glad to hear from you, as I have heard from my own boys, that the army is now finding itself, and is on the upgrade. A very great improvement in the attitude of the Administration toward the work of the War Department was brought about by the Senate Military Affairs Committee, under Senator Chamberlain. I do not think it well in this letter to go into the details as I should like to, for I am not sufficiently acquainted with what the censor might or might not do. Here in the United States there has been literally outrageous work done by using the power of the Attorney General and the Postmaster General to interfere primarily with honest and truthful criticism of public officials who have been inefficient, instead of using the great power

¹ Stimson, a lieutenant colonel in the artillery, had just completed a month's training duty with the British 51st, the Highlander Division, then recuperating from the costly Cambrai offensive. Late in February Stimson reported to the school for general staff corps officers at Langres. In May he joined his division, the 77th, at Bordeaux and by July he was at the front with the 77th, the first division of the national army to see action.

of the government to attack the powerful pro-German offenders, of the type of the Hearst and La Follette papers.²

I am now on the highroad to recovery. In a fortnight I am to deliver the first political speech of this year, at the Maine Republican State Convention. The invitation came not only from the Maine people but from the National Committee who wished me to set the keynote on which the Congressional Campaign can be fought. Whether or not I can do it remains to be seen. I submitted the rough draft of my speech to a score of men ranging from Root, Taft and Lodge on the one side, from Hays the Chairman of the Republican National Committee and certain Congressmen, to various labor leaders on the other side. I tried, but failed, to get hold of Taft personally — he was on a speaking trip; but I got & acted on his suggestions. Root however came up with his copy of the speech and he went over it with me line by line, and I know you will be glad to learn that he heartily approved of the speech, and that I was able to accept every suggestion he made. I was also able to accept every suggestion that the two labor Republican members of Congress made; both of them are capital men.

All of this is of very little consequence compared to what you and the others are doing at the fighting front; and it would be of no consequence at all, except that it represents an effort to put the force of the nation effectively behind you, and to insist that not only shall our army at the front be backed up, but that when peace comes, its sacrifices shall not have been wasted.

With hearty congratulations, my dear Harry, I am *Faithfully yours*

* Archie has since been wounded, and given the croix de guerre.³

6308 · TO GEORGE V

*Royal Archives, Windsor Castle*⁰

Oyster Bay, March 12, 1918

Your Majesty, It was exceedingly kind and thoughtful of you, Sir, to cable when I was in the hospital. I am now on the highroad to recovery. The trouble was the aftermath of my Brazilian exploring trip of four years ago; and I really felt ashamed that any one should be concerned now over such a trivial matter as my sickness when we have to think of all the dreadful suffering of the men at the front.

I need hardly say how immensely I admire England's attitude and all that she has done. She has paid and is paying a terrible price; but her achievement has been wonderful; and bitter altho her experience has been, I believe that she has immensely strengthened herself thereby.

The chief reason I wished to get well was in order to resume my work of endeavoring to get my country to exert her great, but lazy and unprepared,

²For details of the Administration's censorship policy, see No. 6332.

³Archibald Roosevelt had been quite severely wounded by flying shrapnel as he was about to lead a platoon of raiding troops toward the German lines.

strength as speedily and effectively as possible. For the last three years and a half I have been preaching to my fellow countrymen their duty as I saw it; they finally saw it the same way but always two years behind-time as regards each phase of the duty; and nine tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. It is maddening to see Russia break and Germany stride nearer triumph because my country failed to prepare, and failed to act decisively when the Lusitania was sunk — the moment when all our people would have responded without wavering to the call for action, if only such call had been made. Germany's power, energy, determination, resourcefulness, have been extraordinary; and the abhorrent quality of her conduct even more so. There is just one thing to do, and that is to beat her to her knees. If our two peoples have the right stuff in them, this is what we shall do. If the Lansdownes on your side of the water, and their rather more noxious representatives on this side of the water, are sufficiently numerous and influential, we shall fail; and in such case we shall speedily have to sink to the position of Holland or else fight the war over again under greater disadvantages.

One of my sons, Kermit, is a Captain in your army in Mesopotamia. My other three sons are with Pershing in France; one in aviation, two in the infantry; one of the latter has just received from a French general the *croix de guerre* for gallantry in action.* My son in law Dick Derby is also with Pershing.

We now have eight grandchildren.

I am, Sir, with great respect, *very faithfully yours*

* His name is Archibald; he is a Captain; he was wounded in the leg, and his arm broken.¹

6309 · TO HENRY CLAY FRICK

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 12, 1918

My dear Mr. Frick: By April I shall be once more able to move around pretty freely. I wonder if you would then let Mrs. Roosevelt and me come to look at your pictures? Incidentally, I wish very much I could see your son at the same time and talk over some African zoology with him. *Faithfully yours*

6310 · TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT *Archibald B. Roosevelt Mss.⁰*

Oyster Bay, March 13, 1918

Dearest Archie, Of course tonight we are divided between pride and anxiety, beloved fellow. Early this morning the newspaper men told us you had been given the *croix de guerre*; then the War Department notified us that you were slightly wounded; then we received Ted's cable that you had been hit in the leg by shrapnel and your arm broken. I hope dearest Eleanor is with

¹ We have to acknowledge His Majesty's gracious permission to publish letters preserved in the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

you now. Ethel called up darling Gracie on the phone; naturally her pride and anxiety were even greater than ours. Fortunately your letter to her, saying that you had seen in the Paris Herald about the birth of your small son, had just come — what became of our various cables I have no idea. Thank Heaven, Ted's cable was not similarly delayed!

I do'n't suppose that we shall know anything else until we get letters. I am not trying to do anything in connection with you with the War Department; I shall not take any action unless you notify me that you wish me to, for you may wish nothing to be done. Whatever you ask me, by cable or letter, to do I will of course try to do.

Gracie is nursing the baby.

Auntie Mi¹ was here when the news came. At lunch Mother ordered in some madeira; all four of us filled the glasses and drank them off to you; then Mother, her eyes shining, her cheeks flushed, as pretty as a picture, and as spirited as any heroine of romance, dashed her glass on the floor, shivering it in pieces, saying "that glass shall never be drunk out of again"; and the rest of us followed suit and broke our glasses too.

Well, we know what it feels like to have a hero in the family!

If Eleanor is reading this to you give her my love.

You do'n't know how proud we are of you and how our hearts go out to you. *Your loving father*

6311 • TO WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 16, 1918

Dear Will: I have embodied both of those suggestions. I think them capital. I am rather ashamed I never thought of them myself, and I am malevolently pleased that neither Root nor Lodge thought of them! *Faithfully yours*

6312 • TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Quentin Roosevelt Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, March 17, 1918

Dearest Quentin, In a Rochester paper appeared a note from one Whaley, a superintendent of a post office "somewhere in France," who writes "Young Quentin Roosevelt is as modest as a school girl, but as game as they make 'em in aviation. Keep tabs on this game young chap."

Early in the week we were greatly depressed to learn that gallant young Tommy Hitchcock had been captured by the Germans; it is said that he was not hurt. Then came the excitement about Archie. The first news — whether true or not we do not know — was that he had been given the croix de guerre by a French General "under dramatic circumstances"; then the War Dept notified us that he was slightly wounded; then Ted cabled that he had been hit in the leg, and his arm broken, by shrapnel, but that he was in no danger,

¹ Emily Tuckerman.

and that Eleanor would take care of him. Our pride and our anxiety are equal — as indeed they are about all of you.

Why do'n't you write to Flora, and to her father and mother, asking if she wo'n't come abroad and marry you? As for your getting killed, or ordinarily crippled, afterwards, why she would a thousand times rather have married you than not have married you under those conditions; and as for the extraordinary kinds of crippling, they are rare, and anyway we have to take certain chances in life. You and she have now passed your period of probation; you have been tried; you are absolutely sure of yourselves; and I would most heartily approve of your getting married at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. Beebe is out here; he has just come from France; on the French front he was allowed to do some flying and bombing — not fighting the German war-planes. *Your loving father*

6313 · TO GEORGES EUGÈNE BENJAMIN CLEMENCEAU

Roosevelt Mss.

Private; *not* for the official files.

Oyster Bay, March 22, 1918

My dear M. Clemenceau: The most influential and malignant foe of the Allies, and most powerful supporter and friend of the Germans, in this country is Hearst, the newspaper editor. He is far more dangerous than any organization or newspaper of the German-Americans because he has far wider influence of a very base kind, and far more astuteness. He ardently served Germany up to the period when we went into the war. Since that time he has continued to serve her less openly but quite as effectively. He renders the service in many different ways. He ardently champions negotiations which would lead to the complete triumph of Germany, under cover of supporting the Pope's appeal for peace, or under cover of supporting the Russian Bolsheviks' appeal for peace, or under cover of supporting efforts to find out if Austria wouldn't like to make peace. He ardently champions our proposing a peace on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*. He strongly supports every proposal that means delay in sending troops or munitions and war instruments abroad, or any refusal to declare war on Germany's allies. He continually seeks to create prejudice against, and to embroil us with, England or Japan, as the occasion offers. In short he is as sinister and efficient a friend of Germany as is to be found in all the world. In order to cover up his activities he makes a great pretense of patriotism, or of devotion to the Allies' cause on points where no possible damage to Germany is involved. The feeling in this country for France is very strong and he does not venture to go against it, (although he expressed the greatest disapproval of, and strongly protested against, the demand that France receive back Alsace and Lorraine; and he loudly backs the Russian Bolsheviks and their no-annexation and no-indemnities proposal). As part of his campaign he has conducted an advertising scheme for a fund to help "rebuild France." If he can get the French Govern-

ment to accept his help it will immensely increase his power to aid Germany and to hurt the whole allied cause — and therefore especially France — by his actions in the future. To accept the fund would, in my deliberate judgment, be an evil thing for France here; and no possible material benefit from the money, as regards rebuilding France, will offset the aid and comfort France would thereby give to the man who is playing Germany's game, who can be counted upon to do everything possible to divide and weaken the allies, and who openly and industriously works for a "peace without victory" and against the obtaining of Alsace and Lorraine for France. If the French Government, and above all if you, whose name carries such weight here in America, could announce that France would not find it possible to accept a penny from Mr. Hearst, you would strengthen every friend of the Allies and of the war in America, and incidentally in England; you would offend no human being who is a friend of France, and you would greatly limit Mr. Hearst's real power of mischief to the allied cause.

I was very deeply touched by your note to me during my entirely unimportant sickness. I am very proud that all my sons are on your side of the water and fighting beside the troops of France — and of England and Belgium. One of them was wounded the other day in the trenches, his left arm being broken and one knee injured, together with a slight body wound. One of your Generals gave him the Croix de Guerre, and I am prouder of his having received it than of my having been President!

With high regard, *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Of course I immensely admire your administration of the Government. Oh Lord, how I wish you were President of the United States!

6314 · TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

*Lee Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, March 25, 1918

Dear Arthur, I am immensely struck by your speech to your constituents. It is so essentially like my speech to the Republican convention in Maine that I send you a copy of the latter. Our views of war and peace, of future international policy and of future internal policy, are curiously alike.

The great point of difference is that you can disregard the old artificial party lines, whereas with us the ugliest and most important fact in the present situation is that Wilson is bent on making this war wholly subservient to his own personal and party success; that he intends, without the slightest regard to the national interest save as it serves his own interest, to strengthen the Democratic party by every adroit and unscrupulous device, in so far as this party can be made entirely subservient to his own designs.

I would gladly pardon his cold egoism of personal ambition if it had in it any disinterestedness of ambition for the honor and greatness of the country. But it has none. And, like so many cold blooded and selfish men who are physically timid, he is content with a success which would be more bitter

than gall to men who, even altho personally as ambitious, were sensitive about national and personal honor. His course in reference to Carranza in Mexico shows this in marked degree; the Carranzistas had not only wronged the U.S. beyond pardon but had treated Wilson personally with utter contumely and were and are pro-German; but these things did not affect Wilson in the smallest degree when he thought his interest lay in humbling himself before them.

During February he was engaged in very unpleasant secret pour-parlers with the German Government, through certain German Jews whom he has around him, the chief being a wealthy banker named Warburg, who only became a citizen in order to take office, and whose brothers are in Germany and were among the instruments for the payment of the Bolsheviki by the German Government.¹ All the Jews around him (and there are many of them) are pro-German and pacifist; and for this reason I am very glad that Lord Reading is now here;² he is of great use, and helps our really American and loyal Jews — who are just as good as any other citizens. Wilson would make a German peace tomorrow if he thought it for his own advantage. He is encouraging the Bolsheviki wholly without regard to their betrayal of us; he has threatened to stand in their interest against Japan as much as against Germany;³ he is hand in glove with Hearst. I am profoundly uneasy as to what he may do; my one hope is that the country is slowly getting so aroused that he will probably feel it dangerous to betray the Allied cause.

I found that Reading had talked with Loyd George on the subject of your letter. He felt even more strongly than I did that America now knew about England's effort, and that my going to England would probably do harm. Jusserand felt exactly the same way about my going to France.

Archie has been wounded in the leg and his arm broken, by shrapnel. A French General gave him the croix de guerre. His baby was born three weeks previously.

We delight in the new honors that have come to you.⁴

With dearest love to Ruth, *ever yours*

¹ No evidence for these claims has been discovered.

² Rufus Daniel Isaacs, first Earl of Reading, had been appointed British Ambassador to the United States in January to succeed Spring Rice who was ill. Spring Rice died of a heart attack in Ottawa on February 14.

³ Continuing to look upon the Russian people as allies, Wilson, in a message submitted through the Congress of the Soviets, praised them for their "attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government," lamented the German invasion, and assured the Russians that the United States would "avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence." Never really sympathetic with the Bolsheviki, the President intended by his message to persuade the Russians to remain a belligerent. Suspicious of the Japanese, Wilson in March hesitated to join their invasion of Siberia. Ultimately the United States participated in this operation, partly to aid the foes of the Communists, more to check Japan's imperialistic designs.

⁴ Lee had been made a Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire.

We feel real personal sorrow over Springy's death

My anxiety is keen over the terrible battle your army is now waging, my regret bitter that a million American troops are not fighting beside yours; and for this failure President Wilson is primarily, and almost solely, responsible.

6315 · TO WILL H. HAYS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, March 26, 1918

My dear Mr. Hays: Your letter of March 23rd has just come. In Portland, Oregon, see Judge McGinn and Dr. Coe and Mr. Newhausen.¹ In California see Chester Rowell and Meyer Lissner. In the other cities I suggest that you make a point of seeing the men who were the Progressive leaders in 1912, so that they shall not feel that they are slighted. This you would however do anyway, so there is no need of my suggesting it. I suggest that you be very careful to see prominent women in all those states. Personally I have found the women often like to be summoned together with the men, and some resent being called to a meeting by themselves. This is not an invariable rule, but I have found such a condition of mind so frequently that I venture to put you on your guard about it. It is perfectly true that the women are very apt to concentrate their attention purely on the suffrage issue and prohibition, and there is very real need that we should begin to take them into our councils generally.

There is a special need for doing this in New York, where I do not think that our management at present is of the best and where the women offer a new and puzzling problem, with which old-style politicians are wholly incompetent to deal. That unhung traitor, Hearst, is an element of special danger in New York. The Vigilantes are anxious to do volunteer work against him and for us, although they usually keep clear of partisan politics. I should like to introduce some of them to you when you come back. *Faithfully yours*

6316 · TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

William Allen White Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 4, 1918

Dear W. A.: Your letter of March 29th has just come. It is a surprise to me as I had not heard from Hays that the trip was abandoned.¹ Personally, I don't quite see why the Liberty Loan needed to have interfered, but I do know that he was nervous about taking the trip in view of the Liberty Loan movement.

Now, as for the main part of your letter. Have you seen my Portland

¹ Of these prominent and dependable former Progressives, Henry Waldo Coe, neurologist and philanthropist, had been national committeeman and Thomas B. Newhausen, state chairman.

¹ Hays had planned to have White accompany him on his trip through the West.

speech? I am sending you a copy. Will you read through the economic part of it, and will you also look at the central chapters in the book I am sending you, called *The Foes of Our Own Household*. In the speech and in the book I was trying to carry out the same purpose. I wish to do everything in my power to make the Republican Party the Party of sane, constructive radicalism, just as it was under Lincoln. If it is not that then of course I have no place in it. And while I might very probably vote for its candidate as the least unattractive course open, I would not attempt any serious championship of it, or expect to have any share in guiding it. If the Romanovs of our social and industrial world are kept at the head of our government the result will be Bolshevism, and Bolshevism means disaster to liberty writ large across the face of this continent.

Specifically, and taking up the needs you mention, I should hope and believe that my attitude in the book and in the speech will be substantially the attitude of Garfield, Raymond Robins, Chester Rowell and Henry Allen.² I expect Murray Crane to be hostile to it. I do not believe that Penrose will take any interest in it one way or the other, but curiously enough I am inclined to think that he will be rather favorable as a mere matter of political expediency. As for Root I sent him a copy of my speech in advance just as I sent it to Hiram Johnson and to our two labor members in Congress. Hiram Johnson and one labor member approved it in bulk. The other labor member, our old fellow Progressive, Nolan, of San Francisco, made a number of excellent suggestions, all of which I took. Root made a much smaller number of suggestions, all of them excellent, and none of them touching in any way the principle which I had lain down; I took them.

I believe that this speech and this book do represent the general direction in which we must move. Of course, they cannot be accepted if the Party is to be one merely of criticism, delay and reaction. They *can* be accepted if the Party is prepared for a liberal, constructive platform, which will seem reasonably satisfactory to conscientious, practical and courageous men, who intend to go unswervingly and steadily forward, and yet not to rush headlong like a frightened hog into whatever radicalism seems at the moment to be favored by masses of voters.

A couple of months ago I went to Washington, being originally asked to go by Smoot and Madden.³ I saw a great many Senators and Congressmen. Three of the Senators, two of whom were old friends of mine and whose names I really don't think I shall write down even to you, struck me as hopelessly reactionary, as hopelessly blind, to the conditions ahead. I felt their hopelessness all the more because I am inclined to think their attitude was sincere. But the great majority of men in the lower House and at least

² Allen at this time editor of the *Wichita Daily Beacon*, had, like White, gone to France for the Red Cross.

³ Martin Barnaby Madden, since 1905 a Republican congressman from Illinois.

a large minority of the Senators either were or appeared to be sincerely desirous of accepting the fact that we were about to face a changed world and that mere negation and obstruction and attempts to revive the dead past spelled ruin. They were all of them anxious to have me take some position of leadership, and equally anxious that I should not think that this committed them to definitely following me, and above all that I should not think it committed them to making me the candidate in 1920. After a little thought I came to the conclusion that it was better for me to talk openly to them, and I speedily devised my formula, and used over and over again, to this effect, "I am not in the least concerned with *your* supporting *me* either now or at any future time; all I am concerned with is that you should so act that *I* can support *you*."

When I went to speak in Portland I purposely took Joe Alsop, the Chairman of our Connecticut Progressives with me. I think I do not overstate the matter when I say that the Maine Progressives felt that my speech and its reception amounted to the acceptance, by the Republicans of Maine, of the Progressive platform of 1912 developed and brought up to date.

I dislike even suggesting your coming east but it would mean a very great deal for me if I could see you and Mrs. White and talk over with both of you the situation. At any rate, if this is not possible, will you read the speech and the central chapters of the book and let me hear from you? ⁴
Faithfully yours

6317 • TO JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, April 8, 1918

My dear Senator Williams: I am already on record both in the *Kansas City Star* and in the speech in Wisconsin in favor of expelling La Follette from the United States Senate.¹ The only thing that makes me hesitate at all about a further effort is as to whether it is probable he would be returned by popular vote to the Senate. The American people now and then undergo curious spasms of emotion; and if the Wisconsin voters had an idea that any man was being too heavily maltreated, even though their idea was utterly wrong, they «would» turn around and support him. I wonder whether from the simple standpoint of expediency, that is the standpoint of inflicting upon him the worst punishment in our power to inflict without exciting sympathy

⁴ White let both Roosevelt and Hays hear from him; see No. 6326.

¹ The attempt to expel La Follette from the Senate began in September 1917. On the resolution to expel, the Committee on Privileges and Elections took little action until the bitter primary campaign in Wisconsin in March 1918 (see No. 6302). Then, after the Wisconsin Legislature and the faculty of the state university had denounced La Follette, many senators including John Sharp Williams and a number of other Democrats demanded that the committee complete its investigation immediately. The committee, however, managed to postpone until after the war its recommendation that the matter be dropped.

for him, it would not be well to pass a resolution of severe censure upon his conduct instead of expelling him? Would you write me candidly and frankly what your opinion is on this? Would you be willing to consult Lodge and Hiram Johnson about it? I know that the former, and I believe that the latter, despise La Follette as much as you and I do.

Now as to your wheat bread proposition. Here again I will join with you heartily, but I want you to consider this phase of it; generally, wherever I go they have what is called war bread. This is about one-third wheat flour. We have no wheat bread at home, just exactly as I don't eat any bacon, and as I have stopped having any wine at the table; but if I am out and war bread or bacon or wine is passed I take it, more on the principle of not making myself conspicuous than for any other reason. I am entirely willing to go in with you on the proposition you mention; but I want you to think as to whether or not it would mean that we would make ourselves conspicuous if at other houses we refused war bread. What is your frank judgment in the matter? ²

My dear Senator, you and I have often differed (on the matter of my being competent to handle a brigade for instance) and on many points we now differ; but you have stood like a rock for straight Americanism and for wholehearted prosecution of this war to a victorious conclusion, and thereby you have shown yourself to possess the prime requisites of an American patriot in this crisis. *Faithfully yours*

6318 · TO CHARLES RICHARD VAN HISE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 11, 1918

My dear President Van Hise: ¹ I thought I expressed myself very cautiously on the subject of the price-fixing, for I did not generalize; I only said that we must proceed with great care in such matters, and that the Administration's attitude had been wrong. ² I most emphatically think that the Administration acted with great unwisdom as regards coal, wheat and milk. To have had a higher price for wheat would have been far better if thereby we

² Williams had opposed fixing the prices of wheat and flour. The way to prevent farmers from exploiting the consumer, he told the Senate, was simply to refuse to eat white bread or any other wheat product. The American people would soon learn to like corn, rice, and rye bread. "There is no telling how many pretty dishes you can make out of rice and corn meal," insisted the Southern senator, "if you just know how to make them."

¹ Charles Richard Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin, 1903-1918.

² Wilson hoped to use price-fixing as "a weapon of the war," as a means to ration commodities and expand production, and as a protection to consumers. By the end of the war administrative agencies had set prices on more than 110 products. Little attempt had been made, however, to co-ordinate agency decisions or methods of enforcement. For a competent study, see Lewis H. Haney, "Price Fixing in the United States During the War," *Political Science Quarterly*, 34:104-126, 262-289, 434-453 (March-September 1919).

had produced a great extension of wheat-growing. The coal situation was treated in the worst possible way. I shall read your address with the utmost interest.

With very hearty thanks, *Faithfully yours*

6319 • TO LEONARD WOOD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, April 16, 1918

Dear Leonard: I am very much obliged to you. I have already been using your reports.¹ I really can't tell you how much I enjoyed seeing you and how much I profited by your visit. None of our people in the field have rendered as much service to America as you have rendered by your testimony before the Senate Committee. As for these reports, they are as masterly as anything of the kind I have ever seen; they are *the* documents of the war.

Ever yours

6320 • TO W. M. VAN DER WEYDE

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, April 19, 1918

My dear Mr. Van der Weyde: The book in which the statement to which you refer occurs, was written by me thirty years ago. I have forgotten now whether the details of Paine's actions were set forth in manuscript or in a complete edition of his letters and journals. Sparks' *Morris* is the only one I have at hand. If you will turn to volume I, pages 416-418 you will see the following statements, — "He had become disgusting in his person and deportment for several months he lived in Mr. Monroe's house, but so intemperate were his habits and so disagreeable his person that it was necessary to exclude him from the family and send his meals to his own apartments." I need hardly say that this absolutely justifies and requires the use of the adjective I did in fact use in order to describe Paine's person and habits. Instead of atheist however I should have used the term deist. Atheist would have been the proper term if I had been dealing with the Thirteenth Century for example; but in the Eighteenth Century the word deist had come into use to describe the men who denied the existence of the God of revealed religion, whereas atheist was a man denied the existence of any God. Even in the 16th & 17th centuries the terms were sometimes used interchangeably.

Will you kindly send a copy of this letter to the gentleman who wrote

¹ Wood had visited the western front on a tour of inspection. Using his reports of this tour in his appearance before a congressional committee, he testified to the War Department's failure to provide our soldiers in Europe with necessary arms and equipment.

you, stating to him however that as I wrote him confidentially I do not desire him to make any further use of the letter I sent. I also request that this letter be treated as purely confidential. I sent it merely because your own letter was so courteous that I am glad to answer you. But I do not desire or intend to be drawn into any kind of public controversy on the subject; it could not by any possibility result in any benefit. I wish to repeat, that the quotations I give from Sparks' *Morris* amply warrant my using the adjective I did. If I were writing now, I should use the word deist instead of atheist; but this is certainly not a matter of sufficient importance to warrant any reopening of the question. I have written various historical books and I have expressed the reasons for my judgment on various public men. It is out of the question for me to reopen the matters as regards these public men, unless new material is given me; and such is not the case in the present instance. Nor have I time for such discussions now.¹ *Faithfully yours*

6321 • TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.⁹

Oyster Bay, April 21, 1918

Darling Belle, I enclose a letter to Kermit, because I don't know where his address may be when this reaches you, and I know he keeps you informed of any prospective change in his movements.

First, will you cordially thank your father from me for what he was able to do about Tommy Hitchcock? It was fine.

Next, about Kermit. He has been writing me of his eagerness to get transferred to the American army in France when the season for work in Mesopotamia closed. Derby cabled me, saying that Kermit had done excellently, had been in action twice, and that now he suggested his transfer as above indicated. I at once wrote to our acting-Chief of Staff, General March, who sent back a very nice letter, saying that Kermit must first be discharged from the British Army; that as soon as this was done he, March, would appoint Kermit a Captain in our army and detail him for work in France (I had said that Kermit was most fit for machine gun work, but certainly for a *line* position). Accordingly I cabled Derby; I have not yet received an answer; I hope that the substitution of Milner for Derby does not cause a hitch over there;¹ if Baker should take an adverse position to the Chief of Staff, over here, I'll try a cable to your father. Of course

¹ This is one of a series of letters written by Roosevelt in 1918 to W. M. Van der Weyde, the man who raised for the last time in Roosevelt's life the question of Tom Paine's habits and religion.

¹ Sir Alfred Milner had replaced Lord Derby as Secretary of State for War.

on the record of Derby's cable & Marches letter the transfer is as good as made; but theres many a slip twixt the cup and the lip!

Blessed Kim's picture stands before me as I write. How I wish I could see you and the two babies!

Here we are well; and Richard and wee Edie are a great joy in the house. Ethel is riding my horse; I am still apt to be dizzy if I turn suddenly round; but I think I'll be riding in a week or two.

With warm regards to your father, mother and sister, *lovingly yours*
Kermit's father.

6322 • TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Quentin Roosevelt Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, April 21, 1918

Dearest Quentin, We are all at sea as to where you are and what you are doing; and in this crisis the possibilities are such that we know not what conditions may have become when our letters reach you. I think that our people really are somewhat aroused by the fact that we are of so little weight in the terrible battle now going on; and accordingly, one year after the event, the Administration is endeavoring in earnest to speed up certain matters. But it is very late; and the Administrations inveterate habit of boasting and of treating roseate forecasts as an offset to insufficient performance makes it difficult to tell what the probabilities for the future really are. For example, a layman like myself is utterly unable to make out what our airplane situation is. We all know now that you have no American battle planes and apparently no American bombing planes (I am doubtless using the wrong terms) on the other side; but we can not tell how soon you will have them, and in what proportion you will get them from the French or be utilized among the French fliers. Therefore I have no idea whether there is any possibility of your getting to the front; I simply have no idea what you are doing — whether you are fighting, or raging because you can't get to the fighting line. Phil wrote me an awfully nice letter; he has been completely disillusioned, I should suppose, by his experiences in France, as he relates them.

Here, spring is now well under way, altho the weather is cold and gray. The woods are showing a green foam; the gay yellow of the forsythia has appeared; the blood root spangles with brilliant white the brown dead leaves of the hill side across the wet hollow by the frog spring. Mother is well, and so charming; and very brave. I have ceased to fret at my impotence to do anything in this great crisis; I rejoice that my four sons, and Dick, are playing the great part; and I putter round like Alty Morgan and the other old rumps, trying to help with the Liberty Loan & Red Cross and such like.

Your loving father

Oyster Bay, April 23, 1918

Dear Van: I shall write to Senator Flinn at once and I am concerned to hear that the fine old fellow has been under the weather.¹ I am writing to Philipp as you request.²

Now about the luncheon. I was exceedingly glad that you came on because I think you stiffened up the other brethren. Do you remember the thing I read aloud, intending to send it to the *Kansas City Star*? Probably by this time you know that they did not think it wise to publish it. I asked them to send it to you with that statement. I have seriously thought of asking them, whether, in view of the fact they think some of my articles about Mr. Wilson and the war are too strong and in view of the further fact that these are the ones for which I most care, they would be willing when I write such an article to have me not send it to them but to send it direct to you (of course unpaid). I appreciate to the full the reasons why they are reluctant to publish them and I am sure that they are correct in their judgment *as regards themselves*. On the other hand, as you know, my whole concern at this time is practically the same concern that Amos and Micah and Isaiah had for Jerusalem nearly three thousand years ago! In those days a prophet was very apt to get himself stoned. Nowadays he merely excites the ire of the persons who would otherwise read the magazines or newspapers in which his prophecies appear. But he hasn't any business to damage his magazine or newspaper. I am not dead sure that the prophet business can be combined with keeping up circulation; and moreover I know that when a man with strong feelings and intense convictions reaches a certain age he is apt to get cater-cornered as regards the surrounding world and therefore his usefulness ceases, and I am quite prepared to feel that now that I am in my sixtieth year it would be to the interest of everybody that I should cease being a prophet and become that far pleasanter and more innocuous person, a sage. But as long as I am in the prophet business I wish to prophesy! Now, this is all more or less in the air, for of course I don't know that the *Kansas City Star* would be willing to have me do what I suggest — and I don't know whether it would be to your advantage either.³

I have found myself a little at sea as to my memorandum concerning what you told me to do about Governor Philipp of Wisconsin in connection

¹ To Flinn, suffering simultaneously from ptomaine poisoning and neuritis, Roosevelt wished "Good luck ever!"

² The letter introduced a correspondent of the *North American* to Governor Emanuel Lorenz Philipp of Wisconsin who, Roosevelt and Van Valkenburg believed, had been an effective agent of loyalty and Americanism in his state.

³ Sporadically during 1918 the Philadelphia *North American* published articles written by Roosevelt for the *Kansas City Star*. All of these, however, were copyrighted by the *Star*.

with *Collier's*. I am enclosing a letter to him which I hope is all right. I have written to Mr. Kress as you suggested.⁴ *Faithfully yours*

6324 • TO ROYAL CORTISSOZ

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, April 26, 1918

*My dear Cortissoz:*¹ What trumps both of you are! Your letter pleased me down to the ground. Now, when the weather becomes all right do give us the chance to have you both out here at lunch. By the way I particularly hope you *will* write about Wilson's pretense to style. I don't like to talk of it myself, because it is regarded in me as jealousy; but as a matter of fact I think that the manner of his speech is almost as vicious as the matter, and that he degrades the taste of this nation just as he degrades its morality. *Faithfully yours*

6325 • TO JAMES BRYCE

Roosevelt Mss.

Boston, May 2, 1918

My dear Bryce: I have just received your letter of April 6th and I am greatly interested in it. I have written you since I left the hospital, but I fear you did not receive the letter. The mails are pretty irregular now. I am in good shape. I never did care a rap for being sick, at this time, anyhow; because when so many young men with all the glory of life before them are being killed, or maimed and shattered, the fate of a retired, elderly civilian seems to me singularly unimportant. Nevertheless, I cannot help being very much pleased and touched that there are a few people who think otherwise, and that you should be one of them.

Will you give my very warm regards to Lady Bryce and thank her for me and for Mrs. Roosevelt?

Yes, I sent you that copy of the *Metropolitan Magazine*, because I felt that it was exactly in line with your beliefs and teachings. We need to learn the lesson here almost as much as you need it in Europe. Our regular army inherited its traditions from your army, and from the French army as it was before the Revolution. To this day our average regular does not understand the French and Swiss, and the new American, viewpoint. I am sure that my position is the right one, because I have seen it actually tried, and am now seeing it tried. In my regiment during the Spanish War I had among my officers men who had risen from the ranks in the regular army,

⁴ *Collier's* had accused Philipp of indifference toward the war effort, an unwarranted charge which Roosevelt attempted to help dispel. To this end he endorsed a letter to *Collier's*, written in defense of the governor by H. G. Kress of the Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, Council of Defense. It was not published.

¹ Royal Cortissoz, literary and art editor of the New York *Tribune*, sympathetic biographer of Saint-Gaudens, La Farge, and Whitelaw Reid.

men who had begun life in the humblest occupation, and one man who was part Indian. I had among the enlisted men scores of Harvard and Yale and Princeton graduates. They were absolutely obedient and respectful to their ranking superiors. Outside of the regiment all of these different men got on beautifully together and gravitated naturally to their several social stations. But when duty was concerned, the discipline was strict; indeed there never was a better disciplined regiment in all the essentials. So now, in the Harvard Club enlisted men of the army and navy and officers of the army and navy mingle together, exactly as they ought to mingle; but outside they all of them are as punctilious in the nice matters of order as any peculiarly well-disciplined set of soldiers and sailors ought to be. I appreciate entirely that during war, on account of service considerations a certain amount of social difference has to obtain between; but it should be the same kind difference that obtains between a Major General and Lieutenants.

I am sending you a little pamphlet containing my two lectures at Princeton last fall. I need hardly tell you that I feel very bitterly about America's failure to prepare in advance, and about the sluggishness and inefficiency shown by Mr. Wilson in all military matters during the first year of the war. If we had prepared in advance, having begun as soon as the *Lusitania* was sunk, we could have put two million men in the field last spring; Russia would not have broken, and the war would have been over long ago. Even after war began, if Wilson had been willing to show genuine patriotism, — if he had been willing to subordinate politics as Asquith in August 1914 subordinated them, and if he had shown efficiency even in a moderate degree — we would by this time have had a million trained fighting men in France, and the battle now pending¹ would have been won a month ago and would have been an overwhelming victory for the allies; and the United States would have been one of the chief participants instead of playing a part in it no greater than that played by Belgium or Portugal.

My boys are all well. Kermit has been transferred from Mesopotamia to our own army in France. He commanded a light armored motor battery in Mesopotamia and General Marshall² reported him as having been twice in action and having done excellently. Archie was badly wounded by a shell, his left arm being broken and a splinter of shell piercing his knee, but he will certainly recover and will probably soon be back in the fighting line. Ted was knocked down by a shell but his injuries were trivial. Quentin is in the flying service and has hitherto not been hurt.

Do give my warm regards to Edward Grey when you write him. I feel a very great admiration and affection for him. Of course history will

¹ That battle, the final phase of the great spring offensive, carried the Germans across the Marne and to within thirty miles of Paris. In June the American army, especially the 2nd division, at Château-Thierry made its first significant contribution by helping to stop the German drive.

² Sir William Raine Marshall, commanding officer of the British forces in Mesopotamia, 1917-1919.

justify absolutely all he did before and at the outset of the war; and after that the matters were for the soldiers to decide.

The failure to use Leonard Wood has been due to Wilson's steady and inflexible purpose to carry this war out on the narrowest political grounds. Wood fought hard for preparedness and this Wilson never forgave him. Of course until last January Wilson never intended that the American Army should fight at all. He first hoped that the French and English would win the war for him; and then that the Russian Bolsheviks would disrupt Germany. He has favored the Bolsheviks in every way that he could and is only now reluctantly abandoning his hope for a war without bloodshed. He still at times wishes for a peace without victory.

We were deeply grieved over the death of Cecil Spring Rice. He was as fine and high-minded and gallant a fellow as ever lived, and we were equally devoted to him and his wife. No man ever occupied a harder position than he did during the time before we entered the war. I mourn his loss. His successor, Lord Reading, has so far done admirably. *Faithfully yours*

6326 • TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Roosevelt Mss.

Boston, May 2, 1918

Dear W.A.: I am greatly interested in your letter to Hays. I of course absolutely agree with the principle that you lay down for him. The Republican Party must become the party of constructive progress, if it is to be of real service, or indeed to last at all. But I am inclined offhand to think that the specific positions you take should be toned down. This is said partly as a matter of expediency and partly as a matter of principle. I don't think you quite mean for instance that "private property in food is no longer tenable." I think you can very appropriately say that there must be important rights reserved by the public in connection with such private property; but I do not believe in either the expediency or wisdom or propriety of telling the man who raises wheat or corn or hogs or milk that he has *no* private property in his production. Again, are you sure that we are yet ready to say that the government should own the railways, rather than that it should control the activities of those who own them? With this as with the food, I would wish to be sure of the wisdom from the standpoint of policy of making the statement, and I would also wish to be sure of the propriety of the policy advocated. Personally, I think that Marxian socialism is as dead as Spencerian individualism and that one extreme is about as noxious as the other. At the moment I am inclined to think Bolshevism a more serious menace to world democracy than any species of capitalism.

However, my point is that I would rather see you *not* commit yourself to any position which hereafter you would have to qualify too seriously. I wish I could see you to talk these matters over in person. Consult Henry Allen about them; show him this letter. *Faithfully yours*

Oyster Bay, May 5, 1918

Darling Belle, Three letters from you have come, all together! And such dear letters — darling Belle. How *very* lucky Kermit is!

The photos of Kim and Willard are simply fascinating; perhaps I love most of all the one with you sitting beside Kim and the nice bow-wow in front.

Last week I sent a letter to Kermit care of the Embassy at Madrid, by ordinary mail; this week I enclose the letter to you, for it contains the instructions from the War Department which it is imperative that he shall get.

I am exceedingly pleased that I was able to secure for him the transfer to the American army which he so wished. He had done about all he could in Mesopotamia, and was evidently becoming more and more anxious to fight under his own flag in France. I foxily put in the request that he should report at Madrid, and the Acting Chief of Staff granted it! I think it was most wise of him to get transferred to the armored car service; it was far better than remaining an engineer; Kermit is a natural officer of the fighting line. Of course the cable sent by me to your father for transmission told you what was on hand; I hope you received an immediate answer and that Kermit is on his way to you by this time.

Gracie and blessed wee Archie are now staying with us, and we are enjoying them to the full. I wish I had a very big house and could make *all* my daughters in law live with me *all* the time! And Ethel and her little brood too. Little Edie I find so delightful that I have to exercise iron self-control not to pick her up whenever I see her; she has such cunning ways. And Richard is a most attractive little boy. How I long to see Kim and little Willard!

With love to all your dear family, *ever devotedly Kermit's father*

Oyster Bay, May 11, 1918

My dear Cleve: It is difficult for me to write you because of the very fact that six members of your immediate family are in Turkey. Now, my dear Cleve, kinsfolk of mine are in Germany. They are suffering at present from being there. My feeling has been from the beginning that they had no business to stay there. As regards Turkey my feeling is even stronger. I do not feel that any men should have permitted their wives and daughters to stay in Turkey since we have gone to war with Germany. Indeed, my feeling is that from the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania* every American in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria or Turkey should have proceeded on the assumption that ultimately this country would go to war with those four embodiments of satanic policies on this globe at this time, and should have

governed himself accordingly. Any Americans in Turkey who now suffer will suffer purely from their own fault; and if they plead their presence in Turkey, after the ample warning they have had, as a reason why this nation should not do its duty, they are guilty of grave moral dereliction.¹

I entirely agree with all that you say about Robert College and Beirut College² in the past. I have no doubt that you are right when you say that there are Bulgarians and Turks (a few!) who are opposed to what their two countries have done in joining Germany. There were Germans and Austrians who felt the same way. But all these men have proved utterly powerless to influence the policies of their countries. They are entitled to no consideration from us in shaping our international policy. It is a good deal worse than silly for us to repeat the worse than silly mistake of those Englishmen who kept insisting that there were Turks and Bulgarians who loved England, and so that England ought not to make active war on Turkey or Bulgaria. I do not for one moment believe that any effective body of Turkish opinion is against Germany, save as it is against all Christians — even against the Christians that let them massacre other Christians. There has been no sign whatever of the existence of any such body of effective opposition to Germany. Foolish persons in England kept insisting on its existence, and did much damage by their insistence. In Turkey public opinion is nil and the people always obey any effective executive force, and obey nothing else. The surest way to strengthen the German hold on Turkey is to give the impression that the Allies are in any way divided. The perpetuation of Turkish rule is the perpetuation of infamy, and to perpetuate it on the theory that there are large numbers of Turks who have fine feelings but who never make those feelings in any way manifest, is an absurdity. If Robert and Beirut Colleges are used as props for the Turkish infamy and if they exert directly or indirectly any influence to keep this country from going to war with Turkey, they will more than counterbalance the good they have done in the past, and will make themselves bywords of derision for the future.

So far from "being of assistance to the Allied cause by keeping on nominal terms of friendliness with Bulgaria and Turkey," I am convinced we are of the very greatest damage to the Allied cause by so doing. Moreover, I feel that we are guilty of a peculiarly odious form of hypocrisy when we profess friendship for Armenia and the downtrodden races of Turkey, but don't go to war with Turkey. To allow the Turks to massacre the Americans and then solicit permission to help the survivors, and then to allege the fact that we are helping the survivors as a reason why we should not

¹ Republicans in Congress were clamoring for declarations of war on Turkey and Bulgaria; the President believed such action was unnecessary since the two countries were not "in the direct path." Wilson's view prevailed.

² Colleges in Constantinople and Lebanon supported and staffed principally by Americans.

follow the only policy that will permanently put a stop to such massacres is both foolish and odious.

I have a most interesting letter on the subject from Einstein,³ formerly with our Embassy in Turkey. I will send it to you by George Perkins. Some suffering would be caused if we went to war with Turkey, just as some suffering was caused when we went to war with Germany. But the Americans now would suffer only as the English and French suffered three years ago, when their nations were doing their duty, and ours was shirking its duty. We have no business to expect the allies to do the fighting which alone will accomplish anything permanent while we play the utterly ignoble part of being neutral and hoping that somehow or other we can thereby both save our own skins and also accomplish something. The arguments advanced against our going to war with Turkey are on a par with those formerly advanced against our going to war with Germany and then with Austria; only they are not quite as good. The Armenian horror is an accomplished fact. Its occurrence was largely due to the policy of pacifism this nation has followed for the last four years. The presence of our missionaries, and our failure to go to war, did not prevent the Turks from massacring between half a million and a million Armenians, Syrians, Greeks and Jews — the overwhelming majority being Armenians. Our declaration of war now will certainly not do one one-hundredth part of the damage already done by our failure to go to war in the past; and it will enable us to render service of permanent value for the future, and incidentally to take another step in regaining our self-respect.

We should go to war because not to do so is really to show bad faith towards our allies, and to help Germany; because the Armenian massacre was the greatest crime of the war, and failure to act against Turkey is to condone it; because the failure to deal radically with the Turkish horror means that all talk of guaranteeing the future peace of the world is mischievous nonsense; and because when we now refuse to war with Turkey we show that our announcement that we meant "to make the world safe for democracy" was insincere claptrap.

With regret, my dear Cleve, that I must so radically and so fundamentally disagree with you, I am *Sincerely yours*

6329 · TO SARAH I. GREENWAY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 15, 1918

Dear Miss Greenway: The idea of your making believe that you think I may not remember you! Thank Heavens I am so old a man that I can with

³ Lewis Einstein, career diplomat with long service in the Near East. From October 1915 to June 1916 he had been the American representative in Bulgaria in charge of British interests. His quick and cultivated mind ranged easily in fields of art, literature, and history. He was the author of a study of Lewis Cass, of a history of the influence of the Italian renaissance in England, and of *A Prophecy of the War*, with a foreword by Roosevelt.

propriety say that you are altogether too attractive (looking), in *all* ways for me to forget; even aside from my devotion to Jack. I recently heard from the latter by the way, and I wrote a recommendation for one of your other brothers.

I am sorry to say that there is no such good luck as my going to Arkansas at present. I am driven nearly to death and cannot undertake another engagement.

With heartiest good wishes, *Faithfully yours*

6330 • TO HENRY F. PRICE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 16, 1918

*My dear Mr. Price:*¹ I entirely agree with you about Borglum. I have a very high opinion of him. I saw him the other day. Unfortunately I have no power to be of assistance to him, but he knows he has my hearty moral backing.² *Faithfully yours*

P.S. I earnestly trust that Borglum will be exceedingly careful not to give the President the chance to say that he makes a single statement that cannot be substantiated by proof. It often happens that a man who finds out very much wrongdoing which ought to be exposed hurts himself and ruins his cause by a single possibly unimportant statement without warrant in fact which is seized upon and such a noise made about it that the really valuable parts of his discovery go unnoticed. My own belief is that the big men engaged in the aviation business were entirely honest and sincere, and that the fault lay not with them, but with the President and Secretary of War, who refused to take the action which ought to have been taken, and who boasted, or permitted boasting, has proved very, very detrimental.

6331 • TO GEORGE WASHINGTON ALDRIDGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Private

Oyster Bay, May 18, 1918

My dear Mr. Aldridge: Many thanks for your letter. As for the mission of Mr. King, I know nothing of it, beyond the fact that being a friend of mine he wished to get into touch with three or four men in New York, who had also been friendly to me in the past, and with whom he could speak on certain matters, with the idea of preventing the success in this State of the Wilson-Hearst combination, and of keeping the state in such shape that we could count upon it at the election of 1920 for the overturn of the policies that have

¹ Probably Henry B. Price, a New York City architect.

² Borglum, with Wilson's consent, had made a personal investigation of the aircraft production program. Excitedly he reported that "the Aircraft Board had not produced a single service or battle plane that could be ordered across the lines." Wilson, disturbed by the furor caused by Borglum's assertions, asked Charles E. Hughes to investigate the situation. This irritated Borglum. Hughes's report uncovered no dishonesty but described the inevitable difficulties encountered by a tiny industry in its attempt to expand rapidly. See Pusey, *Hughes*, I, 374-382.

been ruinous at Washington during the past four years. I wish you particularly to understand that I am not taking part in any way «form» or contest this fall for the nomination to any position. *Faithfully yours*

6332 · TO MILES POINDEXTER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 22, 1918

My dear Senator Poindexter: The following article from me appeared in the *Kansas City Star* on May 7th, 1918.

Sedition, a Free Press and Personal Rule.

The legislation now being enacted by Congress should deal drastically with sedition. It should also guarantee the right of the press and people to speak the truth freely of all their public servants, including the President, and to criticize them in the severest terms of truth whenever they come short in their public duty. Finally, Congress should grant the executive the amplest powers to act as an executive and should hold him to stern accountability for failure so to act, but it should itself do the actual lawmaking and should clearly define the lines and limits of action and should retain and use the fullest powers of investigation into and supervision over such action. Sedition is a form of treason. It is an offense against the country, not against the President. At this time to oppose the draft or sending our armies to Europe, to uphold Germany, to attack our Allies, to oppose raising the money necessary to carry on the war are at least forms of moral sedition, while to act as a German spy or to encourage German spies, to use money or intrigue in the corrupt service of Germany, to tamper with our war manufactures and to encourage our soldiers to desert or to fail in their duty, and all similar actions, are forms of undoubtedly illegal sedition. For some of these offenses death should be summarily inflicted. For all the punishment should be severe.

The administration has been gravely remiss in dealing with such acts.

Free speech, exercised both individually and through a free press, is a necessity in any country where the people are themselves free. Our Government is the servant of the people, whereas in Germany it is the master of the people. This is because the American people are free and the German people are not free. The President is merely the most important among a large number of public servants. He should be supported or opposed exactly to the degree which is warranted by his good conduct or bad conduct, his efficiency or inefficiency, in rendering loyal, able and disinterested service to the Nation as a whole. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that there should be full liberty to tell the truth about his acts, and this means that it is exactly as necessary to blame him when he does wrong as to praise him when he does right. Any other attitude in an American citizen is both base and servile. To announce that there must be no criticism of the President, or that we are to stand by the President, right or wrong, is not only unpatriotic and servile, but is morally treasonable to the American public. Nothing but the truth should be spoken about him or anyone else. But it is even more important to tell the truth, pleasant or unpleasant, about him than about anyone else.

During the last year the administration has shown itself anxious to punish the newspapers which uphold the war, but which have told the truth about the administration's failure to conduct the war efficiently; whereas it has failed to proceed against various powerful newspapers which opposed the war or attacked our allies or directly or indirectly aided Germany against this country, as these papers

upheld the administration and defended its inefficiency. Therefore, no additional power should be given the administration to deal with papers for criticizing the administration. And, moreover, Congress should closely scrutinize the way the Postmaster General and Attorney General have already exercised discrimination between the papers they prosecuted and the papers they failed to prosecute.

Congress should give the President full power for efficient executive action. It should not abrogate its own power. It should define how he is to reorganize the administration. It should say how large an army we are to have and not leave the decision to the amiable Secretary of War, who has for two years shown such inefficiency. It should declare for an army of 5 million men and inform the Secretary that it would give him more the minute he asks for more.

Thereupon Postmaster General Burleson issued the following statement, —

Office of Information,
Post-Office Department
May 8th, 1918

Postmaster General Burleson today made the following statement with reference to the editorial signed by Col. Roosevelt which appeared in this morning's paper:

Ex-President Roosevelt in the newspapers this morning made the following statement:

"During the last year the administration has shown itself anxious to punish the newspapers which upheld the war, but which told the truth about the administration's failure to conduct the war efficiently; whereas it has failed to proceed against various powerful newspapers which opposed the war or attacked our allies or directly or indirectly aided Germany against this country, as those papers upheld the administration and defended the inefficiency."

This statement taken in connection with other published statements of Mr. Roosevelt is manifestly aimed at the Administration of the Postal Service. It is either true or false. If true I am utterly unworthy of trust and should be scourged from office in disgrace. If false, right-thinking men and women will form their own opinion of the man who uttered it. Its truth or falsity is easily demonstrable. I invite Mr. Roosevelt to name the papers or magazines which have "upheld the war but which told the truth about the administration's failure to conduct the war efficiently" which have been "punished" by the Post-Office Department. I invite Mr. Roosevelt to name the newspapers or magazines, powerful or otherwise, "which have opposed the war and attacked our allies or directly or indirectly aided Germany against this country" in such manner as to violate the law, which have not been proceeded against by this Department.

Failure on the part of Mr. Roosevelt to respond is to admit his inability to do so.

As this was issued officially by the Postmaster General, I desire that a permanent record shall be made of my answer and of the facts that led up to my statement to which the Postmaster General took exception, and which caused him to issue his challenge to me to prove my statement. I therefore wish to put these facts before you in full.

I insert as appendixes to this letter, the editorial in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, in the issue which the New York Post Office attempted to suppress, this editorial being entitled "Put the Blame Where It Belongs"; and my article

in the *Metropolitan* on "Lincoln and Free Speech"; together with the *Metropolitan* statement as to its war record (page 6, May *Metropolitan*).¹

I deal with Mr. Burleson and his actions purely because he is the representative of President Wilson, exactly as is Secretary Baker, exactly as is Mr. Creel. President Wilson is responsible for everything that Postmaster General Burleson and Secretary Baker and Mr. Creel do, or leave undone. Nothing that any one of these gentlemen says, nothing that any one of them does, and nothing that any one of them leaves undone, is of the slightest importance, except because he is President Wilson's representative, appointed by President Wilson to a position of high governmental importance in a great crisis and serving as the medium through which President Wilson carries out his policies affecting this country. This is of course equally true of all of President Wilson's other appointees. I have scant patience with the timidity or the folly which dares not hold accountable the source of power, and only ventures to express displeasure with the instrument through which the power is exercised. Messrs. Burleson, Baker, Creel and their associates possess no importance whatever, except that accruing to them because it is through them that the President speaks, and acts, or refuses or fails to act. As the above article shows, I was not speaking of Mr. Burleson in particular, but of the Administration of which he is a part, of the President whose servant he is.

The reason for my comment in the *Kansas City Star* and for my previous article in the *Metropolitan Magazine* is that since the war began the Administration has used the very great war powers of the government over the public press to stifle honest criticism of governmental inefficiency or misconduct, while condoning (which necessarily means encouraging) pro-German, anti-Ally, and therefore anti-American, agitation in certain powerful papers which defended this inefficiency and misconduct; and it has sought from Congress a great addition to the already existing power it has thus misused. I believe that the First Article of the Constitution guarantees the right of the people to criticize truthfully the conduct of their public servants, and that this right cannot be taken away by any law. But the average man is naturally and properly afraid to challenge a law backed by the whole power of the United States government, even although it may be his belief that ultimately the law will be held unconstitutional.

Our Governmental officers, from the President down, are of right the servants of the people, not the rulers of the people. This is the fundamental difference between an autocracy and a democracy. The Hohenzollerns are the rulers of Germany, and the Germans are the subjects of the Hohenzol-

¹ This letter with all its appendixes Poindexter had printed, without a reading, in the *Congressional Record*, LVI, 7054-7061. Senators Swanson and Lewis, both Democrats, at once had printed the replies of Burleson and William Randolph Hearst. The Senate without more ado then went about its business. For discussions of Administration censorship policies, see Baker, *Wilson*, VIII, 129, 135, 150; Frederic L. Paxson, *America at War*, 1917-1918 (Boston, 1939), pp. 286-294; James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1939).

lerns, not their fellow citizens. On the contrary, our Presidents are not the rulers of the American people, but the servants of the American people, and the rest of the people are their fellow citizens. Our duty is to stand by the country. It is our duty to stand by the President — as by every other official — just so long as he stands by the country. It is no less our duty to oppose him whenever, and to the extent that, he does not stand by the country. If we fail to oppose him under such conditions, we are guilty of moral treason to the country. The President and our other public officials are subject to the laws just like the rest of us. It is an infamy untruthfully to assail our public servants — or anyone else. But it is our duty to tell the truth about our public servants, whether the truth be pleasant or unpleasant. The higher the public servant and the more important his task, the more careful we should be to speak only the truth about him; and the more necessary it is that we should tell the full truth about him.

During the past year the action of the Administration, taken largely through the Post-Office Department, has been such as to render it a matter of some danger for any man, and especially any newspaper, to speak the truth, if that truth be unpleasant to the governmental authorities at Washington. The effect of this attitude has been very marked politically. Such coercive power tends to make upright men, even although they are strong men, cautious about telling truths which ought to be told. It forces weak men to praise the Administration whether it does well or ill. It invites unscrupulous men who desire to serve Germany, to gain license to do so, and to secure advantages, by praising the Administration, especially when it has acted wrongfully or inefficiently, and by supporting it politically. There are cases where all competent and honest observers are morally certain that political support has been given, and is now being given, to the Administration by various newspapers, especially German-American and semisocialistic newspapers, because of the club thus held over them by the Administration. From the very nature of the case there can rarely be positive proof in such cases. But as regards the most striking cases of favoritism, those concerning the Hearst papers, as compared with the suppression of Tom Watson's paper, and the attack (for nominally wholly different reasons) on *The Metropolitan*, I herein give the facts which prove exactly what I have alleged. The Postmaster General has raised the issue; I meet it squarely; and he shall not evade it. The Administration has successfully endeavored to prevent expression of opinion hostile to it and to put a premium upon supporting the President personally and politically without regard to whether his actions are detrimental or beneficial to the country.

The Administration, through the Publicity Bureau, under the lead of Mr. Creel, is conducting a gigantic news propaganda with the public money. Mr. Creel's activities are exercised nominally on behalf of the country, but in reality primarily on behalf of the Administration. Mr. Creel announces and publishes himself as the special representative of the President, and is per-

mitted by the President so to announce and publish himself. He assails the publications that truthfully expose the shortcomings of the Administration; and, without regard to the facts, he, personally and through his bureau, actively upholds the Administration as regards those matters, such as the aircraft program, in which there have been grave governmental shortcomings. This is partisan political propaganda of the very worst type, carried on with public moneys, under the guise of public work. The Editor of the *Metropolitan* wrote Mr. Creel, on March 7th, —

Is it right that you should use the time and money of your Bureau, which is supported by the American taxpayers, to defend members of the Administration from criticism in the public press? Are you not in fact the personal press agent of the President and members of the Administration?

What the Editor of the *Metropolitan* thus stated in the form of a query should be stated affirmatively as an unquestioned fact.

I have said so much by the way of making the general situation clear. Now, as to Postmaster General Burleson's challenge. This can be divided into two parts: First, Mr. Burleson denies that the Administration has ever discriminated improperly against any publication, and, second, he denies that it has ever failed to proceed against any publication which ought to have been proceeded against.

First: The *Metropolitan Magazine*, *Collier's Weekly* and the New York *Tribune* have consistently upheld the war. They eagerly demanded that we should go to war, they supported the President in going to war, they have cordially upheld every measure for prosecuting the war. But they have also told, not all of the truth, but some small portion of the truth, which it was absolutely necessary to tell, about the Administration's failure to conduct the war efficiently. They have only told even this small portion of the truth when it was imperative so to do, in order to speed up the war and to prevent perseverance in inefficiency. All three publications have been attacked by Mr. Creel officially, speaking as President Wilson's representative and "as giving a message from the United States Government to the American people." (I quote from *The Independent*.) The Post-Office Department, through the New York Postmaster, on March 2nd, last, notified the publishers of the *Metropolitan Magazine* that its March issue was nonmailable under the Espionage Act. This action was widely published throughout the country. It was calculated to do great damage to the *Metropolitan*. It was precisely the kind of action which, as I know by having been so assured again and again by various editors, was the reason why these editors have been afraid to tell the truth or even a small part of the truth about our governmental inefficiency or misdeeds. The article on which the action was nominally based was by a man who had written articles of exactly the same kind in a publication, the *New Republic*, which, however, is a political supporter of Mr. Wilson, and has not been interfered with. The *Metropolitan* is not a political supporter of

Mr. Wilson and was interfered with; yet, the *Metropolitan* has upheld the war far more zealously than the *New Republic*. The *Metropolitan* immediately asked the Postmaster of New York for the grounds of his action, but got no answer. On March 9th it telegraphed the Postmaster General, asking whether the action was taken by the order of the Postmaster General and if not what steps the Postmaster General would take to repair the damage done to the *Metropolitan Magazine*. On March 11th, the Postmaster General replied to the *Metropolitan* stating that accusations had been made that an article in the *Metropolitan* was a traitorous effusion, but that he did not know whether the complaints were justified, and that no order had been issued about it by the Department. He did not answer the *Metropolitan's* question as to what steps would be taken to repair the damage done it by the conduct of the New York Postmaster. On the same day, the New York Postmaster wrote the *Metropolitan* reversing his action of March 2nd, but making no apology, and making no excuse. On March 12th, the Editor of the *Metropolitan* wrote to Mr. Burleson saying, among other things, "You must remember that there are a great number of pacifists and pro-Germans in this country who would willingly put the *Metropolitan Magazine* out of business because it is the most strongly pro-Ally and anti-German publication in the country," calling attention to the fact that a statement attributed to the Solicitor General of the Department was obviously not in accord with the facts, and that the *Metropolitan* could not accept newspaper statements without confirmation from the Postmaster General, and asking for a written statement from the Postmaster General in the matter. He has received no such statement, nor has any attempt been made by the Post-Office Department to remedy the wrong it did by the Postmaster at New York.

At the same time, one of the advertisers in the *Metropolitan*, Mr. E. M. Mansur of Floral Park, New York, received a letter from a man in Chicago suggesting that he withdraw his advertisement, because of the editorials in the *Metropolitan Magazine*. Mr. Mansur declined to withdraw it. On April 3rd, he notified the *Metropolitan* that a special agent of the United States Department of Justice, named James A. Corcoran, with shield number 436, giving his address as Box 241, Park Row, New York City, called on him with copies of the letters of this Chicago man to him and of the replies and asked if Mr. Mansur had stopped advertising, and wanted to know if he was going on advertising next year, and then if he were an American citizen. The last query taken in connection with the first two contained, of course, an implication that was in effect a threat. This shows that the Department of Justice had knowledge of the attempt to boycott the *Metropolitan* and lent its official power to further it, unless the man in question had stolen the special agent's shield which he possessed and forged his name and address.

The above facts Mr. Burleson has not denied and cannot truthfully deny and they absolutely demonstrate the exactness of my statement, so far as the Administration's effort to punish the publications which upheld the war but

have told the truth about the Administration's failure to conduct the war efficiently.

Now, for the second part of my statement: The prime example of failure by the Administration to proceed against newspapers which oppose the war or attack our allies and therefore directly or indirectly aid Germany is afforded by the failure of the Administration to deal with Mr. Hearst's papers as it has dealt with certain other papers. Mr. Hearst is a very wealthy man, reputed to be much more than a millionaire, owning a dozen newspapers, more or less, and a half-dozen magazines, in different parts of the country. At the very beginning of the war the government proceeded successfully against <poor> Tom Watson's publication in Georgia. I entirely disagreed with Tom Watson's general political philosophy; I was utterly opposed to his contention that drafted men should not be sent overseas to fight; I regarded him as a narrow, although an upright and sincere, man. But he had done nothing that was anything like as dangerous to this country and our allies and as helpful to Germany as Mr. Hearst was at that very time doing. The circulation of Mr. Watson's paper was very small, compared to Mr. Hearst's papers, his wealth and influence were infinitesimal compared to Mr. Hearst's wealth and influence, and he had denounced Germany and even advocated war against Germany, whereas Mr. Hearst had in numerous editorials opposed our going to war attacked Germany's foes and defended Germany. Yet, the Administration crushed Tom Watson, a poor man, while it first tolerated and then encouraged wealthy, powerful, <pro-German, and antiwar,> Mr. Hearst. Tom Watson's paper was not the only small paper the Postmaster General attacked and hampered for doing far less than Mr. Hearst's papers had done. The *New York News* is edited by George W. Harris, a colored man, for the colored race. Under date of May 2nd, last, Mr. Harris, the Editor, received a notice from the Postmaster of New York that the issue of that date had been "withheld from dispatch through the mails, pending advice from the Solicitor for the Post-Office Department as to whether this issue is mailable." One of the Editors of the paper informs me that Mr. Harris called at the Post Office in New York to ascertain the reason of this order, but was not given any reason. The only explanation the Editors could think of was that the paper had contained a protest against an alleged order of a Colonel in the Army "directing colored officers not to enforce upon white inferiors a military salute." Certainly nothing in this humble paper warranted the Administration, through the Post-Office Department, in attacking it, while at the same time not venturing to interfere with the wealthy Hearst papers.

Mr. Burleson, however, while he will pardon certain pro-Administration papers, even although they are antiwar, will nevertheless occasionally attack not only antiwar but prowar, and even pro-Administration, radical papers, if he objects to their radicalism. Two entirely responsible persons have called my attention to the suppression of one issue of a radical magazine called *The Public*. This has been an entirely prowar magazine <and a strong pro-Wilson

magazine.) In its issue of March 30th it urged editorially "heavier taxation of unearned incomes and of excess profits and the raising of more money by direct taxation in preference to bond issues." Apparently, as far as the Editors can make out, it was because of this article this issue was suppressed. A former Editor of the paper writes me that it is possible that Mr. Burleson objected to the paper because of an account of an interview with him on October 12th last, in which he was quoted as stating his lack of sympathy with the proposition that a man ought not to get his money from the ownership of land which was tilled by tenants, on the ground that he could not be expected to favor a public policy where his interest lay on the other side of the proposition. "As a landowner you can't expect me to believe that," he is reported as saying. It does not appear, however, that any steps were taken because of this article. The question, therefore, is as to the right of *The Public* to print the editorial in the issue of March 30th. The question as to our belief or our disbelief in the soundness of this editorial has nothing whatever to do with the case. There are plenty of conservative doctrines with which I emphatically disagree, and also plenty of radical doctrines with which I disagree; and if it should happen that on either side of the case I found myself in agreement with Mr. Burleson I should, nevertheless, adhere to my beliefs. But, unless these doctrines were seditious, or represented the kind of immorality and incitement to violence or other unlawful conduct (which would properly bring them under the Law), I would fight as stoutly for the right of the Editor to publish them as I would fight for my own right to publish articles against them. Such action as that of Mr. Burleson does not help the war; on the contrary, it tends to keep people so angry with the agents of the war that they become and remain hostile to the war itself.

There could be no more striking example of discrimination than that furnished by the contrast between the treatment of a paper like Mr. Watson's and papers like those of Mr. Hearst; there was severity of treatment for the helpless, while the strong were given complete immunity.

There is no need to rely upon my statement that the *Metropolitan* has been a loyal, prowar, pro-American publication. In a letter published by Mr. Creel, since Mr. Burleson's statement was published, he states:

We reply to the *Metropolitan* for the very reason that we do not reply to antiwar or anti-American papers. They are known to be what they are, but the reputation of the *Metropolitan* for loyalty gives weight to its misstatements.

This is, as shown by the use of the word "we," a complete and full acknowledgment on the part of Mr. Creel that my statements with regard to the Administration in this matter are correct. It is a complete and full acknowledgment that the Administration acts against a publication whose loyalty is unquestioned, but which attacks the kind of governmental inefficiency which tells in favor of Germany, although at the same time the Administration does not act against the "antiwar or anti-American papers" — so long, I may add

incidentally, as these papers champion the Administration and apologize for the inefficiency of its actions.

Since the Postmaster General's challenge to me was made public, private citizens have taken against the Hearst papers the action which the Administration has refused to take. The New York *American* in publishing President Wilson's Memorial Day Proclamation omitted that part of the proclamation which contained the prayer for victory, although it printed the part containing the prayer for peace — a proceeding entirely in consonance with Mr. Hearst's advocacy of a "peace without victory." In Poughkeepsie, according to a special dispatch to the New York *Herald* of May 13th, a party of Grand Army Veterans protested against such action by procuring every available copy of the *American* and burning them in the Court House Square, the Veterans explaining, through Major Louis C. Dietz, Organizer, of the Local Loyal Service League, that they did this because they regarded the action of the New York *American* as an attempt "to fool the people of this country by publishing articles that are perfectly agreeable to the Kaiser's Government and to traitors and pro-Germans that are in this country." At the same time, according to the statements in the New York *Times* and New York *World*, the Mayor and Common Council of Mount Vernon, N.Y., barred the Hearst papers for the period of the war from Mount Vernon, the mover of the ordinance reading various extracts from Mr. Hearst's papers which he said moved him to take the action he did, while the Mayor announced that he signed the bill because he wished "to put a curb on the Kaiser or any of his agents" and that ("Hearst has shown himself to be one of the latter.) "Mount Vernon will not stand for anything or anyone not wholly American at this time." The Mayor of Summit, N.J. is reported to have succeeded in getting the newsdealers to refuse to handle the Hearst publications.

I have before me at the moment copies of the New York *American* editorials of May 11th, May 20th, June 1st, 1915, and an editorial of June 6th, 1915, signed by Mr. Hearst himself, dealing with the *Lusitania* question and stating that Germany's action was right about the *Lusitania*, that "the *Lusitania* incident is, of course, no cause for a declaration of war" and that we had no just cause for complaint in the matter — saying that we "had no right to make this demand that Germany suspend her submarine warfare against the commerce of the Allies," that we had "no right to question Germany's use of submarines in her warfare upon British Commerce," and that the *Lusitania* was an English vessel and properly "subject to destruction," and that its destruction by the German submarine was in accordance with the authorized and accepted rules of warfare, and that Germany's methods of submarine warfare "were none of our business." The Hearst papers continued to try to make our people range themselves against England, and therefore in favor of Germany, and to appeal to the people of the United States to put the safety of their dollars above the safety of their women and children. In the issue of the New York *American* of August 25th, 1915, is an

editorial headed, "Must the United States be a cat's paw for England against Germany?" There is not a word in this editorial about the German murder of our women and children on the high seas, not a word protesting against Germany's taking the lives of our citizens; but a scream against England because she had made cotton contraband of war! No American can read this editorial in the Hearst papers of that date without hanging his head in shame that such papers should at this time be backed by the American Administration.

Let the Administration recall that Mr. Hearst was writing these editorials, week after week, month after month, during the time succeeding the sinking of the *Lusitania*. On December 5th last, Secretary Baker, the official representative of the President in all matters relating to the war, said, as reported in the public press: "From the moment the *Lusitania* was sent to a watery grave by the hands of the assassin, the United States had only two choices. The United States could have crawled on its knees to the Hohenzollerns, crying out that their frightfulness and their military efficiency were too great and that we submit and become their vassal; or, as an alternative we could fight. We chose to fight." This is the description by President Wilson's Secretary of War of the course (that we become the vassal of Germany) which Mr. Hearst, through his papers, did his utmost to get the American people to adopt.

After we went into the war on April 11th, 1917, Mr. Hearst wrote: "Stripping our country of men, money and food is a dangerous policy. Our earnest suggestion to the Congress is that it imperatively refuse to permit the further draining of our food supplies and our military supplies to Europe." This was equivalent to a demand that after going to war we should turn around and help Germany more than if we had continued to remain neutral. On April 24th, 1917, the New York *American* said: "The painful truth is that we are being practically used as a mere reinforcement of England's warfare and England's future aggrandizement." This was an effort against our ally and an effort to pander to anti-English prejudice in the interest of our foes, and nothing else. On May 17th, it advocated our spending all our money on preparing our army and navy here at home "and so compelling Germany if she wants to fight to come to us," which was, of course, equivalent to arguing that we would render no aid to defeat Germany until she had defeated our allies and was prepared to attack us singlehanded. On May 25th, the same paper said of the efforts to float the Liberty Loan: "If you want our food and wealth sent abroad to help suffering England, buy a Liberty Bond, furnish the sinews of war." In view of Hearst's continued effort to excite hatred between the United States and England, the implication of this sentence cannot be mistaken. In the very next sentence he subtly attempts to appeal to all men with a feeling of affection for Germany by intimating that whoever purchased a Liberty Bond desired to see Germany not merely defeated but "dismembered." On July 27th, the New York *American* spoke of

our soldiers being sent over "to be offered up in bloody sacrifice to the ambition of contending nations on foreign battlefields." On November 22nd, it spoke of our "interfering in Europe's quarrels."

It is absolutely impossible to reconcile the Government's action in proceeding against Tom Watson's paper with its failure to proceed against Mr. Hearst's papers, on any theory that justice was to be done alike to the strong and to the weak.

The above quotations from Mr. Hearst's papers and many others like them may be found in recent issues of the *New York Tribune*. The Government had full notice about Hearst, because the allies had barred him from the cable service, and only through the good offices of this Government have these privileges just now been restored to Mr. Hearst. Nor is this all. A mass meeting of thousands of citizens of New York was held in Carnegie Hall on November 2nd, 1917, under the auspices of the American Defense Society to protest against the spirit of disloyalty shown by certain persons, especially Mr. Hearst. Mr. James M. Beck delivered an address dealing for the most part with Mr. Hearst. This portion of the address I have also included in the appendixes. The *New York Times*, among other papers, printed this address almost in full. The Government therefore had full warning and full knowledge of all of Mr. Hearst's activities. Mr. Hearst's papers have defended our war inefficiencies, have apologized for the failures in the war program, and have even denied such breakdowns as that in the aircraft program. It is true that since we entered the war Mr. Hearst has at various times issued editorials professing great patriotic zeal; but it was at the very time when in other editorials he was attacking the allies of America, England and Japan. In the most offensive way, and at the very time when he was upholding the Russian Bolsheviks, who had made Russia a traitor to the free nations of the world and a subservient ally of the German autocracy. Such action cannot fail to give aid and comfort to Germany.

By turning to the *New York Tribune* of May 8th, 1918, Postmaster General Burleson will find an ardent tribute paid by the former German correspondent of the *Koelnische Zeitung* to Mr. Hearst, and Mr. Hearst's Editor-in-Chief, Mr. Arthur Brisbane, for having been "auxiliaries of valued influence" to Germany especially because of "the editorials in the Hearst newspapers." In the *New York Times* of August 14th, 1917, there is a quotation by special cable, via The Hague, from the German *Vossische Zeitung* which states that the "antiwar movement in America is gaining in strength" and that "war propagandists in the New York press have lately met stout resistance from no other than Mr. Hearst and his thirty papers, by the issuance of warnings to the people about the danger of plunging into European war," and continues to speak of "the generous nature of the work he had done for Germany" and that Mr. Hearst "preached" in behalf of the Central Powers. Mr. Hearst earned the praise thus given him by the servants of the Kaiser, and during the time when he was earning it the Kaiser

was saying to Ambassador Gerard, as the latter recites in his book: "America had better look out after this war. I shall stand no nonsense from America after the war" — which the Ambassador reported to the Administration at Washington; without, by the way producing any effect upon the Administration.

Mr. Brisbane in the *Washington Times* ably followed Mr. Hearst's lead. On August 8th, 1917, it said, "the most powerful and effective peaceworker in this country is William Randolph Hearst. The world wants peace. It is more important than victory." On July 16th, 1917, when Russia was under a democratic government and still a fighting ally of the United States against Germany, Mr. Brisbane's paper, *The Washington Times*, said, "Anarchy rules in Russia — somebody must do something. The natural somebody is Germany right next door to Russia **** the civilization of western Europe may be very grateful to Germany if the war finds Germany with enough strength left to undertake the maintaining of order in Russia — developing the resources there and making a few billion of rubles in the process." It seems literally incredible that a paper making an utterance like this could have been left unmolested by an Administration that had proceeded against poor Tom Watson — and this paper was published within two blocks of the White House. On August 21st, 1917, this paper said: "We have lent to our allies about two thousand millions ***** this we lent our allies to help in the game of murder."

I commend these facts to Mr. Burleson, and also to his Cabinet associate, Mr. Daniels, in view of their recent telegrams of congratulations to Mr. Brisbane, upon assuming charge of certain Chicago papers, reported as being Hearst papers. These telegrams have been published in one of Mr. Hearst's New York papers, the *Evening Journal*. Mr. Burleson says of Mr. Hearst's alter ego that he "congratulates" the people of Chicago because they are to have the benefit of Mr. Brisbane's "able and unselfish efforts ***** I indulge the hope that (his paper) will always stand for justice and freedom and true democratic Government." And Mr. Daniels goes Mr. Burleson one better in expressing the belief that Mr. Brisbane will preach "patriotism" and "civic righteousness."

Mr. Burleson has stated that he has received "more complaints" about my writings than about those of Mr. Hearst. In view of Mr. Burleson's record and actions, there is small cause for wonder in this. Every pro-German and anti-American, every believer in a feeble American war and a triumphant German peace, every man who follows Mr. Hearst, would naturally appeal for sympathy to Mr. Burleson in denunciation of what I have done.

Messrs. Hearst and Brisbane through their papers have been unceasing in their attacks upon England and Japan. The New York *American* on December 20th, 1917, said that "the offensive and defensive alliance then negotiated between Japan and England was aimed at the United States." This deliberate falsehood was published at the very time that England was

defending us with her fleet and her army. There could be no meaner example of treachery to our allies, and of subservience to our enemy. It was a thousand times more worth the attention of Mr. Burleson than anything done by the small papers against which the Post-Office Department did act. On September 15th, 1917, Mr. Hearst's plea for a German peace in the New York *American* ran "that the best peace for all concerned is a peace without victory, a peace without conquest, a peace without indemnities, a peace without annexations." On March 2nd, 1918, Mr. Hearst made an embittered attack upon Japan and on March 20th he repeated the attack. He spoke of the "military despotism of Japan," of the "brutal oriental selfishness in Japan's present attitude," and then asked the question as to who was going to drive her from Siberia, answering it: "Not the allies, for they are too much occupied with their war. Not the United States because we are putting all our eggs in the allies' basket. There is one combination possible which might drive Japan out of Siberia and that is Russia in an active and aggressive alliance with the Teutonic Empires." These sentences amount to incitement to Russia to become the military ally and therefore the military vassal of Germany, and to the effort to persuade our people that the war is not our war, but only the war of the allies — that it is "their war." Such language as this, used less than two months before Mr. Burleson issued his challenge to me, is a thousand times more damaging to the United States than anything ever said by Tom Watson, or any other of the editors of small papers. For Mr. Burleson to allow the paper making such an appeal to go unchallenged, and yet at the same time to permit without rebuke the New York Post Office to attack a publication like the *Metropolitan*, is incompatible with the supposition that he was thinking only of the welfare of the country.

Mr. Hearst's paper actually stated that it believed "that our government made a great mistake when it did not meet both English aggressions and German aggressions **** with armed resistance." This was announced during the war. Yet at this very time England is protecting us from Germany, and without that protection we would be given no time in which slowly to make ready to protect ourselves. If we had begun to prepare in August, 1914, we would have needed no protection from others. But we refused to prepare, and therefore we owe our safety now only to the fact that our friends are able to fight for us against our enemies while we are slowly preparing to fight for ourselves. And Mr. Hearst, under these conditions, expresses regret that we did not go to war against the friend who fought for us! Such a proposal is a proposal in the interest of the enemy, who murdered our women and children.

On September 22nd, 1917, when the American nation still had no troops in the trenches, when we had only lent money to the allies, Mr. Hearst touched the nadir of the policy that puts the dollar above the man, when he stated that "our government has the right and power to dictate the terms of peace, and the American people expect England and the other allied

governments to recognize that right and to accept the terms laid down"; the statement being preceded by the following: "Having practically exhausted the resources of Russia, France and Italy the English government now seeks succor in our American resources. The money of the American people has been loaned to the allies in great sums. Still greater sums are in readiness to lend them." Statements like this cannot but aid Germany. In all of Mr. Hearst's career it may well be doubted whether he has ever proposed anything more sordid than this suggestion to the American people, to a free people with a glorious past, a people proudly able and willing to fight for its honor. The proposal is that we should treat having lent money to the allies as offsetting the fact that these allies had shed the blood of millions of their sons in protecting not only themselves but this country from the brutal dominion of Germany — a dominion under which, if Mr. Hearst's advice had been followed, this country would now be cowering. The debt the allies owe to us for our money is infinitesimal compared to the debt that we owe them for the blood shed by their sons on battlefields where this nation had as much at stake as the nations whose armies fought thereon. On March 8th, last, Mr. Hearst, preaching hatred to Japan, and using language tending to serve Germany by bringing about a break between the United States and Japan, and perhaps Great Britain, says "if Great Britain cannot restrain her special ally Japan from acts of aggression inimical to our interests, we can remove our ships and troops from Europe and transfer them to Asia." This is a threat of war with Japan; a threat that we will enter on a war of aggression in Asia. There could be no possible result of such a threat except service to Germany. It was a threat to abandon the war against Germany, our enemy, and embark on a war against Japan, our ally; and this because Japan, in the interest of the allies and of civilization, had contemplated action in East Siberia against the Bolsheviki, who have shown themselves to be the allies of Germany, the enemies of civilization, and the enemies of the United States.

These quotations show that Mr. Hearst has steadily endeavored to belittle the vital importance to our country of this war, and to excite the hatred of our people against allies who are faithfully fighting beside us; and such conduct can be of help only to Germany, to the enemy we are fighting. Just so long as Mr. Hearst's publications are permitted in the mails, Mr. Burleson is without excuse for excluding any other publication from them. The Administration by its acquiescence permits the continuance of Mr. Hearst's campaign which necessarily tends to give aid and comfort to Germany and to impair the morale of our own people.

The quotations above given deprive Mr. Burleson and the Administration of which he is part of any shred of justification for their action and inaction. Mr. Burleson is of course only secondarily responsible in the matter. Mr. Hearst's papers are so important and Mr. Hearst's position among the Administration's political friends, supporters and advisers is so prominent, and the

action in connection with reinstating him in his cable privileges was so purely dependent upon the President himself, that no subordinate of the President can accept or be credited with the chief responsibility for any action or inaction of the Administration in relation to Mr. Hearst. The Administration is responsible for the toleration of Mr. Hearst's antially, antiwar, and therefore anti-American activities, and for the reward nevertheless given him; and the service rendered on the other side by Mr. Hearst was service to the Administration and not to the country. I have quoted above the language of complimentary endorsement in which two of President Wilson's Cabinet Ministers have addressed Mr. Hearst's editor, Mr. Brisbane. The President's private secretary writes Mr. Brisbane in the same vein. In the *Chicago Herald and Examiner* of May 19th, last Sunday, appears the following letter, under the heading, "A New Subscriber": —

The White House

Washington May 14, 1918.

My Dear Brisbane:

When you were at the White House offices today, I forgot to ask you to send me the *Chicago Herald and Examiner* regularly to my office here. I am sure you are going to make the same good Democratic fight in Chicago that you have been making in your paper in Washington, and I want to see just how you do it.

Sincerely yours,

J. P. Tumulty

Secretary to the President.

Mr. Arthur Brisbane,
c-o *Chicago Herald and Examiner*,
Chicago, Ill.

Mr. George Harvey has pointed out in the *North American Review War Weekly* that Mr. Burleson is encouraging enemy-language publications, by having a special division whose function is to assist editors of foreign-language papers "in complying with the law." The Act of Congress provides that all foreign-language papers should submit to censorship or go out of business. The Post-Office Department's duty is merely to suppress those of them which are guilty of treasonable practices. Apparently, as Mr. Harvey points out, Mr. Burleson, instead of suppressing papers that preach sedition, establishes a division to show them how they can escape suppression. Mr. Hearst's papers are infinitely the most important of those which during the last year and a quarter have tended to serve Germany and have harmed the United States by attacking our allies, or opposing our effective participation in the war. There are various other papers published in English or German which have been less important offenders. On April 2nd, Professor Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska published an article in the *Nebraska State Journal* on "The Enemy Press." He quoted various articles that have appeared in German-American papers, since the war, and some of them as late as January, February and March, last, championing the German-American Alliance, attacking England and Japan, announcing that "the problem of

the German Press is to save Deutschum in the United States," demanding a peace which would give Germany the victory, praising Germany's action toward Russia, and in other ways, as Professor Jones says, showing themselves to be "insolent organs of Prussianism." These papers were being published, and Mr. Hearst was publishing his papers, without interference by the Post-Office Department and the Government, at the same time that proceedings were being taken against the *Metropolitan Magazine*, one of the staunchest upholders of the war and staunchest opponents of Prussianism in all the United States.

Congress has with lavish generosity granted all the Administration has demanded to carry on the war. It has also granted the Administration extraordinary power, of a kind never hitherto granted any Administration, to deal with the internal foes of the nation; and this power can be, and has been, misused, to reward the Administration's personal or political supporters and punish the Administration's personal or political opponents. Congress, through such bodies as the Senate Committee on Military affairs, has exercised its power of investigation and supervision to correct executive inefficiency, executive delay and executive abuse of power, and has done this in such fashion as to speed up and render immensely more efficient our part in the war. Congress should vigilantly exercise its right of supervision as regards the use of all the great powers it has granted the Administration over the properties and activities of the citizens of the United States.

In his last statement about me, Mr. Burleson, like Mr. Wegg,² at the behest of Mr. Boffin, dropped into verse. As he seems to like poetry I commend to him and to the Administration of which he is part, the following lines:

Whoso speaks in your presence must say acceptable things;
Bowing the head in worship, bending the knee in fear —
Bringing the word well smoothen — such as a king should hear.

* * * * *

Given to strong delusion, wholly believing a lie,
Ye saw the land lay 'fenceless, and ye let the months go by,
Waiting some easy wonder; hoping some saving sign —
Idle — openly idle — in the lee of the forespent Line.

Very truly yours

6333 · TO ELON HUNTINGTON HOOKER

Roosevelt Mss.

Des Moines, Iowa, May 27, 1918

Dear Elon: The enclosed letters explain themselves. I shall say to King personally today what I haven't the chance to say to you. I understand of course

²Silas Wegg, the artful "literary man" in *Our Mutual Friend*, who came to read to Mr. Boffin and remained to blackmail him.

that it is mere nonsense to ascribe to you or to King any statement that I am taking any part whatever in the Gubernatorial fight. I will have nothing whatever to do with it, and this as you know, I have said right along. I will not take sides for or against Mr. Whitman, or Mr. Lewis, or anyone else.¹ It is none of my affair and it would not alone be improper, but would do very serious damage to have me take sides, or seem to take sides, or be quoted as taking sides in this matter. I haven't the slightest interest in the Presidential aspirations of Whitman, or anyone else. I am not thinking about the Presidential campaign at all. I wish to see the Republicans win in New York this fall and therefore I hope to see them put up the very strongest candidate. As long as that candidate is a decent man and is the man most apt to win, I don't care a rap who he is. *Faithfully yours*

6334 · TO HENRY BORDEAUX

Roosevelt Mss.

Des Moines, Iowa, May 27, 1918

*My dear M. Bordeaux:*¹ I am glad indeed to get your volume on *The Great Hero of the Air*. It seems a strange thing to say, for I suppose one ought not to take pride in the fact that another who is very dear has been wounded; but I cannot help feeling pride that one of my boys has been severely wounded in fighting for civilization and humanity beside your troops in France, and was given the Croix de Guerre by one of your Generals. One arm and one leg were shattered. We hope he will recover entirely. His only anxiety is to recover at once so that he can get back to the trenches. Another of my sons is at this moment in the great drive, and may be dead or wounded before this letter reaches you. My other two sons have been at the front but are not now. They will I presume be there in three or four weeks.

With very high regard, *Faithfully yours*

6335 · TO WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 5, 1918

Dear Will: Your letter and the accompanying papers are as interesting documents as I have ever seen.¹ I think that they illuminate Wilson's character as

¹ Supported by William Barnes, Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., and Theodore Douglas Robinson — an unlikely combination of disgruntled Republicans — New York Attorney General Merton E. Lewis of Rochester was a candidate in the gubernatorial primary against Governor Whitman who, controlling the party machinery, was seeking a third term. Easily victorious in the primary, Whitman lost the election to Alfred E. Smith.

¹ Henry Bordeaux, French author and critic, had published in Paris in 1918 his *Le Chevalier de l'Air: Vie Héroïque de Guynemer*. Translated by Louise Morgan Sill, the book was published, with an introduction by Roosevelt, by the Yale University Press under the title *Georges Guynemer, Knight of the Air*. For the British edition, Kipling wrote a prefatory letter.

¹ Taft, at first optimistic about the war effort, had reached conclusions, since becoming chairman of the National War Labor Conference Board, about Wilson com-

few things could. What a dreadful creature he is! Fortunately, as you say, he is only obstinate in personal matters and where his own advancement, or the gratification of his malice, is concerned. But in public matters he hasn't the slightest firmness about sticking to any conviction. Therefore if public opinion becomes sufficiently solid, I think we can count on his sticking in the war. The trouble is that in this really very evil crisis we need a leader and not a weathercock. It is immensely to be regretted that we cannot in some way stiffen Russia. If she is organized and exploited by Germany, as now looks probable, the damage to us — because it will be damage to the whole world — will be terrible. Personally I should be delighted to see us put even a small army together with the Japanese army into Russia and back up some of those Cossack Generals, and then to join with *any* faction that would fight the Germans and strive to free Russia and let her determine for herself her own fate. I would join with Trotsky or Lenin if they went into such a position in good faith. But apparently Wilson is merely following Hearst's lead about Russia.

I think your letter is the very best exposition of Wilson's inmost soul that I have read at all. I have just been showing it to Alexander Lambert.

It was a very real pleasure to see you the other day. When you next pass through New York, do let me know. I will come in town to meet you, or I will get you to come out to Sagamore Hill for lunch, or for dinner and the night if that is convenient.

With warm regards to Mrs. Taft, *Ever yours*

6336 · TO HENRY LEWIS STIMSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 5, 1918

Dear Harry: Your letter gave me the most genuine pleasure and interest. I want to tell you at the outset that I have had the most interesting letter from Taft, enclosing certain memoranda which are literally astounding. I had a half hour's talk with him the other day and you will be pleased to know that we completely renewed the old friendly relations. I don't dare to outline to you what his letter and the memoranda contained, for fear of the censor, but I can perhaps indicate the contents by saying that Taft and I are now in absolute accord about present needs and about our failures and shortcomings *and the cause of them* during the past year.

I have just come back from a trip in the middle west. There isn't a question that the feeling of our people is steadily hardening against Germany, and

parable to those Roosevelt was setting forth. He had accumulated evidence that made him believe that Wilson never intended to send troops abroad, planning to furnish only food and munitions; that Wilson was at heart a pacifist, surrounded by idealists who did not believe in fighting the war through; that — as he wrote Bryce — Wilson and his advisers "have some absurd notion that the war can be won and international agreements secured through a show of force and a joint debate." He also believed that Wilson sympathized with the Bolsheviki; see Pringle, *Taft*, II, 907-909.

in favor of the war. I was as well received in Wisconsin as anywhere else. The tide of anti-German feeling is steadily rising, and it was interesting to be cheered to the echo in Milwaukee when I insisted that there should be no language except the English language used in the schools, and that within a reasonable time all papers should be published in English. I don't think that our people yet appreciate the magnitude of the pest which may develop upon us because of the dreadful breakdown of Russia and the menace this implies to the whole world. But they have become thoroughly convinced that Germany is our enemy and the enemy to civilization.

We have just been trying to get Mrs. Stimson over to lunch with us today, as we had Alexander Lambert and a very interesting English Colonel just back from the Russian front in the Caucasus. She wasn't able to come but we will try again very shortly. You must have had a very interesting although a very wearing time in the school. I hope you will get back to the line for at least a month or two, before you go to Staff duty. I understand and appreciate your desire to be considered a line man and I hope you will have enough service to keep you as such; and yet if you can do best work in the staff, why there is where it must be done. I am particularly interested in what you tell me about the Upton men. I share your belief in what the draft army will do. I also absolutely agree that while we can train enlisted men and junior officers as fast as the Germans, we can only train the high command very slowly and that therefore we should act under and with the French and English in whatever positions they think useful.¹

I am happy to say that Kermit has been given the military cross by the British, in Mesopotamia, and has been made a Captain of Artillery in our army, and is now on his way to France to report to General Pershing.

Well I envy you and I admire you very much, my dear Harry, and I wish there were something useful I could do or were allowed to do. But at present my fretting over the refusal to use me has been completely swallowed up in my bitter indignation over the wrong done in refusing to use General Wood. No language can be strong enough to condemn what has thus been done. *Always yours*

6337 · TO HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

Oyster Bay, June 14, 1918

Three cheers for you. Mrs. Roosevelt and I are overjoyed with your entire speech about General Wood.¹ We thank Heaven for your existence.

¹ With this conclusion Pershing did not agree. Sustained by Wilson and Baker, he had insisted from the first that there be a separate American army. Although he put American units at the disposal of the Allies during the German offensive, he continued to prepare the American forces as a "distinct and separate component."

¹ On June 12 on the floor of the Senate Johnson had demanded that the Administration explain why Wood was denied an overseas command.

Oyster Bay, June 19, 1918

Dear Page: ¹ I am not in the least surprised at what you tell me, but of course the plain truth is that not more than about one per cent of our people were really right from the beginning in this war! I have concluded that in most cases (not of course those of the big leaders) it is best to make a *tabula rasa* of what occurred prior to our declaration of war, and to judge men by what they have done since. Of course there are some exceptions. Rumely may be one; I have heard ugly stories about his German connections before we entered the war; but his actions in public at that time were no worse than those of the President. *Sincerely yours*

6339 • TO KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 20, 1918

Dearest Kermit: A cable from Madrid came saying you were at Alexandria; therefore you must now almost have reached Madrid; and so I am sending this to Paris. I sent various letters to meet you at Madrid; I hope you got some of them. It is a very great comfort to think of your having been with darling Belle and the two blessed children.

Of course I am more proud than I can say of your having been given the British Military Cross. I have written General Pershing saying that I supposed you were best fitted for machine-gun work; I hardly think you will need any school training.

We have just had a cable from Quentin saying that at last he has been sent to the front. I believe that Ted has made good in really rather remarkable fashion.

Monday I went to Trinity with my devilfish harpooner-associate Coles; the preposterous old buccaneer had set his heart — a loyal and valiant pirate's heart! — on getting a degree, and the only way I could get him one was to take one myself. Shiras was the third person to get a Sc. D. degree; and Pierpont Morgan, who was also receiving a degree, was simply fascinated by Coles — it was the first time that particular kind of a star had swum within *his* ken.

Thank Heaven, I have now finished the western speeches which I had to make; I am so glad I made them — somebody has to tell the truth, without regard to the way it affects him personally; and I am still more glad that it now becomes the part of wisdom for me to make very few speeches, and those only on big occasions when it is really incumbent to set forth the doctrine. Speechmaking at a time like the present is an uncommonly second-rate job.

¹ Arthur Wilson Page, son of Walter Hines Page; editor of *World's Work*; vice-president of Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913-1926; vice-president of American Telephone and Telegraph Company since 1927.

A Russian peasant woman,¹ a Major in the Death Battalion, with her interpreter, and a Lady Muriel Paget² lunched here the other day; she was most interesting; and a very strong character. Her aim is to get us to send a force to Siberia, around which the anti-German Russians can rally. Of course I wish this could be done.

The country is now at its loveliest. Sometime we shall see it together again! *Your loving Father*

6340 · TO S. STANWOOD MENKEN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, June 26, 1918

My dear Mr. Menken: The letters of June 22nd to you were written because you informed me that although Mr. Root had felt that it would be well for you to resign the Presidency of the League, yet that he had acquiesced in your decision not to resign, and he said that he would continue as Honorary President if you failed to resign. The other day on the telephone you told me that Mr. Root took the position that he did not wish you to resign and that he did not himself intend to resign if you continued in the Presidency. I am very sorry to say, my dear Mr. Menken, that you have been misinformed, or have misunderstood Mr. Root's position, and therefore that you unintentionally misled me in the matter. Mr. Root has written me, and now has just telegraphed me, that he feels that you must resign, and that your continuance in office would ruin the League's power to do effective work, and that he will resign if you do not.¹

Even when under the impression that Mr. Root would continue as Honorary President if you refused to resign, I believed and wrote you that you ought to resign. Under the circumstances as they actually exist I feel far more strongly to the same effect, because I cannot but believe that with Mr. Root resigning because you refused to resign the usefulness of the League would be hopelessly impaired. Moreover, my dear Mr. Menken, I do not think that you are acting wisely from your own standpoint or from the standpoint of

¹ Colonel Maria Leontievna Bochkareva, organizer and commander of a women's battalion that fought on the Russian front in 1916, came to the United States in the summer of 1918 to obtain American aid in her fight against the Germans and the Bolsheviks. Her autobiography, *Yashka, My Life as Peasant, Officer and Exile*, was published in 1919.

² Lady Muriel Evelyn Vernon Finch-Hatton Paget, wife of Sir Richard Paget, was returning to England from Russia, where she had established an Anglo-Russian hospital at Petrograd. She reported a state of "almost incredible anarchy" in Russia.

¹ Menken, with the thought of offsetting some of the direct attacks made on William Randolph Hearst by Security League speakers, had issued a statement acknowledging the contribution of the Hearst papers towards preparedness. The *New York American* on June 18 devoted a full page to the statement and a cordial reply from Hearst under the headline "National Security League Head Commends the New York American's Stand for Preparedness on War." With this episode the usefulness of Mr. Menken, as far as Root and Roosevelt were concerned, was ended. Menken resigned on June 28.

your future usefulness. As I said in my private letter to you of June 22nd, I believe that you should resign and I think you could put your resignation in such shape frankly acknowledging the error that you have committed and pointing out its unimportance compared to the services you have rendered, and that it would make you stronger than ever and would after a very brief period enable you to render even more useful work in the future than you have in the past, and would completely rehabilitate you. If you will do this I will be glad to have you publish the letter which I enclose and which is simply my intended open letter to you of June 22nd modified to meet the circumstances of the case as they actually exist and not as I then thought they existed. You will please treat those two letters of June 22nd as withdrawn for the reasons above given, and of course do not use the enclosed letter unless you resign. *Faithfully yours*

6341 · TO WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Taft Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, June 30, 1918

Dear Will, I'll send you a copy of my Saratoga speech beforehand — it will be on the general outlines we have both been following.

I assume that you will avoid, as I shall avoid, all mixing in the local fight; I wish that the Senators had joined with the Governor in getting a meeting that nobody could suspect of being summoned for factional reasons.¹ *Faithfully yours*

6342 · TO JAMES BRYCE

Bryce Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, June 30, 1918

Dear Bryce, The Lichnowsky revelations¹ would have cleared Edward Gray

¹ The New York state chairman, a firm supporter of Governor Whitman in his contest for renomination, had decided not to call a state convention, where opposition to Whitman might crystallize; but to leave to the primaries, where the governor's prestige would help him, the selection, without official direction, of the party's candidates. New York's United States Senators, however, opposed to Whitman, issued a call for an unofficial Republican meeting to be held in Saratoga on July 18. To avoid an open rift, the state chairman endorsed this call, making the meeting an official convention. Republican leaders throughout the state, including Root, who was to address the convention, then requested both Roosevelt and Taft to deliver speeches at Saratoga. Neither ex-President engaged in factional politics on that occasion. Roosevelt's speech so excited the delegates, however, that Root and Taft, as well as Whitman's factional adversaries, urged him to enter the gubernatorial race, a suggestion he declined. For other developments pertaining to New York politics and the Taft and Roosevelt speeches, see Numbers 6352, 6358.

¹ The revelations of Prince Karl Max Lichnowsky, the German ambassador in London in 1914, dealt primarily with Anglo-German relations in the years immediately preceding the war. Lichnowsky, in a privately printed memorandum entitled *Meine Londoner Mission* accused the German government of alienating British good will by aggressive naval, Balkan, and Near Eastern policies. Moreover, said the author, by refusing to consider Grey's proposal for the mediation of the Austrian-Serbian crisis

if he had needed clearing; but he did not. His course before the war towards Germany was one of transparent honor and good faith — indeed I have never met a public man who in international relations acted with such disinterested loyalty to the highest standard of international moral obligation. The foul attacks of Germany upon England (repeated here by Hearst, with the connivance, approval and, ultimately, reward-giving approval of President Wilson) illustrated more clearly than anything else, 1, the shameless unscrupulousness which has made Germany the enemy of the world, and, 2, the mischievous folly of the persons who have believed, and yet believe, that anything but the prepared strength and resolute firmness of the free civilized nations will cow the forces of either unscrupulous autocracy or unscrupulous anarchy. England's conduct towards Germany had been scrupulously fair; but she had not adequately prepared her military strength; and her fairness of conduct did in the slightest degree affect her opponent favorably, whereas her unpreparedness and the doubt as to whether she would really fight absolutely invited the war. The same thing was true of America; except that in addition to a refusal to prepare after the great war began which was far more inexcusable than Great Britain's we also for two and a half years showed a spirit of mean timidity and double dealing. Mexico at this moment is hostile to us, and is a hot bed of German intrigue, because Wilson thought it to his political advantage to permit murder, rape and outrage on Americans to go unpunished.

The one point where Edward Gray did not do good was in the encouragement he unwittingly gave to the pacifist and pro-German elements here by action which so far as it had any effect aided those of our leaders who wished to keep this country neutral, and submissive to Germany. I say nothing of this being a wrong to *us* — I neither desire nor expect to see English leaders do anything to help the United States, and am only too glad when the professional friends of humanity in England fail actively to support the element here which is most mischievous from our national standpoint — but I emphatically feel that active British support of anti-English movements is bad from all standpoints. The surest way to damage our moral fibre is to encourage the loud announcement of impossible intentions for good in the future when this accompanies and is expected to hide refusal to do plain duty in the present. The universal arbitration treaties, and the getting up of the League to Enforce Peace in the future while refusing to carry out its principles in the present, represented here nothing whatever but the effort to gain a cheap self satisfaction by words in order to cover the mean refusal to look facts in the face. The encouragement given by Gray to such movements did not in the smallest degree placate anti-English sentiment here. It did in some small degree weaken the hands of those of us who were trying to make

of July 1914, the Kaiser and the foreign office were actually responsible for precipitating the war. This memorandum was made public in the spring of 1918 by German pacifists.

our people see that it was ignoble and cowardly to fail in the present to do our duty against Germany and for civilization and at the same time to cloak the failure behind pompous promises of vague good conduct at some unspecified date hereafter.

You ask whether we shall really count in the war. We shall. It will not be for more than half as much as with ordinary administrative efficiency we would count; and the force we exert will always be exerted from six months to a year later than it could be exerted; but even so the strength of a hundred million people, very energetic, very wealthy, and growing steadily more roused and more resolute, will ultimately be a great factor — if England, France and Italy continue to hold. Give my warm regards to Lady Bryce.
Faithfully yours

Three of my four boys have now been cited and rewarded for “conspicuous gallantry”; two have been wounded.²

6343 · TO RICHARD DERBY

Derby Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, July 1, 1918

Dear Dick, Much to my sorrow Ethel and her little brood leave today for Islesboro, and I write to tell you that they are all well. Ethel has improved wonderfully; really, now she only suffers from the strain of your absence and of the war. The children are the dearest small persons imaginable. Richard is so manly and friendly, and amuses himself, and is adored both in the house and in the stable! In the case of Shady the adoration is accompanied by some reserves, as Richard makes his life haggard by busy and officious affection. Edie is about the dearest one year old baby I have ever known. She loves me *very* much if there is no one more attractive round! At any rate I offer an agreeable relief from the monotony of the crib or of the little pen on the floor, and she hails me with little soft outstretched arms, and of course my heart is like water and I can't resist taking her up. Now she generally comes down to breakfast and crawls actively round the floor; and Richard as soon as he has finished his breakfast also drops hastily on all fours and joins in the all-fours scamper, to Edie's intense delight; and Shady, no matter what his desires, is included in the game. Already Edie is a real amusement to Richard, and in a sense gives him some companionship.

Your last letters to Ethel have been absorbingly interesting; in them you gave so vivid a picture of your life and work, and of the fine fighting men of your division and their self-reliant gallantry, that I could see it all before my eyes. That was a close call you had from the shell. Well, you are all of you leading lives which are uninterrupted series of close calls. It is dreadful; but it would be worse if you weren't leading them, in this great world crisis. In days such as these the only men about whom one can feel joy and

² Theodore, Jr., had been gassed at Cantigny.

pride are the men about whom one must also feel deep anxiety. The pride and the anxiety go hand in hand.

Thank Heavens, we now have an army about; some 600,000 fighting soldiers, with a few airplanes, and what cannon we get from the French; and I am sure that the units, up to the regiments, are first class. I do not know what the average quality of our generals, our high command and staff, is.

Here, I speak occasionally and write occasionally, and render what small help I can in speeding up the war. It amounts to very little; deeds, not words, are all that count now; and the justification for my existence is furnished by you and Ethel, by the three elder boys and their wives, by Quentin and Flora.

Well, Quentin too is at least at the front; and his part is one of peculiar honor and peril. *Ever yours*

6344 · TO JAMES AMBROSE GALLIVAN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 2, 1918

*My dear Congressman Gallivan:*¹ After the Peace of Portsmouth I was awarded the Nobel prize medal. This carried with it the gift to me of the sum of about \$40,000. The gift was to me outright, but I did not care to use it for myself under the circumstances, so I gave it as a foundation for an industrial peace fund. Congress created a commission to receive and use it. It seems however, that it did not prove practicable to make the use of the money. Nothing whatever has been done with it and it still is in the hands of the Commissioners. We are now in a great crisis and the utmost demand is being made upon the charity of every man and woman, rich or poor. Under these circumstances I do not think it right that this money should lie idle; and I do think it most appropriate that the Nobel Peace Prize Fund should be used through appropriate organizations to care for our soldiers, and for the widows and children and mothers of our soldiers, in this great war, waged to secure the only kind of peace worth having — the peace which is founded on right and justice and mercy.²

Accordingly I am writing to you and to Senator Williams to ask if you will not put this communication immediately before the two Houses of Congress. I desire Congress to give me back, or rather, authorize and direct the

¹ James Ambrose Gallivan, Harvard '88, member of the Massachusetts General Court, 1895-1898; street commissioner of Boston, 1900-1914; Democratic congressman from Massachusetts, April 1914 until his death in 1928.

² Three years earlier, Roosevelt had tried to get the Nobel Prize money returned to him. At that time he wrote Seth Low, one of the trustees of the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, which had been established with the money, that: "The fund is altogether too small. . . . Its only usefulness was to serve as a nucleus for other gifts of the kind." Since other gifts were not forthcoming, Roosevelt thought the money should be returned to him for distribution; see Roosevelt to Low, December 11, 1914, Roosevelt Mss. However, the bill to dissolve the fund, introduced in January 1915, was never voted upon. In 1918 Congress quickly returned the money. For the ways in which it was dispersed, see No. 6371.

Commissioners created under the prior law of Congress to give me back, the Nobel Peace Prize Fund. I shall then at once apply it for the purposes above indicated, through the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A. (both white and colored branches) the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish War Fund, and any similar organizations which I may think at the moment would do peculiarly good work. At the end of the year I will report to you and to Senator Williams the exact disposition made of the fund, sending you if you so desire the full correspondence, the stubs of the checks, etc.

I feel that, as the money was given to me to be used as I desired, the proper course to take is the one I have requested. But I feel much more strongly that in any event the money should no longer remain as a talent wrapped in a napkin and buried in the ground, but should be used to help meet the needs created by this terrible war. Accordingly if there is objection to having me receive and dispose of it as above outlined, I ask that the money be turned over to a committee composed of yourself and Senator Williams and the Speaker of the House, who will report by the end of the year to Congress the disposal of the funds they have made; or if you feel that such extra work should be undertaken by those not pressed by public business, I suggest that you turn the money over to a committee of three consisting of Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, (widow of the late President Cleveland) Maurice Egan (late Minister to Denmark), and Nathaniel Elsberg (former State Senator of New York). They could report in similar fashion.

The essential thing is that immediate action be taken. Senator Lodge and Congressman Longworth know about the Fund, and Mr. Oscar Straus is one of the gentlemen now interested with its administration — I think the Chief Justice is another. I do not see that there can be any objection on grounds of policy to using this idle money immediately for this most worthy of purposes. If there is objection to the money being distributed as above outlined by me, the donor, then I request that either of the committee I have suggested, or some similar committee which may commend itself to your judgment, be appointed to distribute the Fund. In any event I trust there will be immediate action. *Faithfully yours*

6345 • TO GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 2, 1918

*My dear Mr. Pepper:*¹ I greatly wish I could be with you at your meeting on the 14th of July when Mr. James M. Beck is to speak.² In this great war we stand unequivocally by all our allies, by every nation which has continued

¹ George Wharton Pepper, Philadelphia Republican; lawyer; professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, 1893-1910; co-author, with William Draper Lewis, of a digest and encyclopedia of Pennsylvania law; during World War I chairman of the Pennsylvania Council of National Defense; United States Senator, 1922-1927.

² Beck spoke at a meeting celebrating Bastille Day. On that occasion Pepper read this letter from Roosevelt.

to fight, and which will continue to fight to the end, for the great common cause. We stand for England, and Italy, and Japan, for cruelly wronged Belgium and ruined Serbia; but for no nation do we stand more strongly than for France. We feel for France ancestral friendship, and we have to France a hereditary debt to pay. Moreover France has been the keystone of the arch of resistance to the weight of German brutality. France has suffered terribly. Not only must Germany make good her losses, but France must be guaranteed against a repetition of the wrongdoing. There is only one way to accomplish this purpose and that is by insisting upon the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. This nation has been committed by the President himself to this purpose. The President has stated that Alsace and Lorraine must be returned to France; and to this statement all wise and farsighted Americans join in a grateful amen. We all stand unalterably and unequivocally with the President in this pledge. If Germany keeps Alsace-Lorraine any peace is a peace of victory for Germany — a German peace. Of course, far more than restoring Alsace-Lorraine must be done, or else the peace will still be a German peace. But unless Alsace and Lorraine are restored to France it will of necessity be a German peace anyhow. When the peace negotiations come we must insist upon justice for every nationality oppressed by Austria, Turkey or Bulgaria; whether in Asia Minor, in the Balkan Peninsula or in the dual Empire; and we must prevent the exploitation of Russia by Germany, and we must see Belgium amply indemnified, while England and Japan keep the colonies they have won. But above all else we should insist upon the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France; for by her terrible suffering and her gigantic achievement France has won the right to the wholehearted, the unequivocal and the unalterable support of this nation in the determination to replace her European boundaries where they were prior to the war of 1870. *Sincerely yours*

6346 · TO ELIHU ROOT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 2, 1918

Dear Elihu: I entirely agree with you about Menken, both in being sorry for him and in feeling that it was absolutely imperative that he should go. But the thing that most surprised me in connection with the Hearst matter is the fact that people refused to admit the perfectly obvious truth that Wilson is solely responsible for the continuance of Hearst's noxious activities, and that he should be held accountable therefor. You have doubtless seen Dr. Scherer's correspondence with Baker.¹ Nearly a year ago Spring Rice told me that

¹ In this correspondence, James A. B. Scherer, head of a section of the Council of National Defense, resigned because of Baker's "policy in warning representatives of the council, including myself, against freedom of speech in denouncing certain newspapers as inimical to the national defense." Scherer had, in fact, made disparaging comments about the Hearst press. On his part, Baker said he did not think a government official should criticize any paper, but that he did not wish to prevent anyone from expressing an opinion as a private citizen.

Wilson was personally bringing pressure to have Hearst's cable privileges restored to him in France and England, and this has since been done. The simple fact is that Wilson is glad to protect Hearst and his disloyal activities as long as Hearst will support Wilson, especially where Wilson is wrong, and will defend the failures and shortcomings of the Administration and attack me, and you, and others like us.

As for Saratoga. I told Hays that if you and Taft went of course I would go. I will send you in advance a rough draft of my speech.

I hope that young Elihu meets Ted and my other boys on the other side. Thank Heavens that our boys are proving their truth by their endeavor.
Always yours

6347 • TO ANNA ROOSEVELT COWLES

Cowles Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, July 6, 1918

Darling Bye, I am so glad that Sheffield is able to get his 24 hours a week clear with you; the cleanliness and daintiness, the comfort, the meeting pretty, fastidiously attractive girls, the being with you — what a relief from the barracks, and how it makes him go back with an added zest to his rough work — the work of a man, and of a fighting man.

Under the idiotic ruling about the sisters of soldiers poor Flora was not allowed to go across. It is wicked; she should have been allowed to go, and to marry Quentin; then, even if he were killed, she and he would have known their white hour; it is part of the needless folly and injustice with which things have been handled. That was a dear note from Mrs. Smith.¹ Give my love to blessed Alice. Ted had a rough time but is now all right; Archie's arm is still bad; Kermit was bowled over in Rome by malarial fever, but I hope he is with Pershing now; Belle intended to meet him in Italy. *Your loving brother*

6348 • TO LEONARD WOOD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 10, 1918

My dear Leonard: Your two letters are most interesting. I thank you for what you say about my boys, and naturally I am very proud of them.

I am sure that the political phase of the matter was what decided the action of the President in your case.¹ As you say quite truly if General Per-

¹ Mrs. Herbert Knox Smith.

¹ On May 24 Wood, on his way to embark with his division for France, was ordered to San Francisco to command the Western Department. He immediately appealed to Baker and Wilson, who maintained that they were only carrying out Pershing's wishes. This is quite possible since Wood, on his inspection tour of the western front, had irritated Pershing. The outcry in press and Congress finally persuaded Baker to order Wood back to Camp Funston, where he at least could train a new division.

shing did object he only did so under pressure. As I told you, in the case of Colonel Malone,² they promptly override Pershing's recommendations in Washington when they think it desirable to do so. They have used him merely as a shield's tool.

But the copy of that letter which you sent me, the letter from President Wilson, dated at the White House on the 29th of May, is fairly stunning. I have never known such complete hypocrisy. Here he is actually telling a given Senator that he is keeping you on this side so that you may train the men because the training of the men is more difficult and more important than any other present task. Yet he had directed that you go to California where you couldn't possibly train men, just exactly as at the outset of the war he asked you to go to Hawaii where you couldn't possibly train men. It needed earnest effort on your part, and an obvious desire on their part not to offend the country too deeply, to secure permission for you to go back to Camp Funston.

We hope to have Mrs. Wood out here [at] Sagamore Hill again not long hence. *Always yours, with deep indignation*

6349 · TO PAUL SHIMMON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 10, 1918

*My dear Dr. Shimmon:*¹ It was a great pleasure to hear you speak at Christ Church. The plight of your countrymen — the Assyrian Christians and the Armenians — and the high devotion and gallantry shown by the Assyrian Christians and the Armenians, have commended the deepest sympathy and the most unqualified admiration of the American people. As I listened to your account of the dreadful situation of your people, my heart was so moved that I wished it were possible for all our nation to have vividly brought home to them the facts that you presented. With all my heart I wish you Godspeed in the work of relief you have undertaken for the Christians in Western Asia. And particularly do I wish you success in your effort to raise \$30,000,000, for the maintenance of the tens of thousands of Christians, and the other refugees and sufferers, wherever found — in the Caucasus, in Persia, behind the British lines, or in the interior of Turkey.

At the moment and in view of our national failure to declare war on Turkey, all that can be done is just to aid you by money. But I feel, and

² Paul Bernard Malone, author of books for boys about West Point, had served on Pershing's staff until February 1918, when he took command of an infantry regiment. In a previous letter Roosevelt had told Wood that he had seen two letters from Pershing recommending Malone for a brigadier generalship. The War Department, according to Roosevelt's information, had turned down this request partly because it suspected Malone of being under Wood's influence; see Roosevelt to Wood, July 8, 1918, Roosevelt Mss. Given command of a brigade in August, Malone received his promotion as a brigadier in the national army in October 1918.

¹ Paul Shimmon, the "representative patriarch of the Assyrian people" in New York.

every American worth his salt must feel, the most burning indignation that we fail now to declare war on Turkey. We are in this great war with Germany; and it is worse than folly for us not to fight wholeheartedly against Germany and against all her vassal states and allies, including Turkey. Indeed, Turkey, under German direction or with German connivance has surpassed the iniquity of Germany herself by what she has done to her Christian subjects in Asia. Of course we play Germany's game by refusing to make war on Turkey. We had neither the power, nor the right, ourselves to begin a world war by going to war with Turkey in the past. But now the world war has come, and we are in it. Now we can fight effectually behind «our» allies. We have the only chance that has ever been offered us to interfere by force of arms in entirely disinterested fashion for the oppressed nationalities that are ground under the Turkish rule. It is a dreadful thing that we should fail to take advantage of this opportunity, and it will be a lasting disgrace to our nation if we persist in the failure. You state in your letter that the German and Turkish penetration in the Caucasus and northern Persia is becoming a nightmare to the Christians, and you state that this German and Turkish advance has caused despair to come upon many of the Christians, has almost overwhelmed others, and has so cowed yet others that they are driven to steer a middle course and take no sides. As long as we remain at peace with Turkey we are indirectly making ourselves accomplices after the fact in this wrongdoing. Merely to give money so as to work temporary relief, when what is demanded is the exertion of such force as permanently to overthrow the present intolerable conditions, amounts to the same kind of conduct as putting a soothing plaster on a broken leg. If we choose to develop our strength we can put an army as large as Germany's on the western frontier, and yet send hundreds of thousands of men to help the Russians and the heroic Czechoslavs in Siberia, and to aid the British in driving the Turks and Germans from their control over the Christian populations of western Asia.

With hearty good wishes, *Faithfully yours*

6350 • TO LIOUBOMIR NICHAILOVITCH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 11, 1918

*My dear Mr. Minister:*¹ July 28th, 1914, marked the opening of the great war, and it was Serbia which first dealt and first received the iron strokes of battle in this gigantic struggle for right among the nations of the earth. Germany struck at Serbia by the means of Austria-Hungary, and both nations, and also Germany's other vassal states, Bulgaria and Turkey, stand as responsible for the terrible iniquity inflicted upon mankind and the awful sufferings endured by mankind during the past four dreadful years.

¹Lioubomir Michailovitch, Serbian Minister to the United States, ardent advocate of the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and the establishment of a free Yugoslavia.

As you well say, the question of liberty or servitude for the well-behaved nations of the civilized world depends upon which of the opposing sides in this war is victorious.

Therefore July 28th is the most important date in this war. Nor is it important only because it marks the beginning of the war. It possesses an infinitely greater importance because the crucial question to be determined by the war is the dealing of the world with the dual empire of Austro-Hungary. Germany can achieve her plan of world dominion only if she keeps Austro-Hungary substantially as it is, using the Austrian-Germans and the Magyars as her subservient tools, and rewarding them by permitting them to keep the Slavs, Italians and Roumanians in subjection. There can be no peace worth having unless Austro-Hungary is broken up, unless Italian Austria is united to the Italian Kingdom and Roumanian Hungary to the Roumanian Kingdom, and unless the Slavs of Austria (and of elsewhere likewise) are given their independence. There must be a free Slav commonwealth composed of the Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks (just as there must be a free commonwealth of Poland). There must also be a great, free southern Slav commonwealth with a seacoast on the Adriatic, a commonwealth including Serbians, Croats, and Slovenes, and also the Orthodox, Catholic and Mohammedan Slavs of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The allies should pledge themselves never to make peace until these aims are achieved; just as they should also pledge themselves never to make peace until the Turk is driven from Europe, and Armenia made independent, while the Arabs likewise receive their independence, and the Syrian Christians are protected, and the Jews given control of Palestine.

The independence and the enlargement of the great Yugoslav state is vital to the future peace of the world; and so also the independence (not nominal, but real) of the Polish commonwealth, and of the Czechoslovak commonwealth.

America should do all it can to help carry aggressive war into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. We should encourage the subject peoples to revolt, and at the same time guarantee to give them such assistance as will make the revolt effective; and we should pledge ourselves never to desert them.

As the great French publicist André Chéradame has so clearly pointed out,² it is absolutely necessary from the standpoint of future world welfare to obtain a decisive victory over Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey; and to this end there should be a scientifically organized insurrection of the peoples oppressed by the Germans — and the recent remarkable feats of the Czechs in Siberia show what these people can do if given an opportunity. Europe must be reconstructed on the basis of the principle of nationalities; which means that, in addition to full reparation by Germany for the hideous injuries she has inflicted on mankind, both Austro-Hungary and

² André Chéradame, *The Pan German Plot Unmasked* (New York, 1916).

Turkey should be dismembered. Neither is a nation. Each is a tyranny of one or two races over more numerous individuals of other races. Turkey's savagery has surpassed that even of Germany; and the Austro-Hungarian Empire has become the chief pillar of Prussian Militarism. *Yours sincerely*

6351 • TO ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY

*Derby Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, July 12, 1918

Darling Ethel, Your letter was delightful; but it renewed all my homesickness for you and for Pittypat and Tippytoe. The company with whom you associate seem a thought elderly; but Ann and Linda will help out; and some of the old ladies sound as if they were nice.

Of course we are immensely excited over the press reports of Quentin's feat.¹ We got the news just as I was going in to act as pall-bearer for poor Purroy Mitchell.² Whatever now befalls Quentin he has now had his crowded hour, and his day of honor and triumph. Mitchell had neither; he died before he was able to get to the front and to render service and to feel the thrill generous souls *ought* to feel when they have won the honorable renown of doing their duty with exceptional courage and efficiency. How pleased and proud Flora must be.

Eleanor's cable about Archie would indicate, if one didn't know Archie, that when he recovers from this operation (I presume his arm was broken again) he would come home, as he has a prospect of six or eight months before he can get back to active service; but what Archie will do I have no idea — and most certainly I shall not write to advise him!

Mother has just come in from a ride with me. She is really enjoying Oriole.

I am always prompt for breakfast now; I have no darling, lovely baddy baby girl to keep me. The little sweetheart sister! I delighted in the picture of Richard taking care of her while you were shopping for the household. Of course we miss the children more than we can express. Today when I mounted Truxton I began to laugh, as I remembered, one time when I was mounting him, Richards coming full speed round the corner of the piazza on his tricycle, with the train of cars hitched to the rear axle; the racket made even Truxton's dull nerves give way, and he crouched trembling like some huge, . . . fawn.

Cousin Christine and Cousin Laura both genuinely sympathize with me over Edie's absence! And well they may! And over Richard's. And over their mother's! You can't imagine how we have enjoyed you all. *Your loving father*

¹ Quentin had shot down a German plane near Château-Thierry.

² John Purroy Mitchel, after his defeat for re-election as mayor of New York, had entered the aviation service. He was killed on July 6 in a flying accident at an airfield in Louisiana.

Oyster Bay, July 15, 1918

Dear Will, I have just wired you that I think your speech admirable.¹ Were there time I should suggest that you have praised Wilson in ways which before a historical body (or Court!) accustomed to weigh words would be exactly right, but which the people at large may accept as meaning what is not really meant; but I do not regard this as justifying a change by telegram — for various reasons. When I see you I'll explain in full.

My own speech is in entire substantial agreement with you. Root & your brother Henry and Hayes went over it; and I got it back too late to send you; as Henry and Root approved it — I took all their suggestions, which were made by Root — I let it stand at that.² *Always yours*

6353 · TO LOREN PALMER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 15, 1918

My dear Mr. Palmer:¹ Alas, alas, you have been misinformed and I have no such feat to my credit! Sagamore Hill is simply my home. My business which I need hardly tell you is varied in character and very exacting in its demands, absorbs too much of my time for me to be able to pay much attention to the farm. We try to make the place partially (sometimes very partially) self-supporting. We raise vegetables, fruits, chickens, eggs, milk and pork for our own use; and hay and corn for the cows and horses. We sometimes sell hay, corn, potatoes or apples, but that is very nearly all.

With regret, *Sincerely yours*

6354 · TO ALBERT JEREMIAH BEVERIDGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 18, 1918

My dear Senator Beveridge: That's a mighty nice letter of yours. If you enjoyed the evening here half as much as we enjoyed having you, I am really pleased. Naturally, I am glad that you like what I wrote in the *Metropolitan*.¹ As you say, nationalism is the keynote of your attitude and of mine —

¹ At Saratoga Taft urged the election of a Republican Congress to stimulate Wilson to increase the army and accelerate the munitions program.

² Roosevelt spoke of the present necessities and future possibilities about as he had at Portland, Maine, the previous March; see No. 6303, note 2.

¹ Loren Palmer, editor of several newspapers and magazines, was in 1918 managing editor of *Popular Science Monthly*.

¹ "Don't Spread Patriotism Too Thin," first published in the July 1918 *Metropolitan*, reprinted, with some changes, in *The Great Adventure*, Nat. Ed. XIX, 321-326, as a part of "Sound Nationalism and Sound Internationalism." "The cult of internationalism is the cult of a doctrine of fatal sterility," Roosevelt began in the *Metropolitan*. "It had much vogue up to the beginning of this war, among the professional 'intel-

just exactly as it was of Marshall's and of Hamilton's. I have never yet known a professional internationalist who was worth his salt. As you say, it may well be that this will be the issue which we shall have to force against Wilson.

I should esteem it a real calamity if you in any way scamped your next two volumes.² I regard your *Marshall* as one of the big works done by the men of this generation. It has a very great historical value. But it has very much more than a mere historical value. You are covering the one most important feature of American political history which has never yet been in any way adequately covered. What you say will have a very great effect upon present and future political thought.

With love to Mrs. Beveridge, *Faithfully yours*

6355 · TO GEORGE V

*Royal Archives, Windsor Castle*⁰

Oyster Bay, July 22, 1918

Your Majesty, It was very kind and thoughtful of Her Majesty the Queen, and you, Sir, to cable us about the death of our son Quentin;¹ and Mrs. Roosevelt and I thank you both, with all our hearts. Of his three brothers Ted, who is a Major of Infantry, has been gassed once and is now in hospital with a bullet through his leg; Archie, a Captain of Infantry, has been badly wounded by a shell; both were cited for gallantry, in orders; Kermit has been Captain of an armored machine gun motor battery with your army in Mesopotamia, has been given the Military Cross, and is now with our army under Pershing. Unlike most of their fellow-countrymen they had prepared in advance! They sailed from our shores over a year ago; their mother and I knew their temper and quality; and we did not expect to see all of them come back.

If you are in touch with your brother-in-law, King Haakon, pray present H.M. my regards. I have not written him recently because I have known how very much he has had to cause him anxiety.

If it be true that the bolshevists have executed the Czar, I should think it would give food for reflection to the Kaiser.² Until I saw the revelations by that big German steel manufacturer, Thyssen, and by Lichnowsky, I thought that the Kaiser had merely been swept along by the Junker-capi-

lectuals.' . . . It inevitably emasculates its sincere votaries. . . ." "There is no limit to the greatness of the future before America, . . ." he concluded. "But we can realize it only if we are Americans, if we are nationalists, with all the fervor of our hearts and all the wisdom of our brains."

² The last two volumes, covering the period 1800-1835, of Beveridge's four-volume *Life of John Marshall*.

¹ On July 17 the Roosevelts learned that Quentin had been shot down behind the German lines. Three days later the German government confirmed that he had been killed in action. He was buried by the enemy with full military honors.

² Nicholas II, the Czarina, and their children were murdered by the Bolsheviks on July 16.

talistic-militaristic-beaurocratic party; but I fear that he was in reality one of the leaders in the movement that has plunged the civilized world into the abyss.³ At least America is beginning to render some real help to the Allies, and unless Russia behaves even worse than so far she has behaved the strain can not but tell on Germany; but I always fear lest we find the Germans using Russian man power in their army. I am urging our people over here to prepare *now* for putting in France next year an American army bigger than the German army; if so, we can surely finish the war in '19, and may finish it this year.

I hope all your family are well.

I am, Sir, with great regard, *very faithfully yours*⁴

6356 · TO LEONARD WOOD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 24, 1918

Dear Leonard: I appreciate your telegram and your letter. Well, at any rate my boys have done well and have proved their truth by their endeavor.

Now, my dear Leonard, do let me beg you not to yield to your most natural and most bitter resentment at the infamous way in which you have been treated and say anything which your enemies can get hold of. Remember it isn't Pershing and it isn't Baker that is to blame; it is President Wilson and nobody but President Wilson. Nothing would delight him more than to see you get into trouble under conditions that would enable him to say that he was merely judging a row between you and somebody else, so that he could appear in the role of a lofty statesman putting a stop to the squabbling of subordinates and punishing the man who was technically guilty. I cannot say how I sympathize with you and feel for you. You must not let them taunt you into any kind of outbreak. *Faithfully yours*

6357 · TO GEORGES EUGÈNE BENJAMIN CLEMENCEAU

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 25, 1918

My dear M. Clemenceau: I have received many messages from rulers of nations and leaders of peoples; but among these there is none I have valued quite as much as yours, because I have a peculiar admiration for you and feel that you have played a greater part than any man not a soldier has

³ The Kaiser, according to a pamphlet supposedly written by August Thyssen, had offered German businessmen the commercial fruits of conquest if they would help finance the war. In a series of secret conferences in 1912 the Kaiser, so read the pamphlet, told eighty German businessmen of his plans for the conquest of England and the seizure of her empire. The Emperor at that time advised them to make extensive investments in Canada, Australia, and India.

⁴ We have to acknowledge His Majesty's gracious permission to publish letters preserved in the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

played, and a greater part than any soldier, except one or two, has played in this great world war. It is a very sad thing to see the young die when the old who are doing nothing, as I am doing nothing, are left alive. Therefore it is very bitter to me that I was not allowed to face the danger with my sons. But whatever may be their fate, I am glad and proud that my sons have done their part in this mighty war against despotism and barbarism. Of my four boys Quentin, as you know, has been killed, and two of the other three wounded and all three of these have been decorated for gallantry and efficiency in action.

Thank Heaven, it begins to look as if at last Germany had spent her strength, and I thank Heaven also that we now have at least a few hundred thousand Americans to fight beside the French. *Faithfully yours*

6358 • TO WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Taft Mss.

Oyster Bay, July 25, 1918

Dear Will: I hate not to do as you, and Henry, and my other friends, request; but Will Hays feels as strongly as I do that it is not wise for me under existing conditions to run for Governor of New York. You perhaps have seen my published statement.¹ Indeed, as a matter of fact now I simply do not think I could make myself go into a contest on local issues. As in your case, my heart is wrapped up in my boys at the front, and I am not thinking in terms of New York State conditions. Give my warm regards to Mrs. Taft. *Faithfully yours*

6359 • TO MARY L. BROWN

Roosevelt Mss.

Dark Harbor, Maine, July 26, 1918

My dear Miss Brown: Your letter is very dear to Mrs. Roosevelt and myself, for you told us something about our son Quentin that we would never otherwise have known. I need not say to you that it is a very sad kind of joy that your letter gave me. To feel that one has inspired a boy to conduct that has resulted in his death, has a pretty serious side for a father — and at the same time I would not have cared for my boys and they would not have cared for me if our relations had not been just along that line. *Faithfully yours*

¹In a telegram of July 22, published in the *New York Times* the following day, Roosevelt stated "I cannot be a candidate nor accept the nomination for Governor of New York. For the past four years my whole being has been absorbed in the consideration of the tremendous problems, national and international, created by the war. I cannot turn from them with any heart to deal with any other subjects. . . ."

Dark Harbor, Maine, July 26, 1918

*My dear Mr. Ashton:*¹ Indeed, I remember you very well. We thoroughly enjoyed having you and your friend at lunch. But I am really concerned as to the manuscript submitted to me by Mr. Fletcher.² I have received it and all I can do is to return it to him. Naturally he does not understand the tremendous pressure upon my time. It is perfectly possible for me to write a short preface for a really good book on a comparatively slight subject, such as the life of some gallant young aviator who has been killed, or the need of the proper kind of preparedness in this country — I don't mean that these are slight subjects in importance, but they are not complicated and can be easily dealt with. But the relations of Australia to the Pacific make a very complicated subject indeed. I would not be willing to write a preface for such a book without a far more thorough knowledge of conditions than I now have — why I am merely in the position of a learner when it comes to the proper method of handling not merely the islands of the Pacific, but even the labor portion. I never write on anything unless I know the subject pretty well. I am quite prepared to say now that Australia and the United States must stand together as absolutely in international relations as the several states of our own Union stand. But I am not competent to write a complicated preface on a complicated subject; and moreover, my dear Mr. Ashton, Mr. Fletcher tells me to get a publisher for his book, which is a thing I have never done for any book.

With great regret, *Faithfully yours*

Dark Harbor, Maine, August 3, 1918

Darling Corinne, Indeed it would be the greatest pleasure — I mean that, exactly — to have you take little Douglas to Sagamore in the holidays.

We are thoroly enjoying our visit to Ethel; its a dear little house, very comfortable; all the people are most considerate; and little Richard's devotion to Edith has done whatever could be done to ease the dull, steady aching of her heart. He is a dear little boy; he always wishes Edith to sleep beside him when he is taking his nap! Edie is as pretty as a picture, and a little darling; she has been very much of a chimney swallow this morning, clinging to whoever will take her up and cuddle her.

I was much touched by the letters you enclosed; the one from Alice Murray I shall keep, or give to Flora; it was a remarkable letter.

¹ James Ashton, Australian, member of the Legislative Council, 1907-1934.

² *The Problem of the Pacific*, by Charles Brunson Fletcher, associate editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, was published in New York in 1919 by Henry Holt, and in London by W. Heinemann.

Your burden was harder to bear than ours; for Stewarts life was even shorter than Quentins, and he had less chance to give shape to what there was in him. But, after all, when the young die at the crest of life, in their golden morning, the degrees of difference are merely degrees in bitterness; yet there is nothing more foolish and cowardly than to be beaten down by sorrow which nothing we can do will change.

Edith feels that she does not wish the portrait; will you thank the Studio people very warmly for me? I think she is right. Nor does she feel that Quentin's letters are worth publishing; they are very dear to us (and I dread when Edith receives the letters he wrote before his death — the letters from her dead boy); but they are only such letters as many, many other gallant, clever, manly and gentle boys wrote home — just as our loss is merely like countless other such losses. The history of his life would merely be typical, not exceptional, to the world large; it is to Flora, and to his own household, that the tragedy and the heroism stand by themselves.

Love to Douglas, Helen & Teddy; and to Fanny if she is with you. I shall write her later, some time. *Your devoted brother*

6362 · TO RICHARD DERBY

*Derby Mss.*⁰

Dark Harbor, Maine, August 5, 1918

Dear Dick, It has been everything for poor Mother — and also for me — to be here with Ethel and the two blessed babies. Quentin was to the day he left Mother's "baby"; the last night he was in the house Mother went up stairs to tuck him in bed. Little Richard was Quentin's favorite among all his small nephews and nieces; he loved Uncle Quentin (the other day on the piazza at Sagamore when we heard an airplane he said to me "perhaps that's Uncle Quentin") and he was so glad to see his Grandmother and so affectionate with her that it almost seemed as if he knew that there was some trouble; and his love was a great comfort to her aching heart. Of course she suffers much; but she is very brave. So is Ethel; I think Ethel is (very) much stronger, and she is so pretty and good and capable, and runs her little house so well, and is such a wise and dear little mother; but of course her anxiety is very great, with you constantly in great danger, and her three living brothers in similar danger.

This is a very rainy and stormy morning. I had told Richard (who, together with Edie, is playing actively on the floor, while Mother and Ethel knit) that I would take him down to the store to get him a red railway train which strikes him as possessing exceptional attraction. As it is a driving storm I told him we must wait; whereupon he suggested that his mother should get me a sou'wester coat so that I could always go down with him to get a toy, without regard to the weather!

Edie is the very most attractive baby girl that can be imagined. In her dainty clothes, with little pink ribbons, she looks like a fairy princess; but no

fairly princess ever scrambled over the floor with such unceasing industry and energy; and most of the time she spends in the national garb of the American hired man — small blue overalls. She is generally very cheerful and good natured, loves to be petted, and amuses herself without complaint; but when hungry or tired becomes a very pretty little cross kitten.

Ethel has only two servants, Annie and Irene, but they are the most willing, tireless couple I ever knew, and apparently have not minded in the least the advent of Mother and myself and have made (her) us most comfortable. Cunning Ethel holds prayers for all the household every evening.

Poor darling little Flora comes tomorrow. Quentin's death has been even harder for her than for Mother!

The Brandagees, Forbes and Frothinghams have been good neighbors. I have been very glad to see dear Ann, and good, pretty Margaret, and Richard Tucker; we dined there

The islanders were so nice and friendly that yesterday I made them a speech; a great many people also came in steamers from the mainland.

Well, Dick, I can't begin to say how proud I am of you and the boys.
Aff. yours

P.S. I am glad you wrote "firmly" to that iron-tempered rascal Archie. Ethel has been disciplining Roger about going to the war!

6363 · TO JAMES BRYCE

Bryce Mss.⁰

Dark Harbor, Maine, August 7, 1918

Dear Bryce, I thank you for your kind letter of sympathy; and I value all you say about my boys, and especially about gallant Quentin who has paid with his life for the faith that was in him. He died just as your nephew, just as young Gladstone, just as so many, many other gallant young fellows have died. It is very dreadful that the young should die and the old be left, especially when the young are those who above all others should be the leaders of the next generation. But they have died with high honor, and not in vain; for it is they, and those like them, who have saved the soul of the world. For the world would have had no soul if the efficient swinishness of Germany had triumphed.

My two wounded sons will both recover. My four boys have "proved their truth by their endeavor," have'n't they?

I am greatly pleased by what you say as to the valor of our troops. I am proud beyond measure that at last we really have a fair sized army in the fighting line.

I am steadily preaching that we ought to make our army in France by next spring larger than the combined armies of England and France.

I absolutely agree with what you say about peace. I do not myself think there will be need of so much wisdom as firmness in settling the terms of peace. The principles are in outline simple enough. I have been preaching

them here!¹ England and Japan must keep the Colonies they have won, France receive back Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium be retorsed and indemnified — Italia irredenta must go to Italy, down to Istria. Roumanian Hungary must go to Hungary. The Czecho-Slovak, Polish and Jugo Slav commonwealths must be created as entirely independent; the latter with access to the Adriatic. Albania should be a cantonal state under the protection of France, England and perhaps the United States; the Turk should be driven from Europe, Armenia made independent under a guarantee of the Allies; the Jews given Palestine; the Syrian Christians protected; the Arabs made independent. The separte nationalities of broken-up Russia should be made commonwealths absolutely free from German dominion and probably independent; the Poles, Slavs of Siberia and Danes of North Sleswig should all be freed from the German yoke. *Faithfully yours*

6364 • TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

*Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.*⁰

Dark Harbor, Maine, August 11, 1918¹

Darling Belle, I have written you many times, sometimes like this, direct to the Embassy at Madrid, sometimes, as I am going to do in two or three days, through Mr. Love. If you receive either of these letters (for I shall make the same request in both) will you let me know which address to use hereafter?

Your delightful letter to Mother about your trip with Kermit and blessed Willard from Rome to Madrid has just come. It was even more interesting than Kermit's on the same subject. Aunt Emily also wrote us a most enthusiastic letter about you, and the baby, whom she worships. She immensely admires Kermit, but, quite properly, it is *you* to whom her heart especially goes out. I could not overstate, dearest Belle, how very deeply Mother and I appreciate all that your thoughtfulness and sweetness have meant to and have done for Aunt Emily.

Well, Kermit's extraordinary combination of gentleness, of dauntless courage and energy, and of possession of that elusive but most real quality of being extremely interested in matters and interesting to people, has never been more evident than at the present time; and you, darling girl, have shown that the very sweetest traits of the old-style lovely girl can be joined with the finest heroism and capacity. But I am exactly as proud of the wives of my sons, and of Ethel, as I am of my boys and of Dick.

It is no use pretending that Quentin's death is not very terrible. It is most so for poor Flora who is staying here with Ethel, as we are. But it is almost

¹He preached them particularly in newspaper articles of September 1, October 12, 15, 17, 22, 26, 30, and 31, November 14, 17, 22, 26, and December 2; see *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star* (Boston, 1921); see also his article in the *Metropolitan* of January 1919. Most of this material is reprinted in *The Great Adventure*, Nat. Ed. XIX, chs. xx, xxii, xxiii.

¹This letter, misdated by Roosevelt, was written, probably, on August 8, 1918.

as hard for Mother. They have both been very brave. There is nothing to comfort Flora at the moment; but she is young; I most earnestly hope that time will be very merciful to her, and that in a few years she will keep Quentin only as a loving memory of her golden youth, as the lover of her golden dawn, and that she will find happiness with another good and fine man. But of course it would be all wrong for me to tell her this *now*. As for Mother, her heart will ache for Quentin until she dies. I would not for all the world have had him fail fearlessly to do his duty, and to tread his allotted path, high of heart, even altho it led to the gates of death. But it is useless for me to pretend that it is not very bitter to see that good, gallant, tenderhearted boy, leave life at its crest, when it held Flora, and such happiness, and certainly an honorable and perhaps a distinguished career.

Evidently Archie is crippled, at least for many months to come, and I wish he would come home. Hitherto the rascal has refused. I wouldn't suggest it if he could render any service with the army, but to spend months of pain and idleness in Paris, instead of at least being with his wife and baby and his mother does'n't seem worth while.

Ted has apparently recovered from the gassing, and will soon recover from the bullet wounds in his leg; I am so glad he is with Eleanor.

I do'n't yet know just what Kermit is doing, for I have had no letter from him since he got to France.

Your birthday cable to Mother has just come; it was dear of you to remember.

Kim and Willard must be the most adorable small persons! We have been greatly comforted by Richard and little Edie; the former loves Mother, and the latter lets me love her! (There is a somewhat nice distinction between the two). In time of trouble the unconsciousness of children is often a great comfort.

Tell your father how deeply we appreciated the trouble he took, and the information he got for us from Germany; and give our love to all your dear family. *Ever affectionately yours Kermit's father*

6365 · TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, August 11, 1918

Darling Belle, Day before yesterday I wrote you from Dark Harbor, Maine, where we had been for a fortnight with Ethel and the babies; I addressed it direct to the American Embassy, Madrid; this, which is a sketchy note, is being sent through Mr. Love; do write me which gets to you first, as a guide to my future correspondence.

When we reached here we found Quentin's last letters; he was at the fighting front, very proud and happy — and singularly modest, with all his pride, and his pleasure at showing his metal. Of course that was a wonderful company of men, flying in the swift battle planes — not the ordinary ob-

servation or bombing planes — at the front; they were bound together in the close ties of men who know that most of them are to die, and who face their fate high of heart and with a gallant defiance; and Quentin wrote that he would not for any consideration have been any where else. Two days before he was killed he was with Eleanor in Paris; and she was so proud of him, and took him round as the young hero. He had his crowded hour of glorious life.

Yet I do not pretend that it is not very dreadful that his young life, of such promise, should be darkened at dawn. And for Flora and his mother the pain is great. When we reached home yesterday afternoon Alice was waiting for us; a real comfort.

Mrs. Tom Page¹ wrote Belle James a dear letter about you and the adorable baby and Kermit in Rome; such a nice letter. Will you write Kipling and tell him about things? He wrote that he had never heard from Kermit; and he is evidently really fond of you both.

Love to your father, mother and Elizabeth. *Devotedly Kermit's father*

I enclose the photo of a preposterous elderly creature, the father of *real* soldiers in a *real* war, at a time when he went to the only war there was in his time!

6366 · TO ARTHUR TRAIN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 13, 1918

Dear Train: That is an admirable story of yours in the current *McClure's*. I am immensely pleased with it — it is exactly the kind of thing which ought to be written. Will you however permit me one suggestion, not in reference to this story, but to the other stories that should go with it. In this story there is a native American scoundrel, which is all right. There is also a meaner Jew scoundrel, which is also all right. But there are native American representatives of manliness and decency; and there ought also to be a Jew among them! It is very important that we shall not give the impression that we are attacking all foreigners qua foreigners. There are exceedingly bad Jews, and exceedingly bad old-stock native Americans. There are exceedingly good men who are Jews, and other exceedingly good men who are native old-stock Americans. It is the same thing with men of Irish and German extraction. I hope you will make the emphasis with all possible insistence as between all men who are good Americans, and all who are bad Americans; and that you will be careful to see that your readers clearly understand that there are Jews and Gentiles and men of old native American stock, and men of English, Irish, Scandinavian and German parentage on both sides. I agree with you that on the whole the old native stock will furnish the bulk of the

¹ Florence Lathrop Field Page, second wife of Thomas Nelson Page, United States Ambassador to Italy.

leaders for Americanism; but there are any number of others also! *Faithfully yours*

6367 · TO WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 15, 1918

Dear Will: The chance for me to write you that long letter seems to be always retiring into the future. But just a word that I wish to send now. The only point that it seems to me can be called one of difference between you and me now is about the League to Enforce Peace. I think I have found a *modus vivendi*! I will back it as an *addition to*, but not as a *substitute for*, our preparing our own strength for our own defense. Don't you think this is the right way to handle it? I am sending you an article I wrote in the *Kansas City Star* on the matter.¹ *Always yours*

6368 · TO WILL H. HAYS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 15, 1918

My dear Hays: I thank you for showing me the telegram from Mr. Keedy.¹ His alarm over the effect in Germany of a Republican Congressional victory is not merely wholly without one scrap of foundation, but is willfully foolish. The people in Germany are intelligent and nobody outside of an idiot asylum would interpret the election of a Republican Congress as Mr. Keedy thinks the Germans would interpret it. To support the Democratic Party for the reasons Mr. Keedy gives is to put party spirit above Americanism, and is a thoroughly un-American and improper attitude. Mr. Wilson has come out for Mr. Ford being sent to the Senate of the United States. Mr. Wilson is being enthusiastically supported by Mr. Hearst and Mr. Townley. The Germans will regard the election of Mr. Ford as a very emphatic pro-German victory. The Germans will regard the side espoused by Mr. Hearst at this time, as the side which is to Germany's interest to have win. Anybody who has the slightest understanding of affairs in Germany knows perfectly well that the election of a Republican Congress on a win-the-war platform, on such a platform as for instance was set forth in my speeches to the Republican Conventions in Portland and Saratoga would dishearten Germany and make her understand as probably nothing else would, the futility of carrying on the contest against it. Whoever does not know this is the case,

¹ "Sound Nationalism and Sound Internationalism," August 4, 1918, elaborated the idea in this letter which Taft accepted, agreeing on his part to support "universal training and universal service . . . on the lines of Switzerland and Australia . . . [and] a League of Nations as an addition to and not a substitute for this training. . . ."—Roosevelt to Taft, August 26, 1918, Roosevelt Mss.

¹ Charles Cochran Keedy, Republican; attorney for the United States Fuel Administration, 1917–1918; later special deputy attorney general of Delaware, 1926–1928; and an expert on corporation law.

knows so little of the subject that he is not a safe adviser about anything connected with the war. *Faithfully yours*

6369 · TO EDITH NEWBOLD JONES WHARTON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 15, 1918

My dear Mrs. Wharton: I value your letter, and naturally I am pleased at what you say about Quentin. I am also very pleased at what you say of our soldiers. It corroborates what I hear generally.

We had a dear visit from Mary Cadwalader¹ while we were staying with Ethel at Dark Harbor. Again thanking you, *Faithfully yours*

There is no use of my writing about Quentin; for I should break down if I tried. His death is heartbreaking. But it would have been far worse if he had lived at the cost of the slightest failure to perform his duty.

6370 · TO JOHN JOSEPH PERSHING

R.M.A. Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 19, 1918

My dear General Pershing: I am immensely touched by your letter of July 27th. I thank you for what you have said of Quentin. My dear fellow, you have suffered far more bitter sorrow than has befallen me.¹ You bore it with splendid courage and I should be ashamed of myself if I did not try in a lesser way to emulate that courage. *Faithfully yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S. What admirable work our army under you has done! I congratulate you with all my heart. And what wonderful soldiers our men make! You, and those under you, have written your names for ever on the highest honor roll of our nation.

6371 · TO JAMES AMBROSE GALLIVAN

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 22, 1918

My dear Congressman Gallivan: In accordance with the terms of the Congressional resolution introduced by you, in the House of Representatives, and by Senator Johnson, acting for Senator Williams, in the Senate, Secretary Redfield¹ for the Commission returned to me the Nobel Peace Prize Fund. The securities when sold, plus the cash in hand, amounted to \$45,482.83. I have disposed of this sum as follows: —

To the American Red Cross, through the Treasurer, Mr. John Skelton Williams \$ 6,900.00

¹ Mary Cadwalader Jones, sister-in-law of Edith Wharton.

¹ Mrs. Pershing and three daughters had perished in a fire at the Presidio in San Francisco in 1915.

¹ William C. Redfield, Democratic congressman from New York, 1911-1913; Secretary of Commerce, 1913-1919.

(The American Red Cross, and possibly some other war charities or war activities will receive further sums of money from my royalties on certain scenarios of motion pictures to be shortly produced by the McClure Company; all the royalties I receive from the pictures in question during the period of the war will be thus used.)²

To Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., now working in the Y.M.C.A. in France

5,000.00

As Mrs. Roosevelt is working in the Y.M.C.A. I suppose that some or most of the money will be used in connection therewith; but the disposal is absolutely at her discretion.

To the Young Men's Christian Association National War Work Council, through the treasurer, Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge

4,000.00

To the Knights of Columbus War Activities Committee, through the treasurer, Mr. William J. Mulligan

4,000.00

To the Jewish Welfare Board, for War Activities, through the treasurer, Mr. Walter E. Sachs

4,000.00

To the Salvation Army War Fund, treasurer Mr. G. S. Reinhardt

4,000.00

I have sent this check through Major Atkins, who has been doing admirable work in the battalion of the 26th Infantry in which my sons Theodore Jr. and Archibald have been serving.

To the Young Women's Christian Association War Work Council, Colored, through Mrs. Henry P. Davison

4,000.00

I have asked that Miss Eva Bolles be consulted in the disbursal of this item. My wife and I were very much struck with the work of Miss Bolles in connection with the Colored Hostess House at Camp Upton; and I have requested that the money be used for the hostess houses for colored troops and in work among colored women and girls in and about the camps and cantonments.

To Miss Emily Tyler Carow, at Porto Maurizio, Italy, for work in connection with the Italian Red Cross

1,000.00

I send this sum merely as a token of my admiration of the high gallantry and efficiency of Italy's action.

To Langdon Warner, acting American Vice-Consul at Harbin and Vladivostok, for the Czechoslovaks, the extraordinary nature of whose great and heroic feat is literally unparalleled, so far as I know in ancient or modern warfare³

1,000.00

In this case, as in all the cases that follow, the value of the money contribution amounts to so little that it seems hardly worth sending; but the money was given to me by the Nobel Peace Prize Committee for my action in connection with the Peace of Portsmouth, which closed the Russo-Japanese war; and I wish to use it in part to show my admiration for the high heroism of the peoples who have done most and suffered most in this great war to secure liberty for all those nations, big or little, which lead self-respecting and orderly lives and act justly and fairly by others.

To Madame Major Bochkareva, for use as she deems wise, as a token of my respect for those Russians who have refused to follow

² In June 1918 Roosevelt signed a contract giving the movie rights of his writings to McClure's Pictures, Inc., with the understanding that all royalties would go to war charities.

³ Czech troops who had been in the Russian army had after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, turned against the Bolsheviki and gained control of the Trans-Siberian Railway and much of Siberia.

the Bolsheviks in their betrayal to Germany of Russia, of the Allies, and of the cause of liberty throughout the world	1,000.00
To Herbert C. Hoover, for use in Belgium	1,000.00
To the Belgian Minister, for use among the Belgian Refugees in Holland	1,000.00
(In Holland the burden of caring for the Belgian victims of the German horror has been very heavy; I suggest, but do not direct, that the money be expended through the Committee to which Miss Vanderflier belongs.)	
To the Serbian Minister, for the Serbian sufferers	1,000.00
To Paul Shimmon for use among the Armenians and Assyrian Christians	1,000.00
I send this through Mr. Shimmon because so far as I know he has never sought to excuse or justify what I regard as our inexcusable dereliction in duty in having failed to declare war on Turkey and therefore in having failed to play a manly part in the effort permanently to remedy the hideous wrongs of the subjects of the Turk in the only really effective way by destroying Turkish rule.	
To M. L. Mirman, Prefect of Meurthe-et-Moselle, the lamentable sufferings of the people of whose prefecture happen to have been brought immediately before us	500.00
To Mrs. Mary Cadwalader Jones, for further similar work in France	500.00
To Count Ishii, the Japanese Ambassador, for the Japanese Red Cross	500.00
The Japanese Red Cross, like the American Red Cross, has raised large sums of money for use in the Allied Countries; I send this merely as a very slight token of my admiration for the part the Japanese people have taken in this war.	
To Leslie J. Tarlton, Nairobi, for any war activity, or war charity in Uganda or British East Africa	500.00
I was in Africa with Mr. Tarlton who is an Australian. I send this merely as a token of my admiration of what has been done in this war by the Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders and Afrikanders, both of Boer and British blood.	
To Mrs. Stewart Jobson for reconstruction work for wounded soldiers, in England	500.00
To Judge Joseph L. Numan, of Georgetown, Demerara, for wounded soldiers and their families in Ireland	500.00
I send this through Mr. Numan because he believes in Home Rule within the Empire and stands uncompromisingly for prosecuting the war against Germany with all possible efficiency until the enemy is completely overthrown.	
To Henry P. Davison, to be used when possible for the Roumanians	500.00
To Henry P. Davison, to be used when possible for the Montenegrins	500.00
To Robert M. Thompson, for the Comforts Committee of the Navy League	500.00
To Speaker Champ Clark, for war activities or charities	500.00
I suggest but do not stipulate that this be used in Missouri.	
To Mrs. James A. Gallivan, for war activities or charities	500.00
I suggest but do not stipulate that this be used in Mrs. Gallivan's own neighborhood in Massachusetts.	

To Mrs. John S. Williams, for similar use	500.00
I suggest but do not stipulate that this be used in Mississippi.	
To Mrs. Hiram Johnson for similar use	500.00
I suggest but do not stipulate that this be used in California.	
For cabling and other expenses in connection thereof	82.83
	<hr/>
Total—	\$45,482.83

I wish to express my obligation to Secretary Redfield and his associates for the promptness with which they acted. *Faithfully yours*

6372 • TO GEORGE WALBRIDGE PERKINS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, August 30, 1918

Dear George: All right! Tell W.A. that I shall swallow Capper but that I shall *feel* exactly the way a very small frog *looks* when it swallows a beetle the size of itself with extremely stiff legs.¹ *Faithfully yours*

6373 • TO LEONARD WOOD

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 3, 1918

Dear Leonard: Captain Archie Johnson, the son of your staunch friend, Senator Johnson, has been ordered to Camp Funston. I thought I would let you know.

I have just seen Harry Stimson.¹ I gathered from him, what I have all along believed, that as regards you Pershing is under duress from the people higher up, who want nothing so much as to be able to say you are in a fight with him.

There isn't a man in this country who is under such a strain as you are and who has been treated as unjustly; all I beg is that you hold your horses and don't let these creatures have any excuse for putting you in wrong. I wish there were anything I could do. *Ever yours*

6374 • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 4, 1918

Dear Cabot: I am sending you that editorial herewith.¹ (P.S. I have sent it. I have your note; I'll try to see hereafter whether your letters are tampered

¹ As he promised, Roosevelt swallowed Capper, who was in 1918 a successful candidate for the United States Senate. Although Capper's campaign clearly revealed his distaste for the war, Roosevelt did not oppose him. In "Eyes to the Front," an article published in the *Metropolitan* of February 1919, he mentioned Capper as one of the best leaders of the farmers, one of those who thoroughly understood farm problems.

¹ After three weeks at the front with the 77th division, Stimson had been promoted and ordered home to command a newly formed artillery regiment.

¹ That editorial was "Senator Lodge's Noble Speech," published in the *Kansas City Star* on September 1. The speech — Lodge's maiden effort as Republican leader of the Senate, delivered August 23 — supported the manpower bill then being drafted, but dealt mostly with what Lodge considered the irreducible minimum for peace.

with by the skunks at Washington.²) I loved the printer's error, to which you refer.³ Like you, I am very much worried about Illinois. I tried to get Foss to withdraw and then told McCormick that he ought if necessary to withdraw, rather than jeopardize the situation. Thompson's nomination would be a disaster to the Republican Party, and the best Republicans would support even that pink-bearded monkey, Lewis, as against him.⁴ On Lafayette Day what I say will back up your admirable speech. *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Please read and return the enclosed letter from John King. Is it possible for you to act in the draft matter along the lines he indicates?⁵

6375 • TO GIFFORD PINCHOT

Gifford Pinchot Mss.

New York, September 6, 1918

Dear Gifford: I will take that matter up at once with Hays, exactly along the lines of your letter. I hope you won't be frightened from your position¹ by learning that George Perkins was out at Sagamore Hill last night especially to take exactly the same position, in the most ardent manner! *Faithfully yours*

[*Handwritten*] But — I am just as strong anti-Bolshevist as anti-Romanoff!

6376 • TO JOHN T. KING

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, September 6, 1918

Dear John: I know nothing about Grasty;¹ but I *do* know something about the Administration! And I can't believe that Wilson was anything but angered by the proposal if he saw it. I don't think there is one chance in a million of the President putting me on the Commission to discuss Peace; but I agree with you that if he made the proposal the only way to treat it would

²Lodge had written that he had reason to believe his letters to Roosevelt were being opened while in transit.

³Lodge in his speech had said that Germany's pledges were as false as "dicers' oaths." The typesetter, no Shakespearean, had referred to "Dicer's oaths."

⁴Roosevelt and Lodge were concerned about the Republican senatorial primary in Illinois, in which Medill McCormick, George E. Foss, and Mayor William Hale (Big Bill) Thompson, Chicago's notorious boss, were running. Although "the best Republicans" divided their votes between McCormick and Foss, there were enough of the best to nominate McCormick and to elect him in November.

⁵King urged that the conscription act be made a universal military training law applying to all young men from eighteen to twenty-one, even though this would interrupt the college education of some of them.

¹Pinchot considered it "vitally important" that Roosevelt and the Republican party take a "progressive stand" on domestic issues.

²Grasty, from 1916 to 1921 staff correspondent in Europe for the *New York Times*, had proposed that Roosevelt be given a place at the peace conference after the war.

be along the lines you suggest.² I am glad to hear you are getting so well.
Me for buck in November! *Ever yours*

6377 · TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

*Lee Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, September 8, 1918

Dear Arthur, Your welcome letter has come. We never got your cable; but you two are among the very few people of whom we are absolutely certain, and we did not need the cable to tell us how you were feeling.

There is nothing to be said about Quentin. It is very dreadful that he should have been killed; it would have been worse if he had not gone. He was engaged to Flora Whitney; life was golden before him; it is useless to waste time in bitter regret that it is not those like myself who are in the gray of the afternoon — who are called to go out into the darkness.

Archie has come home; his left arm is still paralyzed, but the surgeons hold out hopes that he will recover in time to go in for the spring fighting. He was first hit by a shell fragment in the arm, but continued in command; five minutes later he was hit by another shell fragment in the knee and laid out. He is now completely reconciled to coming back, and is very happy, and really seems his natural old self; Gracie is the happiest little wife you can imagine; he still regards the baby as an only tepidly interesting stranger.

Ted we hear is still on crutches but hopes soon to be back at the front. He was recommended for the Colonelcy of his regiment but the promotion has been held up on this side.¹

Kermit, swelling with wrath, has been sent for three months to the Artillery School at Saumur.

I have been devoting some of my attention to public insistence that the British must keep the colonies they have taken from Germany. It would be a crime not to do so; and to propose to have the natives settle the matter by vote would be worthy of Bedlam were it not so transparently dishonest. I wish that good Edward Grey would not continue to bleat with feeble amiability about securing universal peace through a League of Nations. It exactly corresponds to the peace talk of the anti-Lincoln men in 1864. It distracts attention from the prime duty of winning the war, and plays right into the hands of the pro-Germans and pacifists who are only waiting the chance to clamor that the slaughter must stop, that no nation must be pun-

² "The only way in which I would accept such a place from President Wilson," King had written, "would be first, the absolute defeat in arms of Germany, and then public discussion between you and Wilson in the form of public letters as to the terms of peace and readjustment generally. Let him lead: you then can announce your general program gradually, and the American people would say 'To Hell with Rhetoric.'" King did not believe, however, that Wilson would offer Roosevelt a place on any terms; see King to Roosevelt, September 2, 1918, Roosevelt Mss.

¹ Theodore, Jr., had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel on September 2, 1918.

ished, and all future war prevented by a League — of which Germany, Austria, Turkey and Russia would be four of the guarantors!

I think Lee of Fareham a bully title!² Under the circumstances I think your decision admirably wise.³ How the authorities could differ from you on your food proposition I can hardly understand. I do'n't wonder at your growing sense of alienation from both parties; I find it very, very hard to work in any way as a party man; I force myself to do so within limits because here there is at this time vital need to do so.

Yes, I am very proud of the way our American troops have fought, and of the fact that they were a real factor in the war at a very critical period. Lord, how I wish I could see you! Both to talk over the things necessary to do now in order to win the war and to crown it by a peace which the Allies dictate, and the tremendous problems which we shall face after the war.

The failure to use Wood is criminal. Howze has not as yet been used.⁴

Ethel and her babies have been with us since Dick left last November; she is off the Maine coast at present.

Dearest love to Ruth and Faith. *Ever yours*

6378 • TO ROBERT L. MONTGOMERY

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 12, 1918

*My dear Bob:*¹ All the political pressure as regards that Senatorial Committee was to get them to go the other way. This I happen to know. I am interested and the public is interested only in the broad outline. Personally I believe that the entire responsibility rests with President Wilson and under him with Secretary Baker. Personally, I think it would have been better if the Committee would have said this. But the fact is that they officially told the American people what the American people sadly needed to know, namely, that after we had been sixteen months at war and after it had been announced by Secretary Baker last summer that we would have ten or twenty thousand airplanes with Pershing this year, our program had fallen down completely. I happen to know the facts at firsthand; and no talk about the liberty motor being a success, and no talk about the delivery of planes to the government now, can alter the facts I have given above.² One of the last

² Lee was created a baron in the summer of 1918. He chose for his title the name of the district which he had represented in Parliament since 1900. In 1922 he became Viscount Lee of Fareham.

³ Lee resigned his post as Director-General of Food Production in July. In his letter of resignation, he said that the government had unjustifiably modified the food production program and emasculated the powers of the director-general.

⁴ Howze, appointed commander of the 38th division in August 1918, reached France in time for the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

¹ Possibly Robert L. Montgomery of Philadelphia, a captain in the army stationed in Washington.

² The Liberty twelve-cylinder motor was designed in the first months of the war as the standard engine for American fighting planes. These engines, first successfully tested in the spring of 1918, reached full-scale production only as the war ended.

letters Quentin wrote me before he was killed was that not a single American battle plane, or pursuit plane, that has been sent over had proved fit for work; and not one single such plane was in use on our line. I have before me at this moment a letter from a Major of Marines describing the fight at the end of July when our marines were suffering heavily from the German bombing planes because we had no American planes to drive them off, and in this letter comes the expression "What has become of that billion dollars airplane appropriation?" I understand perhaps erroneously that the Liberty Motor will do for certain types of planes. But it has been a flat failure for the true battle planes, the pursuit planes. Of course unless we have pursuit planes none of the others can be kept aloft; for the enemies' pursuit planes will smash them all. It is a misfortune that the honest and able men engaged on airplane work did not in their own interest last fall when Secretary Baker was bragging and misleading the American people, insist formally in a letter to him on stating the facts as they were. A year ago I personally was told that at last the fighting planes were being produced and that quantity production had already begun — that immense numbers would soon be over in France. A mistake of a year in so vital a matter is just the kind of a mistake that ruined France in her war with Germany in 1870. *Sincerely yours*

6379 • TO RICHARD DERBY

Derby Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, September 12, 1918

Dear Dick, Archie looks better than I had dared hope; and is exactly his old self — cheerful, affectionate, and, as Mary Sweeny says, "not a bit cranky." The doctors believe that he will get back for the spring drive. He and Gracie are the happiest couple imaginable!

I really believe that Archie talks even more of you than of Ted. He says that you and Ted are the two persons who have really done most. But he feels very strongly that you expose yourself too much, and are too eager to get into the danger zone when it isn't necessary; and two or three times he has asked me to write you and impress on you that you must not take so many chances. So I am doing it; and I strongly feel that you should avoid unnecessary risks and not jeopardize your life in any uncalled-for manner — and I am glad and proud that it is this quality, and not its opposite, against which I have to warn you!

Dear Uncle Douglas is dead, very suddenly; it will be hard for Aunt Corinne; tomorrow Mother and I go to Herkimer for the funeral. I mourn his loss; but these are evil times; and my sorrow is so keen for the young, of your generation, who die, that the edge of my grief is blunted when death comes to the old, of my own generation; for in the nature of things we must soon die anyhow — and we have warmed both hands before the fire of life.

Sheffield has just sailed to join the Marines, so I suppose he will be in your division. *Affectionately*

6380 • TO RAYMOND BENJAMIN

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

Oyster Bay, September 12, 1918

I congratulate you¹ upon the fact that the Republican Party is reunited in California as it is in the nation as a whole. The Party is one hundred per cent plus for the war and for Americanism and no Senator in Congress has shown this more conclusively than your great Senator, Hiram Johnson. The prime duty of this country at the moment is to win the war, to speed up everything so that the war may be won as speedily as possible, but to be prepared to fight the war through no matter how long it takes until we secure the peace of overwhelming victory. In order to do this it is necessary that our Representatives in Congress shall heartily support the administration in every move it takes for efficiently waging the war and heartily supporting every public officer in so far as he efficiently wages the war and shall generously and freely grant all the money asked by the administration in order to wage the war. But the need is equal that there shall be insistence upon efficiency, refusal to pardon inefficiency, insistence upon knowing all the facts necessary in order to secure the effective waging of the war, and insistence upon knowing that every dollar appropriated for war purposes represents one hundred cents wisely spent for war purposes. In order to achieve these ends, in order to secure the most efficient waging of the war and a peace of complete victory and to make certain that our expenditures of blood and treasure have not been wasted it is necessary to elect a Republican Congress. Moreover this Congress should be elected because in addition to its war work it must prepare for the great tasks of peace that are ahead of us. I wish you all good fortune.

6381 • TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEWBERRY
VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 13, 1918

Gentlemen: As an American I earnestly hope for the election of Mr. Newberry as United States Senator.¹ Mr. Ford's immense wealth has been used to aid the cause of pacifism in the United States in such manner as to make him a genuine threat to sound and patriotic Americanism. His lavish expenditures in aid of the pacifist propaganda did lasting harm by the effect

¹ Raymond Benjamin, San Francisco lawyer, chairman of the California Republican State Committee, 1918-1922; regional director of the Republican National Committee, 1918-1921; Grand Exalted Ruler B.P.O.E. of the United States, 1914-1915.

¹ Truman Newberry was running against Henry Ford in the senatorial contest in Michigan. He won.

it produced among good men and women who did not have the American and National side set before them; and hence it is still necessary for patriotic citizens to undergo heavy expense in order to offset this un-American propaganda and to get the facts clearly before citizens who are entirely patriotic but who need full information. You gave to the people of Michigan the chance to get this information; you appealed to their patriotism, to their spirit of fervent loyalty; and they responded nobly to the appeal. *Faithfully yours*

6382 · TO JULIAN H. MILLER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 16, 1918

*My dear Dr. Miller:*¹ I am very much pleased with your letter and very much pleased with your sermon. It seems to me that it is entirely proper to start a Zionist State around Jerusalem, for the same reasons that make me earnestly hope to see Armenia made a separate state. But when this has been done American citizens of Jewish faith who expect to remain Americans and be treated as Americans must behave exactly as it will be proper for American citizens of Armenian origin to behave in reference to the new state of Armenia. The Zionist who lives in the new state at Palestine will be a citizen of that state and as emphatically a foreigner to the American of Jewish faith as, for example, the German who belongs to the Reformed Church is to me who also am a member of the Reformed Church. It is entirely proper for the Zionists who feel that they are not Americans, nor Englishmen, nor Frenchmen to establish a state of their own (in which of course I take it for granted there will be full religious freedom, exactly as there is in the United States). But the American who is a Jew, precisely like the American who is a Catholic or a Protestant, will stay an American; and he will have no more kinship to the new foreign state than the American Catholic and Protestant have to foreign states that are Catholic or Protestant. In so far as Judaism is a creed, as is Christianity, the American Jew & the American Christian must stand on an exact equality of right & of obligation. Those who treat Judaism as a mark of race, & who desire to help found a foreign state in Palestine ought in my judgment, to be assisted to do so; but the citizens of that state will then become as emphatically foreigners to good Americans who are Jews as to good Americans who are Christians — just as is true today in reference to any other foreign state, such as Germany or Turkey. *Very truly yours*

¹ Julian H. Miller, a rabbi from Chattanooga, Tennessee.

6383 · TO JAMES H. S. BATES

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 16, 1918

*My dear Mr. Bates:*¹ Personally, I do not believe in giving any of the young men special privileges when they are drafted. This is exactly what is done when those with the necessary education, which means those whose parents have had the money to give them an education, are granted a special privilege of this kind. I would make every man enter in the ranks exactly on an equality with everyone else. Then from among those who had done best I would take all who desired to enter on a course of training for a commission and put them in some government institution or college. *Very sincerely yours*

6384 · TO ELMER THEODORE PETERSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, September 19, 1918

*Dear Mr. Peterson:*¹ That's a mighty nice letter of yours. I thank you for it. I think it is perfectly evident that the Administration has struck hands with the Nonpartisan League. I have very direct evidence as to the alliance, which I don't want to give in a letter. But even the reading of the League's paper shows that there is such an alliance. Creel belongs, by nature, with them, and as for the *New Republic* it is on an exact level morally with the Hearst papers; the difference is merely one of manner. It is pretty hard work fighting for decency in view of the attitude of the Administration. But we have got to do it, and I think in the end we are going to win — for the country's sake we must! *Faithfully yours*

6385 · TO FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Franklin D. Roosevelt Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, September 23, 1918

Dear Franklin, We are deeply concerned about your sickness, and trust you will soon be well.¹ We are *very* proud of you.

With love, *Aff. yours*

Later, Eleanor will tell you of our talk about your plans.

¹James H. S. Bates, an employee of the Olympia Light and Power Company, Olympia, Washington.

¹Elmer Theodore Peterson, Kansas journalist; the greatest football player of his time at Bethany College; in 1917 a reporter on the Kansas City *Star*; on the staff of the Wichita *Beacon*, 1917-1927.

¹Franklin D. Roosevelt had pneumonia.

Oyster Bay, September 27, 1918

My dear Mr. Taft: Is it not possible for the National War Labor Board to put two or more duly constituted women members on the Board? ¹ If you approve of this will you not bring it before the Secretary of Labor? In view of the ever-increasing importance of women's labor in war production, it seems to me that it should be represented on the National Labor Board.

Very faithfully yours

New York, October 15, 1918

*My dear Mr. Spencer:*¹ What I said of President McKinley in 1898 was exactly what was said of President Lincoln in 1864. The statement was absolutely true in both cases. A similar statement would now be absolutely false as regards President Wilson. The so-called anti-imperialists in '98, and the so-called Copperheads in 1864 were in each case against the prosecution of the war, against the President who prosecuted it, and against the peace of overwhelming victory. Therefore, it was necessary to stand by the President as against his political opponents. But in the present circumstances it is the political opponents of the President, and not the President himself and his political supporters, who are and have been most strongly in favor of prosecuting the war, most insistent upon the unconditional surrender of Germany, and most zealous in doing everything that could possibly be done to aid every public official, in so far as he stood for the efficient putting through of the war. The political supporters of Mr. Wilson have been far more lukewarm or recalcitrant on all these questions than have the Republicans. The election of supporters of the President, such as Mr. Henry Ford, might well be construed as a repudiation of the war by the American people. As compared to Republican Senators like Messrs. Lodge and Poindexter and their associates, the President has been infirm of purpose and vacillating in conduct; and to increase their strength is to strengthen this nation's attitude towards the war. The election of Republican members of Congress, both Senators and members of the lower House, so long as the Republican Party in international matters and in prosecuting the war takes the position taken by the Republican leaders above mentioned, (not to speak of Mr. Taft, Mr. Hughes, myself, and all others prominent in the Republican coun-

¹ Taft did not act on Roosevelt's suggestion.

¹ Selden Palmer Spencer, a former judge of the circuit court of St. Louis, 1897-1903, was the Republican candidate for the vacancy created by the death of Senator William J. Stone. Spencer's Democratic opponent, Joseph W. Folk, was using in his campaign a letter of endorsement written in August by President Wilson. Spencer had therefore solicited the above endorsement from Roosevelt.

cils) would mean to our people and to our allies and would be understood by Germany to mean that this country is more resolute than ever in its determination to see this war through to the peace of overwhelming victory. I will support no man at this time who is not entirely loyal to this nation and resolutely and genuinely in favor of the war. I believe that the only proper attitude for any Senator or Congressman to take is that he will support the President and every other public official in so far as he efficiently and zealously seeks to put through the war, and that he will hold him to instant account in so far as he fails in such action. Every Congressman should generously and without any niggardliness give the Administration all the money it needs for the war, but he should also insist upon his right to investigate and to inform himself of how this money is spent, and of all the actions taken by the Administration, so that there may be no repetition of the airplane scandal, or of the dreadful deficiencies shown in so many other directions in the executive handling of public business. There are Democratic members of Congress who have taken this position and I honor and respect them; but as a whole it is the Republican and not the Democratic members who have taken this position; and as a whole it is the Republican and not the Democratic members who have done most for the efficient furtherance of the war and have gone farthest in insistence that it should be put through until we win the peace of complete victory. The present Democratic administration and the present managers of the Democratic Party have subordinated the public interest to political considerations in a way unknown before in our history during a great war. President Wilson has interfered in various cases, as regards the nomination or election of Senators and Congressmen, but the "acid test" he has applied has not been loyalty to the nation but a blind and servile support of the Administration. This particular acid test can be met satisfactorily only by a rubber stamp; certainly not by a self-respecting American; yet it is the test applied to all Administration and democratic candidates. This year the people must choose between Republicans and rubber stamps. In my judgment all wise and patriotic Americans will realize that it is to the great interest of this nation, at this time, to secure a Republican majority in both the Senate and the House, because this is the way in which to make certain the winning of the war — and the greatest of all our interests at this time is to win the war and force Germany to an unconditional surrender. *Faithfully yours*

6388 · TO WILL H. HAYS

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 16, 1918

Dear Hays: I think the idea is excellent and should be made shorter and more emphatic. I would not use the terms "stand by the President and country." I would put it "stand by the country, and stand by the President

in every move he makes for the country." Then I would emphatically state that the offer of the President in starting negotiations with Germany was stopped only by the vigorous protests of men like Lodge and Poindexter, who have been the staunchest upholders of war, and, that it is our war, and that it is our business to send Republicans to Congress now, to avert the danger of any improper yielding by the Democrats, Administration and Party in this war.¹ Send men who will do as Kahn,² Poindexter, Lodge and their associates have done, and back up every measure to speed up the war, but who will set their faces like flint against any improper yielding of our position. *Faithfully yours*

6389 · TO THE MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICAN
STATE COMMITTEE

Roosevelt Mss.

Providence, Rhode Island, October 17, 1918

Gentlemen: I wish I could accept your invitation but inasmuch as that is impossible I send you this word of greetings and of hearty hope and belief in the triumph of the ticket headed by Mr. Coolidge for Governor and Mr. Weeks for Senator.¹ Mr. Coolidge is a high-minded public servant, of the type which Massachusetts has always been honorably anxious to see at the head of the State government; a man who has the forward look and who is anxious to secure genuine social and industrial justice in the only way it can effectively be secured, that is, by basing a jealous insistence upon the rights of all, on the foundation of legislation that will guarantee the welfare

¹ Hays, with Roosevelt's assistance, was drafting a Republican statement on the armistice negotiations then under way. When Wilson began his exchange of notes with the German government, Roosevelt did not in his correspondence indicate in any consecutive manner his disagreement with the course the President was pursuing. In a statement published in the *New York Times* on October 10, he expressed his belief that Wilson should not have begun to negotiate with Germany until the war had been won and Germany was prepared to surrender unconditionally. A second statement, published on October 14, reiterated this conviction. The statement with which Roosevelt was concerned in this letter to Hays was incorporated in a declaration by congressional Republicans issued on October 26 in rebuttal to Wilson's appeal for a Democratic Congress. The previous day the press had carried Roosevelt's acid telegram to Lodge, Poindexter, and Johnson (see No. 6392). For a detailed discussion of the armistice negotiations and an evaluation of the Republican role therein, see Harry R. Rudin, *Armistice, 1918* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1944), especially pp. 106, 124, 173-175; Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* (New York, 1945), chs. iii, iv; Paul Birdsall, *Versailles Twenty Years After* (New York, 1941), ch. ii. See also Paxson, *America at War*, chs. xix, xx.

² Julius Kahn, Republican congressman from California, 1899-1903, 1905-1924, floor manager in 1917 for the selective service bill.

¹ Lodge, stating that Calvin Coolidge was "a graduate of Amherst, a very able, sagacious man of pure New England type," had solicited from Roosevelt this endorsement of Coolidge for governor and Weeks for senator. Coolidge was successful in the election but Weeks lost to the Democratic candidate, the hardy perennial of Massachusetts politics for the next quarter century, David Ignatius Walsh.

of all. As for Senator Weeks, not merely the regard of Massachusetts for her own reputation, but her high interest in the honor and welfare of the nation will insure her returning him to the Senate. His abilities are such as are peculiarly necessary at this particular crisis. He has stood for the unflinching and efficient prosecution of the war until it can be ended by the unconditional surrender of Germany. His own son is a gallant fighting man in our gallant fighting army overseas. He will stand as bravely and wisely for the right kind of peace as he has stood for the right kind of war.
Faithfully yours

6390 • TO JOHN HENRY BARTLETT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 18, 1918

*My dear Mr. Bartlett:*¹ Of course, I most earnestly hope for your election, and for the election of Messrs. Keyes and Moses to the United States Senate,² and for the election of all your associates on the Republican ticket. The events of the past year, and above all the events of the past fortnight, have shown the absolute necessity of securing a Republican majority in Congress, both in the Senate and in the lower House, and Republican Governors and State Officials in the different States.

I write this as an American citizen who has no interest whatever in politics at this time, save from the standpoint of straight Americanism and of winning the war. I heartily endorse the movement to prevent all political contests this year by simply working for the re-election of any loyal man, which movement was stopped by the refusal of the Democratic organization leaders to sanction it. I heartily endorsed and acted upon the President's statement that "politics are adjourned," until to my great regret it became evident that the Administration and the Democratic Party leaders treated this announcement merely as an effort to get Republicans to play Democratic politics. The *New York World*, the accepted organ of the National Administration, last Sunday made a straight-out appeal for a Party Democratic victory in order to give to the President a House and Senate that would do his will. The *World* has been a consistent supporter of the President and very severe when Congress has shown any independence of the President. The President's letters in the cases of various Senators and Congressmen who were candidates for election in Michigan, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, Illinois and elsewhere have explicitly set forth

¹ John Henry Bartlett, New Hampshire Republican; postmaster at Portsmouth, 1899-1908; in 1918 successful candidate for governor; president of the United States Civil Service Commission, 1921; Assistant Postmaster General, 1922-1929.

² Henry Wilder Keyes, husband of the popular novelist Frances Parkinson Keyes; Republican Governor of New Hampshire, 1917-1919; United States Senator, 1919-1937; and George Higgins Moses, intransigent conservative, ruling spirit in New Hampshire Republicanism, and United States Senator, 1918-1933.

that what he demanded was, not loyalty to the country, but loyalty to his Administration, his exact language being, —

“ Senator Vardaman has been conspicuous among the Democrats in the Senate for his opposition to the Administration. If the voters of Mississippi should again choose him to represent them I not only have no right to object, I will have no right in any way to criticize them. But I should be obliged to accept their action as a condemnation of my Administration and it is only right that they should know this before they act.”

At the recent Liberty Loan meetings at Chicago and elsewhere, Democratic politicians have been circulating cards with this appeal “Stand by Wilson over here. Don’t let the elections go against the Government. Vote with President Wilson for the Democratic ticket.” These cards have been distributed at meetings of the Four-Minute Men, Liberty Bond booths, and elsewhere. They represent a frank appeal to win votes for the Democratic ticket by misleading patriotic citizens and making them confused between patriotism and partisanship.

The test of the matter has been the action of Congress and the Administration during the past year, and especially during the past fortnight, as I have said above. The so-called fourteen points laid down by the President, and eagerly accepted by Germany would, if adopted by the American people, mean a surrender to Germany of some of the most vital things for which she has fought, and a failure on our part to accomplish the things we announced to be our objects in the war. The Administration has taken no act to hurry up the war, save on account of pressure from Congress. Certain Democratic Senators and Congressmen have behaved admirably and have been thoroughly patriotic, but on the whole the lead in the great patriotic work for efficiency and the handling of the war and for insistence on the unconditional surrender of Germany, has been taken by the Republicans under the lead of men like Senators Lodge, Poindexter, Nelson and others, and under the lead of men like Messrs. Foss, Gillett³ and their associates in the House. On the whole the votes putting through the essential measures for winning the war, a greater proportion of strength was given by the Republican, than the Democratic Party in Congress. In other words, on every issue where the President was right he was backed more heartily by his political opponents than by his political friends, whom he has championed. On the other hand, when the President himself went wrong, with a few honorable exceptions, the Democrats supported him, and it was the Republicans who saved the nation from humiliation and disaster. During the last fortnight the President entered on peace negotiations with Germany in a spirit which if persevered in meant that we would have been false to our allies and false to our own announced purposes and intentions. There

³Frederick Huntington Gillett, Republican congressman from Massachusetts, 1893-1925, Speaker of the House, 1919-1925; United States Senator, 1925-1931.

was an outburst of indignation in the country which was guided and given expression to by Senators Lodge and Poindexter and others in Congress. So strong was the public feeling that the President promptly yielded and abandoned his first position. But even so his position was far more ambiguous than that of the Republican leaders above named in Congress. The Republican Party in Congress stands for the efficient and unflinching prosecution of this war to the end, and for a peace based upon the unconditional surrender of Germany. The people cannot be certain what President Wilson, and still less what the Democratic majority in the two Houses really intend. The one way to guarantee the efficient waging of this war to the end is to secure the election of a Republican Congress. *The World* said it wishes a "Democratic peace." We wish an American peace! The Democratic peace which *The World* speaks of is apparently the peace ardently welcomed by Germany and based on the President's fourteen points. We stand not for a Democratic peace but for an American peace of which the first essential is the complete and unconditional surrender of Germany and of Germany's vassal tools and allies, Austria and Turkey. The only way to guarantee such a peace is to elect a thoroughly loyal, thoroughly American Congress, a Congress of men like Lodge, Poindexter, Johnson, Nelson and their supporters. Such a Congress will stand by the country, and will stand by the President in everything he does for the country, and will stand against him, or against anyone else at any point where he is not for the country. The election of Messrs. Keyes and Moses will be to have New Hampshire do its part for securing an American peace and the unflinching prosecution of this war in the most efficient manner, until Germany surrenders unconditionally.⁴ *Faithfully yours*

6391 • TO GIFFORD PINCHOT

Gifford Pinchot Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 19, 1918

Dear Gifford: I am not using Stevens at all.¹ I had not used him nor paid attention to him. Did you notice that the Socialist papers are the chief ones backing the Nonpartisan League? The Nonpartisan League has endorsed Borah. Outside of that it is against all Republicans. The leadership is rankly disloyal. The net result of its action is always and invariably disloyal. The people it has backed in Minnesota, in North Dakota, in South Dakota and in Montana have been either pacifists or pro-German; and in home affairs

⁴Roosevelt wrote this letter on the recommendation of Henry Cabot Lodge.

¹Pinchot had expressed doubt about the wisdom of Roosevelt's attacks on the Nonpartisan League which he defended on the ground that its economic program was sound. He had further suggested that F. R. Stevens, a leader in the drive of the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce to dominate the farmers, was not a good adviser to Roosevelt; see Pinchot to Roosevelt, October 16, 1918, Gifford Pinchot Mss.

it is viciously bolshevist. I have been dealing with the Nonpartisan League purely on what the men whom I know in the states named, and whom I trust most, tell me. Every one of my old ranchmen and cowboys, without an exception, have told me that the Nonpartisan League represents the very worst type of Bolshevik movements in their states, and that it is especially dangerous because it has misled a number of excellent farmers. Its leaders are in close alliance with Wilson; its papers are backing Wilson and striving to create class hatred, and are attacking me). We may lose by opposing it — we are absolutely certain to lose if we fail to oppose it. *Faithfully yours*

6392 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

R.M.A. Mss.

Telegram

Oyster Bay, October 24, 1918

I am sending this telegram in triplicate to you and to Senators Miles Poin-dexter and Hiram Johnson, because I make my appeal to the Representatives of the American people from one ocean to the other. As an American citizen I most earnestly hope that the Senate of the United States, which is part of the treaty-making power of the United States, will take affirmative action as regards peace with Germany and in favor of peace based on the unconditional surrender of Germany. I also earnestly hope that on behalf of the American people it will declare against the adoption in their entirety of the fourteen points of the President's address of last January as offering a basis for a peace satisfactory to the United States.

Let us dictate peace by the hammering guns and not chat about peace to the accompaniment of the clicking of typewriters.

The language of the fourteen points and of the subsequent statements explaining or qualifying them, is neither straightforward nor plain, but if construed in its probable sense many and possibly most of these fourteen points are thoroly mischievous and if made the basis of a peace, such peace would represent not the unconditional surrender of Germany but the conditional surrender of the United States. Naturally they are entirely satisfactory to Germany and equally naturally they are in this country satisfactory to every pro-German and pacifist and socialist and anti-American so-called internationalist.

The only peace offer which we should consider from Germany at this time is an offer to accept such terms as the Allies without our aid have imposed on Bulgaria. We ought to declare war on Turkey without an hour's delay. The failure to do so hitherto has caused the talk about making the world safe for democracy, to look unpleasantly like mere insincere rhetoric. While the Turk is left in Europe and permitted to tyrannize over the subject peoples, the world is thoroly unsafe for democracy.

Moreover we should find out what the President means by continually referring to this country merely as the associate, instead of the ally of the

nations with whose troops our own troops are actually brigaded in battle.¹ If he means that we are something less than an ally of France, England, Italy, Belgium and Serbia, then he means that we are something less than an enemy of Germany and Austria. We ought to make it clear to the world that we are neither an untrustworthy friend nor an irresolute foe. Let us clearly show that we do not desire to pose as the umpire between our faithful and loyal friends and our treacherous and brutal enemies, but that we are the staunch ally of our friends and the staunch foe of our enemies. When the German people repudiate the Hohenzollerns, then, and not until then, it will be time to discriminate between them and their masters. I hope the Senate and the House will pass some resolution demanding the unconditional surrender of Germany as our war aim and stating that our peace terms have never yet been formulated or accepted by our people, and that they will be fully discussed with our allies and made fully satisfactory to our own people, before they are discussed with Germany.²

6393 · TO PEYTON CONWAY MARCH

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 25, 1918

My dear General March: The enclosed clipping states that all the American dead in France will be taken home after the war, according to orders received by the army chaplains. I do not know whom to write to in the matter and so I merely ask that you turn this over to whoever has charge of the matter. Mrs. Roosevelt and I wish to enter a most respectful, but a most emphatic, protest against the proposed course so far as our son Quentin is concerned. We have always believed, (in the words of a certain clergyman whom we once knew well,) that "where the tree falls, there let it lie." We know that many good persons feel entirely differently, but to us it is merely painful and harrowing long after death to move the poor body from which the soul has gone. We greatly prefer that Quentin shall continue to lie on the spot where he fell in battle, and where the foemen buried him. After the war is over, Mrs. Roosevelt and I intend to visit the grave, and then to have a small stone put up saying it is put up by us, but not disturbing what has already been erected to his memory by his French and American comrades in arms.¹

With apologies for troubling you, *Very faithfully yours*

¹ Wilson had from the time of the declaration of war taken the position that the United States was a co-belligerent, not an ally of the Western powers.

² No such resolution was passed.

¹ March replied that although the War Department policy of returning the dead was of long standing, he would gladly make an exception for any family requesting it.

Oyster Bay, October 25, 1918

Dear Winty: We loved your letter and we knew just how you felt. You give a vivid word picture of Quentin as you saw him; you feel exactly as I do about these young fellows dying, while you and I, who have warmed both hands before the fire of life, and whose blood has now begun to run thin and cold still live. Yet if all our four sons should be killed, their mother and I would feel that, even altho we were crushed by the blow, we would rather have it that way than not have had them go. Moreover, you are absolutely right about its being for Edith and not for me that you feel most deeply. It's the woman who pays in a case like this. It's the mothers and wives who feel most deeply. The men have to go ahead and do their business in the world anyhow; and that is an immense safety and comfort.

Thanking you, *Ever affectionately yours*

Oyster Bay, October 27, 1918

Dearest Kermit: Bridges told me to be sure to remind you that they wanted some articles from you about Mesopotamia if ever you had leisure. I am sure you could give them some really remarkable articles if you were able to spare the time; but I do not for a moment suppose you will have the time; indeed I half-hope you will be at the front when you get this.

Darling Belle! To think of the lovely girl intending to be a chauffeur at the front! I am glad you put in a veto.

This is my 60th birthday; I am glad to be sixty, for it somehow gives me the right to be titularly as old as I feel. I only hope that when you are sixty you'll have as much happiness to look back upon as I have had, and be as proud of your sons and daughters as I am of mine; and somehow I believe you'll then still be as much in love with Belle as I am with your Mother, and will feel that you owe her as much as I owe your Mother.

Dan Wister spent two or three days with us last week and was as delightful as ever. One day Beebe came out; Dan's orbit is different, and he had never heard of Beebe. Dillon¹ was here; a very interesting man about Russia, but by no means as interesting as that wild genius Raymond Robins, who spent a night here.

Wilson has come out with a frank appeal for Democratic success so as to give him a free hand in peace negotiations; he wishes any kind of peace which he can persuade people to accept as satisfactory, wholly without re-

¹ Emile Joseph Dillon, correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph*. An authority, as a result of study and long residence, on Russia, he had accompanied Count Witte to Portsmouth. At this time he intended to go to Siberia, convinced that, though the Bolshevist regime would soon fall, there was to be chaos for a long time to come.

gard to its ultimate effect on our country or on the world. I have no idea as to how successful he will be.² *Your loving Father*

6396 • TO CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

*Robinson Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, October 27, 1918

Darling Pussie, It was dear of you to remember my birthday. Darling, after all, you and I have known long years of happiness.

And you are as young as I am old! *Ever yours Methusaleh's understudy*

6397 • TO ALBERT BACON FALL

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

Oyster Bay, October 30, 1918

I learn with amazement that the President has wired to the socialist candidate for senator in New Mexico asking for your defeat on the ground that you have not been a supporter of the administration.¹ The socialist platform of 1917 which was reaffirmed in August 1918 denounces the war and declares for what is in effect a Germanized peace in language which makes it out of the question to treat as a loyal American any man who at this crisis runs on such a platform. When the President attacks you in a message to your socialist competitor which message must be regarded as helpful to that competitor he distinctly takes the ground that he puts loyalty to himself above loyalty to the war and this although I believe it to be the general judgment of good Americans that at this time complete loyalty to the country necessarily includes complete loyalty to the war. No American representative in either house of congress during the last five years has more absolutely straight American and war record than yours. You wore the American uniform in the Spanish war. You have proven by your speeches and your votes and by your acts that in this crisis and in all our dealings with foreign nations you consider nothing but the cause of American nationalism and pay no heed whatever to any question of partisanship. You have shown this in your attitude toward Mexico no less than in your attitude toward Germany. Since this war began you have supported the President on every war measure on every measure for making our part in the war as speedy and efficient as possible and you did this when half of the leaders of the President's own party in congress were opposing these measures and seeking to make our participation in the war inefficient. Yet the President has sunk all sense of responsibility to the whole people which his high office should impose upon him and comes out as the mere partisan leader asking for the defeat of the loyal pro-war and pro-American senators and congressmen who ventured to inquire

² This letter is an unaltered version of a copy prepared by Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt of the original which is not now available.

¹ Wilson's telegram was a reply to the Socialist candidate's questions about the President's opinion of Senator Fall.

into corruption and extravagance and to censure delay and inefficiency and asking for the election of the antiwar and therefore anti-American senators and congressmen who although against the administration on the measures as to which the administration was prowar nevertheless supported the administration and damaged the cause of America by seeking to obstruct every effort to uncover or put a stop to inefficiency waste delay extravagance and corruption. You have won the right to the support of all loyal and true-hearted American patriots and I earnestly hope that the good people of New Mexico will return you to the senate with practical unanimity.²

6398 · TO JOSEPH MEDILL MC CORMICK

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

Oyster Bay, October 30, 1918

I most earnestly hope for your success and for the success of all those associated with you. You have been one of the minority leaders in the present Congress. By your actions on every issue you have shown yourself to be a one hundred per cent American for the war, for unconditional surrender in order to end the war, and for a wise insistence in moving forward toward the light in the great reconstruction measures that are to come after the war. There is no man in the present house better suited to render service in the Senate along these lines. You have been tried and your qualities have been proved. You have shown always a peculiar interest in the problems affecting labor and the farm. You have done this not merely when it seemed advisable to do it in order to get votes but during years of patient effort when there was no selfish purpose that could possibly be served on your part. Among all the men I have known there is none who more than you has in season and out of season striven to make the conditions of life better and more favorable for the wageworker of the right kind, and for the farmer who with rugged self-reliance keeps alive the traditions of the old American virtue. You are peculiarly fit from your habit of mind to deal with the new problems that will arise in connection with the new era and to show that mixture of sane radicalism and cautious common sense absolutely necessary if we are to avoid the twin although opposite gulf of social and industrial Bolshevism.

In particular I would appeal for you to that half of the electorate which is now for the first time coming to its own in our country. Above all others the women of this land are interested in seeing made permanent the policy for which you and the other Republican leaders in the present Congress have so resolutely stood, as I now believe, and have always believed with all my heart and soul. Excepting only the soldier, I put a duty-performing mother

² This telegram was released to the press on November 2. On October 29 Roosevelt had wired Fall that the country must not "be deprived of your great ability in leadership and in considerate work in the United States Senate. To a peculiar degree you embody the best American spirit and I trust that every good American will join in supporting you" (Roosevelt Mss.). Fall's victory by a narrow margin helped give the Republicans their majority of two in the Senate.

above every other citizen of the land and I would be more than content to rest my appeal in any great matter of permanent policy for this country to the reasoned and deliberate judgment of the mothers of the land. I ask for national preparedness for the very reason that only national preparedness will guarantee the mother against seeing her sons go to the war when they grow up, for freedom is not a gift that tarries in the hands of cowards and neither is it a gift that tarries in the hands of those too shortsighted or too soft-hearted to prepare their hardened strength in advance for its defense. It is the mother who above all other people necessarily takes the long look ahead as she thinks of her children. Therefore, in appealing to all our citizens I appeal particularly to her. I appeal to her when I ask that we insist upon the peace of unconditional surrender of Germany now, because the only real guarantee against future wars like the present horror is the guarantee that will be given by beating to his knees the criminal responsible for the present war. I ask that we fight the war through now so that the young children now alive may not have to fight another and equally dreadful war when they grow to years of maturity. Let us finish the job, we men and women of today, and not for our own selfish ease shift the burden onto the shoulders of the children who are to come after us. In the same way I ask the mothers to ponder the problems of reconstruction. I do not propose that we shall seek after a Utopia, in which nobody works and all things come easily, for no such Utopia will ever exist and it would be an uncommonly dreary place to live in if ever it did exist. I do not propose that we seek to create conditions in which every quality of accomplishment shall be met by equality of reward, for such action consists in putting a premium upon laziness, viciousness and inefficiency. But I do hope that we shall strive to create conditions under which there shall be a greater chance than at present for every man and every woman to have his or her opportunity; greater facilities for him or her to be trained to take advantage of that opportunity and for a freer field than at present in which he or she, when the opportunity has been granted, shall be able to show the stuff within their own souls. These are the things for which you stand and it is because you thus stand for them that I stand for you.

6399 • TO ALBERT JEREMIAH BEVERIDGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, October 31, 1918

My dear Senator: I think your suggestions are probably right. But don't make any mistake about me. I am insisting upon Nationalism as against Internationalism. I am for saying with a bland smile whatever Nationalism demands. I will then adopt with that extra consideration any wise and feasible plan for limiting the possible area and likelihood of future wars. Mine is merely a platonic expression, designed to let Taft and his followers to get over without too much trouble, and also to prevent any accusation that we are ourselves merely Prussian militarists. *Faithfully yours*

Telegram

Oyster Bay, November 1, 1918

I have just received your letter. I most earnestly hope for the election of Governor Norbeck, Senator Sterling and all their colleagues on the Republican ticket.¹ You inform me that under the lead of Mr. Townley and his associates, the so-called Nonpartisan League has allied itself with the Democrats, or rather has swallowed the Democrats, in opposition to the Republicans. I well understand that very many honest farmers have been misled into joining the League with the hope of bettering their political conditions. But as long as the league submits to the leadership of Messrs. Townley, and Le Sueur,² it cannot escape the condemnation of good and loyal Americans. It is utterly impossible to explain Mr. Le Sueur's telegram to Mr. Haywood, the head of the I.W.W. in which he proposed to join with Haywood in fighting the antispy bills and in opposing the draft bill which was essential to our efficiency in the war. Under its present leadership the real purpose of the Nonpartisan League is to bring about Bolshevism in the United States and applied Bolshevism in the United States means the extension of I.W.W. methods into our farming regions as well as everywhere else and in foreign affairs the abandonment and betrayal of American nationalism. Under Mr. Townley's lead the League papers published class hatred in its most vicious form, and in Minnesota and elsewhere the League has championed the seditious and disloyal side again and again in public contests. Under the lead of men like Governor Norbeck South Dakota during the last ten years has done more for genuine progressive legislation than any other state in the Union. The rural credit law has been far more practically useful than the federal law of the same kind and it has really accomplished an extraordinary amount. You have an excellent bank guarantee law, you have statewide prohibition, you have reduced express rates and freight rates without being guilty of any unfair or oppressive practices. You have passed an excellent antilobby law. Your candidates are of very high character — one of your candidates for Congress is a soldier at the front who has recently been wounded and is in hospital. Among their opponents are some upright men but they are in alliance with men who are at bottom engaged in the effort to overthrow the democracy of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln and of the American people. For example, the Democrat running for Congress in the Sioux Falls district has, you tell me, been endorsed by the Nonpartisan League and

¹ The Republicans carried South Dakota without difficulty, re-electing both Peter Norbeck, state senator, 1909-1915, lieutenant governor, 1915-1916, governor, 1917-1921, United States Senator, 1921-1936, and Thomas Sterling, dean of the University of South Dakota law school, 1901-1911, United States Senator, 1913-1925. The candidates endorsed by the Nonpartisan League were, except for Borah, everywhere defeated even in North Dakota, the league's stronghold.

² Arthur Le Sueur, attorney for the Great Northern Railway in Minot, North Dakota, 1904-1911, mayor of Minot, 1912, a member of the Socialist Party National Committee, 1912-1916, and since 1916 president of Peoples College, Fort Scott, Kansas.

has advocated war being declared only by a referendum vote, those who are for war being placed in one column, those hostile in another, and those voting for war being the first to be drafted. If it be true that this man has advocated any such plan he is at heart thoroughly disloyal to this country. He should be thrown out of Congress promptly even if elected and no honest man can afford to vote for him and thereafter claim to be himself a good and loyal American. Apparently these candidates opposed to the Republicans and under the dictation of the Nonpartisan League have as their immediate local boss a former socialist Mayor of Butte, who was removed from office for the desecration of the American flag.³ The candidate against Mr. Norbeck you report as having stated that the leaders of the Nonpartisan League are just as loyal as the rest of the people. The letters published between the I.W.W. leaders and the Nonpartisan League leaders in South Dakota and elsewhere, of which you send me copies, and the Socialist record of Mr. Townley renders it quite impossible to accept any man as loyal himself if he endorses the loyalty of the leaders of the league. The Socialist Platform which was reaffirmed this very year declares that our going to war is "a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world." Since this war began Mr. Townley has said in a published address which you quote "the flower of the young manhood of this nation is going across the water to bleed, I believe and fear for the damned pirates who profit from our food products." I have a long acquaintance and affection for South Dakota. I have immensely admired what South Dakota has done. I know the sturdy Americanism of her people. I hope they will not be misled at this time. That they will stand against Bolshevism, and anarchy and I.W.W.-ism and Germanized Socialism and disloyalty, open or covered and the only way in which they can thus stand is by voting for Governor Norbeck and the entire Republican ticket from the top to the bottom. With all good wishes.⁴

6401 • TO HENRY H. TIMKEN

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

New York, November 2, 1918

*My dear Mr. Timken:*¹ I have received your communication. Of course I very earnestly hope for the election of the entire Republican ticket, state and Congressional, in Ohio. If I were able I would gladly speak in Ohio. I make my appeal as an American, for President Wilson has made his appeal for a

³Louis J. Duncan, Socialist mayor of Butte, had been removed from office in 1914 for "neglect of duty" during a miners' riot.

⁴This wire was sent to Stitzel X. Way, a Republican from Watertown, South Dakota.

¹Henry H. Timken, president of the Timken Roller Bearing Company of Canton, Ohio; founder of the Timken Steel and Tube Company; chairman of the board of directors of the Hercules Motors Corporation; in these capacities responsible for the development of antifriction bearings; a life-long Republican and admirer of William McKinley.

Democratic Congress in the narrowest spirit of partisanship. He asks that the Republicans even although prowar, be defeated and he makes no distinction between prowar and antiwar Democrats, but asks for the election of all alike. Under the circumstances I hope the people of Ohio will vote the Republican ticket. The President's appeal is a cruel insult to every Republican father and mother whose sons have entered the Army or the Navy, and I believe it would be equally resented by the Democrats whose gallant sons are in the army or the navy, side by side with the gallant sons of their Republican neighbors, and who do not wish this line of partisanship drawn between the boys on the other side, and who do not wish to see their loyal neighbors who in sending their sons have given the supreme test of devotion, attacked in such a cruel and unmerited manner as the President has attacked them. I hope every citizen will vote in such fashion that never again in a great war will a President of the United States try to turn his high office into an electioneering rostrum for one party without regard to the interests of the country. Either the American people are fit to govern themselves or they are not, and if they are fit to govern themselves they will repudiate the President's attempt to cast their votes for them and to insist that we shall have a rubber-stamp Congress instead of a Congress of self-respecting public servants, whose sole responsibility is to the American people.² *Faithfully yours*

6402 · TO CHARLES SUMNER BIRD

R.M.A. Mss.

New York, November 2, 1918

Dear Mr. Bird: That's a capital letter, and an excellent statement about Weeks, and in the postscript to your letter you give exactly my own feelings. Weeks is an honorable man, a reactionary by conviction, and shows much lack of foresight, but he is a genuine patriot. In other words, as regards reconstruction in this country, he will be a good deal like an Egyptian mummy; but after all he is a mummy who loves his country, and he will fight the cold-blooded, selfish, and tricky creature now at the head of the nation, who does *not* give a rap for the country. Wilson is too timid to fight personally for anything, and will only let others fight for his own advantage! *Faithfully yours*

6403 · TO JULIAN STREET

Roosevelt Mss.

New York, November 2, 1918

Dear Julian: The trouble is that I don't make "deliberate advances" toward any influential group, in order to get them to send delegates for me to the

² Two days earlier Roosevelt had joined Taft in a widely circulated statement urging the election of a Republican Congress to assure the unconditional surrender of Germany, the participation of the Senate in the making of peace, minimal disturbance in reconversion of the economy to a peace basis, and a careful account of Democratic stewardship over wartime expenditures.

National Convention. It never entered my head to ask John King for any support. I became immensely interested with his handling of the political situation, and especially the labor situation in Bridgeport. His volunteering allegiance came without the slightest suggestion from me. I will not send for any politicians in Connecticut, or anywhere else, and directly or indirectly do anything that seems to be a bid for support at the next Republican National Convention; for however little these people believe it, my interest is purely to get certain ideas and ideals adopted as the American national policy, and I will run only if the Republicans believe that I am the man to put through this policy, without any pussyfooting, or slippery turning of corners on my part. I am not acting through John King or through anyone else. If the three men you named wish to see me, it will be a pleasure to see them, just as it has been a pleasure to see dozens of men of high political standing from dozens of states, who have come to tell me that they believe in me and believe in my policies and that, although they were hitherto against me, they were now for me. But I am not going to send for them or put myself in the position of asking their support.

I have so many matters on my hands that I doubt if I can take up the plans of Mr. Andrews, although they are capital in purpose.¹ That is a very interesting letter from General Marshall.² *Faithfully yours*

6404 · TO WILLIAM W. POTTER

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, November 4, 1918

*My dear Sir:*¹ I have received the history entitled *Medieval and Modern Times* by Professor Robinson and have read the chapter entitled "Origin of the War of 1914."² I think much of the book prior to this chapter is misleading; but as to this, I entirely agree with the comment made by Mr. Ferris,³

¹Matthew Page Andrews, author and publisher of textbooks, had proposed a course of instruction in democratic ways and ideals for German prisoners. When the War Department failed to support the proposal, Street asked Roosevelt to promote it.

²Francis Cutler Marshall, former cavalry instructor at West Point, Theodore, Jr.'s, commanding officer.

¹William W. Potter, lawyer from Hastings, Michigan, a partner of Philip Taylor Colgrove, long prominent in local Republican politics.

²In *Medieval and Modern Times* (rev. ed., Boston, 1918), James Harvey Robinson, professor of history at Columbia, designated German militarism and expansion as the greatest causes of the war. He said the German contention that England was responsible was a tissue of "clear and well-planned lies." He also indicated that French and English imperialists in the decade preceding the war had contributed to the international tension. In this chapter Robinson had the assistance of James T. Shotwell and Charles A. Beard.

³Woodbridge Nathan Ferris, a high school principal and superintendent of schools, founder in 1884 and first president of the Ferris Institute, a vocational school. Long influential in Michigan's Democratic party, Ferris, after running unsuccessfully for Congress in 1892 and for governor in 1904, served as governor, 1913-1916, and as United States Senator, 1923-1928.

of the Ferris Institute, as an explanation of Dr. Robinson's excessive admiration for the German nation. The chapter called "The Origin of the War of 1914" by whomever written, whether by Dr. Robinson or Mr. Shotwell, or anyone else is an outrageous piece of German propaganda and because of its omissions it is a shameful perversion of historic truth. This one chapter makes the book utterly unfit for use in American schools, and I very cordially recommend that you bring it to the attention of the National Security League and the American Defense Society to see what their opinion is, as to whether any further action can be taken in the matter. I will be glad to have you forward this letter to them. *Sincerely yours*

6405 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mss.*

Oyster Bay, November 10, 1918

Dearest Ted: Apparently — judging from George's letter to Julia¹ you are back at the front, — you old scamp. Events tread on one another's heels now but I should scarcely expect the German armed resistance to continue much longer. However I have no idea how soon our troops will be brought home, or what the allied nations may do in the way of police work, especially if Germany turns Bolshevist. Wilson will probably be inclined to act in closer agreement with the Allies and with less partiality towards either Germanism or Bolshevism than he has shown symptoms of because of the stinging rebuke given him by the Republican Congressional victory in the elections. He himself made the issue between servility to himself and loyalty to the nation and to our allies. In either France or England the defeat he suffered would have meant his immediate retirement from office. But the Republicans must understand that their chance of becoming the successful anti-Bolshevist party depends upon their being sane but thoroughgoing progressives. Mere standpatism, or in other words the Romanov attitude, ensures disaster.² *Your loving Father*

6406 · TO ROBERT ANDERSON POPE

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 12, 1918

*My dear Mr. Pope:*¹ I thank you for your courteous statement of how you have stood for me in the past, and therefore I answer your letter. But I have

¹ Julia Morris Addison married George Emlen Roosevelt in October 1914.

² Roosevelt dictated this letter to Mrs. Roosevelt who added a postscript saying: "Father is flat on his back with his gout. I may have written of it last letter. He is having a horrid suffering time." Next day Roosevelt was taken to the hospital where he remained until Christmas day.

¹ Robert Anderson Pope, landscape architect and town planner of liberal persuasion, occasional contributor to the *New Republic*, first American to fly-fish for salmon in Newfoundland.

not read and shall not read the *Liberator*,² nor the *New Republic*, nor the Hearst papers, nor the *Appeal to Reason*, nor Mr. Townley's vicious papers published as organs of the Nonpartisan League. I once read all these papers enough to satisfy myself definitely that it was a waste of time to read them; and as you give me advice, my dear Mr. Pope, I will advise you in return that as these papers evidently cloud your judgment it is not only a waste of time but exceedingly mischievous for you to read them at all.

I am thoroughly familiar with all the evidence about the Nonpartisan League, including all the untruthful apologies for it made in the papers of which you speak. Evidently, however, *you* are not familiar at all with what I have written and said on the subject. I have again and again stated what you mention to me as something of which I am ignorant, namely, that there are any number of honest men, former supporters of mine, who have followed the League as a matter of economic self-protection because they believe in co-operative community of effort. You ask me to "reinform" myself about the Nonpartisan League movement. I ask you not to "reinform" yourself, for you evidently aren't informed on the subject at all, but to acquire the elementary knowledge necessary to learn what I have said of what the League has done. The *New Republic* has been basely unpatriotic itself on many occasions and of course it dismissed the charge that the League is unpatriotic. But how any man who calls himself an American can be misled by such a statement I do not understand. Apparently you suppose that in South Dakota, Montana, Minnesota and other states when I deal with the League I do not know the facts. As a matter of fact none of my opponents have caught me tripping on a single fact yet. The leadership of the League has been on occasions frankly disloyal; it was pro-German and antiwar until this became unsafe; it tries to stir up social war here; it has just conducted a thoroughly disloyal campaign in Minnesota, South Dakota and Montana. One of its most prominent officials, in communication with Haywood of the I.W.W. when war was declared, proposed as their common aim to concentrate their opposition to all draft and antispy bills. The League, of course, stood by them, and after this anybody who says that the leadership of the League is not disloyal shows that he himself does not know what loyalty means.

I quite agree with you that the Republican Party must not simply fight for the maintenance of the old order, or of any group of men primarily interested in their economic well-being. But you seem to fail to understand that under Mr. Wilson, the Democratic Party in appealing to the Nonpartisan League and to the I.W.W., and to all kinds of other organizations, has appealed to them purely on the ground that their primary concern was their own economic well-being! I have appealed to them because they were Americans and on the ground of justice.

Now as to your final paragraph. You say you couldn't understand my

² A journal superseding *The Masses* and later united with the *Labor Herald* and the *Soviet Russia Pictorial*.

objecting to an out-and-out issue with Mr. Wilson regarding peace terms. Here again you speak of my doing what I never did. Are you not aware that I took straight issue about Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points? He doubled to and fro among them like a rabbit; I was straightforward. As for your final sentence, I differ from you simply because you evidently, if this sentence expresses your thought accurately, believe that Mr. Wilson ought to have done as he did when he announced that he was looking at the war from the standpoint primarily of a party leader; whereas I on the contrary was looking at the war from the standpoint of an American citizen. *Sincerely yours*

6407 · TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 14, 1918

Dear W. A.: It is not necessary to say that anything I can do to get you on the Peace Commission, or in an organization of commissions, will be done.¹ I have sent your telegram with a letter immediately to Lodge asking him to show the letter to Poindexter, Johnson and Kellogg, and our other friends, and asking if I can be of any further help. Now, can you point out to me any way I can accomplish anything? In a day or two I am going to write an editorial on your phrase that our victory is merely an opportunity.² *Faithfully yours*

6408 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 14, 1918

Dear Cabot: The enclosed from William Allen White explains itself. I would give a great deal if I could help him in this ambition. He has been across for the Red Cross, he is as straight as a string and this is the kind of work he could do, and do well. Is there any way in which I can help him?

I have written poor, gallant Weeks.¹ I feel very badly about him.

The west has come back with a jump. It is perfectly prepared to be strong anti-Bolshevist but it will not stand for the Republican Party unless we really do go forward and are ready to go forward as radically as may be

¹ White had asked Roosevelt, Walter Lippmann, and others to try to get him a minor place on the large staff of advisers Wilson was taking to Paris. Failing to obtain such an appointment, White arranged to go to Paris as a representative of the Red Cross.

² "The election of a Republican Congress a fortnight ago was first and foremost a victory for straight Americanism," Roosevelt wrote in the *Kansas City Star* of November 18. "To the Republican Party it represents not so much a victory as an opportunity." The Republicans who had won in the West, he continued, as opponents of Kaiserism and Bolshevism, intended "to shape our internal policy for the real substantial benefit of the average man. . . ." They wanted therefore, Roosevelt believed, to help tenant farmers, small business men, and labor.

¹ Expressing his deep regret at Weeks's defeat in the senatorial election.

necessary. I had most interesting times with Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado and Kansas men in the last campaign. *Ever yours*

6409 · TO WILLIAM WILLS DAVIES

Roosevelt Mss.

Telegram

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 14, 1918

I cordially agree with what I have seen of Prime Minister Hughes' statement.¹ It would be a crime against the British Empire and against civilization for Great Britain to give back a single one of the German colonies which the British Imperial forces have conquered. They should all be kept either by the Australian or South African governments or by the Imperial Government itself. In addition I entirely agree that Australia like the United States should be left free to absolutely determine for itself its economic and its internal social and industrial policies including all such questions as the tariff and the immigration and naturalization policies. I hope that the League of Nations will begin by being a League of the Allies who have just overthrown the hideous despotism of the central powers and I hope that no nation that has been acting as a criminal will be admitted to the League until after a sufficient number of years to satisfy us.²

6410 · TO CHARLES RICHARD VAN HISE

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 15, 1918

My dear President Van Hise: With most of what you say I am in entire agreement and most of your methods I regard as sound and practical. I don't believe in international administration of Africa or other colonies.¹ It was tried in Samoa and in the Congo and it worked uncommonly badly. Britain administers her colonies well. The Boers who were under the British flag will be the real masters in the future of Africa, south of the Equator. Therefore I would let the African Colonies go as England, France, Belgium and Portugal may determine among themselves.

The disarmament question is the one where I have fundamental reserva-

¹ William Morris Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, on November 9 protested against Wilson's fourteen points. He specifically opposed the removal of economic barriers and the impartial adjustment of colonial claims. Australia, he insisted, must have the freedom to determine her own economic policies and must have the right to retain for her future defense the neighboring islands taken from Germany.

² This telegram was sent to William Wills Davies of the Australian Press Association. Davies, assuming his post in 1916, was the first representative of the Australian press in this country. Prior to his appointment American news went to his country by way of London.

¹ Wilson proposed that former German colonies should be administered as mandates by such neutral nations as Holland or the Scandinavian countries.

tions.² Personally I will never consent to substitute anything for our own forehanded preparedness for our own self-defense. Universal military training of all our young men on the Swiss system, say for nine months sometime between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three will be merely the best kind of universal education, not only in self-defense but in citizenship. I enclose you copy of my Baltimore speech³ in which I took up this matter. Such an army would not be an offensive army, and it would be the most powerful possible deterrent to war. With the exception of England, I would not be willing that any outside power should surpass our navy. *Faithfully yours*

6411 · TO GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 15, 1918

*Dear Haven:*¹ I agree absolutely with you, and I have reason probably beyond what you have for very deep suspicion of President Wilson's attitude toward Germany and England respectively. You probably saw the *Tageblatt* statement that the election of a Republican Congress rendered it impossible to hope that America would sanction Mr. Wilson's reasonable peace terms. Through a prominent German-Jew banker who became indiscreetly boastful, I learned about the middle of last September that Mr. Wilson intended to bring the war to a close by a negotiated peace with Germany, crowned by a League of Nations, with Germany in and Wilson as first president of the League. The German note to Wilson and Wilson's first answer, and the answer of the Germans to that answer, bore out exactly what the German said. Meanwhile I knew, not by legal evidence, but by evidence that would satisfy me if I were myself at the peace table with him, that Colonel House intended to secure an economic alliance between Germany and the United States as against England, and that he had been saying that we must not have Germany too much weakened, because Germany was a check on England, as otherwise we should be at England's mercy. You of course knew that the *World* whose editor was the other peace delegate had been protesting against the demand for an unconditional surrender.

I will do everything I can to strengthen our relations with Great Britain. I am now prepared to say that as regards the British Empire (Great Britain and Ireland, and Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand), I would

² The fourth of Wilson's points called for "adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

³ On September 28, Roosevelt had opened the fourth liberty loan drive in Baltimore with a speech in which he advocated registration of men and women for industrial training in peace time.

¹ George Haven Putnam, president of the American Rights League, 1915-1916, was using the platform of that organization to recruit support for the American branch of the English-Speaking Union. He had asked Roosevelt for a letter endorsing his work.

go in for any alliance and agree to arbitrate every question of any kind that comes up, accepting in advance the theory that under no condition is the possibility of war between the United States and the British Empire to be treated as possible. I do not however, think it well to put my name on any new organization, but I will write you any kind of a letter that you may wish.² *Faithfully yours*

But the hysterical British praise of Wilson makes me rather contemptuous of them.

6412 · TO ELMER THEODORE PETERSON

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 15, 1918

Dear Mr. Peterson: Many thanks for the editorial and for your kind letter. I believe in a very small standing army and in the principle of universal training for all our young men. Let every young man sometime between the ages of 19 and 23 have nine months with the colors. Pick out every candidate for noncommissioned officers or for officers from those who desire such positions and whose services during these nine months showed them to be most fitted for such positions. Under this system we would have almost no standing army, certainly a standing army no larger than ours was at the outbreak of the war. We would have all our young men having received a training which would take the physical and moral stoop out of their shoulders, would make them infinitely better citizens in time of peace as regards the state and would so improve them physically and mentally that they would be more useful to themselves and their families and more valuable assets in the country. We would have a great reserve army which would not be particularly efficient for offense, but which would be very powerful for defense. It would be composed of men voters, your sons and my sons and our neighbors' sons who would not make a separate militarist class but would simply and actually be the people themselves. It would not offer the slightest temptation for aggression and it would effectively guarantee us, as not even the wisest peace league could guarantee us, against all likelihood of foreign war, and would render it absolutely certain that no nation in its senses would ever attack us, and any nation that did attack us could not by any possibility conquer us.

Is the above sufficiently explicit? *Faithfully yours*

6413 · TO MILES POINDEXTER

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 16, 1918

Dear Senator Poindexter: You are always doing such admirable things nowadays that I bid fair to become your constant correspondent. I wish heartily

² See No. 6422.

to thank you for what you have been saying about the Peace League.¹ I am entirely willing to have a kind of common sense Peace League with our allies, if we don't promise too much. But as for taking in Germany at this moment I would just as soon attempt to work a reform in the New York Police Department by including all the most eminent second-story men of the city. Moreover, we ought not for one moment to permit the formation of a Peace League to interfere with the preparations for our own defense.

Now, will you do me a favor? Senator Reed has been one of my bitter opponents in the past and I have never had any special admiration for him, but I immensely admire the courage with which he stands against the noxious demagogism which continually repeats the perfectly infamous falsehood that the munition manufacturers help in the fight for preparedness.² I wish you would thank him for me as an American for his prompt repudiation, for his prompt contradiction of Senator Walsh's entirely untruthful and demagogic statement to this effect. By the way I think Hoover showed himself in a very contemptible light when in the last election he endeavored to play Mr. Wilson's partisan game.³ I shall never feel the same toward him again. *Always yours*

6414 · TO ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE

Lee Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 19, 1918

Dear Arthur: Well, we have seen the mighty days and you, at least, have done your full share in them. We have lived through the most tremendous tragedy in the history of civilization. We should be sternly thankful that the tragedy ended with a grim appropriateness, too often lacking. All the people directly or indirectly responsible for the tragedy, all those who have preached and practiced the cynical treachery, brutality and barbarism and the conscienceless worshipping of revolting cunning and brute force which made the German people what it was in 1914 (and what, except that it is defeated, it now is) — all these people have come down in the crash. When the war first broke out I did not think the Kaiser was really to blame. I thought he was simply the tool; gradually I was forced to realize that he was one of the leading conspirators, plotters and wrongdoers. The last fortnight has shown that he was not even a valorous barbarian — he was unwilling to pay with his body when his hopes were wrecked. Think of the Kaiser and his six sons saving their own worthless carcasses at the end, leaving their

¹ Wilson's plan for a League of Nations, Poindexter had told the Senate, endangered the Constitution and the Monroe Doctrine.

² James Alexander Reed, Democratic senator from Missouri, 1911-1929, had denied that munitions makers had subsidized the pro-Ally press or that they were subsidizing the anti-League press. Nothing selfish, he maintained, motivated the opponents of the League. Then and ever Reed was of their number.

³ Hoover had endorsed Wilson's appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress.

women, like their honor, behind them. If ever there was a case where on the last day of the fighting the leaders should have died, this was the case.

I was able to render substantial service to the allies during the last month by being probably the chief factor in preventing Wilson from doing what he fully intended to do, namely, double-cross the allies, appear as an umpire between them and the Central Powers and get a negotiated peace which would put him personally on a pinnacle of glory in the sight of every sinister pro-German and every vapid and fatuous doctrinaire sentimentalist throughout the world.¹ I knew in advance what Wilson's intentions were. The probably necessary kowtowing performed in front of him by almost all the British leaders, and by the great majority of the French leaders, had made him certain that they would accept whatever he did. His success in fooling and browbeating our own people, the terror which he had impressed on the newspapers, the immense political funds which he used nominally for national, but really for party, purposes, and the natural tendency of good people to stand by the President in wartime made him convinced that he could induce the nation to follow him in another somersault. Accordingly he entered into negotiations with Germany on the basis of a peace, conditioned upon his famous fourteen points. Germany agreed eagerly and absolutely to his demands. The Fourteen Points were thoroughly mischievous and would have meant a negotiated peace with Germany. Moreover, last January when the Fourteen Points were promulgated our people knew so little of the matter and were so accustomed to loose rhetoric that they did not show any discontent with them. But by the first of October when the Wilson-Germany negotiations were on, our people had waked up. They wished unconditional surrender, and there was an outburst of popular feeling such as I have very rarely seen in America. The President was repudiated and threatened by people who had been his slavish adherents. Wilson is utterly shameless and as soon as he became convinced that the people would upset him, he promptly double-crossed Germany instead of the allies, and appeared again as the lofty opponent of the German Government. But the incident caused him to lose his temper, and he thought he would provide himself with a rubber-stamp Congress in the elections that were about to take place. Accordingly he made an appeal for a Democratic Senate and House, saying that although the Republicans were prowar they were anti-Administration and that he would not regard his policies as sustained if either the House or the Senate were Republican. This gave me my chance, and in the last week of the campaign we did the seemingly impossible, — carried the House by a substantial and the Senate by a bare majority. Wilson explicitly stated that he made no test excepting that of support of his administration, by which he meant support of himself at any point where his personal comfort or per-

¹ In the margin of the letter someone, probably Lee, commenting on the words from the beginning of this paragraph to the end of this sentence, wrote "This is the only time I have ever known him speak of his own services!"

sonal administration was involved. He appealed just as strongly for antiwar Democrats as for prowar Democrats and his whole argument was against prowar Republicans.

The German people thoroughly understood what the issue was and after election thoroughly understood what had happened. The *Berliner Tageblatt* stated with refreshing frankness that the election of a Republican Congress rendered it impossible for Germany to hope that Mr. Wilson would be able to give them the kind of peace that was "reasonable" — in other words, pro-German.

The comparison between Foch's Twenty-three Points which were actually adopted in the armistice and Wilson's Fourteen show the difference between the shifty rhetorician who wants an indecisive peace and the resolute soldier who will accept only the peace of overwhelming victory.² By the way, you will be amused to know that in Canada and Australia I am regarded with hearty sympathy in my views as to the retention by the British Empire of all the German Colonies, etc. etc. I have made the Canadians and Australians feel that *my* utterances do not need a key to explain them!

As regards England, I end the war more convinced than ever that there should be the closest alliance between the British Empire and the United States; and also I am more convinced than ever that neither one can afford for one moment to rely on the other in a sufficiently tight place. There would always of course be the chance that the other, in such event, would wake up to the needs of the situation; but there would also be the chance that its own political tricksters and doctrinaires and sentimental charlatans and base materialists would make it false to its duty. There are just two Englishmen, of the civilian class, with whom I now feel in entire sympathy, namely Kipling and yourself — I am not speaking of dear Trevelyan and the other persons to whom I am attached on mere social and literary grounds.

However, all this is of little account. In spite of our pacifists and sentimentalists and tricky politicians at home, and in spite of the aid given to the worst American foes of England by so many well-meaning foolish Englishmen, America did finally play a real part in the war and played it manfully. England of course has suffered and achieved more than ever before in her whole history. The victory is tremendous, the overthrow of Germany complete.

² The Allies, threatened by Colonel House with the possibility that the United States might negotiate a separate peace, had accepted the fourteen points with two qualifications as the basis for negotiating an armistice with Germany. One qualification, upon which England insisted, reserved from discussion at the peace table the question of the freedom of the seas; the other qualification, imposed by the French, required Germany to compensate the Allies for damage to civilian property. All fourteen points were further interpreted in a memorandum by Frank Cobb and Walter Lippmann. This agreement did not constitute the conditions of armistice which were presented to the German representatives by Marshal Foch, whose exacting military terms approached the unconditional surrender which he and Roosevelt had wanted. For the Cobb-Lippmann memorandum and the conditions of armistice, see Rudin, *Armistice, 1918*, Appendixes E and G.

Ted and Kermit have taken part in the last fighting, and I believe they are now walking toward the Rhine. Archie pretty badly crippled is back with us. I doubt if his arm will ever be quite right again, but he will be able to do a great many things with it. Ted has been made Lieutenant Colonel, and commanded his regiment in the final fighting. Dick Derby has done exceedingly well and has been promoted to be Lieutenant Colonel. This is Quentin's birthday. With dearest love to Ruth and Faith, *Always yours*

6415 · TO JAMES BRYCE

Bryce Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 19, 1918

My dear Bryce: That's a really fine letter of yours of October 20th, and I am in hearty sympathy with it.

In the first place I of course entirely agree with your summary of "causes." The first real smash was the forced surrender of Bulgaria; then came the fall of Turkey; and then the fall of Austria. Germany's fall followed inevitably.

Now, my dear fellow, I feel I am utterly powerless to do more than I have already done. Believe me, all that I have said about Wilson during this World War has represented not merely my deepest convictions, but the truth as near as I could possibly find it out, and when I have grown impatient at Grey or you, or some other of my friends, taking positions which encouraged Wilson in his double-dealing, it was because I felt in my marrow that you were playing his game, when down at bottom this game of his was played selfishly, and might at any time represent a betrayal of the world's interest. As you know, he made his appeal to the nation to elect a Democratic Congress in order "to stand by" him. He said the Republican leaders were prowar but that they were anti-Administration and therefore he was against them, and he asked that all Democrats, whether prowar or antiwar, should be elected, if they were pro-Administration. We beat him and carried the House by nearly 50 majority, and the Senate by a majority of a couple. In no other free government would he at this moment be in office, or would his views have any more effect than those of any other influential private citizen upon the terms of peace. But as it is there is no way we can act directly until March 4th, and even after that date the area in which we can act directly is very much circumscribed.

America would have gone to war against the Turks even more heartily than against the Germans, precisely as it would have gone to war against the Germans when the *Lusitania* was sunk even more heartily than it did two years later. But the President refused to go to war against Turkey, chiefly because of the vilely unworthy attitude of some normally very worthy people—the Presbyterian Missionaries, who had built up Robert and Beirut colleges. To my mind no outcome that leaves the Turk in Europe is satis-

factory. There are several possible solutions. Greece for example would be strong enough to hold the Straits with the sea powers back of her, but would never be under any temptation to turn against the same powers. The rule of the Anatolian Turk should be limited to the Anatolian highlands, where for nearly nine centuries he has been not merely the political master, but rooted in the soil. As for the Arab movement, of which you speak, I have found very curious proof of it among the Syrian Christians here. As you well say there is just a chance in Arab lands of a Moslem majority's being willing to show a religious toleration like that which in the golden days of Baghdad and Cordova so infinitely surpassed what the stark brutality of Christian Europe could then show.

At the Peace Conference England and France can get what they wish, so far as America is concerned, if, while treating Wilson with politeness, they openly and frankly throw themselves on the American people for support in any vital matter.

What Wilson is most anxious to do is to take something like Grey's League of Nations, adopt it in almost all its outward forms, give Germany full membership, and insist upon the German interpretation of "freedom of the seas." I am for such a League provided we don't expect too much from it, and don't let it interfere with some such system as the Swiss system of universal obligatory training for all our young men, which will, of course, give us only a defensive army. I am not willing to play the part which even Aesop held up to derision when he wrote of how the wolves and the sheep agreed to disarm, and how the sheep as a guarantee of good faith sent away the watchdogs, and were then forthwith eaten by the wolves.

I hate not to face facts. It is a fact that the British Empire and the United States have reached the point, where, in my judgment, they can agree henceforth to arbitrate everything without any reservation. I should be perfectly willing to establish a permanent Supreme Court, which would arbitrate any questions between these two nations (or any constituent portions of them) precisely as our own Supreme Court arbitrates questions affecting the different states. But I would not for one moment make any such arrangement as regards Germany, Russia, China and most of the tropical American states—the reasons being different in the different cases.

There are certain points upon which I used to think myself entirely out of sympathy with my own country. I have come to the conclusion that I am just as much out of sympathy on these points with the immense majority of Englishmen. For instance, they don't seem to be horrified or revolted by hypocrisy. They keep portions of their consciences in separate watertight compartments. They wish one compartment in which to stow all the phrases about "absolute self-determination for all peoples." In a totally different compartment they stow the actual facts of the treatment of those peoples, which, more or less justly, are in the event found unfit for self-determination. They love the fine language; they know it cannot be translated into fact; and so they applaud hypocritical promises, and cynical repudiation of the promises.

To propose in any real sense to give African savages more than a consultative and subordinate share in their own affairs is, at present, simply silly. Yet there are any number of people, including Wilson very often, and Lloyd George not infrequently, who like to use language which means this or nothing. In the same way at this moment the United States has deprived and is depriving Haiti and Santo Domingo of self-determination. It has destroyed democracy in these two little festering black republics. It is ruling them by marines, and you can't find, and no one else can find, a published word from the President even relating to what has been done. Is the Peace Conference going to solemnly listen to chatter about impossible promises for self-determination for everybody in the future, and not ask for some rule which will make the hypocrisies about cases like that of Santo Domingo and Haiti a little less blatant than at present?

I quite agree with what you say about Russia. Poland has offered innumerable difficulties from the days of King Boleslav the Glorious until the present moment, and I see no prospect of her stopping. It would be capital to have Finland independent, and to allow all the peoples of the Baltic provinces to determine their own fate. If they were wise they would federate. Like you, I would prefer to see the Ukrainians, or whatever they are, whether Orthodox or Uniat, a separate nation, but if they insist upon re-joining Russia I don't see that we could, with propriety, protest.

I doubt if there is a single important point on which you and I are not one in this matter. I trust there will be no compromise whatever with principle. Doubtless there will have to be sacrifices here and there of small national blocks in order to make possible frontiers. But our aim should be to do justice for everyone big and little, and while punishing those who have done badly, not to do it in any way that will perpetuate injustice.

Ted as acting Colonel of his regiment and Kermit as Captain of Artillery are now marching under Pershing toward the Rhine. Archie is at home crippled, but I hope it won't be for life. Ted is limping pretty badly, but the prospect of commanding his regiment cured the limp.

With love to Lady Bryce, *Faithfully yours*

P.S. Apparently Wilson has seized the cables and has sent the Creel Bureau to the other side to prevent our people knowing what is going on at the Peace Conference. If the English possessed real decision of character they would instantly organize an independent news service which would send to Canada the full and exact truth about things at the Conference. In some shape or other we at home would then be able to insist that the American people get the news.¹

¹ Wilson had ordered Postmaster General Burleson temporarily to take over control of the transatlantic cables in order to keep open communications between France and Washington. The President also persuaded the French and British governments to remove their censorship of cable news. Creel's organization in Paris did filter the news given to American reporters by the American peace commission, but, availing themselves of other sources, American newspapermen freely reported and interpreted what they found.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 22, 1918

Dear W. A.: With the program set out in your letter of November 18th I am not merely in general, but in specific and entire agreement, save that I think we should most certainly control but not own the merchant marine.¹ The only solution for the sailor problem is to give the necessary encouragement to the men who supply the capital that will warrant their continuing in the business, in spite of our insisting upon terms for sailors which obtain in no other service. And we must of course also insist that there be no failing in any shape or way in the efficiency of the sailors. I agree with you about Lane, with the amendment, that I regard him as not only the best, but the only good man in Wilson's Cabinet. I absolutely agree with what you say as to the probable action of the farmers of the west, if we limit their choice to Townleyism on one side and a policy of donothingism on the other side. As soon as I can get out of this hospital I am going to try to provide for such a conference as you speak of. *Faithfully yours*

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 22, 1918

Dear Cabot: The Bulgars have I believe been playing in with Wilson for a couple of years, and he has been doing their dirty work for them. He is quite capable of supporting them against the Greeks. Personally, I wish that Constantinople would be given to the Greeks. They would be of the maritime powers, from the very nature of the case.¹ The Bulgars ought not more to be trusted than the Germans. I hope you noticed that in such matters as "the freedom of the seas," etc. I am doing all I can to back you up.² I am very anxious to see you and talk over the immediate political situation. *Faithfully yours*

¹ White had asked Roosevelt if he thought it "wise to call twenty or thirty fellows with some sort of social vision who are interested in economic things into a conference," to consider the method and extent of future government controls over transport, reclamation, prices, and working conditions of labor. He also proposed a government-owned merchant marine.

¹ Lodge agreed with Roosevelt about the Bulgars but he believed Constantinople should be made a free city rather than a part of Greece. For his reply, see Lodge, II, 546-548.

² Wilson's doctrine on the freedom of the seas, had it been international law, would have permitted Germany to conquer England, Roosevelt asserted in the *Star* of November 22. It involved questions, Roosevelt pointed out, on which England and the United States had often reversed themselves. Like Lodge, therefore, he agreed with the British who had insisted that the freedom of the seas should not be a matter for discussion at the peace conference.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 23, 1918

Dear Kipling: I don't know whether the censorship will permit my book to go through to you or not, but I am sending you a copy of it anyhow.¹ The first chapter was written with Quentin vividly before me, and your son, and Selous' son, and Quentin's closest friend and Harvard classmate, who was also killed just after he had gotten his fifth Hun — and many others. The last two letters in the appendix are, one from a boy of German parentage, written to his uncle a German Lutheran Minister in Minnesota, and the other from an Irish Catholic Chaplain. Read what the former says to his uncle about the German atrocities and the fact that he does not want to hear German spoken in the United States any more; and read what the Catholic Chaplain, of Irish descent, says as to the English baiters of Irish blood in this country. I have had to make war with the black flag hoisted against the pro-Germans and German-Americans and anti-English Irish-Americans in this country. But the bulk of the men of these bloods are just as straight Americans as can be found anywhere. The simple fact, of course, is that on our battleships and in our armies there is exactly the same kind of mixture as among the "Captains Courageous" who man the Gloucester deep-sea fishermen. Tom Platt and Uncle Salters work side by side with Pennsy and Manuel and Long John! My own theory of dealing with them is perfectly simple. I exact from every man an absolutely undiluted Americanism, and if he gives it I care not a rap as to the land from which his father came or the creed he professes. In our army and navy I am inclined to think that the men of German descent have been almost the most eager to get at the Hun; and again and again I have known of the men of Irish descent on our warships declining to take shore leave at Cork, because of their bitter feeling as to the Sinn Fein outfit. Well, the war is ended very satisfactorily and I have the intense, and, of course, purely personal, interest that my two other sons will now come back to me. Archie as you know, is with us. He will be crippled for a year or two and possibly permanently, but it won't interfere with his work. Ted moved Heaven and earth to get to the front and to get Kermit to the front, and just three weeks before the end they went back to the first division, Ted as Lieutenant Colonel commanding his regiment, still limping, but able to hold his job, and Kermit as Captain of Artillery in the same division. Neither of them was hurt in the final fortnight's Argonne fighting, and they are now marching with their men through Germany toward the Rhine.

There ought to be heavy punishment, inflicted upon every individual, up to the highest, responsible for the more dreadful atrocities. Yet it may

¹ The book was *The Great Adventure*, a collection of essays written for the *Kansas City Star* and *Metropolitan*, published with few revisions by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1918, republished in Nat. Ed. XIX.

be that the ignominy in the final action of the Kaiser and his kinsfolk is the most satisfactory punishment of all. How is it possible that a man in his position cannot at least obey the ordinary conventions of the young subaltern or even of the ill-educated merchant Captain who leaves his ship last and sinks with it if the lifeboats are too crowded?

At the moment I am carrying on as active a crusade as possible, and with considerable success, to make our people understand that they have got to see that Wilson stands by the allies — stands by England and France, in the peace terms, and devotes much more attention to thus standing by them than to carrying out plans to please himself and the Germans by advocating the “freedom of the seas” so-called, and the League of Nations.

I am not doing this in any way on the hands-across-the-sea or Anglo-Saxon brotherhood theory. I doubt if there is such a thing as an Anglo-Saxon, but at any rate I am not one. I have hardly any English blood in my veins. I am just plain straight American.* It is a rather interesting thing that the Americans who were in this war earliest and most completely took the lead for the allies and against Germany were men like myself and Owen Wister, and James Beck, James Scherer, Gustavus Ohlinger,² Herman Badè³ and others who were of all kinds of bloods, including German, and including very little English. On the whole the people of the southern states, who pride themselves upon being of comparatively purely English stock and who have always been played up to by English writers were the last to forsake their attitude of neutrality or downright pro-Germanism. As for me, I have come through the war having had in this respect a rather curious experience. I am stronger than ever for a working agreement between the British Empire and the United States; indeed, I am now content to call it an alliance. But there are only two Englishmen with whom I have continued in the slightest personal sympathy on these matters, or whom I would ever care to see again — Arthur Lee and yourself. In France, on the other hand, there is at least one public servant, Clemenceau, to whom I am much more closely knit than before the war, and with whom I can work in the heartiest accord. As regards the English leaders, I doubt if I can overstate the amused indignation I have felt when I and such men as those I have mentioned above have been fighting tooth and nail to prevent Wilson from giving aid and comfort to Germany, and then have heard the English politicians and writers come out with enthusiastic praise and support of what Wilson was doing *against them* — and thereby so completely take away

²Gustavus Ohlinger, born in China of German-American parentage; lawyer in Shanghai, 1903-1905, and in Toledo, Ohio, thereafter; during World War I a captain in the army's Military Intelligence Division; author of “German Propaganda in the United States,” *Atlantic Monthly*, 117:535-547 (April 1916), and “National Army,” *Atlantic Monthly*, 121:419-427 (March 1918).

³Probably William Frederic Badè whose father was born in Hannover and who in 1914-1915 was active in the relief of Belgium. A theologian, he also was much interested in exploration and natural history.

our weapons that it was only with the utmost caution that I have ventured to appeal for us to stand by England at all, lest the appeal would be repudiated in a way that would do damage to the cause which I was upholding. The English leaders of opinion have with inconceivable folly built up the utterly baseless myth that Wilson by much patience got a reluctant people to go to war; that is a simple lie; he did all he could to keep down the rising popular demand for war, and finally was swept off his legs by it, and hurried backwards into the conflict. I entirely understood and agreed with the determination of the English public men not to say anything hostile about Wilson; but to praise him was an entirely different matter. For example, whenever we started a strong movement to denounce the "neutrality" doctrine, Bryce or Edward Grey or Asquith would come out with an impassioned support of Wilson's altruism, which would be quoted against us as showing that we were unkind and indeed wicked in saying that Wilson's "neutrality" was merely a bid for the pro-German vote. Of course, Wilson has not a vein of the idealist or the altruist in his whole make-up; he is simply a doctrinaire, which is something entirely different. At the beginning of October he started a private negotiation with Germany on the basis of his fourteen points of peace, all of which Germany eagerly accepted; his theory was that he could still fool our people with fine phrases and get them to accept a negotiated peace — a peace without victory — with the United States sitting at the peace table, not as one of the allies, but as an umpire between the allies and the Central Powers. However, by this time our people had thoroughly waked to the general undesirability of the Hun on this planet, and to the fact that we intended to put through the war beside our allies, whether or not Wilson called them merely "associates." I never saw a stronger protest than followed; and Wilson promptly turned a somersault and double-crossed the Huns instead of the allies. At the election we did an unparalleled thing and took away the Congress from him, on the issue that we stood for forcing the Germans to make an unconditional surrender. I took a certain sardonic amusement in the fact that whereas four years ago, to put it mildly, my attitude was not popular, I was now the one man whom they insisted upon following and whose statements were taken as the platform.

During this time the bleating of our own pacifists was not quite as loud as the bleating of a most amiable and good-looking old boy, the Bishop of Oxford,⁴ who, for our sins, had been sent over here apparently to educate us. He made speech after speech attacking universal military service as militaristic; saying that it was unchristian to demand unconditional surrender from Germany; that we ought not to hate anybody; that we ought instantly to have a League of Nations, with Germany, Russia and Austria

⁴ Charles Gore, Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Victoria; Bishop of Birmingham, 1905-1911; Bishop of Oxford, 1911-1919. The substance, if not the tone, of his speeches in this country in the fall of 1918 was as described in this letter.

and Turkey in the inner council, and all agree to abolish all armaments by sea and land, and then float to Heaven on one wide slushy sea of universal mush. I haven't any doubt he had many amiable domestic qualities, and if I had needed an early Victorian maiden aunt and could have afforded to pay enough, I would have hired him for the place; but as a gentleman inside the ring in the last half minute of the fight, when we were striving for a knockout and not a decision on points, I thought him distinctly in the way.

There; I have had to blow off steam to someone and I selected you as the victim. Give my warmest regards to Mrs. Kipling and the family. I don't suppose you will ever visit America again, and I don't suppose I shall ever visit England again; but if either event should come off, I will make a beeline for wherever you are. *Always yours*

* Your sketches of the American troops were admirable, especially because you showed that unlike the Australians and Canadians they did not regard England as "home." We must be very close and staunch friends; and therefore we must not slop over.

6419 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 27, 1918

Dear Cabot: Is it not possible to have a demand made for the casualties to be published by divisions, brigades and regiments? at least let them be published by divisions. My information is that the New England and Pennsylvania divisions suffered very heavily and that there has been a deliberate purpose to prevent the assembling of the data of their losses because it is assumed that two thirds of them are Republican.¹

I am simply overjoyed that Harry White is to be on the Peace Commission. If McCall had been appointed I would have felt that we had reached a lower point of infamy than has yet been attained.² *Ever yours*

¹ In the list of losses published by the War Department in February 1919, the Pennsylvania, the 28th National Guard division, stood second with 3,890 men dead, missing, or imprisoned, while the New England, the 26th National Guard division, stood seventh with 2,834. Eleven of the thirty American divisions suffered losses over 2,500; only one, the 1st Regular Army division had over 5,000.

² Henry White was the one Republican appointed to the peace commission. Wilson, House, Lansing, and Bliss were the other members. Wilson had contemplated appointing Samuel W. McCall whom Roosevelt and Lodge considered hopelessly tainted with Wilsonian attitudes. The Republicans generally would have preferred larger representation, including at least one man more clearly identified with the party than White; Republican senators resented the President's failure to include any of their number. For a good discussion of Wilson's selection and the reactions to it, see Bailey, *Wilson and the Lost Peace*, ch. vi.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, November 30, 1918

Dear Kipling: I had dictated the enclosed letter¹ and it was before me for signature when your letter of the 7th came. Well, I guess I shall have to ask you to read more of that book of mine than I intended. I wish you to look at the foreword, page x, for what I said of the Fourteen Points, and look at pages 73-74 for what I said as to the safety guaranteed us by the Allied Navies and Armies — and I have put our debt to the British Navy in much stronger language elsewhere. Also, if you will turn to pages 162 to 169 you will see that I have not hesitated to tell the truth as incisively as possible to our people. I, of course, agree absolutely with your indignation against Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points, and against the allies being expected to assent to them. I enclose you two or three editorials I wrote on the subject recently.² My speeches were to the same effect, and they furnish the keynote for the Republican attitude. We went against Mr. Wilson on the issue that our loyalty was due first to this nation, and then to the Allies, and that from Germany we demanded unconditional surrender. I really think I shall have to ask you to look at *The Great Adventure*. I am sending you the copy now, before this letter will be sent. If you don't get it (it is perfectly possible our censor will stop it) I wish you would order a copy from your bookseller. It is printed by Scribner's. You will see that I have not minced words about our national shortcomings or about Mr. Wilson. I have publicly and specifically endorsed the attitude of Edwards, the Australian Prime Minister,³ and I understand that my article attacking the "freedom of the seas" argument was reprinted in both England and France.⁴

But now, friend, do not overstate your case! It is strong, and it needs no overstatement. You say that "the United States existed for 142 years under the protection of the British Navy." As a matter of fact, for the first ninety years the British Navy, when, as was ordinarily the case, the British Government was more or less hostile to us, was our greatest danger. I am not condemning Great Britain. In those good old days the policies of the United States and Great Britain toward one another, and toward much of the outside world, were sufficiently alike to give a touch of humor to the virtuous horror expressed by each at that kind of conduct of the other which most closely resembled its own. But the fact remains that as a rule

¹No. 6418.²Probably "What are the Fourteen Points?" "Further Consideration of the Fourteen Points," and "Fourteen Scraps of Paper," published in the *Kansas City Star* on October 30 and 31.³Roosevelt meant Hughes, not Edwards; see No. 6409.⁴"The Freedom of the Seas and the Enslavement of Mankind," *Kansas City Star*, November 22, 1918.

the enemies of this nation during that century, or almost century, whether Indians, Mexicans or Secessionists, could generally count on the more or less active good will of England — and of France and Spain as the occasions arose. I am not at all certain that we then deserved the friendship of any foreign power. But I am absolutely certain that we did not receive it save for somewhat sinister reasons in the case of Russia. At every point of our expansion England was our enemy; and in 1867 England was if anything favorable to France, when with Sheridan and Farragut as the motive power, we moved France out of Mexico.

Then the situation changed. By the end of the 70's, our once considerable sea power had vanished, Germany began to appear on the ocean, and England became steadily more friendly, from various reasons. In 1898 England was our really effective friend, and from that day to this I have stood by England. Yet, my dear fellow, while I was President it would be totally incorrect to say that I owed anything to the British Navy. From natural, but very irritating, reasons Canada forced England into a position on the Alaska boundary where I simply had to stand out. Fortunately, the English Judge took the right position, the only possible position for a disinterested and upright man, and a very ugly situation was saved. I am not blaming Canada or England in the least. Their politicians acted precisely as ours would have acted under similar circumstances, and the settlement of the boundary question eliminated the last matter of possible controversy as to which I would not be willing to submit to the judgment of a court in which the British Empire should have a larger representation even than the United States. But it was imperative to get this question out of the way. Similarly, when I had to call down Germany, and when I had to call down Japan, I had to rely solely upon the American fleet, which at that particular time was adequate to the task. In the case of Japan, England quite properly felt that its Asiatic interest was such that it had to be neutral, and possibly even benevolent, toward Japan. In the case of Germany, it was during the last year or two of the policy to which England had clung of keeping on favorable terms with Germany on account of the supposed necessity of a hostile attitude toward France and Russia. In each case I relied only on the American Navy. I prepared in advance, and I forced the decision while my opponents could not quite make up their minds; and I achieved my point with no assistance whatever from the British; if it had been nonexistent the result would not have been altered.

But this is all unimportant. For the last four years and a quarter the British fleet has preserved not only England, but the United States. I have said this to my fellow countrymen again and again. I feel that Great Britain's position is such that she should have the largest fleet in the world. I believe that our own fleet should come second in size, as I have already written you. I am willing now to go into any kind of close agreement with the British Empire, arbitrate all questions of issue between us whenever they

may arise, or, as far as I am concerned, to make a mutual guarantee based on a defensive alliance.

I have no word of apology or excuse for Wilson and his supporters, and for those Republicans (a ponderable minority) who during the first two years and a half of the World War, endeavored to outbid him for the pro-German and pacifist and Sinn Fein vote. But in putting on them the major blame, do not forget that a minor, but a heavy, blame rests on most Englishmen for aiding and abetting him in what he did against their country, and for weakening the men like myself who were battling for England's cause as an incident to battling for the cause of civilization and freedom in which America was vitally concerned. In Parliament, Arthur Lee did admirably. In literature, you did exactly right. You did not attack America, which would have been foolish. But you never gushed and slavered about her, and the one or two articles you did write, such as that on *The Neutral*, I was able to use as a tract with those of my fool friends who kept assuring me that the best British sentiment approved Wilson's course. You, however, were a very lonely figure in this respect. It would have been highly inadvisable for British statesmen to have attacked Wilson; it would have been poor tactics. But to praise him, and thereby strike the weapons from the hands of men like myself, was very foolish. Continually your statesmen, like Asquith, Grey, Bryce, Lansdowne, even occasionally Lloyd George and Balfour, would praise Wilson for taking one of the very attitudes which he summarized in his Fourteen Points; and again and again, when I was attacking these attitudes or attacking his neutrality, Wilson's defenders quoted with unction the seeming English endorsement of his position as to a League of Nations, or as to neutrality and the like. Your literary men were quite as bad. Next to you, the Englishman most widely read in the United States at present is Ian Hay; and I greatly enjoy his descriptions of the new British soldiers. But when we went into the war Ian Hay must needs write an article explaining that at last by his infinite patience and high principle, Wilson had got the reluctant American people to do its duty and that everything must be done to make his difficult task easy for him! This was the direct reverse of the truth. When the *Lusitania* was sunk, our people would have fought at least as readily as in the actual event two years later. The result of this ocean of praise for Wilson was that during the first nine months of the war he felt absolutely secure that he could do anything, and accordingly, as regards the war itself, he did almost nothing. Instead, he indulged in rhetorical fireworks, and your leaders went into hysterics of applause over all of them and praised him as a great idealist — a term to which he is about as entitled as Machiavelli was — and did therefore what little they could to render more difficult the task that I and my friends had in rousing our people to a sense of their shortcomings.

Whatever I can do to keep things straight I shall do. I have come out of this war with a greatly increased sense of admiration and good will to

the British Empire, a feeling which curiously enough I think is reciprocated as far as I am concerned by the Canadians and by perhaps the Australians, and with a very earnest wish to see the two nations knit more closely together. But you and Arthur Lee are the only Englishmen whom personally I care to see!

As I am finishing this second letter, there is a startling illustration of just what I mean. Six weeks ago the British representatives here asked a number of American editors of magazines and newspapers to come over and visit England and France. They were scrupulously careful only to ask representatives of magazines and papers which were either friendly to, or merely platonically opposed to, Wilson. They excluded the *Metropolitan Magazine* for which I write. Its Editor is an Englishman,⁵ an Oxford man, whose brother is fighting in the British army, but my connection with the Magazine was deemed so damaging in the eyes of these official representatives of England that, in spite of the Editor's appeal, no representative of his magazine was allowed to go. Well, two of the Editors thus entertained, including especially one from Baltimore representing the fine old southern slave-holding ex-Confederate democracy, have just published long statements of the most mischievous character about the dissension between the allies and the hostility of the English and French to us; including silly boastings as to what we have done and the like; all of this has been circulated by the Hearst papers from one end of the Union to the other. There has been the sharpest condemnation of these men; but it has come from men like myself and those in political agreement with me — the very men who were regarded as being too contagious for any association with your people.⁶
Faithfully yours

My information about the Argonne fighting is substantially the same as yours.

6421 • TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, December 3, 1918

Dearest Ted: Josh¹ has come back and has given me all the information about you and Kermit which I most wished to hear. Of course I am perfectly crazy to see Eleanor and I am extremely glad she is coming home. You are

⁵ Henry James Whigham, born in Scotland, journalist, editor and publisher of the *Metropolitan*, had earlier been drama critic for the *Chicago Tribune*, 1896; war correspondent in the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, the Boxer rebellion, the Macedonian rebellion, and the Russo-Japanese War; foreign editor of the *London Standard*, 1906-1907.

⁶ Roosevelt was perhaps unduly exercised about an article by Frank Richardson Kent, managing editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, 1911-1921. After returning from Europe with the American journalists who had been visiting England and France, Kent asserted that Paris was "seething with international jealousies, friction and feeling."

¹ Josh Hartwell, a young neighbor of the Roosevelts.

all right now, and she ought to be with her children. General Parker sent me word in the nicest way about his having recommended you for the Colonelcy.² I hope you get it, but in any event your triumph has been great. It's simply fine to think of you with your limp commanding your regiment during the last three weeks of the fighting, and now marching at the head of your division through Germany toward the Rhine. Heavens, Ted, what experience you have had, and there isn't any family except the Garibaldis which, as a family, comes out of this war with the reputation that ours does. I have no idea when you will be sent back; I can only hope that it will be early in the spring. I am so delighted that Eleanor got up to the front lines and was able to see you, and of course I am awfully glad that Kermit is in your division. I am still in the hospital, but about that I don't give a rap. Archie is doing well and is really at bottom thoroughly contented, although he now and then feels a burst of woe about not having been with you at the end. Ethel is very restless and I wish to Heaven that Dick could come back to her.

Now, a matter of importance. Mother and I have notified the War Department that we do not intend to take Quentin's body home. When things have settled down a few months or a year or so hence, we would like to go abroad to visit the grave and put up a simple little stone.³ Perhaps Ham Coolidge⁴ will be buried by him. I shall want to see if I can buy a plot of land, enough to contain the grave and the graves of two or three others like Ham Coolidge. Would it be possible for you to take this matter up with the French authorities now? I don't know how to go about it, but I should suppose they would be willing to have me purchase a plot of ground; then I could make some arrangement with the nearest village to have the very simple care necessary given to the graves. We would not disturb the present monuments; we would just erect a small stone. *Your loving father*

6422 • TO GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, December 5, 1918

My dear Major Putnam: I do not care to go on any Board or into any organization of any kind at present, more especially as I am spending all my endeavors to secure in this country a spirit of undivided American nationalism, based on an Americanism which disregards all questions of national origin and which treats this as a new nation, different from all other nations, entitled to the singlehearted and undivided loyalty of every one of its citi-

²Frank Parker, a temporary brigadier, had taken command of the 1st division on October 17, 1918. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., was mustered out as a lieutenant colonel.

³Mrs. Roosevelt visited Quentin's grave in February 1919.

⁴Hamilton Coolidge, classmate of Quentin at Groton and Harvard, had been shot down less than two weeks before the armistice, Coolidge and Quentin had sailed to France on the same ship and operated as members of the First Pursuit Group from the same base.

zens, and bound to develop in every way its own distinctive American ideals.

But with the general purposes of your League, or Union, I am in hearty accord. I agree absolutely with you that this war has brought home to the great majority of thinking men in this country the fact that we, the English-speaking peoples, of the United States and the British Empire, possess both ideals and interests in common. We can best do our duty, as members of the family of nations, to maintain peace and justice throughout the world by first rendering it impossible that the peace between ourselves can ever be broken. I agree entirely with what you say as to the immense service rendered to us by England, France, Italy, Belgium and the other allies, and as to our duty to give tangible expression to our sense of this obligation. Moreover, I agree that there is no reason why there should not be on the two sides of the Atlantic the same relation for peace that has for a century obtained on the two sides of the Great Lakes. I regard the British Navy as probably the most potent instrumentality for peace in the world. I do not believe we should try to build a Navy in rivalry to it, but I do believe we should have the second navy in the world.¹ Moreover, I am now prepared to say what five years ago I would not have said. I think the time has come when the United States and the British Empire can agree to a universal arbitration treaty. In other words, I believe that the time has come when we should say that under no circumstances shall there ever be a resort to war between the United States and the British Empire, and that no question can ever arise between them that cannot be settled in judicial fashion, in some such manner as questions between states of our own Union would be settled.

It is wicked not to try to live up to high ideals and to better the condition of the world. It is folly, and maybe worse than folly, not to recognize the actual facts of existence while striving thus to realize our ideals. There are many countries not yet at a level of advancement which permits real reciprocity of relations with them, and many other countries so completely unlike our own that at present no such agreement would be possible with them. But the slow march forward of the generations has brought the English-speaking peoples to a point where such an agreement is entirely feasible; and it is eminently desirable among ourselves. *Very truly yours*

6423 · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, December 6, 1918

Dear Cabot: I think it much wiser you should say the few words of harm-

¹ This was not the view of the Administration which had proposed a building program that would ultimately produce a navy of greater strength than England's. Roosevelt and other Republicans opposed the Administration bill.

less courtesy.¹ I do not believe in telling untruths over a man's grave, but I do feel that death wipes out all that is merely personal. It is rather touching that the request should be made of you to speak and it would be ungracious of you to refuse. I think it is your own view also. It was good of you to write me.

Your letter of Decemeber 2nd is most interesting. General Edwards has made good in a most emphatic fashion.² My belief is that the New England and Pennsylvania divisions had an aggregate of casualties that is astounding, and it would emphasize in the sharpest way the extraordinary qualities of their fighting. I think that for this very reason the War Department did not wish to see these aggregates published.

I agree with every word you say about Congress. I especially agree with you that while we must take the lid off and investigate, and must show no mercy to the President, yet that the situation is so good that you must not make any mistake by overplaying your hand and causing a reaction of sympathy toward the President. You are absolutely right about the Revenue Bill.³ *Faithfully yours*

6424 · TO PHILANDER CHASE KNOX

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, December 6, 1918

Dear Senator Knox: Personally, I heartily sympathize with your resolution.¹ The League of Nations may do a little good, but the more pompous it is and the more it pretends to do, the less it will really accomplish. The talk about it has a grimly humorous suggestion of the talk about the Holy Alliance a hundred years ago, which had as its main purpose the perpetual

¹ Senator Tillman's wife had asked Lodge to deliver the Senate eulogy on her husband who had died the previous summer. "In view of the past and his performances toward you," Lodge wrote Roosevelt, "I shall refuse flatly unless you think that I had better not refuse and say something of a vague and meaningless kind." This Lodge said to the Senate on December 15.

² Major General Clarence Ransom Edwards, commander from September 1917 to October 1918 of the Yankee Division.

³ Lodge told Roosevelt that he planned to let the war revenue bill pass without opposition unless the Democrats presented a bill preventing any change in the nation's tax structure before March 1921, but he hoped to defeat enough appropriations bills to force Wilson to call the new Republican-controlled Congress in the spring. The Republicans, following Lodge's plan to the letter, permitted the lame-duck Democratic Congress to pass the revenue bill but blocked enough appropriations bills to necessitate the calling of both houses of Congress in May 1919.

¹ Knox had introduced a resolution asking for the separation of the League of Nations from the consideration of peace terms and favoring the earliest possible formal conclusion of the war. Tabled by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, this resolution nevertheless indicated the frame of mind of many Republican senators and consequently embarrassed Wilson and those Republicans who had sympathy with his purpose. Of that group Taft in particular attacked Knox's position.

maintenance of peace. The Czar Alexander by the way, was the President Wilson of this particular movement a century ago.

I have not in the past been an admirer of Senator Reed, and he has been anything but a friend of mine; nevertheless, if you are on good terms with him, I wish you would tell him how heartily I agree with the things he has been recently saying.

I wish your conscience did not force you to take on the Panama Treaty an attitude which is of course universally accepted as backing President Wilson in a purely malevolent attempt to blacken the Administration of which you were part.² If there is any disposition to put that Treaty through I wish very much that I could come down before your committee and inasmuch as Mr. Wilson appeared in person before Congress, that I could ask him to come before the committee at the same time, telling him that I had stood for exactly that for which he professes to stand, namely, the right of self-determination by Panama, and that I would answer any question he had to put to me and that in return I should like to ask him a number of questions as to his handling of Haiti and Santo Domingo. I think I could give the committee an entertaining morning!

With love to all your family, *Faithfully yours*

6425 • TO HENRY RIDER HAGGARD

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, December 6, 1918

My dear Rider Haggard: In a moment of pessimism the other day, I said I never wished to hear from any Englishmen, excepting Arthur Lee and Rudyard Kipling. But that was because I had forgotten you. I doubt if I ever again go back into public place. I have had to go into too much and too bitter truth telling. Like you, I am not at all sure about the future. I hope that Germany will suffer a change of heart, but I am anything but certain. I don't put much faith in the League of Nations, or any corresponding universal cure-all. *Faithfully yours*

6426 • TO ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, December 10, 1918

My dear Balfour: This is to present to you Mr. George W. Wickersham, Attorney General of the United States in the Cabinet of President Taft. Mr. Wickersham is to write for the New York *Tribune*, during the Peace negotiations, articles on the legal phases of the various propositions brought be-

²In his annual message to Congress on December 2, Wilson had again asked the Senate quickly to ratify the treaty with Colombia — negotiated in 1914 by Bryan — providing an indemnity and apology for the taking of Panama. This request Knox, with an increasing number of Republicans, had come to consider reasonable.

fore the Peace Conference. His views of the war and now of the peace are substantially those I hold. He has been pro-Ally and anti-German with hearty enthusiasm ever since the sinking of the *Lusitania*. He believes that it is as much the duty of America to stand loyally by France, England and the Allies during peace negotiations as it was to stand loyally with their armies while the war lasted. Like myself, he does not accept Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points as a satisfactory program, for the excellent reason that they can be interpreted in so many different ways as to make it possible to accept them in a sense that would be purely to the interest of Germany. I do not know whether you realize that in any free country, except the United States, the result of the Congressional elections on November 5th last would have meant Mr. Wilson's retirement from office and return to private life. He demanded a vote of confidence. The people voted a want of confidence, by returning to each House of Congress a majority of the Republican Party of which I am one of the leaders. That party stands for the unconditional surrender of Germany and for absolute loyalty to France and England in the peace negotiations. We do not believe in what we understand to be Mr. Wilson's interpretation of "the Freedom of the Seas." We feel that each country must have the absolute right to determine its own economic policy, and while we will gladly welcome any feasible scheme for a League of Nations, we prefer that it should begin with our present allies, and be accepted only as an addition to, and in no sense as a substitute for the preparedness of our own strength for our own defense. We feel that the British Navy from the necessities of the British Empire should be the most powerful in the world, and we have no intention of rivaling it, any more than we have an intention of rivaling the French military preparedness, because we recognize that France must prepare her army in a way not necessary for the United States. But we also believe that we must have a first-class navy and some policy for a people's army, more or less resembling that in vogue in Switzerland. Above all we feel that at the Peace Conference, America should act, not as an umpire between our allies and our enemies, but as one of the allies bound to come to an agreement with them, and then to impose this common agreement upon our vanquished enemies.

You can have absolute confidence in Mr. Wickersham. He is a gentleman in every sense of the word, a highly trained public servant, an American first—in other words, a nationalist before he is an internationalist, but feeling that at this time it is the honorable duty of America to stand with the allies at the Peace Conference and present an undivided front to the world. I commend him to your confidence and courtesy.

In view of your taste for historical reading of the nonutilitarian kind I may add that Mr. Wickersham like myself is a strong Hamiltonian. His son has served at the front, as my sons have served at the front.¹ *Faithfully yours*

¹ Roosevelt sent similar letters to Lloyd George and Clemenceau.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, December 15, 1918

My dear President Clark: ¹ Please treat this letter as confidential. I very much fear that there is some intention to weaken Lloyd George by threatening him with the American Congress entering into a competition in upbuilding the navy, unless he accepts limitation of naval armament.² I think that your body should at once cable to him confidentially, calling his attention to the fact that the leaders of the majority in the next Congress, the men who have fought hardest for a big American navy when President Wilson was against a big American navy, absolutely declined to go into this program, and that there need be no fear whatever if Britain has the nerve to stand for what men like myself believe it is her right and duty to stand for viz. that she shall have the biggest navy. The American people are perfectly content to say that they do not wish to rival England, but they do intend to surpass the navy of any other country. Incidentally I may add that I greatly regret Lloyd George should have taken the unwarranted position of insisting on the abolishment of universal service for continental Europe. This is none of his business. He is behaving quite as badly to his French and Italian Allies in taking such a position as those Americans are behaving who champion the German "freedom of the seas" document. It is his business to say that the needs of the French and Italians for great armies are peculiar and that he will back them up in whatever position they take. I trust you have noticed I have stood strongly and publicly for the right and duty of the British Empire to retain the colonies taken from Germany. *Faithfully yours*

6428 · TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JUNIOR

Roosevelt Mss.

Roosevelt Hospital, New York, December 16, 1918

Dearest Ted: Today Eleanor arrived and of course we are more overjoyed than we can well say. The darling girl looks very well and is as pretty as a picture. I had sent down word that she must go straight out to see the children, but she insisted upon stopping at the hospital to see me first, and of course I was overjoyed. She gave me the latest news about you and told me

¹ John Murray Clark, president of the Royal Canadian Institute and one of Canada's most distinguished lawyers.

² Roosevelt was substantially correct. Wilson planned to use the huge 1919 naval program as a club to force England's acceptance of arms reduction. At Paris, however, the British retaliated by refusing to back Wilson's plans for a League of Nations unless the American President suspended the new three-year program. After much negotiating, Lloyd George wrung from Wilson an informal pledge to drop the navy bill still before Congress in return for his support of the League. For a detailed description of these negotiations, see Harold and Margaret Sprout, *Toward a New Order of Sea Power* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1940), ch. iv.

what interested me greatly that Kermit's Battery is under your immediate command. I think this is simply fine. She of course felt very homesick about having left you, but I told her that I was perfectly clear that now her duty was to be with the children. I rather hope that you can get sick leave and come home moderately soon. I did not want you to come home until you had marched through Germany to the bridgehead east of the Rhine, but you have done this, and I don't see that there is anything more that you can really accomplish. Next Friday, as I probably won't be able to get out to Oyster Bay, Archie is to go down and take my place at the Cove School Christmas Tree. I am exceedingly pleased and of course they will all be perfectly enthralled with him. I can see him now, as a little fellow in the school, standing up and repeating "The Mountain and the Squirrel had a quarrel." He has done some really capital articles describing the actual facts in the First Division up to the time he left France. They will appear in *Everybody's Magazine*, and then in a small book.¹ I am exceedingly pleased with them. I am also exceedingly pleased that he has gone in with Mr. Patterson,² in the Tampico oil business, though of course at the moment Mexico is blown up. The trouble however is not with the Mexicans; it's with Wilson. If he makes up his mind to interfere then order will come out of chaos soon enough. The papers now generally allude to the 26th Infantry as Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt's 26th Infantry. *Your loving father*

I wish you could see Herbert Parsons and tell him for me, that as far as I can make out he is the only man to take care of the political situation here — perhaps as Governor, perhaps as chairman of the State or City Committee.

6429 • TO HENRY JOSEPH HASKELL

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 28, 1918

Dear Mr. Haskell: ¹ In substance, or as our friends the diplomats say in principle, I am in hearty accord with you. But do you really think we ought to guarantee to stand with France and Italy in all future continental wars. It's a pretty big guarantee and I don't know whether it would be made good. Indeed, I don't know whether it ought to be made good. I am most heartily with France and England now, but I certainly would not have been with

¹ These articles were never published in book form.

² Patterson was probably an official of the subsidiary of the Sinclair Oil and Refining Corporation operating the company's extensive holdings in Tampico.

¹ Henry Joseph Haskell, since 1898 on the staff of the *Kansas City Star*, later, as editor of that paper, a Pulitzer Prize winner for his editorial page, 1933, and for distinguished editorial writing, 1944. Combining his journalistic talents and his interest in the classics, he wrote two amusing and discerning pieces, *The New Deal in Old Rome* (1939) and *This Was Cicero* (1942).

France fifty years ago, or with England sixty years ago, and our clear duty to antagonize Germany has slowly become apparent during the last thirty or forty years. Remember that you are freer to write unsigned editorials than I am when I use my signature. If you propose a little more than can be carried out no harm comes, but if I do so it may hamper me for years. However, I will do my best to write you such an article as you suggest; and then probably one on what I regard as infinitely more important, namely, our business to prepare for our own self-defense.²

As for Wilson having with him the bulk of people who are taken in by this name, I attach less importance to this than you do. He is a conscienceless rhetorician and he will always get the well-meaning foolish creatures who are misled by names. At present anything he says about the World League is in the domain of empty and windy eloquence. The important point will be reached when he has to make definite the things for which he stands.
Faithfully yours

6430 · TO ANDREW FLEMING WEST

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 28, 1918

*My dear Dean West:*¹ First let me thank you for your letter, and then let me thank you for the poem in *Scribner's*,² (no less than for the one you enclosed). But it is rather bitter to think that the cold selfishness and utter lack of all ethical qualities in Wilson made us onlookers at the taking of Jerusalem and the smashing of the Turkish Empire, instead of valiant co-workers and valiant co-warriors.

By the way the longer I live the more grateful I become to you for your stand on behalf of cultural education. You have done more for the cause than any other man. You have put Princeton first, (in strongly;) Harvard comes second; and then there is a very little done here and there in other Universities or Colleges, some of them very small Colleges. But sooner or later we shall have to clearly set forth that while we regard technical education as the prime need for the great multitude, including the persons who wish to become lawyers and doctors just as much as those who wish to become blacksmiths and carpenters, yet that in addition to this we wish to provide for those capable of the full enjoyment and appreciation of life, and therefore of the highest participation in the work of life, a genuine cultural education

² The only article Roosevelt wrote after writing this letter was his last, "The League of Nations," dictated January 3, published by the *Kansas City Star* on January 13.

¹ Andrew Fleming West, professor of Latin, dean of the Princeton Graduate School. Over Wilson's opposition he successfully maintained the separate identity of his graduate institution.

² "Last Christmas in the Holy Land," *Scribner's Magazine*, 65:73 (January 1919).

acquired with no thought of turning it into an aid in money-making. *Faithfully yours*

6431 • TO MADISON GRANT

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, December 30, 1918

Dear Grant: Frankly, I think your correspondent an addlepatated ass — and the alternative is, that he is worse. I can speak with knowledge of what he says about the Americans in the different units. He says that the southerners and the New Englanders are the best in our lot. In the first place I don't for one moment believe that they are better than the men from the western and middle and Pacific Coast states. They are *all* fine. In the next place, as his thesis is that the fighting quality is in direct proportion to the number of men of old native American blood in the various units, he might take the trouble to inform himself of the simple fact that in the New England units the percentage of men of foreign parentage is as big as in those of the middle and most of the western states. But this is not all. If he knows anything at all he knows that the first and second divisions have on the whole stood the heaviest cutting and rendered the longest service, and that no two divisions in the American army, or in any of the allied armies stand above them. I have had three sons in one, and a son-in-law in the other, and I know what I am speaking about. Now, these two divisions exactly represent the melting-pot idea, about which he ignorantly prattles slander. They include the regular infantry regiments and the marines. If he does not know that the regular infantry regiments and the marines have fought well, he doesn't know anything. Yet a majority, and in some cases a very large majority of the men in these regiments are composed of men of foreign parentage, precisely as is the case with the regiments from Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington and other states. If the goose would take the trouble to look over the casualty lists and the lists of the men cited or decorated or mentioned for distinguished gallantry, he would realize what a slander he is speaking. Let him go to the official movie where he will see a picture of my son Ted decorating two of his men for marked gallantry. One of these men was named Murphy; I know nothing of his origin. The other is Lieutenant Holmes, from Cincinnati.¹ On his mother's side he is of pure Jewish blood, the Fleishmans. On his father's side he is half Danish and half native American. He looks, and acts, and thinks and is exactly like any other Yale, or Harvard, or Princeton boy of the oldest Colonial stock.

There are some very obvious errors in what he says of the foreign troops, but I speak only of what I know about the American troops. *Faithfully yours*

¹ In *Average Americans* (New York, 1919) Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., described the exploits for which Sergeant Murphy and Lieutenant Christian Holmes received the Distinguished Service Cross.

Oyster Bay, December 30, 1918

Dear Dick, Ethel has undergone a pretty severe struggle, between her intense desire to go overseas, at least to Spain, where she might have the chance of seeing you, and her feeling of duty towards Richard; but the last six weeks have shown that there was no alternative, and that she simply had to stay with Richard — altho I am sure that there is nothing really serious the matter with the darling little fellow. So three days hence she takes her little family to Aikin. We shall miss them all, terribly. Edie is as robust and hardy as possible, and I really think her the most amusing and attractive small person I have seen. She is busy every moment, and never moves except at a pattering room. To see her driving off in the motor, alone with the adoring Lee, and returning asleep, with her little head against his arm, is too cunning for anything.

Your letters to Ethel are hailed by all the family, for they are our chief means of knowledge of what is happening among all of you overseas. Ted's letters are infrequent! I think it was very interesting that you and Ted and Kermit should suddenly have all three met on the eve of the last fighting in the Argonne.

Of course I am as proud as Punch of what the 1st and 2d divisions (ought I to transpose their order? !) have done, and as a mere matter of *panache* I am very glad that they are east of the Rhine, on the bridgehead into the heart of Germany. You boys have certainly done everything and seen everything, in the greatest military achievement our country has ever had to its credit. It is worth while to have lived in such a time, if, and only if, one has risen level to the time.

I hope you will all be brought home as soon as peace is definitely assured. I see no reason why we should undertake the task of policing Europe and interfering in squabbles with which we have no real concern, of which our knowledge must be incomplete, and where our interference may unite all factions against us. *Always yours*

Oyster Bay, January 1, 1919

Dear Reid:¹ This is a grumble from a faithful *Tribune* reader, over an editorial in Sunday's *Tribune*. For Heaven's sake never allude to Wilson as an idealist or militaire or altruist. He is a doctrinaire when he can be so with safety to his personal ambition, and he is always utterly and coldly selfish. He hasn't a touch of idealism in him. His advocacy of the League of Nations

¹Ogden Mills Reid, son of Whitelaw Reid, husband of Helen Rogers Reid, in his own right editor and publisher of the New York *Tribune* before and after its consolidation with the New York *Herald*.

no more represents idealism on his part than his advocacy of peace without victory, or his «second» statement that we had no concern with the origin or cause of the European war, or with his profoundly unethical refusal for two and a half years to express a particle of sympathy for poor Belgium. His opponents are cheered when we tell about him being a misguided idealist. He is not. He is a silly doctrinaire at times and an utterly selfish and cold-blooded politician always. *Sincerely yours* •

6434 • TO ALICE WILSON PAGE

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 1, 1919

My dear Mrs. Page: I have just come out of the hospital and am distressed to learn of the death of your husband. I could not overstate the admiration I feel for all that he has been and done during the term of his service at the Court of St. James's. I do not believe we have ever had in the diplomatic service a man who more typified what was best in American life, and who stood up more fearlessly for the right.

With very deep sympathy, *Faithfully yours*

6435 • TO CARROLL E. ARMSTRONG

Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, January 3, 1919

*My dear Mr. Armstrong:*¹ That's a very courteous letter of yours. It can properly be answered by the enclosed.

As for your friend, the banker;² tell him from me that I have frequently erred in judgment and have said so; that unlike Mr. Wilson, I have never erred in intellectual honesty and moral straightforwardness, and tell him also that as regards Mr. Wilson I never erred but once and that was on the occasion in question, when for the first sixty days after the outbreak of the World War I heartily supported him. This was a mistake, but it was a generous mistake from proper motives. I have never erred when I opposed him. Now, as to your own question, when you say you can't understand my admiring the military efficiency of the German nation. Personally, I cannot understand any human being failing both to admire the German military efficiency and to view with horror and indignation the use to which that efficiency was put. Efficiency in any line from war to business, is a curse if it is not guided by moral sense. *Faithfully yours*

¹ Carroll E. Armstrong, a hardware merchant in Clinton, Iowa.

² A Duluth banker, a friend of Armstrong, had sent him a clipping referring to Roosevelt's "The World War: Its Tragedies and Its Lessons," *Outlook*, 108:169-178 (September 23, 1914). As quoted in the clipping the article seemed unnecessarily kind to Germany in the banker's opinion. Armstrong and the gentleman from Duluth had engaged in frequent friendly arguments over the virtues and defects of Theodore Roosevelt.

Oyster Bay, January 3, 1919

Dear Mr. Hurd: I cannot be with you and so all I can do is to wish you God-speed.¹ There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism merely because the war is over. There are plenty of persons who have already made the assertion that they believe the American people have a short memory and that they intend to revive all the foreign associations which most directly interfere with the complete Americanization of our people. Our principle in this matter should be absolutely simple. In the first place, we should insist that if the immigrant who comes here does in good faith become an American and assimilates himself to us, he shall be treated on an exact equality with everyone else, for it is an outrage to discriminate against any such man because of creed, or birthplace, or origin. But this is predicated upon the man's becoming in very fact an American and nothing but an American. If he tries to keep segregated with men of his own origin and separated from the rest of America, then he isn't doing his part as an American. There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says he is an American but something else also, isn't an American at all. We have room for but one flag, the American flag, and this excludes the red flag which symbolizes all wars against liberty and civilization just as much as it excludes any foreign flag of a nation to which we are hostile. We have room for but one language here and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boardinghouse; and we have room for but one soul loyalty, and that loyalty is to the American people. *Faithfully yours*

6437 · MEMORANDUM

R.M.A. Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, Undated

Hays

see him; he must go to Washington for 10 days; see Senate & House; prevent split on domestic policies¹

¹ This letter was read by a representative of the American Defense Society to the audience at an all-American benefit concert held at the Hippodrome in New York on January 5. The papers reported it the next morning as "Colonel Roosevelt's last message to the American people."

¹ These are the last words written by Theodore Roosevelt. About eleven o'clock on the night of January 5, after dictating a letter to his son Kermit and correcting the proof of an editorial for the *Metropolitan*, he went to bed. About four o'clock on the morning of January 6 he died in his sleep.

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January 3, 1906
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Appendix

APPENDIX I

ADDITIONS

The following letters are a selection chosen from materials that arrived too late to be included in the body of this work. Each letter is numbered to indicate its proper chronological position in the volumes.

88A · TO JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL

Josephine S. Lowell Mss.

Albany, February 24, 1882

My Dear Mrs. Lowell: It gave me peculiar pleasure to hear from you, and especially to hear from you in such a pleasant way.

I honestly mean to act up here on all questions as nearly as possible as I think Father would have done, if he had lived. I thoroughly believe in the Republican party, *when it acts up to its principles* — but if I can prevent it I never shall let party zeal obscure my sense of right and decency. What my success as a politician may be I do not care an atom; but I do wish to be able to end my work here with an entirely light heart and clear conscience.

With renewed thanks for your thoughtfulness. I am *Very Truly Yours*

130A · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

*Lodge Mss.*⁰

Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, 1884¹

My dear Lodge, Alas! I have an engagement for tomorrow evening, so can not hear you speak; but I will be down in the 3.30 train on Wednesday. Now, pitch in for the *party*, and leave the *candidate* severely alone; barely mention Blaines name.

Andrew² wishes you could drive over to lunch with him on Thursday; he wants to see us both together.

Till Wednesday goodbye; and *go light on Blaine* Yours Always

143A · TO ANNA CABOT MILLS LODGE

*Lodge Mss.*⁰

New York, February 19, 1886

My dear Nannie, Among the trophies I brought back from the west was a pretty fawn skin which I had made into a footmuff. I send it on to you; if

¹ This undated letter was probably written in October 1884.

² John Forrester Andrew.

you have one already please send it back and this summer I will try to get you some beaver skins; last summer I had hoped to bring you some back, but I was only able to trap one or two which had poor fur.

I can not say how much I enjoyed yours and Cabots visit to us. Indeed I would be almost ashamed to say how much I prize yours and Cabots goodwill and friendship. You see I never make friends at all easily; out side of my own family you two are really the only people for whom I genuinely care; and I suppose that because there are so few for whom I do care is the reason that I care so greatly for those few. I shall always hold it among the most fortunate incidents of my life that I was thrown with you two. I guess I am rather a lurid companion at times; but I will have to grow very scatter-brained indeed before I cease being a most loyally faithful friend to you.

Tell Cabot that I thought his editorial on the Morrison tariff bill first rate in every respect.

With warmest well wishes to all I am *Ever faithfully yours*

166A · TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Lodge Mss.

(Personal)

New York, October 28, 1886

My dear Cabot: At any rate I have had first-rate fun out of this canvass. When I went into it it did seem the most hopeless, absolutely losing fight that mortal can imagine. I have really enjoyed the matter, because, going in purely at the request of the Republican leaders, I felt that it was not at all a personal canvass, and so fought the whole thing through with a perfectly light heart. Of course where the Democratic majority is so overwhelming and where we have such a peculiarly large idiot vote among the so-called intelligent classes, a Republican has awful odds against him and the chances are in favor of Hewitt. Still, there now is a certain small chance, although only a very, very small chance that I will succeed; that is, whereas the odds at the start were 100 to 1 against me, now I should think they are not more than five to one and I will probably make a fair run in any event. The *Post* has been pitching into me with all its malevolent hypocrisy. Before I end the campaign I think I shall indulge myself in the pleasure of a personal allusion to that beef-witted Chadband, Godkin.

Thanks awfully for sending me the *Advertiser*. I have spoken four or five times every night. I wish you could have seen the enormous ratification meeting we held here in Cooper Institute last night. Joe Choate, Howard Crosby, and a raft of other mugwumps, as well as all the regular men, backed me up like trumps. If it was not for the infernal hypocritical rascality of such dishonest independents as are represented by that dull organ, the *Evening Post*, I would really stand a first-class chance of success. But they succeed in frightening our weak-kneed voters into a perfect panic over George.

Do remember me to all. I cannot say how anxious I am to see you. One

thing I have genuinely missed has been not being able to hunt, and Sagamore is in such superb form; but I have had every minute of my time taken up from the moment I first went into the canvass. You have no idea of the amount of work that we have done. All the young fellows downtown have stood up to the punishment like men. I've got the young men with me. It is only the timid, elderly gentlemen that I have to fear. *Always yours*

184A · TO JOHN TORREY MORSE, JUNIOR

Morse Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, June 22, 1887

Dear Mr. Morse; "Thou shalt not meddle" ought to be one of the commandments; nevertheless I shall break it for once, if you will excuse me.

My only apology must be my genuine interest in the "Statesmen" series; and my desire to see it as nearly complete as possible — I am most honestly proud of my connection with it. I am greatly interested in the Morris, have written two chapters, and hope to give you a respectable piece of work.

But the more I look into the matter, the more I feel you should have a life of Jay. He left far more mark than Morris did, for all the latter is so amusing. In New York Jay came next to Hamilton. He was certainly a far greater man than Randolph or Monroe; I doubt if you can appreciate how much a New Yorker, who knows anything of History, feels that the country was indebted to Jay. Especially since Franklin must be left out — what a gross absurdity to put him in as a man of letters! Have those Editors *no* sense of humour? But MacMaster¹ was the man for the work — I think the series should be complete elsewhere.

Now of course this is none of my business, and I ask your pardon in advance; but it is really generous on my part, for I will cut some of my book out, and turn over what matter I have in reference to Jay to whomever you name, if you decide to add his life to the series — and whatever you do, I will meanwhile try to give you as good a Morris as I can. *Yours most truly*

192B · TO JOHN TORREY MORSE, JUNIOR

Morse Mss.⁰

New York, November 3, 1887

My dear Mr. Morse, Your letters, with pp 1-10 of the galley proof, have come to hand; and I sent the latter on to Houghton. I shall be out in the west until nearly the middle of December, but will correct the proof out there as fast as it reaches me; of course I can not promise absolute punctuality.

I have adopted almost all your corrections; two or three, small ones, I

¹ John Bach McMaster, historian, author of *A History of the People of the United States*, an eight-volume study based on wide reading in contemporary sources including newspapers and periodicals; author also of *Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters* (1887), a volume in the American Men of Letters series.

did not. The opening paragraph I struck out altogether, and substituted another with a shorter first sentence; but I am not well satisfied with it even yet. I let Sydney Smith, Sir Lexel Griffin, and the rest go by the board altogether.

But I do not quite agree with you as to Washington and Cromwell. My comparison was simply to show that the two men towered above all others of their race; and I think they do. There are plenty of others as great, or much greater, in some one point; but they were the two *all round* men. I do'n't think Cromwell the scoundrel you do; albeit with a black enough side to his character.

Both men were great statesmen; great soldiers; with clear heads and unyielding courage; Washington founded a nation, Cromwell raised one to its highest point for that century; each inaugurated a new era. Each was *the* great man of his time. Morally there is of course no comparison between them; and beyond question Washington's virtues were the chief, or at least among the chief, causes of his success.

I have always been very fond of Venice — though any European city makes me very restless after a while.

Give my regards to Mrs. Morse; and remember that the more freely you criticise the better I like it. *Yours most truly*

P.S. What is your European address

198A · TO JOHN TORREY MORSE, JUNIOR

Morse Mss.⁰

New York, March 18, 1888

My dear Mr. Morse, Thrice alas for the suspicions which the haughty literati entertain concerning the motives of the obscure but honest politicians with whom they are brought in contact!

My advice concerning Franklin was strictly on the square. It was prompted solely by a real pride in the series. I should like greatly to write the life myself, but I am now hard at work on a book I have promised the Putnams; it would not be fair to them to stop it; and besides it would now make a wrench in my train of thought, to totally abandon what I am at and take up something new. Otherwise I should be delighted to go into it; for it would be a most interesting work.

When will you be back? I hope you won't stay *too* long abroad. By the way, how perfectly hopeless Howells is on the realistic craze now; his last exploit is to solemnly praise the aimiable Zola's last loathesome literary exploit, *La Terre*.

Cabot is in a mad whirl of politics; he has taken an excellent position in the house.

Remember me to Mrs. Morse, *Sincerely yours*

P.S John Bigelow would be a good man for the Franklin, if put in a hydraulic press, so as to *make* him be brief.

Washington, June 29, 1889

My dear Col. Burt, Many thanks for your very kind letter.

I am perfectly certain that there is only one chance for the Reform Law; and that is, to enforce it up to the hilt, and make people realize that there is no humbug about it. Of course at present there is, without doubt, a very ugly feeling against it among politicians, and the mass of the people are indifferent. It may perhaps be repealed — or an appropriation denied — at the next session; many congressmen wish to do this; it can be stopped only by arousing public sentiment, and the best way to rouse this sentiment is to make it evident that the Commission and the law are both living factors. The time is past for attempting to “conciliate” the people who ought to enforce its provisions, and do’n’t. *Yours sincerely*

Washington, October 3, 1892

My dear Mrs. Carow, I think I must write a line, just to tell you and Emily about Edith and the children. I hope you have had a pleasant summer, and that you will both again really enjoy your coming winter in Rome.

I returned to Sagamore, after spending three weeks on the ranch, and a month in an interesting but tiresome tour of some Indian reservations, to find all very well. Edith looks so pretty, and is the sweetest and best of wives and mothers; and I really believe I shall always be just as much in love with her as when we were married. She has followed in Emily’s footsteps, and fallen heir to Diamond, who, having again blossomed into a first rate polo pony for me this summer, is now, in the fall, a demure and model lady’s horse. I ride Pickle; and we have had some most lovely rides together. She has now come on with me for a week in Washington, and we have had such lovely times together. Every morning she walks down to the office with me; now she has sitting warming her feet at the fire, in a pretty dainty dress, reading Marbot’s Memoirs.

I can not say how dear the children are. Alice is one of the best little girls I ever knew, and so much more affectionate than she used to be; she is devoted to Edith, and to all the wee ones, petting Ethel and managing and taking care of Ted and Kermit. She has grown very fond of reading. Ethel is a jolly, naughty, whacky baby, too attractive for anything, and thoroughly able to hold her own in the world. She worships her mother, tolerates me when there is nobody better worth notice, and loves Ted — calling “Ted-dee!” very loud — who takes absolutely no notice of her. Kermit has hair like very light spun gold, and is much the prettiest of all; and a regular little coax, when he chooses. The other day, having been a little under the weather, he was coming down stairs to go out in the long-suffering

pony cart, with fat, bored pony-Grant; and, as he clutched Mame's dress he kept saying "I know Fader will lend 'ee tall umbrella to a poor sick boy"; and of course I hadn't the heart to refuse, though the sun was undimmed by a cloud. We play hide and go seek together; a seemingly rapturous joy to him, but certainly a game of phenomenal tameness, played in this fashion; he buries his curly head in a sofa cushion, and calls out "go hide your eyes, Fader!", which means, not that I am to hide my eyes, but to go and hide. So I select a somewhat open hiding place, and begin to "coop"; and even so he never finds me unless I keep up a rapid succession of noises which would do no discredit to an amateur foghorn. He does not play much, even yet, with Alice and Ted, who are inseperable. He adores his mother.

Ted is the most loving, warm hearted gallant little fellow who ever breathed. He is touchingly fond of me, and when I am at home always brings his little chair close up to mine at the table, and hangs about me all day long, very good, but very anxious that I shall read to him, play with him, or tell him a story. I often show him and Alice books; the great, illustrated Milton, the Nieblunglied, or hunting books; and Ted knows any amount of poetry, from Scott to Longfellow. I tell them how I hunted the game whose heads are on the wall; or of Washington crossing the Delaware, or of Lincoln, or Farragut. We have most entrancing plays in the old barn, and climbing trees in the orchard, and go to Cooper's bluff; Ted usually having to come back part of the way piggyback. He wears big spectacles, which only make him look more like a Brownie than ever; and delights in carrying a tin sword, at present, even in his romps. It is an aweinspiring sight to see him, when Alice has made a nice nest in a corn-stack, take a reckless header in after her, with sword and spectacles, showing a fine disregard both of her life and his own. I wish you could see the children all dancing on the piazza, as I drive up after an absence; and the politeness with which they strive to ignore the attractive looking bundle which they know contains toys. *aff yours*

396A · TO FRANCES THEODORA SMITH DANA

*Parsons Mss.*⁰

Washington, March 29, 1893

Dear Fanny, Not only do I feel really very much touched at your remembering me and sending me a copy of your book,¹ with so sweet a note; but I am glad to say that I can congratulate you, with all possible sincerity and heartiness upon the book itself. I have been reading it before writing you; for I did not mean to send any mere perfunctory letter of thanks. I am delighted with it; and so is Edith — she is going to buy a copy at once to send Nellie Tyler. It is so exactly the kind of book needed for out-door

¹ *How to Know the Wild Flowers* (New York, 1893).

folks, who live in the country, but know little of systematic botany, that it is a wonder no one has written it before. To me it appeals particularly because you have combined love of outdoor life with what gives a tenfold zest to this love — the trained literary appreciation of the writers have had eyes to see, and the skill to write about what they have seen, in the woods and fields. You know the flowers; and you know what Burroughs, Thoreau, Emerson, Bryant, Whittier, Emily Dickinson, have said about them. Your book will help to give precisely those literary associations with our plants for the lack of which they still suffer, compared to those of Europe; the associations which we who love all the sights and sounds of our own home-life in the American country wish above all things to see cluster round our birds and flowers, our trees, streams and hills.

You have reason to feel real pride in a piece of work so well done, and so well worth doing. *Very faithfully yours*

450A • TO ANNA ROOSEVELT

Cowles Mss.^o

Washington, March 4, 1894

Darling Bye, Our foreign news during the last ten days has contained as it's two chief items your presentation at court and Gladstone's retirement. I wonder whether Roseberry's assumption of the premiership means any advance for Ronald.¹ It seems to me, by the way, that the radical-liberal party, ever tending to grow more radical, will hardly be likely long to be led by a member of the House of Lords, especially if they make a campaign against that body.

Today the Democrats have been in power a year, and on the whole they have made a very bad mess of it. Cleveland has been utterly unable to dominate his party as he did during his first term. He has a great deal of strength of character and of right principle; but he is very ill-informed, conceited and bull-headed; and by yielding to the thoroughly evil element in his party in most patronage matters on the one hand, and on the other by following in matters of foreign policy the utterly fatuous advice of the northeastern mugwumps, he has committed some acts of incredible folly. I have just clashed with Carlisle, and have dressed him down well in a report to the Senate; Carlisle is very angry, but though able he is timid, so that he will only retaliate by trying to get Cleveland to remove me — which I doubt if he does, and about which I don't care a rap.

Reed is looming up steadily. He is in fine form, and grows in wide statesmanship — he did not need to grow in power — all the time. I think we shall carry the next house; he will then surely be speaker; and this will give him a good chance for the Presidential nomination, — though of course the odds are against him.

¹ Ronald Munro-Ferguson.

Edith continues well, and so are all the children; and just as darling as they can be. Ted still sends you mixed love and bear-waves. *Your loving brother*

476A · TO FRANCES THEODORA SMITH DANA

*Parsons Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, July 16, 1894

Dear Fanny, Corinne has just shown us your poem; and Edith and I kept it to read and re-read. We think it really a fine poem; a *very* fine poem. I do not know when I have seen a new poem I think finer; and Edith, whose opinion is worth much more than mine, thinks so too. I liked it all; but I liked especially the waves of grass-land surging to the west — so often I have thought that, but could not express it — and your delight in the hard sea-winds, blowing in your face, and in the strenuous swimming through the breakers; and in your *genuine* love of nature — the nature of the woods and marshes, not the nature taken second hand from the books. Will you pardon three questions? Your description of the thrushes holding themselves aloof, with their golden melody, is a description of the thrushes you love; but is it characteristic of them to perch in tree-tops? I ask the question honestly; they may do so; but generally I have seen them anywhere among the branches, rather low than high. And in that really wonderful stanza about the meadows, what about the “reed-birds fluted from the swaying grass”? Do you think bobolinks usually “flute”? they sing so very buoyantly, with such a babble, and so often on the wing. Now, the red wings whom you mention in the preceding line do exactly what you describe.

And ought you to compare waves to lacework? It is comparing the higher to the lower; it would be all right to compare lacework to waves. Do you remember what Poe said of Longfellow’s comparing the winter woods to a chandelier?

These are all very small criticisms; but the two first are worth your looking into; your poem is admirable; I can not say how I admire it; and it is so very good that no small blemish should be left. *Faithfully yours*

477A · TO FRANCES THEODORA SMITH DANA

*Parsons Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, July 22, 1894

Dear Fanny, I have no word more to say about the thrush in the tree top, nor the bobolink in the grass; indeed I now very vividly recall the bobolink singing as he sways on a tall reed, on a bunch of coarse marsh grass. I still do n’t quite like “flute.” The objection to “lacework” may be a mere whim of mine (exactly as Edith objects to “voice” as a verb; I do n’t; it is expressive, and, though now rare in good authors, was used by Bacon, and ought

to be revived elsewhere than in the newspapers). Indeed beside the examples you give you could turn to Homers "wine-dark sea."

Anyhow, these are mere trifles. In your poem you have struck a singularly high and fine note; it is the best thing you have done; I admire it very greatly. It must be put somewhere. The infernal magazines always wish short pieces, and one or two of them may at first be foolish enough to object to the length of this; but do not take out a line. You have made articulate what your heart felt; you have written a noble poem; and it must be put out in full — and in the end it must be kept in permanent form, with, I hope, others as good.

How I wish I could some time show you the surging seas of grass, and the lonely rivers rushing between the pine clad mountains! *Faithfully yours*

499A • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Lodge Mss.^o

Washington, October 24, 1894

Dear Cabot, I'll tell you all about the mayoralty business when we meet. The last four weeks, ever since I decided not to run, have been pretty bitter ones for me; I would literally have given my right arm to have made the race, win or lose. It was the one golden chance, which never returns; and I had no illusions about ever having another opportunity; I knew it meant the definite abandonment of any hope of going on in the work and life for which I care far more than any other. You may guess that these weeks have not been particularly pleasant ones; but outside of my immediate family nobody but you knows this. At the time, with Edith feeling as intensely as she did, I did not see how I could well go in; though I have grown to feel more and more that in this instance I should have gone counter to her wishes and made the race anyhow. It is not necessary to say to you that the fault was mine, not Edith's; I should have realized that she *could* not see the matter as it really was, or realize my feelings. But it is one of the matters just as well dropped.

Reed's New York speech was a marvel; it was a well-earned compliment to ask you to be the chief speaker at another such meeting. Tell Nannie that Harry dined with me last evening, and was delightful.

My civil service work here, now, seems to me a little like starting to go through Harvard again after graduating. *Yours*

523A • TO WALTER CHAUNCEY CAMP

Camp Mss.

Washington, March 11, 1895

My dear Mr. Camp: I was genuinely pleased to receive your note and the *Football Facts and Figures*.¹ I am ashamed to say that I had never had time

¹*Football Facts and Figures* (New York, 1894), a symposium of expert opinions on the game's place in American athletics, compiled by Walter Camp.

to examine the latter before though of course I often saw it quoted. I was particularly delighted with your putting in the extracts from the *Yale Courant* and *Scribner's Monthly*, especially the latter, with its reprobation of brutal baseball, and its championship of croquet as the national game. I read it with delight to my colleague on the Civil Service Commission, Mr. Proctor, a Kentuckian. One of Mr. Proctor's sons is a midshipman. He was on the Annapolis team, and put out his knee just before the game with West Point. Neither the boy nor his father cared a rap about the injury, except because it prevented the boy from playing in the great game. His other son is a freshman at Harvard. Last year he was trying for the team there and broke a bone in his arm; and of course all that either father or son cared about the accident was the fact that it barred the boy from the team.

I am very glad to have a chance of expressing to you the obligation which I feel all Americans are under to you for your championship of athletics. The man on the farm and in the workshop here, as in other countries, is apt to get enough physical work; but we were tending steadily in America to produce in our leisure and sedentary classes a type of man not much above the Bengalee baboo, and from this the athletic spirit has saved us. Of all games I personally like football best, and I would rather see my boys play it than see them play any other. I have no patience with the people who declaim against it because it necessitates rough play and occasional injuries. The rough play, if confined within manly and honorable limits, is an advantage. It is a good thing to have the personal contact about which the *New York Evening Post* snarls so much, and no fellow is worth his salt if he minds an occasional bruise or cut. Being nearsighted I was not able to play football in college, and I never cared for rowing or baseball, so that I did all my work in boxing and wrestling. They are both good exercises, but they are not up to football. Since I left college I have worked hard in a good many different ways, and sport has always been a mere accessory to my other business; yet I managed to ride across country a good deal, to play polo, and to shoot, and the like. I was knocked senseless at polo once, and it was a couple of hours before I came to. I broke an arm once riding to hounds, and I broke my nose another time; and out on the roundup in the West I once broke a rib, and at another time the point of my shoulder. I got these injuries when I was father of a family, and while of course they caused more or less inconvenience, and my left arm is not as strong as it might be now, nothing would persuade me to surrender the fun and the health which I could not have had save at the risk; and it seems to me that when I can afford to run these slight risks college boys can afford to take their chances on the football field. A couple of years ago a man was killed at Harvard in a friendly boxing bout, and during the time that I rode to hounds with the Meadowbrook Hunt Club on Long Island two men were killed; while if you collect the coasting accidents I think you will find that

the double runner sled is about twenty times as dangerous as the gridiron field.

I am utterly disgusted with the attitude of President Eliot and the Harvard faculty about football, though I must also say I feel very strongly in favor of altering the rules, so far as practicable, to do away with needless roughness in playing, and, above all, in favor of severe umpiring, and the expulsion from the field of any player who is needlessly rough, even if he doesn't come quite within the mark of any specific rule. I do not know anything about umpiring football games, but I have had a good deal of experience in umpiring polo games. However, personally though I would like to see the rules changed and to see the needless brutality abolished, I would a hundredfold rather keep the game as it is now, with the brutality, than give it up. The other day I spoke at a civil service reform meeting in Cincinnati and was introduced by an old Yale man of the class of '75, Judge Taft, one of the best fellows and most useful public men it has ever been my good fortune to meet. He put the thing in a nutshell when he said he wanted reformers who ate roast beef, and who were able to make their blows felt in the world. I have always been greatly interested in the purification of politics; and in the struggle to attain this I do not give a snap for a good man who can't fight and hold his own in the world. A citizen has got to be decent of course. That is the first requisite; but the second, and just as important, is that he shall be efficient, and he can't be efficient unless he is manly. Nothing has impressed me more in meeting college graduates during the fifteen years I have been out of college than the fact that on the average the men who have counted most have been those who had sound bodies. Among the Harvard men whom I have known for the last six years here in Washington, Lodge, the Senator, was a great swimmer in college, winning a championship, and is a great horseman now. Storer, a Congressman from Cincinnati, played first base on our nine. Hamlin, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, also played on the nine. Sherman Hoar, another Congressman, was on our class crew; and so on and so on; and I am inclined to think that even more good than comes to the top men from athletics comes to men like myself, who were never more than second-rate in the sports, but who were strengthened in every way by them. The Latin I learned in college has helped me a little in after life in various ways, but boxing has helped me more.

Now, my dear sir, you see what you brought on yourself by sending me the book. I had no idea of inflicting this tirade on you when I began to write. *Faithfully yours*

New York, January 13, 1896

My dear Hart: Many thanks for your letter. Mine likewise shall be private. As I wrote to Lodge, and as Lodge wrote to me, it was a real grief to both of us that you should be joined with a body of men whom we felt it our duty to attack. If there had been any way in which I could have avoided any statement touching you, I would have done so, and I was careful to put my letter in general terms, because I wished to criticize the entire "peace at any price" movement. There are some Harvard graduates who most emphatically *are* influenced by the stockjobbing timidity; there are others whose course is taken from thoroughly honest motives; but, as I deem, with great unwisdom. If you will remember that you are only one of twenty or thirty professors and nonprofessors, graduates and perhaps undergraduates who have taken public action in the matter, and that my letter was of course meant to include all of these men; you will readily see that all that was said was not in the nature of a personal attack upon you. If in my letter I had mentioned your name at all, I should most certainly have taken heed to say that your motives could not be impugned by any man who knew and admired you as I do; but it would have been foolish to single you out in a letter in which I was dealing with a body of opinion set forth by Harvard men, not one of whom did I mention by name. I did not say any of you were stockjobbers; but you all of you *did* demand the stockjobber's course.

I cannot answer all the points you raise as fully as they should be answered; but here goes:—

I: As to the difference of our views as to foreign policy: This of course is a difference of opinion. I don't want to annex Cuba nor Mexico; and, to the great harm of the English-speaking peoples, the time when the annexation of Hawaii would have done most good is past . . . proper policy in foreign affairs; nor do I believe that because we have a corrupt City Government in New York it is necessarily unwise to prevent European powers from interfering on American soil; any more than the fact that in the middle of the last century the home government of England was rotten would have justified England in refusing to wrest the new world from France. No great and masterful race could do its work in the world if it refused to expand because here and there there are internal difficulties to be met.

II: About the Monroe Doctrine; frankly I cannot understand you saying that the Monroe Doctrine does not apply to the present Venezuela situation. Of course you are entirely within your rights if you choose to condemn the Monroe Doctrine as vicious; but if it is in existence at all it applies to the present case.

III: As for the present commission; it constitutes a better means of getting at the facts than the State Department itself, but I don't think this very important.

IV: As you say it is a question of morals as to whether we should fight or not fight on such an issue. If I were an Englishman I should fight Germany if she tried to establish a protectoral over the Transvaal or any of the territory near the Transvaal; and as I am an American I should follow the same course in this Venezuela question. I should regard it as a war for the upholding of a great principle and also as a war in the end for international peace.

V: You say that in my condemnation of all of you who advised the bringing of pressure upon the Senate and the House in order to persuade them to do what I consider ignoble, I have given you just cause for resentment. Frankly I think the same statement might as well have been made by the Cotton Whigs and the Peace-at-any-price men to any Republican of 1861. If you all came out in favor of the spoils system or of repudiation of debts, I should have to denounce the action with a great deal of severity. I think that your whole protest, made in the way it was, and at the time it was, was deleterious to the last degree; it gave to the public at large the idea that Harvard was false to the country; it exposed the country, so far as it had any effect at all, to danger of war, because Salisbury's unpardonable course has been taken chiefly because he thought he could rely upon just such a body of opinion as that for which you spoke. As Professor Lounsbury of Yale remarked to me the other night, the attitude of the average merchant and the average cultivated man in reference to the present Venezuela question reminded him painfully of the attitude of the same classes when they were nervously trying to prevent a war in 1861.

I know that your motives are right; but I think it is a most lamentable thing that there should be an atmosphere at Harvard which has finally warped the mind of even so strong and patriotic a man as you are. It is an atmosphere which teaches young men to cringe to foreign opinion, and especially to English opinion, and the cultivation of a habit of thought which is essentially like that of the Byzantine and the Bengalee; and it seems to affect even so robust a mind as yours. In short I think that you and your friends have gone wrong on a fundamental question of national morality. I think that all of you occupy a position far less defensible than that of the Tories in the Revolution; although more defensible than that of the copperheads in the Revolution. And mind you, there were men of very high motives who became and remained Tories and Copperheads. One of my uncles, for whom I have a very great respect, built the *Alabama*; another fired the last gun from her in the fight with the *Kearsarge*; I honor them both; but I do not on that account refrain from saying that the rebellion was a crime against the Nation.

With respect, I am *Sincerely your friend*

New York, July 10, 1896

Dear Fanny: Edith has recently on several different occasions spoken to me about the fact that I betrayed altogether too much nervousness before the different crises that come up in the course of my very harassing work here, notably before the recent hearings by the Mayor. Yesterday she saw Corinne and wrote me at once, and afterwards told me, about your having just the same feeling at the time of my arguments in Albany; both Corinne and Edith are very much touched, as I am sure it is not necessary to say I was, at the tone of affectionate friendship in which you spoke, and at the deep interest you took in my welfare and in my not appearing to a disadvantage. I did not need any proof of your interest and friendship, but still it was pleasant to have it shown in a tangible way; for what Edith and you say cause me to realize that I must make a certain change hereafter.

I have always been nervous before a contest, although I have not a particle of nervousness when once the fight is actually on, and indeed rather enjoy it. In the old days I was always nervous before a boxing match or polo game, or even a hard day with hounds; after killing my first grizzly I recollect the hunter who was with me telling me that from the way I looked just before I went into the thing he would have believed if the bear had happened to get away that I had been afraid of it; and I remember Bob Sedgwick chaffing me about my seeming uneasy before a run with the Meadowbrook hounds, at the end of which I had the satisfaction of showing him the brush, he having utterly failed to keep anywhere in the first flight. It was the same way at Albany and before the Mayor. I have minded this war against one of my colleagues more than any of the fights which we made as a unit against the enemies of law and order. Though this was necessary, it was from its very nature humiliating; and moreover the strain of a year's very hard and worrying work was telling on me, and I felt very nervous before I actually got to grips with my foe. I did not try to control the appearance of this nervousness as much as I should have done, partly because I knew perfectly well that it would disappear the minute I came down to actual fighting, and that then I should be perfectly cool and collected; but I see now that it was a mistake not to try to command myself as much in advance as at the contest; I shall do it hereafter. In the trial before the Mayor I scored a complete victory over General Tracy in a very hard six hours' cross-examination, and had the satisfaction of stating under oath to Parker, who was not six feet distant, all that I thought worst in his moral character.

Give my warm regards to your husband. I am looking forward to catching a glimpse of you both again. *Faithfully yours*

New York, January 12, 1897

Dear Cabot, Today I saw Bliss, and told him just how things stood. He was very pleasant, although evidently desirous not to commit himself too definitely; McKinley had been talking about it with him. He said that if he were made Secretary of the Navy he would rather have me than anyone else as Assistant; but that many men were being pushed for the place, and that he could not say what the political situation would ultimately demand. He said a man named Eyre, from New Jersey, was being pushed by the New Jersey people.

I think we will favor me, but not push me.

I am glad you approved of what I finally adopted as my stand with Parker. I shall have no more wrangling with him, no matter what he says. Tell Nannie I have sent her the Review of Reviews, with a little piece of mine anent Tom Watson's letter.¹ *Yours always*

New York, March 10, 1897

Dear Cabot, Your two letters made Edith and me feel very much as you and Nannie felt when your own Nahant people came up to serenade you — a little like bawling. Nothing possible that I could get, not the Senatorship or a place in the cabinet, could be to me what you have done — and the way it was done — have been. And I am more touched than I can say at what the others have done — men whom I never dreamed cared a rap about me. As for you, old man, I don't mind in the least being under the greatest obligations to you; and I do think you are the staunchest and most loyal friend in the world. I feel ashamed to feel you have had me so on your mind, just at this time, with the defeat of the immigration bill and everything else to weigh on you. I have never felt much hope about the Asst. Secretaryship; for the pressure on McKinley is very great, & he has no reason to care for me personally; and of course if he has some one else in mind; that makes the chance very small.

Parker and Grant between them have deliberately brought the whole machine to a standstill, and have created a situation so bad that in my heart I hail this bill to legislate us out as a relief. It is bitter to have that knave and that dolt able to undo what it has cost me such intense effort to do.

I have written notes of thanks to Hobart, Addison Porter and Secy Bliss.

I am awfully sorry about poor Storer.

Best love to Nannie. *Yours ever*

¹ Theodore Roosevelt, "How Not to Better Social Conditions," *Review of Reviews*, 15:36-39 (January 1897).

Santiago, July 22, 1898

Dear Cabot, As I have no idea whether any of my many letters are sent you, I forward this through Mrs. John Addison Porter.

Your letter of June 25th has just come. I was immensely amused at the lighter anecdote about the two Secretaries. It was most characteristic. The Navy is immeasurably superior to the army. We could not have landed had it not been for the Navy; the War Department never dreamed of providing boats or lighters, any more than they dreamed of providing proper land transportation. The mismanagement of the transportation and the commissariat, and of the hospital service, has been as hideous as the absolute lack, not merely of generalship but of ordinary energy and courage, on the part of Shafter. I know we must stand by the administration; but the President & Secretary are causing dreadful loss of life & suffering, by what they do & leave undone, & it is my friends and companions whom I see suffer & die for the administration's fault.

At present the doctors have a scare over the yellow fever, and make every case out to be such. I doubt if one in a hundred is genuine. The other day they reported there were 28 such in the regiment next mine; *every one* recovered inside of three days and is now at work! But if we are kept here until we are all of us weakened by the climate, & malaria, no doubt there will be a terrible epidemic among us. If not sent to Porto Rico we should be immediately sent to some cool part of the United States — quarantined, if you like, but sent there. Of course I'd rather go to Porto Rico. I have been in excellent health; but of course we are all pulled down by the climate, the work, no shelter, poor food & etc.

Even yet I can't get food or clothing for my men. Yesterday I bought and got from the Red Cross people enough sugar, rice, onions, potatoes & cornmeal to last the regiment two days — *I* have to make good out of my own pocket the shortcomings of the Gov't, and if I didn't the sickness would far worse than it is.

I have'nt heard a word from Washington as to the Colonelcy of this regiment. I am far better fit to be a brigadier General than half those now here; and in the field I would now yield to no one here in handling, feeding and fighting my regiment.

I am so glad about Harry and Bay. Best love to Nannie. *Ever yours*

Oyster Bay, June 25, 1900

Dear Jim, It was a very melancholy little party that returned from Philadelphia; but the thing was unavoidable; coming the way the nomination did it was out of the question to refuse. I stood Mr. Platt and his machine on

their heads, and made them endorse somebody else; but this simply solidified the entire remainder of the convention!

Well, I shall make the best of it. It was a great honor, and I am deeply touched by it. If I am defeated, all feeling on my own account will be completely swallowed up in anxiety as to our national future. If elected, why I hope *something* will turn up to be done!

When I next come to Albany I shall wire you in advance, so that if possible I may see you and tell you all about it. I had to give up my 20th anniversary dinner at Harvard—in fact everything. You were characteristically considerate in understanding about the convocation. With warm love to Fanny, *Faithfully yours*

2168A • TO HENRY CABOT LODGE

Lodge Mss.

Personal.

Washington, October 11, 1901

Dear Cabot: After you have gotten settled in Boston I should be extremely glad if you could come down here for a couple of days. I should like to go over my message and my general policy with you.

On the general economic questions I shall do just about what I outlined in my letter of acceptance and in my speeches on the stump, unless some good reason can be shown why I should change at any point. Exactly how to deal with reciprocity and the ship subsidy questions puzzles me. I shall of course have to use very general language in speaking on both points. They have both come up in new shape since the campaign, and therefore I have not spoken about them or thought about them. In the appointments I shall go on exactly as I did while I was Governor of New York. The Senators and Congressmen shall ordinarily name the men, but I shall name the standard, and the men have got to come up to it. Of course there will be exceptional cases where a consideration of public policy will make me feel that I must have a given man to do a given work. Then I shall name him and get the Senators to consent. For example, I have just secured the consent of Senators Fairbanks and Beveridge to my nominating William Dudley Foulke of Indiana, as Civil Service Commissioner.

In the South I am held to have inaugurated a revolutionary policy, which I am afraid will cause me some trouble with Hanna. But all I have done is to say that I want to appoint as good men in the South as in the North, and I want to take the best man, black or white, a Republican if possible, but if he cannot be found, then a Gold Democrat, and in the last resort any type of Democrat. In the South Atlantic and Gulf States there has been really no Republican party—simply a set of black and white scalawags, with a few commonplace decent men, who have wrangled fiercely among themselves and who make not the slightest effort to get any popular votes, and who are concerned purely in getting the federal offices and sending to the National Conventions delegates whose venality makes them a menace

to the whole party. I see no advantage either to the party or to the Nation in striving to perpetuate such a condition of things.

Love to Nannie. *Ever yours*

2274A · TO ANNA CABOT MILLS LODGE

*Lodge Mss.*⁰

Washington¹

Dear Nannie, Would you and Cabot be willing to dine here entirely alone on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday? I feel as though I should bust if I am not able to discuss at length and without my usual cautious reserve several questions — Dewey, Schley, Hanna, Foraker, Cuba, Bagehot's Shakespeare, the Hallstadt culture as connected with Homer's Achaeans, the latest phase of the applied Monroe Doctrine, and the Boston Mayoralty elections. *Affectionately*

3937A · TO BROOKS ADAMS

Adams Mss.

Washington, June 12, 1906

My dear Adams: Is the enclosed all right?

For Heaven's sake do remember that my declination of another nomination was definite; without regard to my agreement with your grandfather in his views on the question in the abstract.

I am sorry to say I have great difficulty in avoiding having precisely the feeling about the courts that you mention. *Sincerely yours*

4566A · TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT *Archibald B. Roosevelt Mss.*

Personal

Washington, January 15, 1908

Dearest Archie: Your protégé, Weast, has been taken care of. I got Bromwell in and we arranged for his transfer. I think it was mighty nice of you to take such an interest in the old fellow and I was glad that you called my attention to him; for a man who has served the Government faithfully for twenty-six years and is now old and infirm ought to have every consideration shown him. Mr. Loeb wishes me to tell you that he feels ashamed, because the old fellow's case was called to his attention some time ago; but Mr. Loeb is if anything even a busier man than I am and has such a multitude of cases brought to his attention that this one slipped his mind, so that if you had not called my attention to it the old man would have been overlookt.

Ted has sent us a most comic letter asking us now to purchase Gray Dawn and pay him anything we like, so that he may meet his midyear obligations! I guess it is a case of another club assessment or else his lodging

¹ This undated letter was probably written in 1901.

bill. I am glad Ted thinks he can get thru college in three years, and will get out; so that he may earn money for himself!!!

We are now being worked to the limit with the social engagements of the winter season in the White House, in addition to the regular labors of my position.

Quentin had a great play the other afternoon with several friends of yours, including Hydar¹ and a boy who rejoices in the name of "Taters," whose real name seems to be Tate. I have just presented Quentin with a fascinating woolly bear which growls and walks. It was sent to me by an admirer who visited the Black Forest and who thought this the best Teddy Bear he had seen. Ethel loved it so she could hardly stand Quentin's getting it. *Your loving father*

4638A · TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT *Archibald B. Roosevelt Mss.*

Washington, March 15, 1908

Dearest Archie: Quentin is now taking a great interest in baseball. Yesterday the Force School nine, on which he plays second base, played the P Street nine on the White House grounds where Quentin has marked out a diamond. The Force School nine was victorious by a score of 22 to 5. I told Quentin I was afraid the P Street boys must have felt badly and he answered, "Oh I guess not; you see I filled them up with lemonade afterwards!" Charley Taft is on his nine.

Did you hear of the dreadful time Ethel had with her new bull terrier, Mike? She was out riding with Fitz Lee, who was on Roswell, and Mike was following. They suppose that Fidelity must have accidentally kicked Mike. The first they knew the bulldog sprang at the little mare's throat. She fought pluckily, rearing and plunging, and shook him off, and then Ethel galloped away. As soon as she halted, Mike overtook her and attacked Fidelity again. He seized her by the shoulder and tried to seize her by the throat, and twice Ethel had to break away and gallop off, Fitz Lee endeavoring in vain to catch the dog. Finally he succeeded, just as Mike had got Fidelity by the hock. He had to give Mike a tremendous beating to restore him to obedience; but of course Mike will have to be disposed of. Fidelity was bitten in several places and it was a wonder that Ethel was able to keep her seat, because naturally the frightened little mare reared and plunged and ran.

The weather has been very mild the last week, really too mild, because I am afraid that it may encourage the buds and that then there will be a cold snap and all the trees will be blackened. I have begun playing tennis, and Mother and I have had some good rides. When she has been unable to go I have ridden with my usual playmates: Senator Lodge, Secretary Root, Mr. Meyer, and Mr. Bacon. *Your loving father*

¹ Ali Hydar Bey, son of the Turkish minister to the United States.

Washington, May 30, 1908

Dearest Archie: Quentin has met with many adventures this week; in spite of the fact that he has had a bad cough which has tended to interrupt the variety of his career. He has become greatly interested in bees, and the other day started down to get a beehive from somewhere, being accompanied by a mongrel-looking small boy as to whose name I inquired. When repeated by Quentin it was obviously an Italian name. I asked who he was and Quentin responded, "Oh! his father keeps a fruit stand." However, they got their bees all right and Quentin took the hive up to a school exhibit. There some of the bees got out and were left behind ("poor homeless miseries," as Quentin remarked of them), and yesterday they at intervals added great zest to life in the classroom. The hive now reposes in the garden and Scamp surveys it for hours at a time with absorbed interest. After a while he will get to investigating it, and then he will find out more than he expects to.

This afternoon Quentin was not allowed to play ball because of his cough, so he was keeping the score when a foul tip caught him in the eye. It was quite a bad blow, but Quentin was very plucky about it and declined to go in until the game was finished, an hour or so later. By that time his eye had completely shut up and he now has a most magnificent bandage around his head over that eye and feels much like a baseball hero. I came in after dinner to take a look at him and to my immense amusement found that he was lying flat on his back in bed saying his prayers, while Mademoiselle was kneeling down. It took me a moment or two to grasp the fact that good Mademoiselle wisht to impress on him that it was not right to say his prayers unless he knelt down, and that as in this case he could not kneel down she would do it in his place! *Your loving father*

Washington, January 10, 1909

Dearest Archie: Quentin turned up last night. He had fallen thru the ice while playing hockey and has a cough in consequence; but as he did not drown I do not really mind the cough much. This morning he discreetly vanished before church, and when I left to go to my church the ushers were vainly seeking to round him up.

The roads are so bad that I can get only a little riding and walking now. I have an ex-prize fighter come in to give me physical exercise and to box with me in the evening. He has a wife of whom he is very proud, and I sent her some flowers by him. He was much pleased, and described, in a burst of

confidence how he fell in love with her, and then remarked thoughtfully: "I guess it must have been her intellect. It sure wasn't her looks, for she ain't any better looking than I am!" *Faithfully yours*

[*Handwritten*] P.S. I am sorry to say that it has proved that Quentin left school to come in here without leave, and told untruths about it; I have had to give him a severe whipping — the first real whipping I have ever had to give one of my children.

5202A • TO ARCHIBALD BULLOCH ROOSEVELT *Archibald B. Roosevelt Mss.⁰*

Oyster Bay, March 7, 1909

Blessed Archie, Your letters are too dear for anything; and *just* like the William Henry letters to his grandmother! ¹

I really think the people at Washington were sorry to have us go; certainly there were very many friends who felt so. A number of ladies gave mother a really beautiful diamond necklace; she has never had any jewels before — that is any real jewels. There has never been another mistress of the White House like her.

Coming home has been too lovely for anything; I am almost ashamed to say that I do not miss the White House, or being President, one bit. Of course at fifty I am glad to be going on with some work, and therefore I am glad to be going to Africa (though I am feeling more and more homesick at the thought of leaving darling mother and all of you); but I should be perfectly happy to stay here at Sagamore, so far as my own feelings are concerned.

All the dogs were delighted to see us, and mother takes them all to walk; Scamp is as cunning as ever, and as great a pet; but to my astonishment he is a savage fighter with other dogs. *Your loving father*

5209A • TO ETHEL CAROW ROOSEVELT

Derby Mss.⁰

On Board S.S. *Admiral*, April 14, 1909

Darling Ethely-bye, There has been much of interest on the trip so far, much that you would have enjoyed. We have continually quoted Kipling, for there are so many young Englishmen aboard, or whom we meet at the different places, who look and act as if they had walked out of his books — together with others who, I am sorry to say, totally lack that, and all other, forms of attraction. Now we are "east of Suez," and are expecting to see Aden loom up "like a barrack stove."

Kermie is the very dearest and nicest travelling companion imaginable.

¹Abby Morton Diaz, *The William Henry Letters* (1870), first published in *Our Young Folks* magazine.

He is never sulky or cross, and always interested and interesting. One of his books, by the way, you ought to get; it is Braithwaite's "Book of Elizabethan Verse." I am not over fond of anthologies, as a rule; but this is capital, and I believe you would be as pleased with it as I am. It was quite characteristic of Kermit to have brought it. He makes friends with all the young Englishmen, plays poker and bridge with them, or even organizes singing parties late at night! and pays me solemn visits, when he sits and talks or strums away on his mandolin. He also likes the three naturalists, as I do, very much. The latter are first class fellows and I think they will make the trip a great success from the scientific standpoint. If, as I am confident, we keep in reasonably good health, I believe we shall make a reasonable success of it from every standpoint.

The Red Sea has been very hot, after the first day; but we are all comfortable, while I am particularly well off, having been given the captain's cabin — the captain being a very capable and interesting man, by the way. Everyone has greeted me with enthusiasm, as at the moment I am enjoying the brief aftermath of Presidential glory, and, thank Heaven, am making the most of it. The Italian King made a special trip on a battleship to Messina to meet me; General Brugère came down from Paris for the same purpose; the Kaiser sent me a special messenger with a "Waidmansheil"; an Austrian Archduke offered me the use of his house at Alexandria; the Khedive had his chief military aide, a pacha, meet me at Suez; and the Duchess d'Aosta, the nicest of them all, insisted on my coming to see her, and tried to get us to dinner. Popular old Father! But I have the example of popular Mr. Toad before me, and shall try to avoid his fate. There is a really practical side to it, however, for it has enabled me to travel in much comfort, and apparently is going to result in many things being done to make my trip a success which would not be done for me under any other circumstances.

The poor Duchess d'Aosta! She is unhappily married; and she wished to talk to me about mother and you children, and I really had'n't the heart, for I felt I couldn't say anything that would not cause her pain by the contrast. *Your loving father*

5227A · TO ETHEL CAROW ROOSEVELT

Derby Mss.⁰

Neri, August 24, 1909

Blessed, blessed Ethely-bye, Your two letters have just come, and I love them so that I must write you even though there is nothing to say.

Surely I never, never wrote mother that I was not homesick! If I did, I put in a "not" by mistake. Get mother to show you just what I said, and write me what it was. I have been homesick all the time, and grow steadily more so.

Do'n't let Mother economize. It is silly for her to scrimp herself need-

lessly. Ask her to show you the letters I sent her about my expenses. If I go on for the next seven months as I have done for the last five, I shall come out at Khartoum having spent 25,000 dollars, which is better than I had dared hope. This leaves, of the money I get from Scribners, 25,000 more to get us all back to Sagamore and to pay for you all in Europe this summer & next winter. The 25,000 I spend is a big sum; but I am paid 50,000 for it, in addition to what I get from the book; and, besides, there is the years trip itself, both for me & for Kermit. Kermit, tho he occasionally causes me a good deal of anxiety, and is not always considerate, is a fine fellow; straight, manly, & with thoroly nice tastes.

I am more pleased than I can say at the way you have gotten on with Aunt Emily — and the two little boys also. I like the books you have been reading; I wish I had them here to read myself; but the pigskin library is the greatest imaginable comfort.

We have certainly had great luck; and I have been busy hunting, and busy writing when I wasn't hunting or on the march. I hope you'll like what I have written about the trip. *Your loving father*

5241A · TO ETHEL CAROW ROOSEVELT

Derby Mss.^o

Njoro, December 3, 1909

Blessed Ethely-bye-kins, I just loved your letter from Florence. What very nice letters you do write! and what a *very* nice girl, the very nicest girl, you are, you blessed person. I can't help feeling that good Andy Long need not have waked up mother and caused her an unhappy night by repeating that preposterous fake about my death. A tough old father will turn up all right, a couple of months after you receive this letter. I know we won't have very much time to do all I have to do in Europe, between April 1st and the last week in May; we can drop the small towns I put in my plan, for I only put them in when there seemed to be plans that I should spend a fortnight in Corfu, or otherwise try to while away waste time. The only thing my heart is really set on is a two days drive with darling, pretty mother, on the Corniche — or rather between Spezia and Genoa — where we were on our wedding trip.

I am now off with Lord Delamere for a week. I like both him and Lady Delamere. They live out here, and are working hard to build up the country. They have a little boy of nine, who is away at school in England; Lady Delamere showed me a dear, cunning letter of his, so I showed her Archie's letter to Mother. As for his father, he seems to regard his offspring with the curious detachment common among Male Parents in Foreign Nations and in the Poultry Yard. (I write after the manner of George Ade).

Kermit, very good and dear, has gone to hunt bongo with Lady Delamere's brother; I am supposed to be engaged in the same kind of chase; but where we are there seem to be no bongo. I have shot a couple of queer

colobus monkeys with long black and white fur, very ornamental; I shall bring them back to mother, but shall be ready to discard them instantly, as well as the elephants "teeth," if pretty Miss Dimples feels woebegone about them.

We have some very friendly hounds with us; as I have petted them, they now feel distinctly hurt if I decline to hold their paws while I am shaving; one now has its head in my lap, and whines to attract my attention. It was fine that Ace was found. Give my dear love to Cornelia. *Your loving father*

5242A · TO ETHEL CAROW ROOSEVELT

*Derby Mss.*⁰

Nairobi, December 12, 1909

Blessed Ethely-bye, Here I found your two letters, and loved them; I am more concerned than I can say about what you tell me as to mother's fright. If this were merely a pleasure trip I should come home at once. But I am the head of a scientific expedition, pledged to do certain work for the Smithsonian, money having been raised on the strength of that pledge. I have advanced the date I am to be at Khartoum all I dare; we will be there March 15th. I could'n't advance it more without upsetting all the work of the three naturalists — indeed I could'n't do it without scamping my work, and doing it in shape that would make me ashamed, for the one principle to which I have always adhered in doing any job is to do it just as well as I possibly can.

I am horribly puzzled by the letters I am now receiving from home about political affairs, and the scrape I shall be in as soon as I land in connection with the congressional elections; but this I shant worry you about, for I do'n't see that any one can help me in the matter.

You good girl, I just loved your letters; and I am so very proud and fond of you. We'll all stay with the Trevelyans while we are in England. How I wish I were with you now at dear Sagamore! Give everybody my love. *Your devoted father*

I loved the advertisement of the hat in the coony paw.

5547A · TO BROOKS ADAMS

Adams Mss.

New York, November 21, 1911

Dear Adams: I am very glad you like the article. Of course you saw that I unhesitatingly plagiarized from your letter. Again, as you say, the trouble is that I had not the authority to speak as a leader; but what I said in that article ought to have been said with all possible force either by the President or by an avowed leader of some great national party. It represents the line along which we must travel unless we are content to wobble inefficiently on the brink of destruction. The courts cannot do the regulating. All the

corporations should be regulated by one special department responsible to the President; but it is a very difficult thing for me to have to try to formulate such a policy as that of which you speak, for the same papers that decline to commit themselves one way or the other thereon, are delighted to try to persuade the people that anything I propose is proposed with the ulterior purpose of benefiting myself. *Always yours*

5768A · TO EDITH CAROW ROOSEVELT

*Printed*¹

Telegram

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 14, 1912

Am in excellent shape. Made an hour and a half speech. The wound is a trivial one. I think they will find that it merely glanced on a rib and went somewhere into a cavity of the body; It certainly did not touch a lung and isn't a particle more serious than one of the injuries any of the boys used continually to be having. Am at the Emergency Hospital at the moment, but anticipate going right on with my engagements. My voice seems to be in good shape. Best love to Ethel.

5796A · TO FRANCES THEODORA PARSONS

*Parsons Mss.*⁰

New York, December 3, 1912

Dear Fanny, Indeed I am quite ashamed that you should mislead Russell in such fashion! It seems rather egotistical to say even what I am about to say: — but if there is any lesson to teach a boy from my life (aside from the avoidance of my blunders and shortcomings) it is that a man of commonplace and ordinary attributes can achieve a measure of success *if he will only use to the utmost, and develope to their limit*, these ordinary qualities, so that they become reasonably good instruments for his purpose. Then he may do the work of the half-gods, and until the gods appear, or if they never appear, the work of the half-gods is useful.

I enjoyed to the full the delightful evening. *Ever your friend*

5848A · TO ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY

*Derby Mss.*⁰

Oyster Bay, May 1, 1913

Darling Ethely-bye, Just after posting my letter, two letters from you came, one to me. We just love them, blessing. Evidently Dick is even more than all we were sure he was! I really believe you are going to be just as happy as darling mother and I have been. Well, its a wonderful thing to be able to have the "first fine careless rapture," and also the companionship of fun and humor, and the liking for the same things.

I have capitulated and enclose the picture letter altho I suppose it

¹ New York *Evening Mail*, October 15, 1912.

will make good loyal Dick wonder, down in the bottom of his heart whether or not he has married an out-patient of bedlam's daughter.

I am glad the ditty box has been started with two treasures.

I understand exactly what you mean about Dick's sometimes reminding you of Kermit. Poor Kerm! He has some hard sledding to do. Mother and I are going down to see him next winter. I hate to write him about Heller's and my book, for I know how homesick it will make him for Africa. I was surprised, and immensely interested, by your description of how eastern Algiers was.

Mother and I have dear evenings together, but I wish I played cards and was more of a companion to her. Love to Dick, *Your loving father*

5853A · TO ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY

Derby Mss.

Marquette, Michigan, June 1, 1913

Darling Ethel: Thank heavens! the libel suit is over, and I won. Marquette is a most out-of-the-way place, but fortunately a very good fellow named George Shiras, a great hunter and naturalist, lives there, and he had me and about twenty of my witnesses at his house, so that I was really as comfortable as possible. Then, too, it became more or less of a spree, because my witnesses were such very good fellows, and had such a feeling of devotion and zeal that it was really touching. A Methodist clergyman preached a sermon today upon it, calling his sermon "A man and his friends." There was a great deal of wrangling and fighting in court, of course, but we had a first-class judge, and though the jury was composed purely of working-men, I think they were intelligent, and I am sure they were honest. We spent six days there before my case was completed, but by that time it was so overwhelming that the editor got up in court, retracted his charge, stated that he was satisfied that his assertions were not true, and that although he and his lawyers for six months had been hunting through the United States for material to back them up, they had failed to find any. I then got up and stated that I did not wish damages, that I had not gone into the suit to get money, but once for all to put a stop to these slanders, that I had achieved my purpose and was content. It was a horrid suit to have to bring, and I have been anything but happy over it at times. But I am very glad I brought it, for we have been able to settle this whole business so comprehensively and thoroughly that there never can be any question about it again. I am now on my way back home. Mother has been visiting Auntie Bye and Groton while I have been away, and has seen Archie and Quentin. I hope to find her at Oyster Bay tomorrow when I get home. I suppose she has told you that Kermit has gone into a big contracting company in South Brazil, and seems really better pleased and happier than he has been at all. The upsetting of all his friends in the railroad obviously made him feel out of place there.

A Norfolk Little Adventure

a Tragedy in Three Acts
 HAGAMORE HILL.

Act - I.
 Preparation

(E) Stage Curtain

[on sofa, bed or chair]

Act - II

Propinquity - unsuspected

[This indicates a very handsome man, sea bed and smiling]

He is unsuspicious

He looks in the eyes is meant to indicate Affection

Act - III

Discovery

Right life hand holding injured coat (tail)

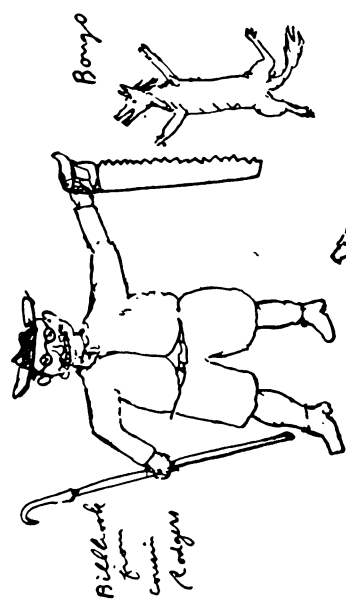
He flattened little, with cream sending

He is expressing of the most intense Woe

Portrait of a Reclined Maltman

about - 15 walk, or saw, with his

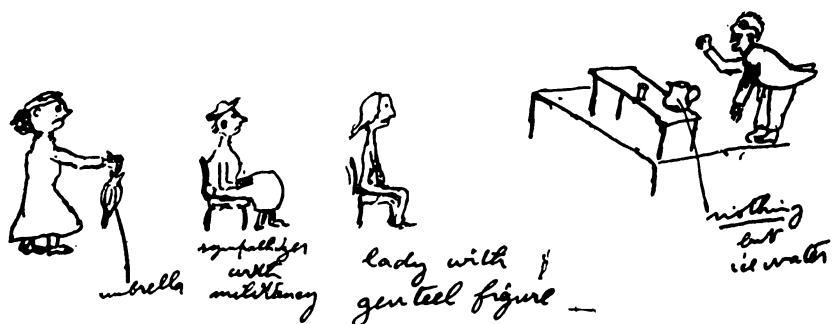
Three Gentleful Dogs.



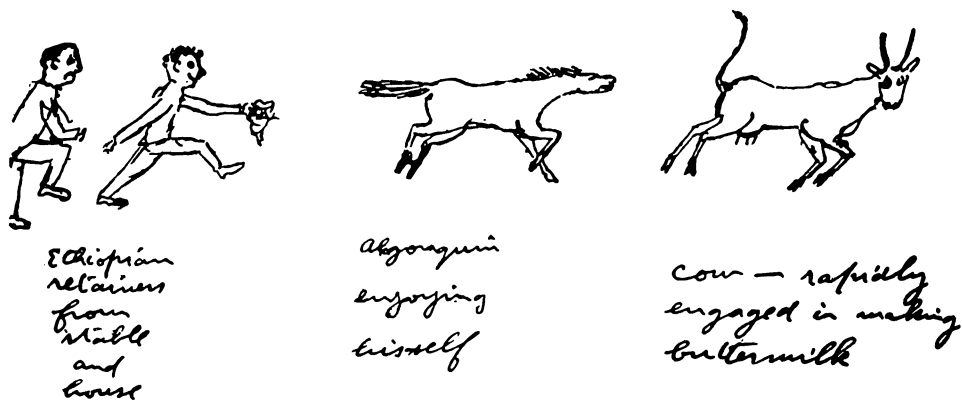
He open mouth, indicate not - possibly but - brother's enjoyment -



Father addressing the woman suffragists



Pastoral scene when Abonguin gets loose and chases the cows



Dearest love to Dick. *Your affectionate father*

Handwritten P.S June 3d. Here I am home; your cable has just come, and your letter in answer to my picture letter. Dick is just a dear; and he will be exactly as much one of the family as you children yourselves. I do hope you stay over until September; I doubt whether mother would wish to go while Aunt Emily is under the weather, because it would be dreadful for her to have to stay at Porto Maurizio, whereas if Aunt Emily were well she would enjoy going to Spain and Russia — I would take her there myself if I were not to take Archie and Quentin to Arizona. Next winter mother and I will visit Kermit; and probably I'll speak in Rio and in Buenos Ayres. Kermit seems very happy in his new work. Mother and I are just starting for a picnic; we had one lovely picnic, under the blossoming wild plums on the end of Lloyd's Neck.

6992A · TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 31, 1915

Darling Belle: Your letter of May 4th has just come and Kermit's of the same date — with Kermit's letters it is a very unusual matter that there should be a date at all, so the exception in this case is both note- and agree-able!

I am so glad that your dear father and mother and sister are soon to be out to see you. It must have been merely tantalizing to catch a glimpse of them in Madrid. I am so pleased that they are now to be really with you; and from what Kermit says you are very well and I know from your own letter that you are happy, so that their visit will give them nothing but joy. As for you, dearest Belle, we never can be thankful enough to you for what you have been and meant to Kermit; and, even if I *am* his father, I must say that I agree with you and that you have been cause to be proud of him. He has made good in the serious work of life, in business, and as your husband; just as he made good in the serious play that was almost work, which he and I did together in Africa and Brazil.

I heartily congratulate you on getting your fireplace in trim for the cold weather. I have always found that I am more cold in Southern Europe in winter than anywhere else, just because neither the inhabitants nor the houses are adapted to a cold winter; and I suppose the same thing is true of South America. I wish I could see the Portuguese maid and the Japanese cook; the latter, especially when you drive him to market. The Ford must be a great comfort and I would not be in any degree as nervous as Mr. Allen was if you took me out! I would even show a possibly over-trustful nature by not being nervous with Kermit now. Until Kermit had a course of driving you, I always felt that I should be delighted to have him head a charge of motorcycles on an enemy; but that I would a little rather not do something more peaceful with him driving.

I think it is delightful that you and Kermit should both have the same tastes for picking up nice old books and trying to get them for small prices. Your house must be really lovely. I am very glad you are to have a cold winter in Buenos Aires before going to São Paulo, which I hope you will do, although I shall not be in the least disappointed if it comes out that you cannot do it.

Eleanor and Ted are now with us here with the two babies. It is the greatest pleasure having them. I feel about all my children that it is not wise that they should live with us, but that they cannot possibly make visits that are too long. Eleanor is a perfect darling. In the morning before going down to breakfast I always stop in her room where she is sitting up in bed with little Ted, he having been brought in. Little Ted recognizes me with rapture and holds out his arms, because he knows I will let him do all kinds of illegal things in connection with stirring up the clock face etc., on the mantelpiece, and industriously making "one thing" of whatever is on the bureau. He is only about half the size of Ethel's baby, little Richard, but he is the most energetic and busy small soul you ever saw. Gracie is a dear. She and little Ted with their nurse spend much time down at the beach. I have just worked a reform within the party by persuading the nurse while going down the road to the beach to keep well off to one side; for I found her ambling down the middle of the road with the baby carriage while Gracie circulated freely in front, the good Scandinavian lady evidently having a feeling that automobiles could be completely disregarded.

Mother is now well again, although at the moment she has been poisoned. It has not come on her face and she is as pretty and dainty as she can be. Next Saturday we are starting to Louisiana, where I want to look at some bird refuges on the coast. *Your loving father*

6998A · TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Roosevelt Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, June 26, 1915

Darling Belle, Your two letters of May 25th and June 2d have just come, and we were delighted — and much amused — with them. You are a *very* good letter writer!

As for the juggling trick, I am as much puzzled as you are. John Hay used to insist that the whole audience was hypnotized. I do'n't think I ever saw anything quite as extraordinary done as the trick you describe. But I have seen things done that could'n't be done. But they were done. I saw one man put a rabbit in a paper bag — it squirmed inside the bag — and hand it to Ethel. But it was a small bouquet when the bag was opened. I saw another man throw a fishing line into the audience, and then on the bare floor; and before my eyes a wriggling gold fish grew onto the hook, and when detached and put in a globe of water, it swum agitatedly round. All

kinds of things happened; which could not happen; only, they did. I do n't wonder that you crossexamine Kermit on the subject!

My ribs are practically healed. I took Mother for a couple of hours row, our first for the summer, this afternoon; and we got drenched in a thunderstorm, which we did n't mind. The place is too lovely for anything.

I was interested in your account of your gay week, and of Lauro Muller in a moribund condition attending his forty ninth "banquet." Ugh! How I sympathize with him! And how I grew to loathe banquets and functions of every kind. It became almost an obsession with me towards the last.

You have sized up Burton exactly. He is an incredibly parochial statesman. He is a lunatic pacifist; against the navy, against fortifying the canal; in fact just about on Bryan's level.

Ethel and Dick are out here now with the baby. He's a dear little fellow; he is absorbed in the dogs, who receive his advances with cold dignity. Eleanor was here with her two babies for a fortnight; we just loved them.

Archie and his house party are at the moment doing all kinds of things — including exercises on the victriola, or whatever that musical instrument is called — in the north room. The faithful maids are prepared for the hectic week of grappling with the unexpected which is invariably implied by the return home of Harvard and Groton and their friends for the fourth of July.

I am very glad your fireplace and Ford are so very satisfactory, and regret the departure, for fathomless oriental reasons, of the Japanese cook. Steady existence on welsh rarebits will prove exhausting.

Yesterday I went in, by special invitation of my attached friends the New York police, to see their cavalry and infantry drill — a thousand of them now have rifles, and two hundred and fifty are drilled in regular cavalry fashion. They did finely; and I told them that in an age of pacifists and hyphenated Americans I was glad to see one outfit that was straight United States. *Your loving father*

7015A • TO BELLE WILLARD ROOSEVELT

Belle W. Rossevelt Mss.⁰

Oyster Bay, October 1, 1915

Darling Belle, I loved your letter of August 27th; you always write so interestingly, and tell just the things we wish to know. I already feel very well acquainted with Larry, and he must be a very real pleasure and comfort. It's a stroke of good fortune to have such a capital picture of your father.

When is your birthday? As Kermit's is the 10th of this month, wish him many happy returns from me. Not only from your letter but from his I could see that the dear fellow has been having some rather hard hours in connection with his business. But, dearest Belle, that makes me all the more grateful to you for having given him the supreme happiness, which enables a man to regard everything else as secondary. Kermit and I are

so much alike that I know just how he feels — altho he has many traits and capacities that I did not have. His work in the bank has not been congenial. It wouldn't have been to me. But it's part of the law of compensation.

He was only too glad to pay for you (and the baby-in-posse-praise Heaven) by doing the hard, irksome work which *usually* has to be done while the man is still being jostled by those who crowd round the lowest rungs of the ladder. The first years of the actual hard work at the beginning of a career are — not invariably, but ordinarily — apt to be gray and tedious. A bank office is by no means as attractive to a man of Kermit's temperament as a job in superintending the erection of a steel bridge in an out-of-the-way little town. But in earning one's living it is only rarely that we "have our rathers" as John Willis used to say. As things were, I cordially agreed with Kermit that the best chance offered itself through this bank business; and I am firmly convinced that in the end it will lead to congenial work. Meanwhile he has the inestimable advantage of having you, and of working for the most attractive and definite of all ends, yours and his joint home. Think what a contrast to working alone, living alone, with no real certainty of what the man wishes in the future! How happy I should be if I could feel that, on their respective twenty-sixth birthdays, Archie and Quentin would be in the situation that Kermit now is!

Of course he has wanderlust and spring fever now and then. The time will come when he can gratify both. But after all, he has the essentials, and he is doing what entitles him to respect, and doing it right up to the hilt. He is not doing like those foolish creatures who sacrifice the essentials for the non-essentials. I have such sympathy, such fellow feeling, with him that I really believe I understand both his cravings, his discontent with what is uncongenial and not at the moment leading directly onward, and also his deep appreciation that he is really getting ahead, that he is doing a man's work in which his family take great pride, and that in you he has won *the* prize which life held for him. I am glad Eldridge is going down; I believe that there will come openings more suitable to Kermit's capacities and more attractive; and, meanwhile, I believe that altho his present work is unattractive it is probably the very work which gives him the things it is essential for his future career that he shall know.

I am glad you had such a pleasant little three days holiday; and I sympathized much with your loss of the picnic, when you had to join the formal lunch party instead.

Ethel and the baby has finally departed and we miss them much. Small Richard is the busiest person you ever saw. Ted's family come in town next week.

At the moment Mother is in bed, worn out. She and I have just come back from Boston where we went to attend the funeral of a very dear friend, Mrs. Lodge. The nervous fatigue, as well as the physical fatigue,

overcame Mother. But normally she is stronger than for a year past, and loves her walks and rows, and will soon begin to ride.

We saw Archie and Quentin in Cambridge. Both of them have their troubles with their associates, or at least are not in entire sympathy with them, because each goes along his own lines far more than does the average boy. Quentin for instance is already absorbed in the Harvard Library, and had taken to his room three books — the Anti-Jacobin, Layard's Nineveh, and the translation of a chinese life of Ghengiz Khan. From Quebec I brought mother a gift, far inferior to the very learned-and-wise copper gifts you & Kermit sent, but which she quite liked — not an invariable result of my attempting gifts. It was an old pewter box in which sardines are to be put, on the table; it came from the fishing-village of Gaspé. Quebec was a delightfully old world place.

Mother and I are fairly revelling in Sagamore Hill. The season of big wood fires has begun. *Your loving father*

7071A · TO BROOKS ADAMS

Adams Mss.

Oyster Bay, May 3, 1916

Dear Brooks: Just a line. I hope you liked my Chicago speech. I am sorry to say I feel as you do about our country sliding toward a precipice. Still, we have great vitality as a people.

As for your being old, you are not nearly as old as I am, and the country has just as little use for me as for you! *Sincerely yours*

7173A · TO EDWARD WILLIAM BOK

Bok Mss.^o

Oyster Bay, January 22, 1917

*Dear Mr. Bok,*¹ Here is the last article. Now that the work is over, I wish most cordially to thank you, my dear fellow, for your unvarying courtesy and kindness. I have not been satisfied with my work; this is the first time I ever tried to write precisely to order, and I am not one of those gifted men who can do so to advantage; generally I find that the 3000 words is not the right length and that I wish to use 2000 or 4000! — and in consequence feel as if I had either padded or mutilated the article. And I am not always able to feel that every month I have something worth saying on a given subject!

But I hope that you have not been too much disappointed. *Faithfully yours*

¹ Edward William Bok, came to the United States from Holland at six, edited the *Brooklyn Magazine* at nineteen, conducted the Bok Syndicate Press, 1886-1891, was editor-in-chief of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1889-1919; author of *The Young Man in Business* (1900), *Why I Believe in Poverty* (1915), *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (1920).

APPENDIX II

LETTER OF ROBERT GRANT TO JAMES FORD RHODES
(*Rhodes Mss.*)

Personal

Boston, March 22, 1912

Dear Rhodes; — Glad as I was to receive your letter of March 3rd, I wish it had not arrived before I had succeeded in sending you the account of the Roosevelt visit which I promised. I began it in rough draft almost immediately, but there was so much to say and I have been so pressed with work that the days have sped without my finishing it, though the first three pages are lying on my desk. Now I am going to make a fresh start and have sought my favorite nook in the roof of the Athenaeum for the purpose. We look out this morning on a landscape of snow, and the blue Charles, — for the ice has gone — with the snow-capped background suggest Cannes and the Riviera.

T.R.'s visit to me was arranged January 23rd, when he wrote asking if it would be convenient for me to put him up for the night of February 25th (Sunday) as he was coming on for the Porcellian dinner (Saturday) and subsequent Overseer meeting (Wednesday). He had a standing invitation to stay with me whenever he came on to the Overseer meetings.

You have already heard of the letter from the eight Governors and of the Columbus speech. He told me after his arrival that he had purposely left an interval between that speech and his announcement of willingness to accept the nomination so as to give any of the Governors who found the Columbus speech too radical an opportunity to withdraw — like for instance Bass of N.H., who was an Eastern man.

Brandegge had him in charge at Brookline until Sunday afternoon when he arrived at my house. Of course the Columbus speech had sent the Country into convulsions and everyone was on tiptoe to know what his answer was to be, though it was generally assumed that Barkis was willing. My house had suddenly become the storm center of the country, not altogether to my relish, fond as I am of Theodore. All Sunday morning the telephone was kept very busy by newspapers and people who wished to communicate with him, and a small army of reporters was established close to the spot where the new Cardinal's triumphal arch had lately stood. But when T.R. arrived at 3.20 he said that he would not see anyone until 5.30 and that he wished to tell my wife and me "all about it."

Whereupon he sat down in our library and talked to us for over two hours, broken only by a short visit from Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California, who told him in my presence that he regarded the Columbus speech as moderate and that California had a law recalling judges in force which no one had yet attempted to utilize. Richard H. Dana also came in at teatime, having telephoned for permission to do so. During the latter's visit Theodore told us about the foreign Kings etc., which was new to Dana and Mrs. Grant, but he did not touch on politics. The rest of the time he talked with great freedom, as you will see. At six he had a short interview with all the reporters downstairs and dismissed them for the night. He had previously told us, shortly after his arrival, that he had invited some political friends, — four or five he said — to come to the house to confer with him on the morrow (Monday) and asked my wife if she had any objection. He gave the reporters no inkling of what Monday's answer was to be, but said that it would be issued from New York. At his suggestion I had asked William R. Thayer (Cavour) to dinner, and also at his later request, William Allen White of Kansas, editor, politician and author of *A Certain Rich Man* who was staying at the Colonial Club in Cambridge. He had asked me not to invite more than three guests, and I included Arthur D. Hill with whom I knew he was on friendly terms; though I had no idea that Hill was coming out for him. My wife and sons Alexander and Gordon made up the company, which did not break up until half-past eleven, and the conversation — an absorbing monologue punctuated by questions and suggestions, — was mainly on the burning topic. I had approached (or rather dwelt on) the point of loyalty to Taft already but just as he was going up to bed I spoke of it again. He turned and standing on the bottom stair, reiterated, "What do I owe to Taft? It was through me and my friends that he became President. I had him in the hollow of my hand and he would have dropped out." He had his pocket-knife in his palm and suited his action to the word. I saw him upstairs, and, as he stood at the threshold of his room, he stretched out his arms and exclaimed "I feel fine as silk." It was just midnight and what with the strenuousness of the day I was feeling just a trifle jaded.

Before I give you in detail his reasons and comments, let me say that I never saw him in better physical shape. He is fairly stout, but his color is good, and he appeared vigorous. I saw no signs of unusual excitement. He halts in his sentences occasionally; but from a layman's point of view there was nothing to suggest mental impairment, unless the combination of egotism, faith in his own doctrines, fondness for power and present hostility to Taft, — of which I will speak presently — can be termed symptomatic. On the contrary, I have never spent a more absorbing twenty-four hours. He was a most delightful guest. He had his usual laugh at the people who said he drank, — and this story has been revived with the new one that he is crazy. He drank nothing but the wines we had at dinner and he took tea

in the afternoon. As you well know, his habits are simply normal. Next morning the news was in the newspapers, and 211 Bay State Road became until 4 P.M., when he left for Grafton Cushing's (who published a disavowal of sympathy with his political doctrines) a political headquarters. I fled to Court promptly at 9 o'clock, but my wife stood by the Penates. The Colonel had possession of the drawing room and dining room downstairs, and visitors were numerous, coming singly and in delegations, — some from other states. One of our maids stood constantly at the front door. In the midst of it all the chimney in the library caught fire, and when Mrs. Grant told T.R. of this later he said that it was doubtless due to the conflagration downstairs.

I think I have covered now all the facts, and we will come to his statements. I asked him, as soon as he said that he wished to tell us all about it, and that he was willing to accept the nomination, whether the matter was absolutely settled. He replied that it was and that the announcement would emanate from New York and appear in all the newspapers of the country on Monday morning. "Has not every one of your friends advised you against it?" He replied that every one of them had; that he had hesitated for a long time, — been very uncertain; but that he felt he could not refuse the call of those who had applied to him (meaning the eight Governors); that to do so would be cowardice, a case of "*il gran rifiuto*." (He emphasized this quotation from Dante, which refers, as you will recall, to the refusal of the monk Pietro Morone to accept the papacy after he had been chosen as Celestine V. and his return to his cell. He repeated the same quotation at least once more during the day.) "But you will agree that Taft has made a good President this last year?" He acquiesced without enthusiasm, but added that Mr. Taft had put the Republican party in the same position as the Bell and Everett Whigs just before the Civil War, — that of respectable inactivity. That if he were to wait for four years the Republican party would be in a hopelessly moribund condition and that this was the crucial moment to do it. I suggested that the public would say he was disloyal to the President. He protested that he owed nothing to Mr. Taft, but that the President owed everything to him; that Mr. Taft had in all the States immediately after becoming President affiliated himself with the factions hostile to his (Roosevelt's) friends, — the people whose support had made him (Taft) President. I returned to this several times in the course of his visit, the last time just before we parted at the Overseer meeting, for I had an instinctive feeling that it was not treating Mr. Taft quite fairly. But it was perfectly evident from his point of view that this did not disturb him. Indeed, he asserted that he was interested in carrying out his ideas, and that the plea of disloyalty did not weigh with him. Of course, feeling as he did about Mr. Taft's attitude, this position was logical. In the course of the evening he dwelt on it with Mr. White of Kansas, giving instances of where the President had sided with the factions opposed to him.

"But will any of the party leaders support you?" I inquired.

"No" he said "None of them; not even Lodge, I think. I don't see how he can. My support will come from the people officered by a few lieutenants — young men principally, like Gov. Bass of New Hampshire." He said he realized that the probabilities were all against his nomination; that a President in office has all the machinery on his side; but that of course it wouldn't do to admit outside that he expected to lose; that if he could reach the popular vote through direct primaries, he could hope to win. It was manifest that he believed that it was indispensable for the future good of the Republican party that he should make the breach. When he said as much I asked "But the situation is complex, I suppose? You would like to be President." "You are right," he replied "it is complex. I like power; but I care nothing to be President as President. I am interested in these ideas of mine and I want to carry them through, and feel that I am the one to carry them through." He said that he believed the most important questions today were the humanitarian and economic problems, and intimated that the will of the people had been thwarted in these ways, especially by the courts on constitutional grounds, and that reforms were urgent.

As to the third term, which he did not discuss very much, as he realized I was not much concerned on that score, he reiterated his *Outlook* statement that saying you do not care for another cup of coffee does not mean that you will not take one another day. He declared positively that the statement in his letter on the morning after his re-election was not intended to apply to anything but a consecutive term; and as to the claims that he had recently told people he would not run again, he stated that he had invariably made a distinction between becoming a candidate and accepting a nomination.

For a day or two before his arrival I had been pointing out to the severe critics of his Columbus speech (most of whom had never read it) that he was not in favor of the recall of judges, but of judicial decisions, and that what he had in mind were not civil and criminal cases, but cases where the several States had declared humanitarian Acts passed by the Legislature to be unconstitutional. Of course in England there is no Constitution; Parliament can pass what laws it sees fit without check. And in European Countries where there is a Constitution the Courts are not the final arbiters. I saw that what he had in mind was a short cut to changing a State Constitution, and the doctrine had less terrors for me than for most people, the majority of whom jumped to the awful conclusion that a judge who should let off a Wall or State St. banker or broker would be liable under the new doctrine to be deprived of office by a plebiscite within forty-eight hours. I mention this as a preface to saying that I told him I had less fears of the further development of popular sovereignty than most of our acquaintance, but that I thought he must make very much clearer his theories on this subject, though I saw what he meant and to a certain extent sympathized with his attitude regarding democracy, as expressed by the referendum, initiative,

and other methods of effecting legislation by the popular will. William Allen White also called his attention later to the same need of greater clarity and definiteness in his views regarding the Courts. Theodore's own explanation was exactly as I have forecast it to you; but the effect produced on me was that it was still rather an "indigestaque moles," — an ethical social idea not yet properly worked out. After all, although our constitutions may be too sacred white elephants, the distinction between altering them in the regular way and by popular votes on specific cases decided by the Courts is a little vague and has served incidentally to throw the property-owning class and all reverers of our institutions into pink fits.

That Theodore is in earnest and sincere, there is no room for doubt in my mind. People who hate him, — and their number is legion in our walk of life — credit him neither with sincerity nor honesty. But it seems equally clear to me from my humble point of view that he has made a great mistake, — an unnecessary and possibly fatal blunder, which for the time being at any rate bids fair to destroy his value as a great national political asset. He might so easily have waited. To have declared that he would not on any account accept a nomination this year, — even though he had simultaneously disclosed his radical views — would have kept him on the pedestal from which at the moment he appears to be dethroned, and shown him also more magnanimous. At the same time it is to be remembered that he has the reputation of being the most farsighted politician in the Country, and he unquestionably believes that we are on the eve of an economic revolution, and that it is better for the Country that the Republican party should point the way rather than the Socialists should control the situation and leadership.

Whatever doubts he may have entertained, — and I am sure they were very genuine — as to his present success — I think he expected more popular support than has thus far been accorded him, and must be somewhat disappointed. At the moment of writing, — though it is too soon to be positive — his candidacy promises to be almost a fizzle. The diatribes against him in the newspapers of the East and in many other sections have been vitriolic beyond measure, and a perfect chorus of abuse is being vented against him by his consistent enemies and by most of his grieved quondam admirers. Curiously enough, the impression (whether logical or not) that he has not given Taft quite a square deal seems to have taken hold of the public mind more forcibly than either the repugnance caused by his radical propaganda or the dread of a third term. The abuse has been so overwhelming and bitter the last thirty days under the lead of the *N.Y. Evening Post*, *N.Y. Herald* and *Springfield Republican* that one is tempted to retort with the popular refrain of the day: "You got ter quit kicking my dog aroun' * * * I don't care if he *is* a houn'. You got ter quit kicking my dog aroun'."

Taft has become almost an idol, even in circles where a few months ago he was reviled. If he is elected President, it will be on the crest of the wave

of revolt from and denunciation of Roosevelt. He was greeted here last week with very marked enthusiasm, and Roosevelt supporters in Boston are almost as scarce as hen's teeth. Taft has behaved with dignity and amiable forbearance since the announcement. But the test is coming when the Republicans have to face the question whether Taft can win against the Democratic candidate. For the Democrats will not vote for Taft needless to say. In last week's primaries in North Dakota, La Follette won over Roosevelt, but Taft was nowhere. Taft seems today pretty sure to get the nomination; but if he is defeated in November, the interesting consideration will be as to the effect of Roosevelt's present stand. (By the way, he told me he would support Taft, if nominated, as one who preferred 20 to 19.) Nearly everyone today claims he is dead forever as a political factor. If, on the other hand, he is correct in his premise that we are on the verge of an economic revolution, — and there are signs of this in spite of the present visible improvement in business — will he not become the logical leader of a new progressive (Republican) party? His lack of loyalty to Taft is partly a matter of taste, which the people may forget or ignore if they feel that in spite of his foibles he is the man to handle the future situation. It is even now not entirely evident what the mass are thinking. All our friends of course with scarcely an exception are intemperately abusive. But I hear rumors today that the people are in his favor in Maine, — which if true would be important.

It has been rather awkward for me, — for I cannot exactly apply to myself Milton's lines "Among the faithless, faithful only he," — for, as you have perceived, I think he has made an unnecessary mistake which promises to be his Waterloo. And yet at the same time, I am so in sympathy with his desire to right humanitarian wrongs, and such a true admirer of his, that I am generally classed as one of his supporters, though I disapprove of what he has done, and feel a little as if a baby had been left on my doorsteps. It is instinctive with me not to desert a man when he is down, — and one owes loyalty to a guest, even though he sets off a bomb on your premises without warning you. On the other hand, I was on very pleasant terms with Mr. Taft, who I hear on the best authority is *much* wounded and very sad over Theodore's defection. Not being a man who can run with the hare and course with the hounds, I found myself somewhat embarrassed when I shook hands with the President at Col. Harvey's dinner for Mr. Howells. I think he understands that my part in the conspiracy was involuntary, but, I suppose that a man is likely to be measured somewhat by the company he keeps, — especially at this juncture if he happens to be a judge. I seem to have been an involuntary pawn on the chessboard of political destiny, and my consolation must be that it was an absorbingly interesting experience.

This letter is so long that I will not venture to add another word except to send my — and Mrs. Grant's — kindest regards to Mrs. Rhodes. Just to make sure that this reaches you safely, please advise me of its receipt. I am sending you also a postscript by separate enclosure. *Yours very truly*

APPENDIX III

THE ORIGINS OF PROGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP

BY ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR.

To obtain a better understanding of the leadership of the Progressive party, an examination was made of the social, political, and occupational backgrounds of 260 party leaders, including national committeemen, chairmen of state committees, and men and women who gave time and money to the party. From this study came the accompanying table showing the occupational backgrounds of Progressive leaders and some provisional generalizations as to the nature of Progressive leadership. The first and least debatable generalization was that the leaders of the Progressive party were city men of the upper middle class. Second, they were native-born Protestants; only nine of the 260 were born outside the United States. Politically, all but a handful had previously been Republicans.

OCCUPATIONS OF PROGRESSIVE LEADERS

<i>Area</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Lawyer</i>	<i>Editor</i>	<i>Other Professional</i>
New England	42	18	10	3	11
Middle Atlantic	77	21	18	9	29
South	39	24	11	4	0
Old Northwest	43	15	12	6	10
Trans-Mississippi West	41	13	17	8	3
Pacific West	19	4	7	6	2
(Totals)	260	95	75	36	55

The occupations of these Progressive leaders make impressively clear their urban middle-class backgrounds. At a time when the professional classes were much smaller than today, and when college graduates were much fewer, over sixty per cent of the Progressive leaders were professional men, a large number of whom attended graduate schools. Of these professional men, seventy-five were lawyers and thirty-six editors. The rest, listed as "other professionals," included nineteen college professors, seven authors, six professional social workers, and a scattering of physicians, civil and mining engineers, clergymen, and experts in agriculture or municipal government. The remaining ninety-five leaders were businessmen; but only a very

few of these were owners and operators of really small businesses. Among the 260 there were no farmers, no laboring men, and only one labor-union leader. Nor were there any representatives of the nonprofessional or white-collar workers, nor, for that matter, any of the salaried managers of large industrial or transportation concerns.

As the table indicates, the occupational backgrounds of the Progressive leaders varied significantly in the different sections of the country. In the South, twenty-four of the thirty-eight leaders were businessmen, and nearly all of the ten lawyers had business experience. On the other hand, there were no "other professionals" among the Southern leaders. These Southern men of business operated comparatively large businesses. They were presidents of textile, tobacco, shipping, lumber, and real estate companies. They lived in the growing cities of the new South, in Birmingham, Atlanta, Houston, the Hampton Roads area in Virginia, Louisville, and Memphis. Many had been influential in Republican state organizations. As representatives of the new rising Southern social elite, these businessmen had long looked with distaste on the agrarianism of William Jennings Bryan and Tom Watson; yet the Republican party, traditionally the party of the carpetbagger and the Negro, offered a poor alternative. To these men, Roosevelt's third party provided a respectable political haven.

Occupationally, the leadership in the great metropolitan cities of the Northeast and the Old Northwest differed most from that of the South. Here in the nation's largest cities were concentrated the college professors, intellectuals, social workers, and the other leaders listed as "other professionals." In these cities, too, a different type of businessman became a Progressive leader. He tended to be a man of means, managing an older, established business, rather than an aggressive entrepreneur actively operating a new and growing business concern. Many of the metropolitan businessmen had inherited their wealth. Of those with inherited wealth, some, like Dan Hanna, worked at their family businesses; but many others took almost no part in business decision-making. Moreover, many of the men who had made their own fortunes were, like George Perkins, in 1912 retired from active business. Many lawyers and editors among the leaders living in the metropolitan areas also enjoyed an inherited income and a patrician background.

If the party leaders of the South belonged to a new elite, a large number of the leaders in the great Northern cities were then members of the older social aristocracy. Coming from families who since colonial times had been active in community affairs, many of these upper-class Progressives had been bred to a sense of social responsibility. These and others, living as they did in the nation's largest metropolitan areas, had become painfully aware of some of the most unhappy aspects of modern industrial society. Still others, successful men of business, had on retirement broadened their horizons. No longer involved in day-to-day business operations, they had become increasingly conscious of the concerted attack on the way of economic life they

had helped create. They felt a need to integrate the ways of big business into the dominant American social and political patterns. Born and bred Republicans, these men of means and good will had become dissatisfied with the extreme conservatism of a large segment of their party; yet for them the Democratic party, the party of the urban political boss and the immigrant, the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion," was a disagreeable alternative. To the members of this older elite, the Progressive party offered, as it did for the Southern businessmen, a respectable political haven.

The occupational backgrounds of the Progressive leaders in the rest of the country, that is of the West and the more rural areas of the Northeast and the Old Northwest, fall in between the polar types represented by the leadership in the South and in the metropolitan areas of the North. In the other parts of the nation, the businessmen among the Progressive leaders were closer in type to the Southern businessmen than to those of the big cities. West of the Mississippi, they ran, as independent operators, cattle, real estate, and lumber businesses; east of the Mississippi, they ran utility, publishing, and smaller manufacturing companies. However in the West, unlike the South, editors and lawyers rather than businessmen dominated the party leadership.

In the West, then, the occupational backgrounds of the Progressive leaders were similar to those of the men who managed the Republican and Democratic parties. Traditionally American political leaders have been lawyers and editors. Since the men of the law and the press in the West lived in the largest cities — in Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, the Twin Cities, Kansas City, Wichita, and Omaha — they had little sympathy with the Democratic heirs to Populism. Many, in fact, had long been active in local Republican politics. Yet, like the earlier agrarians, these Republicans from the cities of the West found an enemy in the railroads and industrial corporations whose managers, usually living in the distant East, held such economic power over the business life of the West. They were, like the leaders of the more rural areas of northern New England and the Old Northwest, unhappy over the close alliance between the Eastern industrialists and such national Republican leaders as Nelson Aldrich, Boise Penrose, and even Elihu Root. Since 1900 they had for the most part enthusiastically supported Roosevelt and his policy of business regulation. During the decade before 1912 they had worked hard to bring their own state organizations to accept Roosevelt's political and economic doctrines.

In states where editors and lawyers led the new party, Roosevelt and the Progressives made their best showing in 1912. Yet even in the states which Roosevelt carried, or in those where he lost to Wilson but ran far ahead of Taft, the Progressive leaders had little experience outside of local politics. Very few politicians active in national politics joined the third party. Even such strong opponents of Taft and such enthusiastic friends of Roosevelt as Hadley, Cummins, Clapp, Bristow, Works, and Borah remained in the Re-

publican party. Of the insurgents in Congress during the Taft administration, only Dixon and Beveridge joined the new party. Few Progressive leaders had made politics a full-time career. Few had experienced or even understood the importance of party discipline.

In fact, these men had had little experience with any kind of institutional discipline. In this sense, though they lived in the city, they were in no way typical men of the city. With very rare exceptions, all these men had been and continued to be their own bosses. As lawyers, businessmen, and professional men, they worked for themselves and had done so for most of their lives. As individualists, unacquainted with institutional discipline or control, the Progressive leaders represented, in spite of their thoroughly urban backgrounds, the ideas of the older, more rural America.

The social and occupational backgrounds of its leaders help account in part for the rapid disintegration of the Progressive party after 1912. As individualists, these men had great difficulty in managing, controlling, and holding together an effective political organization. As conservatives, they found it ideologically easy to return to their former Republican allegiances. Finally, both their individualism and their conservatism help explain why so many, though by no means all, of the Progressive leaders were, after 1912, unimaginative in developing new doctrines and techniques necessary to insure democratic control of an industrial society.

APPENDIX IV

CHRONOLOGY

March 5, 1909 — January 8, 1919

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| <p style="text-align: center;">1909</p> <p>MARCH</p> <p>5 Oyster Bay through March 9</p> <p>10 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lunch with T. D. Robinson</p> <p>11 Oyster Bay</p> <p>12 Oyster Bay. Reception given by townspeople</p> <p>13 Oyster Bay and NYC. Breakfast given by R. Collier</p> <p>14 Oyster Bay through March 16</p> <p>17 Oyster Bay. Attends meeting of Matinecock Lodge of Masons</p> <p>18 Oyster Bay. Receives Nassau County inauguration delegation</p> <p>19 Oyster Bay through March 20</p> <p>21 Oyster Bay. Family reunion</p> <p>22 Oyster Bay and NYC. Visits Nurse Ledwith, T. D. Robinsons. Inspects S.S. <i>Hamburg</i> at Hoboken</p> <p>23 Sails for British East Africa aboard S.S. <i>Hamburg</i></p> <p>24 At sea through March 29</p> <p>30 Ship calls at São Miguel, Azores. Visits Ponta Delgada, Horta</p> <p>31 At sea</p> <p>APRIL</p> <p>1 At sea</p> <p>2 Gibraltar. Calls on Gen. Forestier-Walker</p> <p>3 At sea through April 4</p> <p>5 Naples. Calls on Duke and Duchess of Aosta. Departs for Mombasa on S.S. <i>Admiral</i></p> <p>6 Messina. Calls on King Victor Emmanuel III. Inspects ruins left by earthquake</p> <p>7 At sea through April 8</p> <p>9 Port Said. Welcomed by F. K. Watson. Dinner with Suez Canal officials</p> <p>10 Suez Canal</p> <p>11 At sea through April 14</p> <p>15 Ship calls at Aden</p> <p>16 At sea through April 20</p> | <p>21 Mombasa. Welcomed by Lt.-Gov. Jackson</p> <p>22 Mombasa. Departs for Kapiti Plains Station</p> <p>23 Kapiti Plains Station</p> <p>24 Kapiti Plains Station. Joins safari. Departs for ranch of Sir Alfred Pease</p> <p>25 Pease ranch until <i>ca.</i> May 1</p> <p>MAY</p> <p>1 Hunting lions in Mua Hills with Selous from <i>ca.</i> May 1 until <i>ca.</i> May 13. At Machakos. Visits American mission</p> <p>14 En route Juja Farm</p> <p>15 Juja Farm until <i>ca.</i> May 22</p> <p>23 Kamiti Ranch with Heatley until <i>ca.</i> June 1</p> <p>JUNE</p> <p>1 Nairobi until June 3. Guest of Lt.-Gov. Jackson</p> <p>4 Kijabe. Visits American mission</p> <p>5 Kijabe. Departs for the Sotik</p> <p>6 On safari in the Sotik until July 11</p> <p>JULY</p> <p>12 Lake Naivasha until July 23. Saigo Soi Ranch with Attenboroughs</p> <p>24 Nairobi until Aug. 2. Juja Farm</p> <p>AUGUST</p> <p>3 Nairobi. Speech, "Education in Africa"</p> <p>4 Kijabe. Lays cornerstone for mission church. Returns to Lake Naivasha</p> <p>5 Lake Naivasha until Aug. 7</p> <p>8 Nairobi. Departs for Mount Kenya region</p> <p>9 On safari in Mount Kenya region until Sept. 6</p> <p>SEPTEMBER</p> <p>6 On safari in Meru Boma district until <i>ca.</i> Sept. 25</p> |
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- 25 On safari in Guaso Nyiro district until Oct. 15. Nyeri

OCTOBER

African Game Trails published serially in *Scribner's*, October 1909 to September 1910

- 15 En route Nairobi until Oct. 20
- 21 Nairobi through Oct. 24
- 25 Departs for Uasin Gishu plateau
- 26 Londiani en route Uasin Gishu plateau
- 27 En route Uasin Gishu plateau. Fifty-first birthday
- 28 En route Uasin Gishu plateau until *ca.* Nov. 1

NOVEMBER

- 1 Hunting on Uasin Gishu plateau until *ca.* Nov. 27
- 27 En route Lord Delamere's ranch until Nov. 29
- 30 Londiani

DECEMBER

- 1 Njoro. Saysamba ranch with Lord Delamere through Dec. 10
- 11 Nairobi through Dec. 17
- 18 Departs for Lake Victoria Nyanza
- 19 Port Florence. Crosses Lake Victoria Nyanza. Entebbe. Guest of Acting-Gov. Boyle
- 20 Entebbe
- 21 Kampala through Dec. 22. Guest of District Commissioner Knowles. Received by Bishop Tucker at Church of England mission. Calls on native King of Uganda, Daudi Chwa. Visits grave of late King Mutesa
- 23 Situtunga hunt near Kampala
- 24 Departs for Uganda
- 25 On safari in Uganda until Jan. 3

1910

JANUARY

- 4 Hoima. Receives native King of Bunyoro
- 5 Butiaba and Lake Albert Nyanza. Departs down Nile for Lado Enclave
- 6 Lado Enclave until *ca.* Feb. 3

FEBRUARY

- 3 En route Nimule until Feb. 5
- 6 Nimule
- 7 Departs on foot for Gondokoro
- 8 En route Gondokoro until Feb. 16

- 17 Gondokoro through Feb. 18
- 19 Hunting giant eland in Belgian Congo until Feb. 25
- 26 Returns to Gondokoro
- 27 Gondokoro
- 28 Departs down Nile for Khartoum on steamer *Dal*

MARCH

- 1 On the Nile
- 2 On the Nile. Stops at Lado, Mongalla
- 3 On the Nile and Lake No
- 4 On Lake No through March 5
- 6 On Bahr el Ghazal River and Lake No
- 7 On Bahr el Zeraf River and the White Nile
- 8 On the White Nile
- 9 Taufikia, Egypt
- 10 On the White Nile through March 14
- 14 Khartoum. Welcomed by Slatin Pasha. Reunion with Mrs. Roosevelt. Guest of Gov.-Gen. Wingate
- 15 Khartoum. Visits battlefield of Kerreri. Speaks at Gordon Memorial College. Dinner at Sirdar's palace
- 16 Omdurman. Sightseeing. Speaks at government school, Khartoum. Speaks at Am. mission on "Peace and Justice in the Sudan." Dinner at Sudan Club
- 17 Khartoum. Lunch at Sirdar's palace. Visits Am. mission. Reception at Grand Hotel. Speaks at Egyptian Officers' Club. Departs for Cairo
- 18 En route Cairo. Boards steamer *Ibis* at Wady Halfa
- 19 On the White Nile. Visits temples of Ramses II in Abu Simbel
- 20 Shellal. Visits ruins of Philae, Aswân dam, tombs at Mount Grenfell
- 21 Luxor. Reception at Winter Palace Hotel. Evening visit to Karmak temples
- 22 Luxor. Visits temples and tombs of Thebes. Speaks at Am. mission. Lunch with Weigall
- 23 Luxor. Visits temples of Luxor and Karnak and mission of United Presbyterian Church
- 24 Cairo. Welcomed by Major Stack and Am. consul-general. Received by the Khedive. Receives the Khedive at Am. Agency. Night at Mena House to see Sphinx and pyramids in moonlight
- 25 Sakhara. Visits Necropolis, tombs of kings of The and of Apis Bulls. Sees O. Straus. Cairo. Visits zoological gardens. Dinner with Am. consul-general and Sir Eldon Gorst

- 26 Cairo. Visits El Ashar University. Dinner and reception at Am. Agency
- 27 Cairo. Receives deputation of Copt, Mohammedan, Egyptian journalists. Dinner with the Sirdar
- 28 Cairo. Receives deputation of Syrians. Visits Am. mission. Speaks at National University on "Law and Order in Egypt"
- 29 Cairo. Lunch with Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg. Student parade to protest speech
- 30 Alexandria. Boards steamer *Prinz Heinrich* for Naples
- 31 At sea until April 1

APRIL

- 2 Naples
- 3 Rome. Received by King Victor Emmanuel III
- 4 Rome. Visits Pantheon. Lunch with Leishman. Callers include B. M. Tipple. Official dinner at Quirinal Palace
- 5 Rome. Visits Royal Body Guard of Cuirassiers with king. Sightseeing. Dinner at British Embassy
- 6 Rome. Calls on Professor Boni. Lunch with Ferrero. Municipality dinner at Capitoline Palace
- 7 En route Genoa through April 8
- 9 Genoa. Sightseeing. Receives Catholic students
- 10 Porto Maurizio. Lunch with Fogazzaro. Opening of Roosevelt Boulevard
- 11 Porto Maurizio to April 12. Confers with G. Pinchot
- 13 Porto Maurizio. Confers with Phelan
- 14 Venice. Sightseeing
- 15 Vienna. Calls on Henry White, Count von Aehrenthal, Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Received by Emperor. Inspects Spanish Riding School, Imperial Hussar barracks. Dinner guest of Count von Aehrenthal
- 16 Vienna. Visits Kreuzenstein Castle of Count Wilczek. Receives Papal Nuncio to Austrian Court. Official dinner at Schönbrunn Palace
- 17 En route Budapest. Visits Count Apponyi at Eherhart
- 18 Budapest. Calls at Royal Palace. Received at Parliament House. Calls on Kossuth. Lunch with Archduke Joseph. Dinner with Baron Hengelmüller
- 19 Budapest. Visits government stock farm at Babolna. Dinner and reception at foreign office
- 20 En route Paris
- 21 Paris. Calls on President Fallières, ex-President Loubet. Attends Comédie Française
- 22 Paris. Sightseeing. Lunch with Baron Coubertin. Dinner guest of President Fallières at Elysée Palace
- 23 Paris. Participates in session of Academy of Moral and Political Science. Speaks at Sorbonne on "Duties of the Citizen"
- 24 Paris. Visits castle at St. Germain. Lunch with Jusserand
- 25 Paris. Reception at Hôtel de Ville by municipality of Paris. Sightseeing. Calls on Edith Wharton. Dinner at Military Club with officers of Rochambeau mission
- 26 Paris. Sightseeing. Callers include delegations from French Interparliamentary Union, Franco-American committee. Dinner with Amb. and Mrs. Bacon
- 27 Paris. Visits garrison at Vincennes, Salon des Artistes Français, Rodin's studio, Versailles. Dinner at Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 28 Brussels. Lunch at Am. Embassy. Guest of King Alfred and Queen Elizabeth in Laeken Palace. Official dinner at palace. Reception in Hôtel de Ville
- 29 En route Amsterdam. Lunch with Queen Wilhelmina at Hetloo Palace. Welcomed by burgomaster in Amsterdam. Attends meeting in Free Church of Weteringhaus. Municipality dinner.
- 30 The Hague. Visits "House in the Woods." Received by Queen Mother Emma. Sightseeing at Delft. Dinner and reception at Am. Embassy

MAY

- 1 Haarlem. Visits national tulip show, art gallery. Amsterdam. Reception by burgomaster at Ryksmuseum
- 2 Copenhagen. Guest of Crown Prince Christian and Crown Princess Alexandra at Christian VII Palace. Official dinner at palace. Reception at Am. Legation
- 3 Elsinore. Visits castle. Copenhagen. Municipality dinner
- 4 Christiania. Welcomed by King Haakon and Queen Maud. Guest at Royal Palace. Official dinner. Roms with Prince Olaf

- 5 Christiania. Callers include Nansen. Nobel prize speech on "International Peace." Municipality dinner
- 6 Christiania. Honorary Ph.D. from King Frederick University
- 7 Stockholm. Guest of Crown Prince Gustavus Adolphus and Crown Princess Margaret. Sightseeing. Citizens' dinner. Death of Edward VII
- 8 Stockholm. Lunch with Amb. Graves, Hedin. Callers include delegation from Swedish Interparliamentary Union, Crown Prince
- 9 En route Berlin
- 10 Berlin. Lunch with Kaiser and Kaiserin at Potsdam
- 11 Berlin. Attends sham battle at Field of Doberitz. Dinner at Am. Embassy
- 12 Berlin. Honorary Ph.D. from University of Berlin. Speaks on "The World Movement." Dinner guest of Bethmann-Hollweg
- 13 Berlin. Lunch at Am. Embassy. Dinner at French Embassy. Callers include delegation from German Interparliamentary Union
- 14 Berlin. Visits zoological garden. Callers include Schillings
- 15 En route London
- 16 London. Received by George V and Queen Mary. Visits catafalque of Edward VII. Callers include Duke of Connaught, Duke of Argyll, Crown Prince and Princess of Denmark, King Haakon
- 17 London
- 18 London. Audiences with King Frederick of Denmark, King Haakon, King George of Greece. Callers include Bullock
- 19 London. Lunch with L. Harcourt. Calls on Kaiser. Dinner with George V
- 20 London. Special ambassador from U. S. at funeral of Edward VII. Lunch at Windsor Castle
- 21 Wrest Park, Ampthill, Bedfordshire. Guest of Amb. and Mrs. Reid
- 22 Wrest Park
- 23 London. Guest of Lee. Lunch with Lord Lansdale. Visit with A. Carnegie
- 24 London. Received by Queen Mother Alexandra, Dowager Empress Marie of Russia. Lunch with Sir A. Conan Doyle, O. Seaman, Maxse
- 25 London. Breakfast with E. Grey. Visits zoological garden with Tarlton, Bullock. Callers include Kipling, dele-

gation from British Interparliamentary Union

- 26 Cambridge. Receives honorary LL.D. Reception at Cambridge Union. Visits Kings, Trinity, Emmanuel colleges
- 27 Chequers Court, Buckinghamshire. Guest of Lee
- 28 London
- 29 London. Callers include Buxton
- 30 London. Callers include Root. Royal Geographical Society luncheon. Dinner with Lord Beresford
- 31 London. Guildhall reception and speech on "A Plain Talk on Egypt." Lunch with Lord Mayor of London

JUNE

- 1 London. Visits National Gallery. Lunch with members of Irish Nationalist party. Worplesdon, Surrey. Guest of Selous
- 2 Worplesdon. London. Dinner with Strachey
- 3 London. Calls on Duke of Connaught. Lunch with W. N. McMillan. Chequers Court
- 4 Stratford on Avon. Guest of Trevellyans
- 5 Stratford on Avon. Visits Shakespeare's birthplace
- 6 London. Lunch with George V and Queen Mary
- 7 Oxford. Receives honorary D.C.L. Romanes lecture, "The World's Development. Biological Analogies of History." Visits Magdalen College. Dinner with Sir Thomas Warren. Guest of L. Harcourt at Nuneham Park
- 8 London. Reception at Dorchester House. Farewell dinner
- 9 New Forest, Hampshire. Guest of E. Grey
- 10 Southampton. Sails for U.S. aboard *S. S. Kaiserin Auguste Victoria*
- 11 At sea through June 17
- 18 NYC and Oyster Bay
- 19 Oyster Bay. Confers with Lodge, Longworth, Meyer
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC. Marriage of Theodore, Jr., and Eleanor Alexander
- 21 Oyster Bay. Callers include Gen. Wright, Cowles family
- 22 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Camp Fire Club lunch. Callers at *Outlook* include delegation from Chicago Hamilton Club, B. T. Washington, Lyon,

M. Sullivan, Tarlton, Tritton. Dinner guest of R. Collier

- 23 Oyster Bay
- 24 Oyster Bay. Confers with Garfield, G. Pinchot. Callers include McCormick, Heney, Greenway
- 25 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Abp. Spalding, C. H. Merriam, H. L. Stimson
- 26 Oyster Bay
- 27 Oyster Bay. Confers with La Follette
- 28 Cambridge. Speaks at Harvard Law School alumni meeting
- 29 Cambridge. Attends Harvard commencement, alumni meeting. Confers with Hughes. Nahant. Guest of Lodge
- 30 Nahant and Beverly, Mass. Calls on Taft

JULY

- 1 Boston. Calls on Moody. Returns to Oyster Bay
- 2 Oyster Bay. Confers with Griscom, Bristow, Murdock, Madison
- 3 Oyster Bay to July 4
- 5 Oyster Bay. Confers with Poindexter. Callers include Bacon, G. Gardner
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Loeb, Reynolds, R. H. Post, Warren, Bennet, Fish. Confers at Sagamore with Burroughs, Foulke, Swift
- 7 Oyster Bay. Callers include Beveridge, Carter, Churchill, J. F. and R. P. Bass, Fish, Sheffield, Bacon, Burroughs
- 8 Oyster Bay through July 11
- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Wadsworth, G. Pinchot, M. Stimson, Bennet, H. P. Judson, H. K. Smith, Heney, W. R. Nelson. Lunch with T. D. Robinson, W. R. Nelson, Rev. Cranston. Confers with Hughes at Sagamore
- 13 Oyster Bay. Callers include C. N. Fowler, Cox, Woodruff, Riis
- 14 Oyster Bay
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers at *Outlook* with Parsons, Wainwright. Callers include D. E. Thompson, W. J. Oliver, Sleicher. Visits Am. Museum of Natural History
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC to July 28
- 29 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lunch with Neill, Kellogg. Callers at *Outlook* include Beveridge, R. H. Post, Bishop, Judge Hundley, Braun, T. F. Burke, Davenport
- 30 Oyster Bay through July 31

AUGUST

- 1 Departs for Lackawanna Valley region, Pa.
- 2 Lackawanna Valley. Visits mining villages. Scranton with Bishop Hoban. Wilkes-Barre with Father Curran
- 3 Lackawanna Valley. Visits mining villages in Wyoming Valley
- 4 En route Oyster Bay
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lunch with Newberry. Callers include Youngs, Betts, Morrissey
- 6 Oyster Bay through Aug. 8
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Bourne. Loeb guest at Sagamore
- 10 Oyster Bay. Confers with Garfield, G. Pinchot
- 11 Oyster Bay. Visits two experimental farms at Medford and Wadding River
- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lunch with Griscom. Callers at *Outlook* include G. Pinchot, Elkins, Woodruff, R. C. Morris, J. R. Proctor, Judge R. C. Jones
- 13 Oyster Bay. Confers with G. Pinchot
- 14 Oyster Bay
- 15 Oyster Bay. Confers with Griscom
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Ward, Barnes, Griscom. State committee selects Sherman temporary chairman of NYS convention
- 17 Oyster Bay
- 18 Oyster Bay. Confers with Loeb, Griscom, Cocks
- 19 NYC. Speaks at meeting of Negro Business Men's League. Callers at *Outlook* include Fish, Cocks, C. V. Collins, Clarkson, J. A. Stewart
- 20 Oyster Bay. Callers include Longworth
- 21 Oyster Bay
- 22 Oyster Bay. Callers include Loeb, Longworth. Announces candidacy for temporary chairmanship of state convention
- 23 Departs for western trip. Speeches in Albany, Utica, N. Y.
- 24 Utica
- 25 Speeches in Dunkirk, Buffalo, N. Y.; Conneaut, Cleveland, Ashtabula, Toledo, Ohio. Chicago. Speaks at Chicago Press Club
- 26 Speeches in Council Bluffs, Carroll, Ia.; Fremont, Neb.
- 27 Cheyenne, Wyo. Speaks on conservation. Guest of Gov. Brooks
- 28 Cheyenne. Dinner with Warren

- 29 Denver. Speaks at meeting of Colorado Livestock Association
- 30 Speeches in Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Col. Confers with G. Pinchot, Garfield en route
- 31 Osawatomie, Kan. Speech, "New Nationalism," at dedication of John Brown battlefield

SEPTEMBER

- 1 Speeches in Kansas City, Kan. and Mo.
- 2 Speeches in Omaha, Neb.
- 3 Speeches in Sioux City, Ia., Sioux Falls, S. D.
- 4 Willmar, Minn. Delivers sermon. Visits parts of Minn., S. D., N. D.
- 5 Speeches in Fargo, N. D.
- 6 Speeches in St. Paul, Minn.
- 7 Speeches in Milwaukee, Wis.
- 8 Speech in Freeport, Ill. Chicago. Speaks at Hamilton Club
- 9 Cincinnati. Speaks at Ohio Valley exposition
- 10 Speeches in Pittsburgh, Pa.
- 11 Returns to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 12 Oyster Bay. Confers with Griscom. Callers include Parsons, Prendergast
- 13 Oyster Bay to Sept. 14
- 15 Oyster Bay and Riverhead, N. Y. Speaks at Suffolk County fair
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC. Dinner guest of N. Y. Press Club
- 17 Syracuse, N. Y. Speaks at state fair
- 18 Oyster Bay
- 19 Oyster Bay and New Haven, Conn. Confers with Taft, Griscom, Bannard, Norton
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include J. A. Stewart, A. Shaw
- 21 Oyster Bay. Confers with J. W. Dwight, Cocks. Callers include Dady
- 22 Oyster Bay. Confers with Griscom, Bannard, Parsons, Prendergast
- 23 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with progressive Republican leaders. Callers include Parsons, Bannard, Sleicher, Cocks, Dunn, P. Morton, Gen. Baden-Powell, Baron von Hengervar, Seton. Lunch with C. V. Collins
- 24 Oyster Bay. Callers include Willcox, Wainwright
- 25 Oyster Bay
- 26 Saratoga, N. Y. NYS convention. Confers with Hapgood, Griscom, Bannard, Parsons, J. W. Dwight, Fassett, Payne, C. V. Collins
- 27 Saratoga. Elected temporary chairman of convention. Speech

- 28 Saratoga. Speech
- 29 Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Speaks at Dutchess County fair. Oyster Bay
- 30 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with progressive Republican leaders. Callers at *Outlook* include Griscom, Longworth. Speaks at meeting of N. Y. League of Republican Clubs. Longworth guest at Sagamore

OCTOBER

- 1 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Nassau County delegation to NYS convention
- 2 Oyster Bay
- 3 Oyster Bay. Confers with H. L. Stimson, Longworth
- 4 Oyster Bay and Freeport, N. Y. Speaks before N. Y. Volunteer Fireman's Association. Lunch with W. R. Nelson, R. S. Baker
- 5 NYC. Confers with Griscom. Callers at *Outlook* include Cummins. Speaks in Brooklyn on citizenship
- 6 NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include John Mitchell, Reynolds, W. J. Simpson, Youngs, Goethals, Griscom, Lt. Col. Howze. Lunch with Croly. Departs on southern trip with Harper, H. J. and W. B. Howland
- 7 Speeches in Bristol, Jefferson City, Johnson City, Knoxville, Tenn.
- 8 Rome, Ga. Visits Berry School. Speeches in Atlanta
- 9 Speeches in Tenn., Ala., Miss.
- 10 Speech in Hot Springs, Ark.
- 11 Speeches in Clayton, St. Louis, Mo. First airplane ride
- 12 Speeches in Springfield, Peoria, Ill.
- 13 Speeches for Beveridge in Covington, Anderson, Muncie, Richmond, Indianapolis, Ind.
- 14 Speeches in Dunkirk, Fredonia, Jamestown, Salamanca, Wellsville, Elmira, N. Y.
- 15 NYC. Confers with Griscom, members of NYS committee
- 16 Oyster Bay. Lunch with H. L. Stimson
- 17 Speeches in Yonkers, Schenectady, Albany, Troy, Hudson, N. Y.
- 18 Oyster Bay until Oct. 19
- 20 Speeches in NYC
- 21 NYC. Boston. Speech for Lodge, Draper
- 22 Speeches for Bass in Concord, Manchester, Nashua, N. H.
- 23 Boston and NYC

- 24 Speeches in Ithaca, Binghamton, Oswego, N. Y.
- 25 Speeches in Penn Yan, Canadaigua, Geneva, Waterloo, Seneca Falls, Auburn, Syracuse, N. Y.
- 26 Speeches in Phoenix, Fulton, Oswego, Watertown, Ogdensburg, N. Y.
- 27 Speeches in Fonda, Johnstown, Amsterdam, Gloversville, Little Falls, Utica, N. Y. Fifty-second birthday
- 28 Speeches in Rome, Lyons, Rochester, N. Y.
- 29 Speeches in Kingston, Bronxville, NYC
- 30 Oyster Bay
- 31 Speeches in NYC. Dinner with H. L. Stimson

NOVEMBER

African and European Addresses published by Putnam

- 1 Speeches in Buffalo, Lockport, Albion, NYC. Dinner with E. H. Butler
- 2 Speeches in Baltimore, Md.
- 3 Speeches in Ohio, Ind., Ill.
- 4 Speeches for Grilk, Carroll, Cummins in Davenport, West Liberty, Iowa City, Des Moines, Ia.
- 5 Speeches in Toledo, Cleveland
- 6 Oyster Bay
- 7 Speeches in NYC. Dinner guest of Hungarian Republican Club
- 8 Oyster Bay. Election day
- 9 Oyster Bay through Nov. 16
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Lodge. Callers at *Outlook* include McBee, W. R. Nelson, Van Hise, Pritchett
- 18 Washington, D. C. Reception at National Press Club. Speaks before National Geographic Society on "Wild Man and Wild Beast in Africa"
- 19 Washington. Visits National Museum, White House. Dinner guest of Smithsonian Institution. Callers include Wood, Mearns, Heller, Walcott, Balinger, MacVeagh
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 12

DECEMBER

The New Nationalism published by Outlook Co.

- 13 New Haven, Conn. Speaks before New Haven Chamber of Commerce
- 14 Cambridge. Noble lecture at Harvard, "Applied Ethics"

- 15 Boston. Calls on Gov. Draper
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 10

1911

JANUARY

- 11 Cambridge. Attends meeting of Harvard Overseers. Dinner with board of directors of alumni association
- 12 Oyster Bay
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at meeting of National Civic Federation
- 14 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 17
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at meeting of Council of the Union of Am. Hebrew Congregations
- 19 Oyster Bay through Jan. 20
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends funeral of P. Morton
- 22 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 4

FEBRUARY

- 5 Oyster Bay. Callers include Heller
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC until Feb. 10
- 11 Grand Rapids, Mich. Lincoln Day speech
- 12 NYC. Lincoln Day dinner and speech at Republican Club
- 13 NYC. Visits Brooklyn slums. Lunch with Riis
- 14 Oyster Bay. Count Apponyi guest at Sagamore
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 20
- 21 Chicago. Speaks at Harvard Club dinner
- 22 Chicago. Speeches. Dinner at Union League Club
- 23 NYC
- 24 NYC. Rescues little boy lost in Gramercy Park
- 25 Oyster Bay and NYC through March 7

MARCH

- 8 Departs for western trip. Stop in Washington, D. C.
- 9 Atlanta, Ga. Speaks before Southern Commercial Congress
- 10 Birmingham, Ala. Speaks before National Child Labor Conference
- 11 Speeches in Jackson, McComb, Miss.; New Orleans, La.
- 12 Speeches in Houston, Beaumont, Tex.
- 13 Speeches in San Antonio, Austin, Fort Worth, Dallas, Waco, Tex. Visits Fort Sam Houston
- 14 Dallas, Tex.

- 15 Speeches in El Paso, Tex.; Albuquerque, N. M.
- 16 Speeches in Williams, Flagstaff, Ariz.
- 17 Grand Canyon, Ariz. Descends canyon with Archibald, Gov. Sloan
- 18 Phoenix, Roosevelt, Ariz. Speaks at opening of Roosevelt Dam
- 19 Mesa, Ariz. Visits Archibald
- 20 Phoenix. Speech. Lunch with Rough Riders. Tempe. Visits Territorial Normal School
- 21 Los Angeles. Lunch with Earl, Heney. Speech. Pasadena. Speaks at Throop Polytechnic Institute
- 22 Los Angeles. Speaks at City Club, Occidental College
- 23 Berkeley. Speaks at Charter Day exercises at U. of California. San Francisco. Speech
- 24 Berkeley. Earl Lecture, "Realizable Ideals." Speaks at student rally
- 25 Berkeley. Earl Lecture, "The Home and the Child"
- 26 Berkeley. Earl Lecture, "The Bible and the Life of the People"
- 27 Berkeley. Earl Lecture, "The Public Servant and the Eighth Commandment"
- 28 Berkeley. Earl Lecture, "The Shaping of Public Opinion and the Ninth Commandment." San Francisco. Speech
- 29 San Francisco and Los Angeles through April 2

APRIL

- 3 Reno, Nev. Speech
- 4 Sacramento. Speaks before California Legislature
- 5 Speeches in Eugene, Portland, Albany, Ore.
- 6 Speeches in Tacoma, Seattle, Wash.
- 7 Spokane, Wash. to April 8
- 9 Speeches in Moscow, Sandpoint, Idaho
- 10 Spokane, Wash.
- 11 Speech in Missoula, Mont.
- 12 Helena, Mont. through April 13
- 14 En route Madison, Wis.
- 15 Speeches in Madison
- 16 Returns to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 24
- 25 NYC. Speaks at meeting of Berry School Association
- 26 Oyster Bay through April 27
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lunch with Walcott
- 29 Oyster Bay through April 30

MAY

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 11
- 12 NYC. Speaks at DeWitt Clinton High School
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 15
- 16 NYC. Speaks at meeting of clerical conference of Federation of Churches
- 17 Oyster Bay
- 18 Oyster Bay. Callers include Bullock
- 19 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks in Brooklyn to applicants for naturalization
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 29
- 30 Newark, N. J. Speaks at unveiling of Lincoln statue. NYC. Speech at Grant's Tomb
- 31 Oyster Bay

JUNE

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through June 5
- 6 Baltimore. Attends Cardinal Gibbon's jubilee. Speech. Confers with Taft, Lodge, Cannon, Sherman, Penrose, Root
- 7 White River Junction, Vt. Speech
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC through June 30

JULY

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 31

AUGUST

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 4
- 5 NYC. Testifies before congressional committee investigating U. S. Steel Corporation
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 12
- 13 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Adm. Togo
- 14 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 7

SEPTEMBER

- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Bryan
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 14
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC. Visits children's court
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 25
- 26 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include 100 Pa. Grangers
- 27 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 7

OCTOBER

- 8 Oyster Bay. Attends meeting of Oyster Bay Village Improvement Society

- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 19
- 20 NYC. Speaks in Carnegie Hall on "Conservation of Womanhood and Childhood"
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 26
- 27 Oyster Bay. Fifty-third birthday
- 28 Oyster Bay through Oct. 31

NOVEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 3
- 4 Oyster Bay. Callers include Akeley
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 27
- 28 NYC. Guest of Lady Gregory at "The Playboy of the Western World"
- 29 Groton, Mass. Speaks at the Groton School
- 30 Southboro, Mass. Speaks at St. Mark's School

DECEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC to Dec. 11
- 12 Boston. Attends meeting of Traveler's Club
- 13 Boston. Attends meeting of Harvard Overseers. Confers with progressive Republicans
- 14 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 16
- 17 NYC. Lay sermon at Labor Temple on "Applied Christianity"
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 4

1912

JANUARY

- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Garfield, Mike Donovan
- 6 Oyster Bay
- 7 Oyster Bay. Confers with H. L. Stimson
- 8 Oyster Bay through Jan. 9
- 10 NYC. Lunch with McAneny, Prendergast
- 11 Oyster Bay
- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Frankfurter
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 19
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Horace White, E. Colby
- 21 Oyster Bay
- 22 Oyster Bay and NYC. Dinner with Folks, Devine, other sociologists
- 23 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 25
- 26 NYC. Lunch with Gov. Glasscock, Crothers
- 27 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Gov. Stubbs, Judge Nortoni, O'Laughlin

- 28 Oyster Bay
- 29 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Gov. Carey, Riis, Reynolds. Visits Brooklyn factory with Redfield
- 30 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 4

FEBRUARY

- 5 NYC. Confers with G. Pinchot
- 6 NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Col. and Mrs. Goethals
- 7 NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Fort, Houser, Lenroot
- 8 NYC
- 9 NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Outlook* include Hull
- 10 Oyster Bay. Governors sign round robin letter urging R to be candidate
- 11 Oyster Bay through Feb. 12
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include D. C. Collier, Bullock
- 14 NYC. Confers at *Outlook* with G. Pinchot, D. C. Collier, Bullock, Gov. Johnson, O. Straus, W. R. Nelson, Flinn, Van Valkenburg
- 15 NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Clapp
- 16 NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include W. R. Nelson
- 17 NYC and Oyster Bay through Feb. 19
- 20 NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include W. R. Nelson. Departs for Columbus, Ohio
- 21 Columbus. Confers with Garfield, W. F. Knox en route. Speech before 4th Constitutional Convention. Announces "my hat is in the ring"
- 22 Return to NYC
- 23 NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Outlook* include Ward, Halpin. Lunch with Prendergast, O'Meara, Curry
- 24 Oyster Bay and NYC. Cambridge. Dinner at Porcellian Club
- 25 Boston. Guest of Judge Grant
- 26 Boston. Speech before Mass. Assembly. Callers include R. P. Bass. Guest of J. D. Cushing
- 27 Boston. Confers with R. P. Bass, M. Hale. Dinner with Pres. Lowell. Guest of W. S. Bigelow
- 28 Cambridge. Attends meeting of Harvard Overseers. Lunch with A. Hill. Return to NYC
- 29 NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Bloomer, Gov. Stubbs. Confers with Dixon, Revell, McCormick, W. F. Knox

MARCH

- 1 NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Outlook* include Gov. Stubbs, Moskowitz. Dinner guests at Sagamore include W. A. White, R. H. Post, J. F. Bass, Judge Hand
- 2 Oyster Bay. Callers include C. B. Landis
- 3 Oyster Bay. Callers include Beveridge, C. B. Landis
- 4 Oyster Bay. Jury duty at Mineola
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include W. A. White, R. J. Wynne, Cockran, Hooker
- 6 Oyster Bay. Callers include Perkins. Jury duty at Mineola
- 7 Oyster Bay. Jury duty at Mineola
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Duell, Hooker
- 9 Oyster Bay
- 10 Oyster Bay. Dinner guests include Judge Lindsey, McCormick
- 11 Oyster Bay. Jury duty at Mineola
- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Jury duty at Mineola. Lunch with Stoddard, Duell
- 13 Oyster Bay. Confers with Ward
- 14 Oyster Bay. Callers include W. D. Lewis. Jury duty at Mineola
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Hotchkiss, A. Pinchot, Beveridge, Perkins, Munsey, Revell, Stoddard, W. F. Brown, Govs. Hadley, Glasscock
- 16 NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Outlook* include Dixon, Revell, W. F. Brown, Duell
- 17 Oyster Bay. Callers include Dr. Wiley, R. Pearson
- 18 Oyster Bay and Huntington, L. I. Lunch with Father York
- 19 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include delegation of Harlem Negroes
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks in Carnegie Hall on "The Right of the People to Rule"
- 21 NYC and Oyster Bay
- 22 Departs for Portland, Me.
- 23 Portland. Confers with R. P. Bass, McCormick, F. Hale, F. L. Dingley. Speech
- 24 Portland. Confers with M. Hale, E. E. Smith. Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 25 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speeches in NYC
- 26 Departs on western trip
- 27 Speeches in Fort Wayne, Ind., Chicago

- 28 Speeches in St. Louis. Confers with Mo. supporters
- 29 Speeches in Ia., Minn. including Cedar Rapids, Vinton, Waterloo, Cedar Falls, Ia.; Owatonna, Faribault, Northfield, Albert Lea, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Minn.
- 30 Speeches in Mich., Wis., including Kalamazoo, Dowagiac, Ann Arbor, Battle Creek, Jackson, Detroit, Mich.; Milwaukee, Wis.
- 31 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay

APRIL

- 1 Oyster Bay
- 2 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Duell, G. H. Payne. Departs on southern trip
- 3 Speeches in West Va., Ky. including Ronceverte, Hinton, Montgomery, St. Albans, Charleston, Huntington, West Va.; Ashland, Morehead, Mount Sterling, Winchester, Lexington, Frankfort, Shelbyville, Louisville, Ky.
- 4 Speeches in West Va., Ky. including Point Pleasant, Huntington, Parkersburg, West Va.; Covington, Augusta, Maysville, Ky.
- 5 Speech in Martinsburg, West Va. en route Chicago
- 6 Speeches in Ill. including Rockford, Freeport, Polo, Dixon, Amboy, Mendota, Minonk, Pontiac, Bloomington, Springfield
- 7 Springfield, Ill. Lunch with Gov. Deneen. Visits Lincoln's tomb
- 8 Speeches in Ill., Ind. including Danville, Clinton, Decatur, Sullivan, Mattoon, Tuscola, Urbana, Ill.; Peru, Fort Wayne, Ind.
- 9 Speeches in Pittsburgh, Pa.
- 10 Speeches in Pa. including Jeannette, Greensburg, Latrobe, Blairsville, Johnstown, Cresson, Altoona, Huntingdon, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Coatesville, Philadelphia
- 11 Speeches in Pa. including Reading, Allentown, Easton. Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 12 Departs for New England. Speeches in Springfield, Mass.
- 13 Speeches in Mass., N. H. including Worcester, Clinton, Ayer, Mass.; Nashua, Concord, Manchester, N. H.
- 14 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 15 Departs on western trip
- 16 Speeches in Ill., Ia. including Aurora,

- Mendota, Princeton, Galesburg, Ill.; Burlington, Mount Pleasant, Fairfield, Ottumwa, Albia, Chariton, Osceola, Ia.
- 17 Speeches in Neb. including Hastings, Omaha
 - 18 Speeches in Neb. including Nebraska City, Lincoln, Wilber, Auburn, Falls City, Pawnee City, Tecumseh, Beatrice, Wymore, Crete
 - 19 Speeches in Neb., Kan.
 - 20 Speeches in Okla., Ark. including Fort Smith, Ozark, Little Rock, Ark.
 - 21 En route N. C.
 - 22 Speeches in N. C. including Greensboro, Salisbury
 - 23 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
 - 24 Oyster Bay
 - 25 Oyster Bay. Callers include Hapgood, A. Pinchot
 - 26 Departs for Mass. Speech in Worcester
 - 27 Speeches in Mass. including Brockton, Taunton, Bridgewater, Middleboro, New Bedford, Fall River, Boston
 - 28 Boston. Confers with M. Hale, A. Hill, Baxter. Guest of W. S. Bigelow
 - 29 Speeches in Mass. including Lowell, Lawrence, North Adams, Pittsfield. Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
 - 30 Oyster Bay

MAY

- 1 Oyster Bay
- 2 Oyster Bay. Callers include M. Hale, C. H. Thompson. Departs for Md.
- 3 Speeches in Md. including Salisbury, Havre de Grace, Baltimore
- 4 Speeches in Md. including Westminster, Frederick, Hagerstown, Cumberland Falls
- 5 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 6 Oyster Bay. Confers with W. F. Brown, Garfield
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include A. Pinchot, Hooker, Ward, A. P. Moore
- 8 Oyster Bay. Callers include Ward. Dinner with Garfields
- 9 Oyster Bay through May 12
- 13 Departs for Ohio
- 14 Speeches in Ohio including Bellaire, Bridgeport, Martins Ferry, Steubenville, Wellsville, East Liverpool, Youngstown, Girard, Niles, Warren, Alliance, Canton
- 15 Speeches in Ohio including Kenton, Elyria, Oberlin, Bellevue, Springfield, Norwalk, Sandusky, Fremont, Fostoria, Findlay, Bellefontaine, Urbana, Xenia, Dayton
- 16 Speeches in Ohio including Greenville, Piqua, Lima, Defiance, Toledo
- 17 Speeches in Ohio including Ironton, Chillicothe, Portsmouth, Jackson, Athens, Nelsonville, Logan, Lancaster. Columbus
- 18 Speeches in Ohio including Marion, Delaware, Mansfield, Akron, Cleveland
- 19 Mentor, Ohio. Guest of Garfields
- 20 Speeches in Ohio including Marietta, Caldwell, Cambridge, Zanesville, Newark, Coshocton, Newcomerstown, New Philadelphia
- 21 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 22 Oyster Bay
- 23 Speeches in N. J. including Paterson, Passaic, Lodi, Hackensack, Hasbrouck Heights, Rutherford, Belleville, Bloomfield, Montclair, West Orange, Newark, Jersey City
- 24 Speeches in N. J. including Burlington, Egg Harbor City, Atlantic City, Camden, Trenton
- 25 Speeches in N. J. including Trenton, Freehold, Lakewood, New Brunswick, Long Branch, Red Bank, Perth Amboy, Rahway, Bound Brook, Plainfield, Elizabeth
- 26 Oyster Bay. Confers with Dixon, McCormick
- 27 Speeches in N. J. including Hoboken, West Hoboken, Somerville, Princeton, Bayonne, Morristown, Dover, Newton, Hackettstown, Washington, Phillipsburg, Lambertville
- 28 Oyster Bay
- 29 Oyster Bay and NYC. Dinner with R. H. Post, Reynolds. Departs for Gettysburg, Pa.
- 30 Gettysburg. Speech. Return to NYC
- 31 NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Outlook* include C. Dewey, McCormick, O. Straus, B. Colby, W. S. Edwards, Whitridge

JUNE

- 1 Oyster Bay. Callers include Ill. delegation, F. Hale, Revell, C. Dewey, McNinch
- 2 Oyster Bay
- 3 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, G. Pinchot, Ward, F. B. Kellogg, Dixon, Rahn, T. Beale
- 4 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Out-*

- look include G. Pinchot, B. Colby, T. Beale, R. H. Post, Hoggatt, Dixon
- 5 Oyster Bay. Confers with G. Pinchot, McCormick, Judge Hand, Hapgood
- 6 Oyster Bay. Confers with Flinn, Van Valkenburg, A. P. Moore. Republican National Committee begins sessions in Chicago
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include C. H. Murray, Folks, Garfield, Van Valkenburg
- 8 Oyster Bay. Callers include R. P. Bass, A. Hill, W. D. Lewis, C. H. Thompson, Reynolds, E. M. Reily
- 9 Oyster Bay. Callers include R. Pearson, T. Beale
- 10 Oyster Bay. Callers include Perkins, W. F. Brown, Munsey. Reception for Oyster Bay, Glen Cove, Huntington, L. I., masons
- 11 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Gov. Stubbs, Prendergast, A. Pinchot
- 12 Oyster Bay. Confers with Judge Lindsey. Callers include Fort
- 13 Oyster Bay
- 14 Departs for Chicago and Republican National Convention
- 15 Arrives Chicago. Speech at Congress Hotel. Confers with McCormick, Dixon, G. Pinchot, Garfield, C. A. Lyon, other progressive leaders
- 16 Chicago. Confers with leaders. Callers include Woodruff, Rosewater
- 17 Chicago. Confers with seven governors, Perkins, Dixon, G. Pinchot. Speaks at progressive rally, "We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord"
- 18 Chicago. Confers with leaders. Root elected temporary chairman of convention
- 19 Chicago. Confers with leaders
- 20 Chicago. Confers with leaders. Confers with Perkins, Munsey re financing independent campaign
- 21 Chicago. Callers include Borah, Dixon, Flinn, Perkins, O. Straus, Govs. Stubbs, Johnson
- 22 Chicago. Confers with leaders. Taft, Sherman nominated by Republican convention. R named by rump convention
- 23 Chicago. Confers with leaders
- 24 Chicago. Confers with leaders. Departs for Oyster Bay
- 25 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Outlook* include Woodruff, Hal-

pin. Lunch with Dean Kirchwey, Father Zahm, A. Shaw, R. P. Perkins, Bacon

- 26 Oyster Bay. Confers with Prendergast
- 27 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, several Brooklyn bolters
- 28 Oyster Bay. Confers with Hotchkiss, Pa. leaders
- 29 Oyster Bay through June 30

JULY

- 1 Oyster Bay. Callers include R. S. McCormick
- 2 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Dixon at *Outlook*. Lunch with Dixon, Munsey, C. H. Thompson, Croly, Lawrence Abbott, H. J. Howland. Wilson nominated
- 3 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, Munsey, Flinn
- 4 Oyster Bay. Confers with C. H. Thompson
- 5 Oyster Bay. Confers with McCormick, Dixon, Perkins, Stoddard
- 6 Oyster Bay. Callers include Ransom, Heney, Alsop, E. E. Smith, C. E. Merriam. Confers with Perkins
- 7 Oyster Bay. Callers include Gen. Sickles, Curry, E. Colby
- 8 Oyster Bay. Callers include Chadbourne, W. M. Chandler, delegation of New York progressives
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include W. N. Mitchell, Allee. Lunch with Hotchkiss
- 10 Oyster Bay. Callers include H. K. Smith
- 11 Oyster Bay. Callers include R. F. Pettigrew, M. Butler
- 12 Oyster Bay. Callers include Woodruff, A. P. Moore, Heard, Allee, delegation of Del. progressives
- 13 Oyster Bay
- 14 Oyster Bay. Callers include Van Hise, Cochems
- 15 Oyster Bay
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include J. R. Baldwin, Jenks, J. L. Harris. Callers at Sagamore include Perkins, Dixon
- 17 Oyster Bay. Confers with Dixon, Perkins, O. K. Davis
- 18 Oyster Bay. Confers with Folks, Dean Kirchwey, Moskowitz
- 19 Oyster Bay
- 20 Oyster Bay. Callers include C. Mc-

- Carthy, Record, C. H. Thompson,
Doherty, Magen, H. K. Smith
21 Oyster Bay. Callers include Cochems
22 Oyster Bay. Confers with Flinn
23 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with
New York progressives
24 Oyster Bay
25 Oyster Bay. Confers with Minn.,
Oyster Bay progressives
26 Oyster Bay
27 Oyster Bay. Callers include delegation
of Freeport, L. I. progressives
28 Oyster Bay. Confers with Dixon, Dean
Kirchwey
29 Oyster Bay
30 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Out-
look* include delegation of N. Y., N. J.,
Va. Negroes
31 Oyster Bay. Callers include delegation
of Vt. progressives

AUGUST

- 1 Oyster Bay through Aug. 3
4 Departs for Chicago, Progressive Na-
tional Convention
5 Chicago. Speaks at Congress Hotel.
Confers with Perkins, Johnson, Gar-
field, McCormick, C. H. Thompson,
G. Pinchot
6 Chicago. Speech, "Confession of
Faith." Callers include W. F. Knox,
J. L. Mitchell
7 Chicago. R. Johnson nominated by
Progressive convention. Confers with
Perkins
8 Chicago. Callers include Mo. delega-
tion. Departs for Oyster Bay
9 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
10 Oyster Bay through Aug. 12
13 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins,
Dixon, F. W. Bird, Judge Lindsey,
O. K. Davis
14 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, Mc-
Cormick, Dixon, O. K. Davis
15 Oyster Bay
16 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers at *Out-
look* with Dixon, Perkins, Prendergast.
Providence, R. I. Speech
17 Boston. Speeches. Confers with Pro-
gressive leaders. Return to NYC and
Oyster Bay
18 Oyster Bay through Aug. 19
20 Oyster Bay. Callers include Lindbergh,
E. Colby, Heney
21 Departs for Wilkes-Barre, Pa. for
Father Curran's golden jubilee
22 Wilkes-Barre. Speeches

- 23 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
24 Oyster Bay
25 Oyster Bay. Callers include G. F. Wil-
liams, the Loeb's
26 Oyster Bay
27 Oyster Bay. Callers include Prender-
gast
28 Departs for Vt.
29 Speeches in Vt. including Bennington,
Manchester, Rutland, Middlebury,
Brandon, Burlington
30 Speeches in Vt. including St. Albans,
Morrisville, Barton, Hardwick, St.
Johnsbury
31 Speeches in Vt. including Barre, Ran-
dolph, Bellows Falls, Windsor, Brattle-
boro. Callers include Churchill

SEPTEMBER

- 1 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
2 Departs on campaign trip. Speeches in
Conn. including Stamford, Hartford,
New Haven, Bridgeport
3 Speeches in Ill., Ind., Mo., including
Mattoon, Ill.; Indianapolis, Ind.; St.
Louis, Mo.
4 Speeches in Ia. including Keokuk, Des
Moines. Confers with Cummins
5 Speeches in Minn. including St. Paul,
Minneapolis. Confers with Minn. Pro-
gressives
6 Speeches in N. D. including Grand
Forks, Fargo, Jamestown
7 Speeches in Mont. including Miles
City, Billings, Livingston, Bozeman,
Helena
8 En route Helena to Spokane, Wash.
9 Speeches in Spokane
10 Speeches in Wash. including Seattle,
Tacoma
11 Speeches in Portland, Ore.
12 Speeches in Ore., Idaho including
Boise, Idaho. Confers with Borah
13 Speeches in Idaho, Utah including
Blackfoot, Pocatello, Idaho; Ogden,
Utah
14 Speeches in Nev., Calif., including
Reno, Nev.; Oakland, Sacramento,
San Francisco, Calif.
15 San Francisco. Lunch with B. I.
Wheeler. Dinner with G. Pinchot,
Pardee. Callers include Heney
16 Speeches in Calif. including Los
Angeles, Santa Barbara
17 Speeches in Ariz. including Phoenix
18 Speeches in N. M. including Laguna,
Albuquerque

- and Oyster Bay
ers include G. F. M
allers include Pre
t. including Benn
Rutland, Middle
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Vt. including St. A
Barton, Harlan
Vt. including Barre
Windsor Bar
ers include Churchill
NYC and Oyster Bay
campaign trip South
Stamford, Har
Chicago
Ill. Ind. Mo. Ind
Ind. Indianapolis, Et
La. including Ketch
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Minn. including M
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N. D. including G
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Spokane
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Portland, Ore.
Ore. Idaho Ind
Confers with Bur
Idaho, Utah Ind
Idaho, O
Nev. Calif. Ind
Oakland, Sear
Calif.
Lunch with B
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clude Henr
Calif. including
Barbara
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including L
- 19 Speeches in Colo. including Trinidad, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, La Junta, Rocky Ford, Denver. Callers include Judge Lindsey
 - 20 Speeches in Neb. including Hastings, Lincoln, Minden, Omaha
 - 21 Speeches in Kan. including Ottawa, Topeka. Confers with Sen. Bristow, Murdock, Gov. Stubbs, W. A. White, W. R. Nelson
 - 22 Emporia, Kan. Guest of W. A. White
 - 23 Speeches in Kan., Mo. including Kansas City, Pittsburg, Liberal, Kan.; Lamar, Springfield, Aurora, Monett, Joplin, Mo.
 - 24 Speeches in Okla. including Tulsa, Chandler, Oklahoma City, McAlester
 - 25 Little Rock, Ark. Speaks before Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deeper Waterways Assoc.
 - 26 Speeches in Tenn. including Memphis, Jackson
 - 27 New Orleans, La. Parade in French quarter. Speech
 - 28 Speeches in Ala., Ga. including Montgomery, Opelika, Columbus, Macon, Ala.; Atlanta, Ga.
 - 29 Atlanta, Ga. Visits mother's home
 - 30 Speeches in Tenn. including Chattanooga, Cleveland, Lenoir City, Knoxville
- OCTOBER
- The Conservation of Womanhood and Childhood* published by Funk
- 1 Speeches in N. C. including Hickory, Asheville, Salisbury, Greensboro, Burlington, Durham, Raleigh
 - 2 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
 - 3 Oyster Bay. Confers with Prendergast, Hotchkiss, Perkins, Munsey, C. A. Lyon, Dixon, O. K. Davis, Hooker, Woodruff, G. Roosevelt, Duell
 - 4 Washington, D. C. Testifies before Senate committee on campaign contributions. Visits National Museum. Dinner with Gen. and Mrs. A. L. Mills, Clapp, O'Laughlin, E. H. Abbott, McIlhenny
 - 5 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
 - 6 Oyster Bay. Confers with O. Straus, Gov. Johnson, Dixon, Munsey, Perkins, W. F. Brown, R. H. Post
 - 7 Departs on campaign trip
 - 8 Speeches in Mich. including Detroit, Flint, Saginaw, Bay City
 - 9 Speeches in Mich. including Marquette, Cheboygan, Houghton, Calumet
 - 10 Speeches in Minn. including Duluth
 - 11 Speeches in Wis. including Oshkosh
 - 12 Chicago. Parade. Speech
 - 13 Chicago
 - 14 Milwaukee. Assassination attempt by Schrank. Speech
 - 15 Chicago, Mercy Hospital. Callers include Father Vattman
 - 16 Chicago. Callers include Father Curran, Dr. Lambert
 - 17 Chicago. Callers include Miss Addams
 - 18 Chicago. Callers include Bacon, Gov. Johnson
 - 19 Chicago. Callers include Morrissey, O. K. Davis, Gov. Johnson, Heney
 - 20 Chicago
 - 21 Departure for Oyster Bay
 - 22 Arrives NYC and Oyster Bay
 - 23 Oyster Bay. Callers include Perkins, Lyman Abbott
 - 24 Oyster Bay. Callers include R. J. Collier, M. Sullivan, F. P. Dunne, C. A. Lyon
 - 25 Oyster Bay. Callers include Perkins, Munsey, Hotchkiss
 - 26 Oyster Bay
 - 27 Oyster Bay. Fifty-fourth birthday. Family celebration
 - 28 Oyster Bay. Callers include F. M. Davenport
 - 29 Oyster Bay
 - 30 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Progressive rally in Madison Square Garden
 - 31 Oyster Bay. Callers include Dixon, Perkins
- NOVEMBER
- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Straus rally in Madison Square Garden
 - 2 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Miss Kellor
 - 3 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Riis
 - 4 Oyster Bay. Speeches in Oyster Bay, Mineola, L. I.
 - 5 Oyster Bay. Election day. Wilson elected President
 - 6 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, Munsey, Stoddard, Dixon, Gov. Johnson, A. and G. Pinchot
 - 7 Oyster Bay
 - 8 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Hotchkiss, B. Colby, Dixon
 - 9 Oyster Bay through Nov. 11

- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Hotchkiss
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 18
- 19 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at meeting of Progressive leaders
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 28
- 29 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include G. Pinchot, W. D. Lewis, T. D. Robinson
- 30 Oyster Bay through Dec. 2

DECEMBER

- 3 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Prendergast, T. D. Robinson
- 4 Oyster Bay and NYC until Dec. 7
- 8 Departs for Chicago for Progressive conference
- 9 Chicago. Speech before Progressive members of Ill. Legislature
- 10 Chicago. Speaks at opening of Progressive conference
- 11 Chicago. Guest at Progressive women's luncheon. Dinner with Miss Addams
- 12 Departs for NYC and Oyster Bay
- 13 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Outlook* include T. D. Robinson
- 14 Oyster Bay
- 15 Oyster Bay. Death of Whitelaw Reid
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 20
- 21 Oyster Bay. Confers with Alsop, H. K. Smith
- 22 Oyster Bay and NYC until Dec. 26
- 27 Boston. Speaks at meeting of Am. Historical Assoc. on "History as Literature." Guest of W. S. Bigelow
- 28 Boston. Speaks at meeting of Military Historical Society
- 29 Boston through Dec. 30
- 31 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay

1913

JANUARY

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 4
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Conn. Progressives re fusion
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 17
- 18 Oyster Bay. Confers with Miss Doty re garment strikers
- 19 Oyster Bay through Jan. 20
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC. Visits garment strikers at Henry St., St. Mark's Place
- 22 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Moskowitz, Cockran, Mitchel. Witness in special examination of U. S. Steel Corp. case
- 23 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 11

FEBRUARY

- "Chapters of a Possible Autobiography" published serially in *Outlook*, February through December
- 12 NYC. Speaks at Lincoln Day dinner of Progressive party
 - 13 NYC
 - 14 NYC. Speaks at Rough Rider dinner
 - 15 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 21
 - 22 Oyster Bay. Reception for Nassau Co. Progressives
 - 23 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 28

MARCH

- 1 Oyster Bay through March 3
- 4 Oyster Bay and NYC. Visits Futurists Art Exhibit, Lower Rents Exhibit
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC through March 12
- 13 Philadelphia. Speaks at opera house on Progressive Service
- 14 Philadelphia. Speaks before Electoral College Assoc. of Pa.
- 15 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through March 27
- 28 NYC. Confers with Hinebaugh. Departs for Albany. Speaks before NY Progressives. Calls on Gov. Sulzer, Lt.-Gov. Glynn. Departs for Detroit
- 29 Detroit. Confers with G. Pinchot, Mich. Progressives. Speaks before Mich. Progressives
- 30 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 3

APRIL

- 4 Oyster Bay. Marriage of Ethel to Richard Derby
- 5 Oyster Bay
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Dinner guest of Miss Wald. Attends performance of "The Silver Box" given by Henry St. Settlement dramatic club
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 14
- 15 NYC. Inspects lower east side schools. Lunch at P. S. 95. Confers with Child Welfare Committee of Progressive Service at *Outlook*
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 21
- 22 NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include W. R. Nelson, Dr. Lambert
- 23 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 27
- 28 Oyster Bay. Callers include Perkins

29 Oyster Bay and NYC through April

30

MAY

- 1 Oyster Bay
- 2 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at suffrage meeting
- 3 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 7
- 8 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Carnegie, Choate, Judge Parker, British peace celebration delegates
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 15
- 16 Plainfield, N. J. Speaks at meeting of Men's League for Woman Suffrage
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 23
- 24 Departs for Marquette, Mich. for Newett libel suit
- 25 En route Marquette
- 26 Marquette. Guest of G. Shiras
- 27 Marquette through June 1

JUNE

- 2 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 3 Oyster Bay
- 4 Oyster Bay. Callers include Mitchel, Father York
- 5 Oyster Bay
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends field day games in Central Park
- 7 Oyster Bay. A. Hill, Naón guests at Sagamore
- 8 Oyster Bay
- 9 Pottstown, Pa. Speaks at Hill School commencement
- 10 Buffalo. Speaks at Buffalo Progressive Club, and for direct primaries campaign. Guest of C. J. Hamlin
- 11 Rochester, N. Y. Lunch with 500 Progressives. Speeches
- 12 En route Andover, Mass.
- 13 Andover. Phillips Academy. Attends Archibald's commencement. Speaks at alumni luncheon. Departs for Hartford Conn.
- 14 Hartford. Departs for Oyster Bay
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC
- 16 Boston. Speaks at banquet of Hayes Square Outing Club for Bunker Hill Day. Dinner with W. S. Bigelow. Reception at Boston Press Club. Return to NYC
- 17 Oyster Bay. Callers include Father Zahm
- 18 Oyster Bay. Confers with Whitman
- 19 Oyster Bay and NYC through June 30

JULY

- 1 Oyster Bay
- 2 Newport, R. I. Speaks at 1st birthday celebration of Progressive party on "The American Navy." Open discussion with leaders
- 3 Oyster Bay through July 6
- 7 Departs on western trip
- 8 En route until July 9
- 10 Silver City, N. M. Guest of the Fergusons to July 11
- 12 Albuquerque, N. M. Departs for Grand Canyon
- 13 Williams, Ariz. Meets N. Roosevelt. Arrives El Tovar Hotel on edge of Grand Canyon
- 14 El Tovar Hotel
- 15 Descends Grand Canyon. Crosses Colorado River
- 16 Grand Canyon. Ascends Bright Angel Trail
- 17 Edge of Grand Canyon hunting cougars with game warden until ca. July 29
- 30 Across Navajo Desert to Lees Ferry through July 31

AUGUST

- 1 Navajo Desert, Painted Desert to Tuba, Colo. until ca. Aug. 4
- 4 En route Kayentay to Aug. 9
- 10 Pack trip to Natural Bridge. Return to Kayentay by Aug. 16
- 17 Crosses Black Mesa to Walpi
- 18 En route Walpi
- 19 Walpi. Sees Hopi snake dance. Motors to Ganado, Gallup, Colo.
- 20 En route Chicago to Aug. 24
- 25 Chicago. Lunch, speech at Progressive club. Confers with leaders
- 26 Return to NYC. Confers with Progressive leaders at *Outlook*
- 27 Oyster Bay to Aug. 28
- 29 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with McAneny, fusion nominees at Harvard Club
- 30 Oyster Bay through Aug. 31

SEPTEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 11
- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Prendergast
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 25
- 26 Oyster Bay and Rochester, N. Y.

- 27 Rochester. Attends lunch given by Chamber of Commerce. Speaks before Progressive state committee. Return to Oyster Bay
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 30

OCTOBER

- 1 Oyster Bay through Oct. 2
- 3 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at farewell dinner given by Progressives
- 4 Sails for South America aboard S. S. *Vandyck*
- 5 At sea until Oct. 9
- 10 Bridgetown, Barbados Is., B.W.I. Brief speech. Sightseeing. Lunch with governor
- 11 At sea through Oct. 16
- 17 Bahia, Brazil. Welcomed by government officials. Reception by Gov. Seabra, Mayor Brandão. Sightseeing. Meets municipal council at city hall. Speech. Breakfast given by governor and mayor
- 18 At sea until Oct. 20
- 21 Rio de Janeiro. Welcomed by government officials. Reception in naval arsenal. Calls on Pres. da Fonseca, Müller
- 22 Rio de Janeiro. Breakfast with da Fonseca. Visits Supreme Court, military college. Speaks before Y.M.C.A. Sees Russian ballet at municipal theater
- 23 Rio de Janeiro. Visits bacteriological institute. Reception given by Am. Amb. Morgan
- 24 Rio de Janeiro. Visits Tijuca Peak. Attends garden party of pres. in Botanical Garden. Speaks at government university on "American Internationalism"
- 25 Rio de Janeiro. Excursion on Rio de Janeiro Bay. Visits naval school. Callers include delegation of teachers, scholars of superior schools
- 26 Rio de Janeiro. Visits Petrópolis, Brazil. Departs for São Paulo, Brazil
- 27 São Paulo. Reception by Pres. Alves. Sightseeing. Speaks at government university on "Character and Civilization." Fifty-fifth birthday
- 28 São Paulo. Inspects industries including Anglo-Brazilian Iron Co.
- 29 Departs for Montevideo
- 30 State of Paraná, Brazil to Oct. 31. Stops at Morungava to visit ranch of Brazil Land, Cattle, and Packing Co.

NOVEMBER

- 1 State of Santa Catarina, Brazil
- 2 State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. Stops at Cruz Alta, Santa Maria
- 3 Rio Grande do Sul. Porto Alegre. Welcomed by Uruguayan officials at frontier
- 4 Montevideo. Lunch guest of Pres. Ordóñez. Official dinner. Departs for Buenos Aires
- 5 Buenos Aires. Welcomed by Am. Minister Garrett, government officials. Reception by Am. colony. Guest of Pres. Peña. Calls include Acting-Pres. de la Plaza
- 6 Buenos Aires
- 7 Buenos Aires. Attends session of Congress. Reception by Dr. Bosch, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Speaks at Colón Theatre before Museo Sociale Argentina on "Democratic Ideals"
- 8 Buenos Aires. Visits school children
- 9 Buenos Aires. Visits Hippodrome, agricultural exposition
- 10 Buenos Aires. Receives honorary LL.D. from University of Buenos Aires. Speaks at Colón Theatre before Museo Sociale Argentina on "Truths and Half Truths"
- 11 Buenos Aires
- 12 Buenos Aires. Reviews troops at Campo Mayo. Visits military club. Speaks at banquet of Museo Sociale Argentina in Colón Theatre on "American Ideals"
- 13 Buenos Aires to Nov. 14
- 15 Departs for trip into Argentine interior. Province of Santa Fe. Stop at Rosario
- 16 Tucumán, Argentina. Visits library, industrial schools
- 17 Tucumán. Visits sugar plantations
- 18 Provinces of Cordoba, San Luis, Mendoza until Nov. 19. Stops include capitals of provinces
- 20 Mendoza. Visits agricultural college, wineries
- 21 Santiago. Welcomed by government officials
- 22 Santiago. Calls on Pres. Luce. Speaks at University of Chile on "The Democratic Movement in a Republic"
- 23 Santiago to Nov. 25
- 26 Valparaíso. Visits Navy Club
- 27 Valparaíso. Sightseeing. Santiago. Reception by Am. colony
- 28 Santiago. Talcahuano, Chile. Visits naval base. Departs for Argentina

- 29 Puerto Varas, Chile. Crosses Lakes Llanquihue, Esmeralda to Púeffa, Chile
- 30 On horseback to Lake Fria across the Andes. Ox cart to Lake Nahuel Huapi in Argentina. Bariloche, Argentina

DECEMBER

- 1 Motors across Patagonian wastes, arriving Neuquén, Argentina, Dec. 2
- 3 Province of Neuquén, Buenos Aires. Stop at Bahía Blanca to visit naval base
- 4 Buenos Aires. Reception at Club Hípico by Buenos Aires Equestrian Society. Visits flower festival
- 5 Departs for Asunción, Paraguay
- 6 Provinces of Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Argentina
- 7 Asunción. Guest of ex-Pres. of Paraguay
- 8 Asunción. Visits Villa Hayes with Pres. Schaerer
- 9 Departs up Paraguay River for Corumbá, Brazil
- 10 On Paraguay River
- 11 Arrives Concepción, Paraguay
- 12 Concepción. Visits city hall, barracks. On Paraguay River. Meets Brazilian contingent of expedition at mouth of Rio Apa, at Brazilian boundary
- 13 On Paraguay River to Dec. 14
- 15 Corumbá. Reception by municipal council. Official dinner
- 16 Corumbá
- 17 Departs on the *Nyoac* for jaguar hunt on ranch of Senhor de Barros, Fazenda das Palmeiras, near Rio Taquari
- 18 Jaguar hunt until Dec. 23
- 24 Corumbá
- 25 Departs on the *Nyoac* for hunting on ranch of Senhor da Costa Marques, Fazenda de São João near Rio Cuiabá
- 26 On board the *Nyoac* to Dec. 27
- 28 Fazenda de São João through Dec. 29
- 30 Hunting near Rio São Lourenço through Jan. 1

1914

JANUARY

- 2 On Paraguay River to Jan. 4, en route São Luiz de Cáceres, Brazil
- 5 São Luiz de Cáceres
- 6 Ascending Rio Sepotuba
- 7 Hunting near Porto Campo, Brazil until Jan. 12
- 13 Ascending Rio Sepotuba to Tapirapuan, Mato Grosso, Brazil, through Jan. 15

- 16 Tapirapuan through Jan. 20
- 21 Crossing plains of Mato Grosso reaching Utiarity, Brazil on Jan. 29
- 30 Utiarity through Feb. 2

FEBRUARY

- 3 En route headwaters of Rio da Dúvida across land of Nhambiquara Indians through Feb. 25
- 26 Headwaters of the Rio da Dúvida
- 27 Descending the Rio da Dúvida through Feb. 28

MARCH

- 1 Descending the Rio da Dúvida through April 14

APRIL

- Life Histories of African Game Animals*, with Edmund Heller published by Scribner
- "A Hunter-Naturalist in the Brazilian Wilderness" published serially in *Scribner's*, April to November 1914
- 15 Arrives at first rubber plantations
 - 16 Descending Lower Rio da Dúvida (Rio Castanho) to April 25
 - 26 Arrives at junction of Rio da Dúvida and Rio Aripuanã
 - 27 São João. Rio da Dúvida and Rio Castanho officially become Rio Roosevelt
 - 28 Descending Rio Aripuanã to Dec. 29
 - 30 Arrives Manaus

MAY

- 1 Descending Amazon River on *Dunstan* until May 3
- 5 Belém, Brazil through May 6
- 7 Sails for US aboard S. S. *Aidan*
- 8 At sea through May 18
- 19 Arrives NYC and Oyster Bay
- 20 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, G. Pinchot. Callers include Miss Keller, Miss Wald, Dr. Lambert
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Outlook* include Bacon. Official welcome by Oyster Bay townspeople
- 22 Oyster Bay. Confers with Flinn, G. Pinchot, Wilkinson, Perkins, O. K. Davis, R. P. Bass, P. C. Knox. Callers include Stoddard, M. Sullivan, Heller
- 23 Oyster Bay. Confers with T. D. Robinson, Garfield, Garford. Callers include R. H. Post

- 24 Oyster Bay. Confers with V. K. Kellogg, Murdock, Perkins, Cockran, Loeb
 - 25 Oyster Bay. Callers include O'Laughlin, Beveridge, Alsop, Shaffer, Judge and Mrs. Lindsey
 - 26 Washington, D. C. Visits National Museum. Reception by Lodge. Calls on Pres. Wilson. Confers with Garfield, Pettigrew, M. Butler, Murdock, Falconer, Clapp, other Progressive congressmen. Speaks before National Geographic Society on Brazil
 - 27 NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Outlook* include Frankfurter, Lippmann. Testifies before special comr. in Wales vs. United Coal Miners suit
 - 28 Oyster Bay. Confers with T. D. Robinson, F. W. Bird, C. J. Hamlin, F. M. Davenport, Ransom, Munsey, Perkins
 - 29 Oyster Bay. Confers with T. D. Robinson, Perkins, F. M. Davenport, C. J. Hamlin, F. W. Bird. Callers include A. P. Moore, McCormick, A. Shaw
 - 30 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Progressive hdqrs. include Perkins, A. P. Moore, McCormick. Sails for Europe aboard S. S. *Olympic*
 - 31 At sea through June 4
- Attends cinema exhibit of Scott's Antarctic expedition. Callers include Bryce. Dinner with Lee, Northcliffe
- 16 London. Visits Westminster Abbey, Natural History Museum. Lunch with Lee, Selous, H. H. Johnston, Young-husband. Speaks before Royal Geographical Society on Brazil. Dinner guest of Geographical Club
 - 17 London. Breakfast with Bishop of London. Visits National Gallery, Dr. St. Clair Thomson. Lunch with Bal-four, Gilbert Murray, Bury
 - 18 Sails for US on S. S. *Imperator*
 - 19 At sea until June 24
 - 24 Arrives NYC and Oyster Bay
 - 25 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, T. D. Robinson, F. W. Bird, Wilkin-son, Hotchkiss, Ransom, Stoddard, C. J. Hamlin, W. H. Childs, F. M. Davenport, W. F. Brown, J. M. Parker, W. D. Lewis
 - 26 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, McCormick, Beveridge, J. M. Parker, Duell
 - 27 Oyster Bay. Confers with Clapp, Wanamaker, Munsey
 - 28 Oyster Bay through June 29
 - 30 Pittsburgh, Pa. Speech. Dinner at Pro-gressive League. Confers with Flinn, A. P. Moore

JUNE

- 5 Arrives Cherbourg
- 6 Paris. Sightseeing. Lunch with Hano-taux. Calls on Pres. Poincaré. Callers include Bunau-Varilla, T. P. O'Conner. Dinner guest of Am. Amb. Herrick
- 7 Paris. Breakfast with Edith Wharton. Callers include Mrs. C. Vanderbilt. Departs for Madrid
- 8 Madrid. Guest of Amb. and Mrs. Wil-lard
- 9 Madrid. Lunch guest of King Alfonso XIII and Queen Victoria Eugenie. Confers with Spanish newspapermen
- 10 Madrid. Visits Prado Museum. Excur-sion to Toledo. Dinner at Am. em-bassy
- 11 Madrid. Marriage of Kermit and Belle Willard. Visits Prado Museum
- 12 En route London.
- 13 London. Welcomed by Am. Amb. Page, Lee, the Archbishop of Canter-bury. Lunch guest of Page. Callers in-clude J. S. Keltie
- 14 Chequers Court, Buckinghamshire. Guest of Lee
- 15 London. Lunch with Edward Grey.

JULY

- 1 NYC and Oyster Bay. Lunch with H. F. Osborn at Am. Museum of Nat-ural History. Visits Dr. H. H. Curtis. Callers at Progressive hdqrs. include Perkins, Gov. Hadley
- 2 Oyster Bay. Guests at Sagamore in-clude the Mitchels, Judge and Mrs. Ransom
- 3 Oyster Bay through July 7
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Pro-gressive hdqrs. include Heard, C. H. Dodge, I. E. Vernon, A. P. Gardner, Wilkinson, Nettleton
- 9 Oyster Bay
- 10 Oyster Bay. Confers with Bishop
- 11 Oyster Bay through July 14
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Pro-gressive hdqrs. include Duell, T. D. Robinson, Perkins, several state lead-ers. Lunch with representatives of NY Progressive Service. Dr. Lambert guest at Sagamore
- 16 Oyster Bay through July 17
- 18 Oyster Bay. Reception for towns-

- people to meet Belle Willard Roosevelt
- 19 Oyster Bay. Callers include H. D. Hinman, T. D. Robinson
 - 20 Oyster Bay. Confers with T. D. Robinson, Perkins, F. M. Davenport
 - 21 Oyster Bay
 - 22 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, T. D. Robinson
 - 23 Oyster Bay through July 27
 - 28 Oyster Bay. Austria declares war on Serbia
 - 29 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Progressive hdqrs. include McHarg, E. Colby
 - 30 Oyster Bay
 - 31 Oyster Bay. Confers with delegation of Maine Progressives

AUGUST

- 1 Oyster Bay. Germany declares war on Russia
- 2 Oyster Bay
- 3 Oyster Bay. Germany declares war on France
- 4 Oyster Bay. Germany declares war on Belgium; England on Germany
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 14
- 15 Departs for New England. Speech in Hartford, Conn.
- 16 Newfane, Vt. Guest of Cherrie
- 17 Boston. Confers with Mass. leaders. Speech
- 18 Speeches in Maine including Lewiston, Portland. Night in Beverly, Mass.
- 19 Departs for Oyster Bay
- 20 Oyster Bay
- 21 Oyster Bay. Confers with NY Progressive leaders
- 22 Oyster Bay through Aug. 24
- 25 Oyster Bay. Confers with Sulzer
- 26 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Progressive hdqrs. include W. H. Childs
- 27 Oyster Bay
- 28 Oyster Bay. Gen. Wood a guest at Sagamore
- 29 Oyster Bay through Sept. 1

SEPTEMBER

- 2 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Progressive hdqrs. include Sulzer, T. D. Robinson, F. M. Davenport
- 3 Oyster Bay through Sept. 4
- 5 Departs for La.
- 7 Speeches in La. including New Orleans

- 8 Speeches in La. including Franklin, Jeanerette, New Iberia
- 9 En route Oyster Bay
- 10 Oyster Bay. Callers include O. Straus
- 11 Oyster Bay through Sept. 13
- 14 Oyster Bay. Visits Cove School
- 15 Oyster Bay. Callers include O. K. Davis. Attends baptism of Theodore, III
- 16 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, T. D. Robinson, F. W. Bird, F. M. Davenport, C. J. Hamlin, Dr. Katharine Davis
- 17 Departs for western trip
- 18 En route
- 19 Speeches in Wichita, Hutchinson, Kan.
- 20 Kansas City, Mo. Guest of W. R. Nelson
- 21 Speeches in Kansas City, Kan., Kansas City, Mo.
- 22 Speeches in Lincoln, Neb.
- 23 Speeches in Des Moines, Boone, Ia.
- 24 Speeches in Rock Island, Galesburg, Peoria, Ill. Springfield. Guest of Gov. Dunne
- 25 Speeches in Marion, East St. Louis, Ill.
- 26 Speeches in Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Ind.
- 27 Cleveland. Callers include members of Belgian commission on atrocities. Mentor, Ohio. Guest of Garfield
- 28 Speeches in Cleveland, Columbus, Ohio
- 29 Speech in Toledo, Ohio
- 30 Speech in Bay City, Mich.

OCTOBER

- 1 Speech in Philadelphia
- 2 Oyster Bay through Oct. 4
- 5 Speeches in N. Y. including Yonkers, Cold Spring, Beacon, Wappingers Falls, Poughkeepsie. Night at Hyde Park
- 6 Speeches in N. Y. including Kingston, Saugerties, Catskill, Athens, Hudson, Troy
- 7 Speeches in N. Y. including Schenectady, Ballston Spa, Saratoga, Hudson Falls, Glens Falls
- 8 Speeches in N. Y. including Ticonderoga, Port Henry, Keeseville, Plattsburg
- 9 Speeches in N. Y. including Malone, Potsdam, Canton, Ogdensburg
- 10 Speeches in N. Y. including Gouverneur, Watertown, Utica
- 11 Jordansville, N. Y. Guest of T. D. Robinson

- 12 Speeches in N. Y. including Herkimer, Gloversville
- 13 Speeches in N. Y. including Cobleskill, Cooperstown, Oneonta
- 14 Speeches in N. Y. including Syracuse
- 15 Speeches in N. Y. including Auburn
- 16 Speeches in N. Y. including Rochester
- 17 Departs for Ill.
- 18 Chicago. Dinner with doctors from Mercy Hospital
- 19 Speeches in Ill. including Chicago. Speech in Gary, Ind.
- 20 Speeches in N. Y. including Westfield, Chautauqua
- 21 Speeches in N. Y.
- 22 Speeches in N. Y. including Ithaca, Binghamton
- 23 Speeches in N. Y. including Liberty, Monticello, Middletown
- 24 Speeches in N. Y. including Goshen, Newburgh
- 25 Departs for Pa.
- 26 Speeches in Pa. including Williamsport, Pottsville
- 27 Speeches in Pa. including Johnstown, Altoona. Fifty-sixth birthday
- 28 Speeches in Pa. including Reading, Wilkes-Barre, Hazleton, Lancaster
- 29 Pa. and NYC. Speeches in NYC
- 30 Speeches in N. J. including Elizabeth, Princeton, Trenton. Speeches in NYC
- 31 Speeches in NYC

NOVEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay
- 2 Oyster Bay. Speech
- 3 Oyster Bay. Election day
- 4 Oyster Bay
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Progressive hdqrs. include Perkins
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 15
- 16 Oyster Bay. Confers with Croly, Lippmann
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Perkins, F. M. Davenport, Beveridge, C. J. Hamlin at Progressive hdqrs.
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 9

DECEMBER

- 10 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Am. Museum of Natural History on Brazil
- 11 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 16
- 17 Oyster Bay and Brooklyn. Speaks at Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences on Brazil
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 23

- 24 Oyster Bay. Attends Christmas party at Episcopal church. Speaks on Brazil
- 25 Oyster Bay through Dec. 27
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC. Dinner at municipal lodging house with Miss Kellor
- 29 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 11

1915

JANUARY

America and the World War published by Scribner

- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends meeting of NY Zoological Society
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 25
- 26 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at mass meeting under auspices of Interchurch Committee on Unemployment
- 27 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 30
- 31 Oyster Bay. Callers include R. P. Perkins, A. S. Cochran

FEBRUARY

- 1 Oyster Bay through Feb. 5
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Visits hdqrs. of Bundle Day committee
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 17
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 22
- 23 Oyster Bay and NYC. Visits relief shops for unemployed
- 24 Oyster Bay and NYC through March 7

MARCH

- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC. Character witness for Major Gillette at Federal District Court
- 9 Oyster Bay
- 10 Oyster Bay and NYC. Tours workshops for unemployed with Mrs. J. Speyer, W. H. Childs
- 11 Oyster Bay and NYC through March 14
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lunch guest of Explorers' Club
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 6

APRIL

- 7 Philadelphia. Speaks on Brazil
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 12
- 13 New Haven, Conn. Pallbearer at funeral of Prof. Lounsbury. Sees Taft
- 14 Oyster Bay and NYC
- 15 NYC. Attends Park Theater

- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 17
- 18 NYC and Syracuse, N. Y. Barnes libel suit
- 19 Syracuse through May 13

MAY

- 14 Syracuse and Oyster Bay
- 15 Oyster Bay
- 16 Oyster Bay and Syracuse
- 17 Syracuse through May 21
- 22 Syracuse and Oyster Bay
- 23 Oyster Bay and NYC through June 4

JUNE

- 5 Departs for southern trip
- 6 En route
- 7 Pass Christian, Miss. to June 11. Guest of J. M. Parker
- 12 Departs for NYC and Oyster Bay
- 13 Speaks in Atlanta, Ga. en route NYC
- 14 Oyster Bay and NYC through June 24
- 25 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends rehearsal of police carnival at Gravesend race track
- 26 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 10

JULY

- 11 Departs for Calif.
- 12 En route Calif. via Canadian Rockies through July 18
- 19 Portland, Ore., Seattle, Wash. Confers with Poindexter
- 20 Arrives San Francisco
- 21 San Francisco. Speaks at Panama-Pacific International Exposition
- 22 San Francisco to July 23. Sightseeing at exposition
- 24 San Francisco. Speaks to men attending war dept. student instruction camp
- 25 Los Angeles, San Diego to July 26
- 27 San Diego. Speaks at Panama-California Exposition. Confers with Calif. Progressives
- 28 Departs for NYC and Oyster Bay
- 29 En route through Aug. 1

AUGUST

- 2 Arrives NYC and Oyster Bay
- 3 Oyster Bay through Aug. 4
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include T. D. Robinson, McCormick. Lunch with Bacon
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 14

- 15 Palisades Interstate Park. Nine-hour tour with Perkins
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 24
- 25 Plattsburg, N. Y. Speech
- 26 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 3

SEPTEMBER

- 4 Departs for vacation in Canadian camp of Dr. Lambert
- 5 Province of Quebec through Sept. 31

OCTOBER

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 11
- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Columbus Day speech in Carnegie Hall
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 25
- 26 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends performance of movie, "The Battle Cry for Peace"
- 27 Oyster Bay. Fifty-seventh birthday
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 6

NOVEMBER

- 7 Oyster Bay. Callers include F. P. Dunne, A. P. Moore
- 8 Oyster Bay. Dinner with W. A. White, Perkins
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 13
- 14 Oyster Bay. Death of Booker T. Washington
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 30

DECEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay
- 2 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Perkins. Visits art exhibition, "The Immigrant in America," at studio of Mrs. H. P. Whitney
- 3 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 11
- 12 Tuskegee, Ala. Speaks at Tuskegee Institute
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 16
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include McCormick. Dinner with E. H. Gary
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 4

1916

JANUARY

- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at meeting of board of trustees and advisory board of Am. Defense Society

- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Perkins
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 19
- 20 Philadelphia. Speaks under auspices of National Americanization Committee
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 29
- 30 NYC. Speaks at Brooklyn Academy of Music under auspices of Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences
- 31 NYC. Speaks at dedication of new building of NY Orthopaedic Dispensary and Hospital

FEBRUARY

Fear God and Take Your Own Part published by Doran

- 1 NYC and Oyster Bay. Speaks at lunch of National Americanization Committee; dinner of Y.W.C.A.
- 2 Oyster Bay
- 3 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Adm. Fiske
- 4 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 6
- 7 NYC. Lunch guest of several east side Jews in Little Hungary. Speech
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 10
- 11 Oyster Bay and NYC. Sails for West Indies
- 12 West Indies through March 2

MARCH

A Book-Lover's Holiday in the Open published by Scribner

- 3 Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I. to March 16
- 17 En route NYC aboard steamer *Matura* through March 23
- 24 Return to NYC
- 25 NYC and Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, Wilkinson. Lunch with Theodore, Jr.
- 26 Oyster Bay. Callers include Longworth
- 27 Oyster Bay. Confers with C. S. Bird, Gardner
- 28 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, Van Valkenburg
- 29 Oyster Bay. Confers with Gardner
- 30 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Jewish bazaar in Grand Central Palace. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Moton; confers with Perkins, Wilkinson
- 31 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lunch with Root, Lodge, Gen. Wood at home of Bacon. Confers with Progressives at home of Perkins

APRIL

- 1 Oyster Bay. Callers include Bacon, H. A. W. Wood
- 2 Oyster Bay
- 3 Oyster Bay. Callers include Alsop, G. Pinchot
- 4 Oyster Bay
- 5 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, Wilkinson, Stoddard, Shaffer
- 6 Oyster Bay
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with A. P. Moore, Garfield, D. C. Collier, Perkins, Wilkinson, F. M. Davenport, Murdock, J. J. O'Connell. Calls on Burroughs. Visits flower show in Grand Central Palace with Gen. Wood, C. Ward, Ethel
- 8 Oyster Bay. Callers include Meyer, C. G. Washburn. Lunch with Lyman, Ernest, & Lawrence Abbott, R. H. Post, W. A. Wadsworth
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC. Boston. Guest of W. S. Bigelow. Dinner with Judge and Mrs. Grant, Wister, Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Thayer
- 10 Boston. Attends meeting of Harvard Overseers. Lunch with Archibald and several classmates. Tea with Pres. Lowell
- 11 Boston and Farmington, Conn. Guest of the Cowles'. Dinner with Alsop, H. K. Smith
- 12 NYC and Oyster Bay. Callers at *Metropolitan* include F. M. Davenport, R. H. Post. Lunch with Cherrie, F. M. Chapman, M. Sullivan
- 13 Oyster Bay through April 14
- 15 Oyster Bay. Callers include Loeb, R. Robins, Perkins. Attends funeral of F. Hall in Cold Spring Harbor
- 16 Oyster Bay through April 17
- 18 Oyster Bay. Callers include W. D. Lewis
- 19 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include R. C. Morris, E. Colby
- 20 Oyster Bay through April 23
- 24 Oyster Bay and NYC. Consults Dr. H. H. Curtis. Confers with Judge Nortoni
- 25 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 26. Consults Dr. H. H. Curtis
- 27 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at dinner of Methodist Social Union
- 28 NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Miss Carpenter. Departs for Chicago
- 29 Chicago. Callers include McCormick,

Shaffer. Lunch with MacChesney. Speaks before Ill. Bar Assoc. Calls on Miss Addams

- 30 Chicago. Lunch with Ickes, W. L. Fisher, C. E. Merriam, Shaffer, La V. Noyes, Revell

MAY

- 1 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, Stoddard en route
- 2 Oyster Bay through May 3
- 4 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Archibald, Quigg, Fish, Garfield, Van Valkenburg
- 5 Oyster Bay. Speaks at Cove School
- 6 Oyster Bay
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC. Guest of the Derbys
- 8 NYC and Oyster Bay. Meets Mrs. Roosevelt on return from Havana
- 9 Oyster Bay
- 10 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Bacon, M. Butler. Lunch with W. F. Brown, H. K. Smith, M. Hale, Hooker, Gardner, W. D. Lewis, C. P. Dodge, Ickes, Hotchkiss, Chadbourne, Stoddard, O. Straus, Van Valkenburg, Flinn, W. H. Childs, Ransom. Speaks at memorial service for Youngs
- 11 Oyster Bay through May 12
- 13 Oyster Bay. Speaks to Oyster Bay Boy Scouts, Methodist Church Bible class at Sagamore
- 14 Oyster Bay
- 15 Oyster Bay. Callers include G. Emerson, Desmond
- 16 Oyster Bay
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Meyer, J. M. Wainwright
- 18 NYC. Departs for Detroit
- 19 Detroit. Speaks on preparedness. Departs for NYC
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 21
- 22 Oyster Bay. Callers include Meyer, Prof. Bingham, J. M. Wainwright, R. C. Morris, A. P. Moore. Departs for Washington, D. C.
- 23 Washington. Character witness for Glover. Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 24 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Bacon, Quigg, A. Belmont, Jr.
- 25 Oyster Bay. Callers include Mary R. Rinehart

- 26 Oyster Bay. Callers include R. H. Post, delegation of Nassau County Progressives
- 27 Oyster Bay. Callers include Hurd. Speaks to delegation from Roosevelt Non-Partisan League
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC. Departs for western trip
- 29 Chicago. Confers with Butz, other Progressives
- 30 Kansas City, Mo. Memorial Day speech. Confers with Progressives
- 31 Speeches in St. Louis, Mo.

JUNE

- 1 Newark, N. J. and Oyster Bay. Speaks at industrial exposition. Dinner with ex-Govs. Fort, Murphy
- 2 Oyster Bay through June 4
- 5 Oyster Bay. Callers include Cortelyou
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lunch with Gen. Wood, Simkhovitch
- 7 Oyster Bay. Opening of Republican National Convention
- 8 Oyster Bay through June 9
- 10 Oyster Bay. Callers include W. E. and P. Roosevelt. Hughes nominated by Republicans; R declines Progressive nomination
- 11 Oyster Bay
- 12 Oyster Bay. Confers with Loeb, G. Pinchot, Garfield, W. D. Lewis
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Perkins, Johnson, Rowell, O. Straus at the Derbys
- 14 NYC. Confers at Hotel Langdon with R. Robins, Ickes, Gov. Johnson
- 15 NYC. Confers at Hotel Langdon with Perkins, R. Robins, Ickes, Greenway, R. P. Bass, Van Valkenburg
- 16 NYC. Callers at Hotel Langdon include W. M. Crane. Confers with Perkins
- 17 NYC and Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, Gov. Johnson at Hotel Langdon
- 18 Oyster Bay
- 19 Oyster Bay. Callers include Lodge, Hopkins, Van Valkenburg, Flinn, Garfield, W. D. Lewis, Garford, E. Colby, O. K. Davis. Urges Progressives to support Hughes
- 20 Oyster Bay. Confers with Meyer, Bonaparte, Alsop, H. N. Jackson
- 21 Oyster Bay
- 22 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Hotel

- Langdon include G. Emerson, Desmond, Perkins, M. Hale, Fish
- 23 Oyster Bay
- 24 Oyster Bay. Callers include Rowell, Kirkwood, R. H. Post. Longworths guests at Sagamore
- 25 Oyster Bay through June 27
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC. Confers with Hughes
- 29 Oyster Bay through June 30

JULY

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 3
- 4 Oyster Bay. Speech
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 12
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Flinn, Perkins
- 14 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 23
- 24 Oyster Bay. Attends meeting of Oyster Bay Infantile Paralysis Committee
- 25 Oyster Bay and Fort Terry, N. Y. Speaks at schoolboys' military training camp
- 26 Oyster Bay
- 27 Oyster Bay. Confers with Fall
- 28 Oyster Bay through July 30
- 31 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends Hughes notification with Theodore, Jr., Bacon, H. L. Stimson

AUGUST

- 1 NYC. Attends tea for Hughes given by Women's Roosevelt League
- 2 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 7
- 8 Oyster Bay and Sheepshead Bay, L. I. Attends cowboy show with Theodore, Jr., Kermit, Belle, Ethel, Richard
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 11
- 12 NYC. Confers with Bacon at Harvard Club
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 22
- 23 Oyster Bay. Confers with Hert re campaign speeches
- 24 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 27
- 28 Oyster Bay. Italy declares war on Germany
- 29 Oyster Bay through Aug. 30
- 31 Oyster Bay and NYC. Lewiston, Me. Confers with Progressive leaders en route. Speech

SEPTEMBER

- 1 Farmington, Conn. Guest of the Cowles
- 2 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 6

- 7 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins, F. H. Hitchcock
- 8 Oyster Bay. Confers with Willcox, Perkins, E. Colby, H. Parsons, R. Robins, F. H. Hitchcock, W. C. Forbes, C. N. Bliss, Reynolds
- 9 Oyster Bay through Sept. 11
- 12 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Willcox, E. Colby, F. H. Hitchcock, W. C. Forbes, Perkins, Beck
- 13 Oyster Bay
- 14 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include Willcox, Rumely, Halbert, Gardner, Miss Kellor, Perkins. Lunch with Bacon, C. N. Bliss, Lawrence Abbott, Bonaparte
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 22
- 23 NYC. Attends performance of movie on Am. ambulance field service
- 24 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 28
- 29 Oyster Bay and NYC. Departs for Battle Creek, Mich.
- 30 Speech in Battle Creek

OCTOBER

- 1 Oyster Bay through Oct. 2
- 3 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Union League Club. Sees Taft. Confers with Willcox
- 4 Oyster Bay through Oct. 6
- 7 Oyster Bay. Confers with Willcox
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 13
- 14 Speech in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 16
- 17 Departs on campaign trip
- 18 Speeches in Ky. including Louisville, Paris, Cynthia, Winchester, Richmond
- 19 En route Phoenix, Ariz. through Oct. 20
- 21 Speech in Phoenix
- 22 Departs for N. M.
- 23 Speeches in N. M. including Albuquerque, Las Vegas
- 24 Speeches in Denver, Colo.
- 25 En route Iowa
- 26 Speeches in Ia., Ill. including Chicago
- 27 Speeches in Ind. including South Bend. Fifty-eighth birthday
- 28 NYC. Speaks at Brooklyn Academy of Music
- 29 Oyster Bay through Oct. 31

NOVEMBER

- 1 Speeches in Ohio through Nov. 2, including Toledo, Cleveland

- 3 NYC. Speeches at Cooper Union, Thomaschefskey National Theater
- 4 NYC and Bridgeport, Conn. Speaks at Republican rally
- 5 Oyster Bay
- 6 Oyster Bay. Speech
- 7 Oyster Bay. Election day. Wilson re-elected
- 8 Oyster Bay through Nov. 10
- 11 Oyster Bay. Callers include Perkins
- 12 Oyster Bay through Nov. 14
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at Hotel Langdon include W. H. Thompson, A. P. Moore, Wilkinson, W. M. Collier, Elsberg
- 16 NYC. Speaks at joint session of Am. Academy of Arts and Letters and National Institute of Arts
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 30

DECEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 17

1917

JANUARY

- 18 Oyster Bay. Confers with Perkins re NY politics
- 19 Oyster Bay
- 20 Oyster Bay. Callers include Bacon, Straight, Doubleday. Host to home folks gathering
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 26
- 27 Oyster Bay. Callers include G. Pinchot
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 16

FEBRUARY

- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC. Watches drill at Governors Island with Gen. Wood
- 18 Oyster Bay
- 19 Oyster Bay. Callers include Desmond
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC through Feb. 28

MARCH

- 1 Oyster Bay through March 3
- 4 Oyster Bay. Speaks at Belgian relief meeting
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC through March 10
- 11 Oyster Bay and NYC. Dinner with C. N. Bliss, Morgan, Root, Meyer, Mitchel, Gen. Wood, F. D. Roosevelt
- 12 Oyster Bay. Provisional gov't established in Russia
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through March 19

- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Union League Club. Confers with Root, Hughes, Choate
- 21 Oyster Bay through March 22
- 23 Departs for Punta Gorda, Fla. to hunt devilfish with Coles
- 24 Speech in Jacksonville, Fla. en route
- 25 Punta Gorda, Fla. through March 31

APRIL

- 1 Departs for NYC and Oyster Bay. Speeches in Lakeland, Punta Gorda, Fla.
- 2 Stop in Washington, D. C. en route
- 3 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 4 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 5
- 6 Oyster Bay. U.S. declares war on Germany
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 9
- 10 Washington, D. C. Confers with Wilson. Confers with N. D. Baker, Jusserand, Spring Rice, Rosenwald, Chamberlain, Lodge, Weeks, Dent, Kahn re division
- 11 Washington. Breakfast with Brig. Gen. Kuhn. Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC. Departs for Boston
- 14 Boston. Marriage of Archibald and Grace Lockwood
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 20
- 21 Oyster Bay. Oyster Bay home guard guest at Sagamore Hill. Mineola. Speaks at meeting of L. I. Farmers Club and L. I. reserve battalion
- 22 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 26
- 27 Oyster Bay and NYC. Departs for Chicago
- 28 Chicago. Speaks under auspices of National Security League
- 29 En route NYC
- 30 NYC. Lunch with Count Ilya Tolstoi

MAY

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 3
- 4 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends preparedness meeting at Harvard Club with H. L. Stimson, Choate
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 7
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks on preparedness at Kismet Temple, Brooklyn
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends dinner for French mission at home of Frick

- 10 Oyster Bay
- 11 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends dinner for French and British missions at Waldorf-Astoria
- 12 Oyster Bay
- 13 Oyster Bay. Callers include Balfour, Malcolm
- 14 Oyster Bay through May 15
- 16 Oyster Bay, NYC, Albany. Calls on Gov. Whitman
- 17 Oyster Bay through May 18
- 19 Oyster Bay and NYC. Callers at *Metropolitan* include A. P. Moore
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 27
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Yale Club
- 29 Oyster Bay
- 30 Oyster Bay and Mineola. Reviews sheriff's reserve corps of Nassau County. Speech
- 31 Oyster Bay

JUNE

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through June 6
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at meeting of Am. Medical Assoc. convention
- 8 Oyster Bay through June 9
- 10 Philadelphia. Speaks at memorial services of Railroad Brotherhood and Order of Railway Telegraphers
- 11 Oyster Bay through June 12
- 13 Departs for Neb.
- 14 Lincoln, Neb. Speaks at semi-centennial celebration of statehood
- 15 En route NYC and Oyster Bay
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through June 23
- 24 Oyster Bay. Speaks at Red Cross meeting. Callers include Italian mission
- 25 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 3

JULY

- 4 Oyster Bay and Forest Hills, N. Y. Speech
- 5 Oyster Bay
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks in Carnegie Hall under auspices of Am. Friends of Russian Freedom
- 7 Oyster Bay through July 8
- 9 Plattsburg, N. Y. Visits Kermit
- 10 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 18
- 19 Oyster Bay. Confers with Mrs. Baker re woman suffrage
- 20 Oyster Bay. Kerenski becomes Prime Minister of Russia
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 24

- 25 Departs for Pittsburgh, Pa.
- 26 Pittsburgh. Speaks at convention of the Loyal Order of Moose
- 27 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 3

AUGUST

- 4 Oyster Bay. Callers include 120 western students of Columbia summer school
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 14
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at welcoming reception for Root and Am. mission to Russia. Speaks at Harvard Club on war
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 21
- 22 Oyster Bay. Callers include Belgian mission, Coudert, O'Conner
- 23 Oyster Bay. Dinner with R. P. Perkins
- 24 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 27
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC. Visits Am. Museum of Natural History with Coles, Luther
- 29 Oyster Bay
- 30 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Comedy Theater for benefit of Divisional Hdqrs. Corps fund
- 31 Oyster Bay through Sept. 1

SEPTEMBER

- 2 Oyster Bay and Mineola. Visits Camp Mills
- 3 Oyster Bay and NYC
- 4 Oyster Bay
- 5 Chatham, N. Y. Speaks at Columbia County Fair
- 6 Oyster Bay through Sept. 7
- 8 Oyster Bay. Speaks at woman suffrage meeting
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 12
- 13 Oyster Bay and Mineola. Visits aviation field with the T. Hitchcocks. Rides in Liberty Motor airplane
- 14 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 19
- 20 Departs for western trip
- 21 Stop in Chicago
- 22 Kansas City, Mo. Visits offices of Kansas City *Star*
- 23 Kansas City
- 24 Kansas City. Speeches
- 25 En route Ill.
- 26 Chicago, Rockford, Ill. Visits Camp Grant. Speaks under auspices of National Security League
- 27 Speeches at Fort Sheridan, Ill., Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Ill., Racine, Wis.

- 28 Speeches in St. Paul, Minneapolis, Minn.
- 29 En route NYC. Stop in Chicago
- 30 Johnstown, Pa. Speaks at Workingmen's Red Cross Sunday Celebration

OCTOBER

The Foes of Our Own Household published by Doran

- 1 NYC. Speaks at Mitchel meeting
- 2 Oyster Bay
- 3 Oyster Bay. Callers include Japanese mission
- 4 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at meeting of social service commission of Methodist Episcopal church
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at patriotic meeting in Madison Square Garden
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 9
- 10 Departs for Stamford, Conn.
- 11 Stamford through Oct. 21. Jack Cooper's training camp
- 22 Return to Oyster Bay
- 23 Oyster Bay
- 24 Oyster Bay. Speaks for Liberty Loan
- 25 Oyster Bay through Oct. 26
- 26 Oyster Bay. Fifty-ninth birthday
- 27 Oyster Bay
- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speeches for Mitchel
- 30 Oyster Bay through Oct. 31

NOVEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speeches for Mitchel
- 2 NYC. Inspects P. S. 45. Speaks in Hartford, Conn.
- 3 Bridgeport, Conn. Inspects munitions plants. Speech for S. Merritt
- 4 Oyster Bay
- 5 Oyster Bay. Presents medals to Nassau County Boy Scouts
- 6 Oyster Bay.
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC through Nov. 15
- 16 Princeton, N. J. Speaks on "National Strength and International Duty." Speaks to undergraduate battalion. Dinner with Pres. and Mrs. Hibben. Attends smoker
- 17 Princeton
- 18 Yaphank, N. Y. Speaks at Camp Upton
- 19 Oyster Bay
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at convention of NYS Woman Suffrage party

- 21 Oyster Bay through Nov. 24
- 25 Departs for Canada
- 26 Speeches in Hamilton, Toronto, Ontario
- 27 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 28 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Smoot, Madden
- 29 Oyster Bay through Nov. 30

DECEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 4
- 5 Oyster Bay. Lunch with Jusserand
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Allied War Bazaar in Grand Central Palace
- 7 Oyster Bay. U.S. declares war on Austria
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at dinner of Pa. Society of N. Y.
- 9 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 14
- 15 Chillicothe, Ohio. Visits Camp Sherman
- 16 Oyster Bay and Hempstead, N. Y. Speaks for Red Cross drive
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC through Dec. 23
- 24 Oyster Bay. Speaks at Christmas party at Episcopal church
- 25 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 8

1918

JANUARY

- 9 Philadelphia. Speaks at commencement exercises of Peirce School
- 10 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 11
- 12 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at meeting of the Ohio Society of N. Y.
- 13 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 15
- 16 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at lunch of trustees of Am. Defense Society. Visits homes on east side to study child malnutrition under auspices of Community Clearing House
- 17 NYC. Visits Infant Welfare Station, Boy Food Scouts of P. S. 40, Bowling Green Neighborhood Assoc., Post-Graduate Hospital under auspices of Community Clearing House
- 18 NYC
- 19 NYC. Speaks at meeting of League of Political Education; at dinner of Society of the Genesee
- 20 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at memorial service for Choate; at lunch of National Security League
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC. Departs for Washington, D. C.
- 22 Washington. Callers at Longworth

- home include E. Hale, Chamberlain, Wadsworth, Curtis, Lenroot, Madden, Kahn, Gallivan. Lunch with Johnson. Dinner with J. T. King, R. K. Hynicka, Curtis, Wadsworth, Gillett, Mondell, Kahn, Lenroot, Madden, McKinley, McCormick
- 23 Washington. Lunch with G. Pinchot
 - 24 Washington. Lunch with Phelan. Dinner with Lodge. Speaks at National Press Club
 - 25 Washington. Dinner with McCormick. Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
 - 26 Oyster Bay and NYC through Jan. 29
 - 30 Oyster Bay and Camp Merritt, N. J. Speaks at dedication of new hall
 - 31 Oyster Bay through Feb. 4

FEBRUARY

- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends private lunch
- 6 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital. Operation for abscesses of thigh and ears
- 7 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital through Feb. 14
- 15 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital. Callers include Bishop, Perkins
- 16 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital through Feb. 17
- 18 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital. Callers include Quigg, H. P. Fletcher, Willcox, Cortelyou
- 19 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital through Feb. 23
- 24 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital. Callers include Bishop, T. D. Robinson, Maj. Gen. Allen
- 25 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital
- 26 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital. Confers with Hays. Callers include Bishop, Cortelyou, E. V. Morgan
- 27 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital through March 3

MARCH

- 4 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital and Hotel Langdon
- 5 NYC. Callers at Hotel Langdon include Coles
- 6 NYC. Hotel Langdon
- 7 NYC and Oyster Bay
- 8 Oyster Bay through March 26
- 27 Oyster Bay, NYC, Boston. Guest of W. S. Bigelow
- 28 Portland, Me. Speaks at Republican state convention

- 29 Boston. Guest of W. S. Bigelow. Sees Archibald, Jr.
- 30 Oyster Bay and NYC through March 31

APRIL

- 1 Oyster Bay
- 2 Oyster Bay. Speaks for Liberty Loan
- 3 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 17
- 18 Oyster Bay. Speaks for Liberty Loan; before Women's Civic League
- 19 Oyster Bay and NYC through April 25
- 26 Oyster Bay and Fort Totten, N. Y. Speech
- 27 Oyster Bay through April 30

MAY

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC. Welcomes Blue Devils at Harvard Club. Springfield, Mass. Speaks under auspices of Hampden County Improvement League
- 2 Boston. Speaks for Liberty Loan
- 3 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 6
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Win-the-War meeting; at *Lusitania* memorial meeting
- 8 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 13
- 14 Oyster Bay and Garden City, N. Y. Speaks at opening of Nassau County Red Cross drive
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 16
- 17 Oyster Bay. Speaks at meeting to organize branch of Needle Work Guild of America
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC. Reviews parade at opening of Red Cross drive. Speaks at Coney Island at opening of service club
- 19 Oyster Bay through May 20
- 21 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at benefit concert in Carnegie Hall
- 22 Oyster Bay and NYC through May 24
- 25 Springfield, Ohio. Speaks at Wittenberg College
- 26 Chicago. Dinner with Taft
- 27 Des Moines, Ia. Three speeches for National Security League
- 28 Madison, Wis. Speech. Stop in Chicago
- 29 Milwaukee, Wis. Two speeches for National Security League
- 30 Detroit, Mich. Memorial Day speech
- 31 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay

JUNE

- 1 Oyster Bay through June 4
- 5 Oyster Bay and NYC. Attends Republican dinner for Hays. Brief speech. Departs for western trip under auspices of National Security League
- 6 En route Neb. through June 7
- 8 Speech in Omaha, Neb.
- 9 En route Mo.
- 10 Speech in St. Louis, Mo.
- 11 Speech in Indianapolis, Ind.
- 12 Indianapolis. Bloomington, Ind. Speaks at Indiana U.
- 13 Return to Oyster Bay and NYC
- 14 Oyster Bay
- 15 Oyster Bay and Hartford, Conn.
- 16 Hartford. Speaks at Trinity College
- 17 Hartford. Receives honorary Sc.D. from Trinity College. NYC. Dinner at Hotel Langdon with Coles. Oyster Bay
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC through June 27
- 28 Oyster Bay. Callers include 100 ministers and deacons of Dutch Reformed Church
- 29 Oyster Bay through July 3

JULY

- 4 Oyster Bay and Passaic, N. J. Speech
- 5 Oyster Bay
- 6 Oyster Bay. Death of John P. Mitchel
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC through July 13
- 14 Oyster Bay. Death of Quentin
- 15 Oyster Bay through July 16
- 17 Oyster Bay and NYC. Receives news of Quentin's death
- 18 NYC and Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Speaks at unofficial Republican convention. Confers with Hays, N. M. Butler, Sheffield, Cocks
- 19 NYC and Oyster Bay
- 20 Oyster Bay. Speaks to Japanese Red Cross mission
- 22 Oyster Bay through July 24
- 25 Oyster Bay. Departs for Dark Harbor, Me.
- 26 Dark Harbor through Aug. 3

AUGUST

- 4 Dark Harbor. Speaks to townspeople
- 5 Dark Harbor through Aug. 9
- 10 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 11 Oyster Bay and NYC through Aug. 25
- 26 Springfield, Ill. Speaks at centennial celebration of statehood

- 27 En route NYC and Oyster Bay
- 28 Oyster Bay
- 29 Oyster Bay. Callers include Desmond and workers from Newburgh shipyard
- 30 Oyster Bay
- 31 Oyster Bay. Callers include H. L. Stimson, 20 soldiers from Camp Mills, Mineola

SEPTEMBER

- 1 Oyster Bay
- 2 Oyster Bay and Newburgh, N. Y. Speaks at launching of U.S.S. *Newburgh*
- 3 Oyster Bay
- 4 Oyster Bay. Archibald returns home
- 5 Oyster Bay. Callers include Perkins
- 6 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Marne Day and Lafayette Day celebrations
- 7 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 13
- 14 Oyster Bay and Mohawk, N. Y. Attends funeral of Douglas Robinson
- 15 Mohawk
- 16 Oyster Bay through Sept. 17
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at opening of National League for Women's Service drive
- 19 Oyster Bay and NYC through Sept. 27
- 28 Baltimore, Md. Speaks at opening of 4th Liberty Loan drive
- 29 En route Ohio
- 30 Columbus. Speaks for Liberty Loan

OCTOBER

- 1 En route Mo. through Oct. 2
- 3 Kansas City, Mo. Sees Gen. Wood
- 4 Alliance, Neb. Speech
- 5 Billings, Mont. Speaks for Liberty Loan
- 6 En route NYC and Oyster Bay through Oct. 8
- 9 Return to NYC and Oyster Bay
- 10 Oyster Bay through Oct. 11
- 12 Oyster Bay. Speaks for Liberty Loan
- 13 Oyster Bay through Oct. 14
- 15 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at meeting of NY section of Council of Jewish Women; at Liederkrantz Hall for Liberty Loan
- 16 NYC
- 17 Providence, Newport, R. I. Speaks for Liberty Loan
- 18 Oyster Bay and NYC through Oct. 26
- 27 Oyster Bay. Sixtieth birthday

- 28 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks in Carnegie Hall
- 29 Oyster Bay through Oct. 30

NOVEMBER

The Great Adventure, Present-Day Studies in American Nationalism published by Scribner

- 1 Oyster Bay and NYC. Speaks at Boys' Victory Mobilization meeting with Archibald
- 2 NYC. Speaks in Carnegie Hall for benefit of Negro war relief
- 3 Oyster Bay through Nov. 10
- 11 Oyster Bay and NYC. Roosevelt Hos-

- pital. Suffering from inflammatory rheumatism. Armistice signed
- 12 NYC. Roosevelt Hospital through Dec. 24

DECEMBER

- 25 Return to Oyster Bay
- 26 Oyster Bay through Dec. 31

1919

JANUARY

- 1 Oyster Bay through Jan. 5
- 6 R dies *ca.* 4:15 a.m.
- 8 Funeral

APPENDIX V

A NOTE ON METHOD AND MATERIALS

By JOHN M. BLUM

This note, by no means a complete critical bibliography of the sources used in editing *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*,¹ is intended to record some impressions about those sources that may prove useful to others. The appendix following this essay, lists, with a few exceptions excluded because of their insignificance, the collections investigated by us or by others for us whether or not they yielded letters written by Theodore Roosevelt. It also includes collections from which unsolicited letters were received and printed. Because in this latter case the phrase "manuscript collections," for which no adequate substitute could be found, may lead to confusion, and because some of the other collections cited are not nearly so rich in Roosevelt material as might have been expected, the names of the collections that proved most useful are italicized.

The source of surpassing importance for this project was, of course, the Theodore Roosevelt Collection at the Library of Congress. Investigations of nearly two hundred other manuscript sources demonstrated how complete this primary collection is. Not only does it contain duplicates of the bulk of Roosevelt's outgoing correspondence after 1889, but it also contains a mass of incoming correspondence which for the Presidential years is extraordinarily full and for the pre-Presidential and post-Presidential years is representative although not complete. As has been explained elsewhere,² most of the duplicates are letter-press copies which include changes Roosevelt made in the original copies which he mailed. For those letters written after 1909 but not letter-pressed, his secretaries ordinarily corrected his carbons to con-

¹For other bibliographical and methodological data, see the pages following this note for a list of manuscript collections consulted; see also the footnotes throughout the volumes which cite and, where relevant, evaluate the primary and secondary sources used; the introduction to Volume I and the preface to Volume VII, which contain some description of the problems and methods of editing; and the following essays on editorial sources and method: John M. Blum, "Editors' Camera: 'The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt,'" *American Documentation*, I, 181-184 (Fall 1950); Elting E. Morison, "The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, V, 378-381 (Autumn 1951).

²See "Introduction," *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, I, xv-xvi.

form to the changes he had made. The Roosevelt Collection includes also holograph and typescript drafts of state papers, addresses, and other writings. With it are housed some microfilms of Roosevelt letters the originals of which are located elsewhere and manuscripts of Roosevelt's significant correspondence with Cecil Arthur Spring Rice and Jacob Riis. Arranged for the most part chronologically within alphabetical categories, the Roosevelt Collection is open to qualified students subject to the regular restrictions of the Library of Congress.

Subject to the same restrictions, microfilms of the letters in the Roosevelt Collection written by Roosevelt form part of the Roosevelt Memorial Association Collection at Widener Library, Harvard University. The R.M.A. Collection also contains films or, in a few cases, other copies of Roosevelt letters from many of the sources listed in Appendix VI — that is to say, substantially all of the letters from which this editorial project selected the contents of these volumes. Appendix VI cites the R.M.A. microfilms, however, only when the alternative source is privately owned or is a microfilm of privately owned materials. The R.M.A. Collection also includes microfilm, photostat, or typescript copies of miscellaneous original manuscripts formerly deposited at Roosevelt House, New York, now deposited at Houghton Library, Harvard University; manuscript reminiscences and correspondence about Roosevelt; original manuscripts of Henry L. Stoddard, E. A. Van Valkenburg, and John J. O'Leary, Jr. — the last primarily notes of conversations with or about Roosevelt; carbon copies of Roosevelt's correspondence with Thomas Robins; and significant but for the most part unexploited records of the Progressive party. Contributed largely by Elon Hooker, these records consist of the complete financial transactions of the party, lists of precinct workers for every state in which the party existed, similar lists of "prominent dependable Progressives and sizable contributors," complete minutes of every meeting of the national committee and national executive committee, a complete file of the party's official journal, a large collection of pamphlets and broadsides distributed by the party, and other miscellany and memorabilia. These and other materials, some of them described elsewhere in this essay,³ make the R.M.A. Collection at Widener an incomparable center for students of the man and his times.

For letters revealing the purely personal Roosevelt, the richest available manuscript sources other than the Roosevelt Collection itself are the manuscripts of his family, the letters to and from Henry Cabot Lodge (originally

³ Other than the materials discussed in this essay, the R.M.A. Collection includes a large library of volumes on Roosevelt and his times, offprints and clippings of miscellaneous articles about him, various unpublished theses about him, and thousands of photographs and cartoons. For a fuller description of the collection, see Thomas Little, "The Theodore Roosevelt Collection at Harvard," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, V, 376-378 (Autumn 1951).

available to the editors only in published and edited form),⁴ and the manuscripts of British friends of Roosevelt, especially Arthur Lee, Spring Rice, and John St. Loe Strachey. From his boyhood until his death Roosevelt wrote frequently and freely on both personal and public matters to his sisters; to his sons from the time of their early teens he sent voluminous, disarming reports; Lodge for thirty-five years was his intimate as well as — except for the Bull Moose period — his political associate; to the Englishmen during his adult life he continually sent letters that registered opinions which he apparently considered indiscreet for American eyes. Regrettably Edith Carow Roosevelt burned her letters from her husband; regrettably also investigations of the privately owned manuscript collections of Edward Grey, Frederic Harrison, G. F. R. Henderson, John Morley, and George Otto Trevelyan — all British confidants of Roosevelt — yielded no Roosevelt letters.

For the years until 1889 when, as a United States Civil Service Commissioner, Roosevelt for the first time used a stenographer regularly, the Cowles, Robinson, and Lodge manuscripts yielded the significant Roosevelt letters with the few exceptions indicated by the selections in Volume I of this work. The richest supplements to these three sources are three fragmentary diaries, that of Roosevelt's boyhood, edited and published as *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth* (New York, 1928); that of his first experiences in the New York Legislature, published as Appendix I in Volume II of this work; and that of his life in the Bad Lands, an unpublished manuscript, not available to the editors, in the possession of Alice Roosevelt Longworth.

For the years 1889 to 1901, besides the Cowles, Robinson, and Roosevelt collections and those of British correspondents, certain manuscript sources yielded either many Roosevelt letters or especially valuable ones. On literary and historical matters, the manuscripts of John Fox, Jr., John T. Morse, Jr., and Brander Matthews are useful; there are also a few particularly interesting pieces in the papers of Thomas R. Lounsbury, now part of the Miscellaneous Manuscripts in the Yale University Library, and those of Frederick Jackson Turner. For matters of natural history, the papers of John Burroughs and Henry Fairfield Osborn deserve special mention. These, like the Matthews manuscripts, continued to be important for the years after 1901. The National Archives contain many Roosevelt items pertaining to his work in the Civil Service Commission and the Navy Department. Indeed, those letters over Roosevelt's signature available only in the National Archives proved more useful to the editors for the pre-Presidential than for later years. The harvest of letters pertaining to Roosevelt's work as Civil Service

⁴ The unpublished letters from Roosevelt to Lodge for the period 1884 to 1906 were made available by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. A selection of them is published in Appendix I.

Commissioner was bountiful in the collections of Grover Cleveland, William Dudley Foulke, Carl Schurz, and Lucius B. Swift. The richness of these sources accentuated the relative poverty of the material dealing with Roosevelt's service on the New York Police Commission. For this period, rewarding manuscript sources included the collections of Lemuel Quigg, Seth Low, and Schurz, and the Police Department manuscripts in the New York City Municipal Reference Library. For Roosevelt's tenure as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the John Davis Long and Alfred Thayer Mahan manuscripts were especially significant; for his governorship, the manuscript collections of Avery De Lano Andrews, Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Nicholas Murray Butler, John Jay Chapman, William Loeb, Low, Quigg, and Riis. The papers of Thomas Collier Platt, surely important, are as yet not available.

The Roosevelt Collection for the period of Roosevelt's presidency is so complete that this selection of his letters needed to draw very little upon supplementary sources. For his presidency, however, those sources are especially good. The family and British letters, still significant, supplied proportionately less material on public affairs — not also available in the Roosevelt Collection — than at other times, but other letter collections produced proportionately more. The William Howard Taft and Elihu Root manuscripts were of first importance, each containing Roosevelt letters in quantity and of value. Second only to these were the copious papers of Ray Stannard Baker, Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, Charles Joseph Bonaparte, Joseph Benson Foraker, John Hay, Philander Chase Knox, Gifford Pinchot, Oscar Solomon Straus, Booker T. Washington, Henry White, and William Allen White. To be sure, other manuscript collections — for example those of Ethan Allen Hitchcock and Orville H. Platt — yielded a few essential letters, but none had the continuing relevance for editorial purposes of those above listed. Doubtless the George B. Cortelyou and Leonard Wood manuscripts, when they are opened for research, will be of comparable significance.

For the post-Presidential years the manuscript sources of greatest value were the Roosevelt Collection itself, the British and family collections — particularly for letters relating to World War I — and the Root and Taft collections. Other useful collections, especially for letters about the progressive movement, included those of Beveridge, Bonaparte, William Kent, Chase Salmon Osborn, Gifford Pinchot, William Allen White, and Charles Dwight Willard. The records of the Progressive party in the R.M.A. Collection were, of course, indispensable. Unfortunately no Hiram Johnson manuscripts are available.

The manuscript collections also yielded letters and memoranda to or about Roosevelt that provided a considerable portion of the data useful immediately for annotation and more generally for an understanding of Roosevelt, his policies, and his contemporaries. To cite two examples: William Cameron Forbes filed with his extensive papers a perceptive reminis-

cence of his dealings with Roosevelt, especially on Philippine policy and Republican politics; Robert Grant wrote James Ford Rhodes a remarkable account of Roosevelt's visit to Boston during the frenetic spring of 1912 (see Appendix II). Many documents of comparable value in the large manuscript collections of Roosevelt's contemporaries have yet to be incorporated in historical literature. From such collections as those of Roosevelt, Lodge, Taft, and Root there can be extracted the data for biographies of leading figures, evidence about the networks of personal communications through which decisions about the use of power and the formation of policy were made, evidence indeed about the large, contemporary meaning of public policies of the early twentieth century.

There is as yet no biography of Theodore Roosevelt based on familiarity with all the significant manuscripts pertaining to him; no adequate book above the text level covering the political history of the years 1880 to 1920 or any substantial portion of those years; few accounts, at once learned and incisive, of his important contemporaries. Certainly more can be said than has yet been written about even such men as Elihu Root who have had skillful and diligent biographers, much more about men like Taft, Beveridge, and Hughes who have had either less careful or less imaginative attention. Lodge, Hanna, Knox, Aldrich remain rather inscrutable primarily because they have not been adequately scrutinized; Cortelyou, Butler, Gifford Pinchot—to name only three whose manuscripts exist in quantity—have scarcely been scrutinized at all.⁵

A reading of the identification notes in any volume of Roosevelt letters will suggest other inviting possibilities. For some of the men mentioned manuscripts are presently available; for others no doubt manuscripts not yet located or open may well be obtainable; even without them, some of the neglected take three-dimensional form in the manuscripts of their contemporaries or in other records. Besides public men, dozens of educators, journalists, creative writers, scientists, lawyers, labor leaders, industrialists, financiers, or military men who have been identified only briefly in these volumes were individually or in organized groups of importance or at least of interest. Consider, for example, what a historian could do with Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Murat Halstead, Winston Churchill, Clinton Hart Merriam, William Moody, John P. Frey, Horace Wilkinson, Frank A. Vanderlip, or Henry Clay Taylor.

Second only to manuscripts, government documents, particularly for the period 1901 to 1909, constituted the most valuable sources of editorial infor-

⁵Both Professor Howard K. Beale and Mr. Carleton Putnam are now at work on major Roosevelt biographies; Mr. Henry F. Pringle is revising his biography of Roosevelt; Professor William Leuchtenburg is at work on a political history covering the period 1880 to 1920; Professor John Garraty has completed a new, scholarly life of Lodge; doubtless other manuscripts of comparable dimension of which the editors are not aware are now under way.

mation on Roosevelt and his times. They also suggested the magnitude of many issues which the footnotes only begin to explore. In editing, the work proceeded perforce from the letters to the documents; Roosevelt's interests raised the questions that had to be answered. As the footnotes indicate, a variety of documents supplied many answers. The *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, the *Official Register of the United States*, and many state "red books" and legislative manuals permitted the identification of hundreds of government officials; the volumes of *Foreign Relations of the United States* provided exact names and dates and diplomatic exchanges; annual department reports, court records, congressional documents, and the *Congressional Record* filled lacunae or modified interpretations in available secondary or newspaper sources — for example, on the early work of the Civil Service Commission, the reorganization of naval personnel, the quality of the beef supplied to American troops during the Cuban campaign, the improvement of water transportation in New York State, and on congressional attitudes toward and alliances for such different issues as naval appropriations and the popular election of United States Senators. The documents also asked questions of their own. So, to take one example, Roosevelt's concern with the freight-car shortage of 1907 and the method by which the I.C.C. had dealt with it (see No. 4215) led the editors to Senate documents that contain suggestive data on administrative process and remedy, entrepreneurial decision making, transportation and financial problems, the relation of government to industry, and agrarian attitudes and programs. Quite apart from Roosevelt's interests, these problems deserve attention, more attention than editing permitted. So, of course, do innumerable matters — illuminated by public documents — such as those pertaining to labor, immigration, central banking controls, federal irrigation and power policy, international trade agreements, the subsidization of the merchant marine, and the organization and administration of the armed forces. Yet, although the historians of recent American diplomacy have long since utilized the products of the Government Printing Office, the historians of recent political and economic history have scarcely begun systematically to exploit the *Congressional Record* or to attend the significant commission and committee reports of the first two decades of this century, or even the trenchant reports of McKinley's Industrial Commission.

In annotating Roosevelt's letters it was possible to examine virtually any pertinent government document; such extensive treatment of periodical sources was of course not possible. The limitations of time and location ordinarily confined research to newspaper and magazine files available in Greater Boston libraries,⁶ to a microfilm file of the *Washington Star* borrowed from the Library of Congress, and to the extensive newspaper clip-

⁶ Of these, listed in full in Gregory's indexes, those most used in editing were the *New York Times*, the *New York Tribune*, the *Outlook*, and the *Review of Reviews*.

pings in the Roosevelt scrapbooks which are discussed below. In using this material, the editors did not work entirely from the letters. In order to get some contemporary feeling for the issues and events of any particular period of time, to ascertain relationships among those issues and political alignments on each, and to discover what issues — if any — Roosevelt's correspondence slighted or ignored, the editors first skimmed newspaper files, scrapbook clippings, and volumes of magazines for the relevant period; then, going to Roosevelt's letters, decided what issues needed treatment in the footnotes; and finally, turning again to the newspapers and magazines as well as to other sources, collected the data from which to write the notes. Particularly on local matters the newspapers proved to be remarkably rewarding. From them almost all the lesser problems and individuals mentioned in the letters could be identified and, to some extent, evaluated. On all major issues, of course, they contained helpful contemporary accounts and assessments.

Experience in using various newspapers and periodicals suggested something about their relative value. The day-by-day problems of the Civil Service Commission emerged in incomparable detail from the files of *The Civil Service Chronicle*; for editorial use Roosevelt's own scrapbooks yielded sufficient data on his work on the New York City Police Commission; newspapers and periodicals proved less rewarding than did government documents on the problems of the Navy Department, but the scrapbooks and the New York *Tribune* together provided a good background for Roosevelt's governorship. Emphatically, the New York *Times*, particularly in the first decade of this century, was not for editorial purposes the comprehensive source of information that it is today. The *Tribune* regularly reported more fully and ordinarily analyzed more perceptively New York affairs, so often a subject of Roosevelt's interest. On national matters — congressional, diplomatic, or political — and for general coverage of local situations all over the United States, the outstanding newspaper source for the years 1901 to 1909 was the *Washington Star*. It was less useful thereafter partly because its reporting fell off but primarily because Roosevelt had left Washington. Because the *Star*, supplemented by the New York *Tribune*, various magazines, and the scrapbooks, and for the period 1913 to 1919 by the New York *Times* and *The New York Times Index*, so well satisfied editorial needs, the editors had occasion to use the Boston papers only to illuminate the parochial affairs of New England.

Of the magazines, the monthly *Review of Reviews* proved the most useful starting place for learning the basic chronology of events in a period; the *Outlook* a handy weekly supplement, rather less inclusive but often more detailed. Both contained considerable helpful detail on social and cultural as well as political events. With the newspapers and scrapbooks, they furnished enough data to obviate the necessity for complete examination of any other periodical. Occasional forays, however, suggested the usefulness of the *Inde-*

pendent and of *Harper's Weekly*, the latter because of its critical attitude toward Roosevelt.

For incisive editorials an outstanding source was the *Wall Street Journal*. Its analyses of political as well as financial and industrial issues rested continually upon extraordinary objectivity and breadth of view. The *Tribune*, *Outlook*, and *Review of Reviews*, edited as they were by personal friends of Roosevelt, and the *Star* tended axiomatically to accept his dicta and automatically to applaud his actions; the *New York Evening Post*, the *Sun* and *Times*, and the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* — thundering from the right, and the *New York Journal* and *World* — equally loudly thundering from the left, tended automatically to attack his words and deeds; the *Wall Street Journal* to assess them. The *Journal* deserves an imaginative and informed historian of its own. Sporadic examination of the *Evening Post* revealed that its news columns were more objective than its editorial page; so doubtless with the *World*, but only selected editorials and occasional news columns from the *World* had to be consulted. Of the other periodicals regularly examined, the *Spectator*, removed as it was from the heat Roosevelt generated and informed as it was by his letters to Strachey, its editor, often published editorials of light and learning.

With a variety of other material, the editorials of the *New York Journal*, *Sun*, and *World* and of the *Wall Street Journal* were available — though not completely available — in the scrapbooks of the Theodore Roosevelt Collection. Covering Roosevelt's public life from 1881 through 1909, these scrapbooks are richest in the period of his presidency. During that time Colonel W. H. Crook, disbursing officer in the executive office, by his own account scanned three hundred to five hundred newspapers each day, marking every article on or reference to the policies of the Administration. Tens of thousands of items he marked were clipped and pasted in the scrapbooks. Gathered from newspapers published in all parts of the country, these clippings constitute a superb source of information on the most controversial issues of Roosevelt's time. They contain also considerable color. In both respects they are of great value to any student of the period. In the years after 1909 Roosevelt kept no scrapbooks. Although those kept by his admirers have been given to the R.M.A. Collection, they are of relatively little importance.

To identify the thousands of men and women mentioned in Roosevelt's letters, the editors had continuing recourse not only to the material already discussed but also to the continually helpful pages of *Who's Who*, *Who's Who in America*, the *Almanach de Gotha*, various local, regional, occupational, and religious "Who's Who's," various biographical encyclopedias, the *Social Register* and membership lists of social and political clubs, local histories, and the columns of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Without these, far fewer people would have been identified, and others less well. So too did records of political

conventions, contemporary pamphlets and the like, memoirs, biographies, monographs, and other secondary sources ease editorial work at every stage. Their usefulness cannot be exaggerated. They are not discussed or listed here only because, in proportion to the extent to which each title lighted the editorial way, it has been cited at appropriate places in the footnotes in each volume.

Finally, Roosevelt's own works constituted the single best source for an understanding not only of his ideas, their development and their interrelationships, but also of the manner in which he attempted to communicate them. The R.M.A. Collection contains every edition of his works, offprints and clippings of most of the articles he wrote and speeches he delivered that have not been republished in compilations, files of the journals to which he contributed regularly, and an unpublished Roosevelt bibliography. For those who do not have access to the R.M.A. Collection, the most useful generally available editions of his works are the National Edition, published by Scribner in 1926 and continually cited in the notes to the *Letters*, and the Homeward Bound Edition, published by the Review of Reviews Co. in 1910, which includes — as the National Edition does not — substantially all of Roosevelt's official Presidential addresses and state papers. Besides these editions, students investigating Roosevelt's works should examine at least *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star*, published in Boston in 1921, a volume that contains all his columns for that paper, and the files of the *Outlook* and the *Metropolitan* for the period in which he contributed to them. In putting together his last books, he used many of the articles he wrote for the *Star*, the *Outlook*, and the *Metropolitan*, but he changed some, combined others, and eliminated still others, among them many revelatory of his nonpolitical ideas. For those who would know the man, close familiarity with his works is essential. Although long available, they have received less use and much less analysis than they merit.

Essentially this is true of the written records of the first twenty years of this century. This is too bad, for those years are a laboratory for the understanding of modern America. The manuscripts, public documents, and newspapers and periodicals of the time, essential for the annotating of Roosevelt's letters, deserve more systematic, thorough use than editing allows. The *Letters*, it is hoped, will motivate and facilitate that process.

APPENDIX VI

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

The names of the collections in this list that proved most useful to the editors are italicized. See Appendix V, paragraph 1.

Adams, Brooks, privately owned
Aldrich, Nelson W., Library of Congress
Alger, Russell A., William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan
Allen, Horace Newton, New York Public Library
Allison, William B., Iowa State Department of History and Archives
Anderson, Chandler P., Library of Congress
Andrews, Avery De L., Roosevelt Memorial Association
Baker, Ray Stannard, Library of Congress
Berg Collection, New York Public Library
Beveridge, Albert J., Library of Congress
Bishop, Joseph B., Harvard College Library
Blaine, James G., Library of Congress
Board of Overseers of Harvard University, Harvard University Archives
Bok, Edward, Roosevelt Memorial Association
Bonaparte, Charles J., Library of Congress
Boone and Crockett Club, New York City
Borah, William E., Library of Congress
Bryce, James, Bodleian Library, Oxford
Burroughs, John, American Museum of Natural History
Burt, Silas W., New York Historical Society
Butler, Nicholas Murray, Columbia University Library
Camp, Walter C., privately owned
Carnegie, Andrew, Library of Congress
Chadbourne, William M., privately owned
Chapman, Frank M., American Museum of Natural History
Chapman, John Jay, Harvard College Library
Choate, Joseph H., Library of Congress
Church, William C., Library of Congress
Cleveland, Grover, Library of Congress
Clowes, William Laird, privately owned; microfilm, R.M.A.

Cockran, William Bourke, New York Public Library
 Corbin, Henry C., Library of Congress
 Cornell University, Collection of Regional History
 Cowles, *Anna Roosevelt, and William S., privately owned; microfilm, Library of Congress and R.M.A.*
 Cummins, Albert B., Iowa State Department of History and Archives
 Dana, Charles, Massachusetts Historical Society
 Davis, Gherardi, New York Public Library
 Depew, Chauncey M., Library of Congress
 Derby, *Ethel Roosevelt, and Richard, in part privately owned, in part R.M.A.*
 Desborough, Arthur, privately owned
 Desmond, Thomas C., privately owned
 Dewey, George, Library of Congress
 Dolliver, Jonathan P., Iowa State Department of History and Archives
 Egan, Maurice F., Roosevelt Memorial Association
 Eliot, Charles W., Harvard University Archives
 Esty, Clarence H., privately owned
 Foraker, *Joseph B., Library of Congress*
 Foran, W. Robert, Library of Congress
 Forbes, W. Cameron, Harvard College Library
 Foulke, *William Dudley, Indiana State Library*
 Fox, *John, Jr., privately owned; microfilm, R.M.A.*
 Frankfurter, Felix, privately owned
 Frewen, Moreton, in part privately owned, in part Library of Congress
 Gardner, Augustus P., Library of Congress
 Garfield, James A., Library of Congress
 Garland, Hamlin, privately owned; microfilm, R.M.A.
 Gipson, James H., privately owned
 Godkin, Edwin L., Harvard College Library
 Goethals, George W., Library of Congress
 Gompers, Samuel, American Federation of Labor Archives
 Goodrich, David M., privately owned; microfilm, R.M.A.
 Gorgas, William C., Library of Congress
 Grant, *Robert, Harvard College Library*
 Greene, *Francis V., New York Public Library*
 Grey, Edward, of Fallodon, privately owned
 Groton School Archives
 Guild, Curtis, Jr., Massachusetts Historical Society
 Gulliver, James G., privately owned
 Hagedorn, Hermann, Roosevelt Memorial Association
 Hand, Learned, privately owned
 Harbord, James G., New York Historical Society

Harper, Ida Husted, Henry E. Huntington Library
 Harris, Benjamin F., Illinois State Historical Library
 Harrison, Frederic, privately owned
 Hart, Albert B., Harvard University Archives
Hay, John, Library of Congress
 Henderson, George F. R., privately owned
 Hewitt, Abram S., New York Historical Society
Hitchcock, Ethan A., privately owned
 Holls, George F. W., Harvard College Library
 Hooker, Elon H., Roosevelt Memorial Association
 Houghton Mifflin Company, correspondence files
 House, Edward M., Yale University Library
 Hughes, Charles E., Library of Congress
 Humphrey, William E., Library of Congress
 Huntington Library, Miscellaneous Manuscripts
 Johnson, Bradley T., privately owned
Kent, William, Yale University Library
 Kingsley Family Collection, Yale University Library
 Kipling, Rudyard, privately owned
Knox, Philander C., Library of Congress
 Laub, C. Herbert, privately owned
Lee, Arthur H., privately owned; microfilm, R.M.A.
 Leipziger, Henry M., New York Public Library
 Leslie, Shane, privately owned
Lindsey, Ben B., Library of Congress
 Lloyd George, David, privately owned
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, Massachusetts Historical Society
Loeb, William, Jr., privately owned; microfilm, R.M.A.
Long, John D., Massachusetts Historical Society
Low, Seth, Columbia University Library
 Lowell, A. Lawrence, Harvard University Archives
 Lowell, Josephine Shaw, privately owned
 Lyon, Cecil A., privately owned; microfilm, R.M.A.
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